

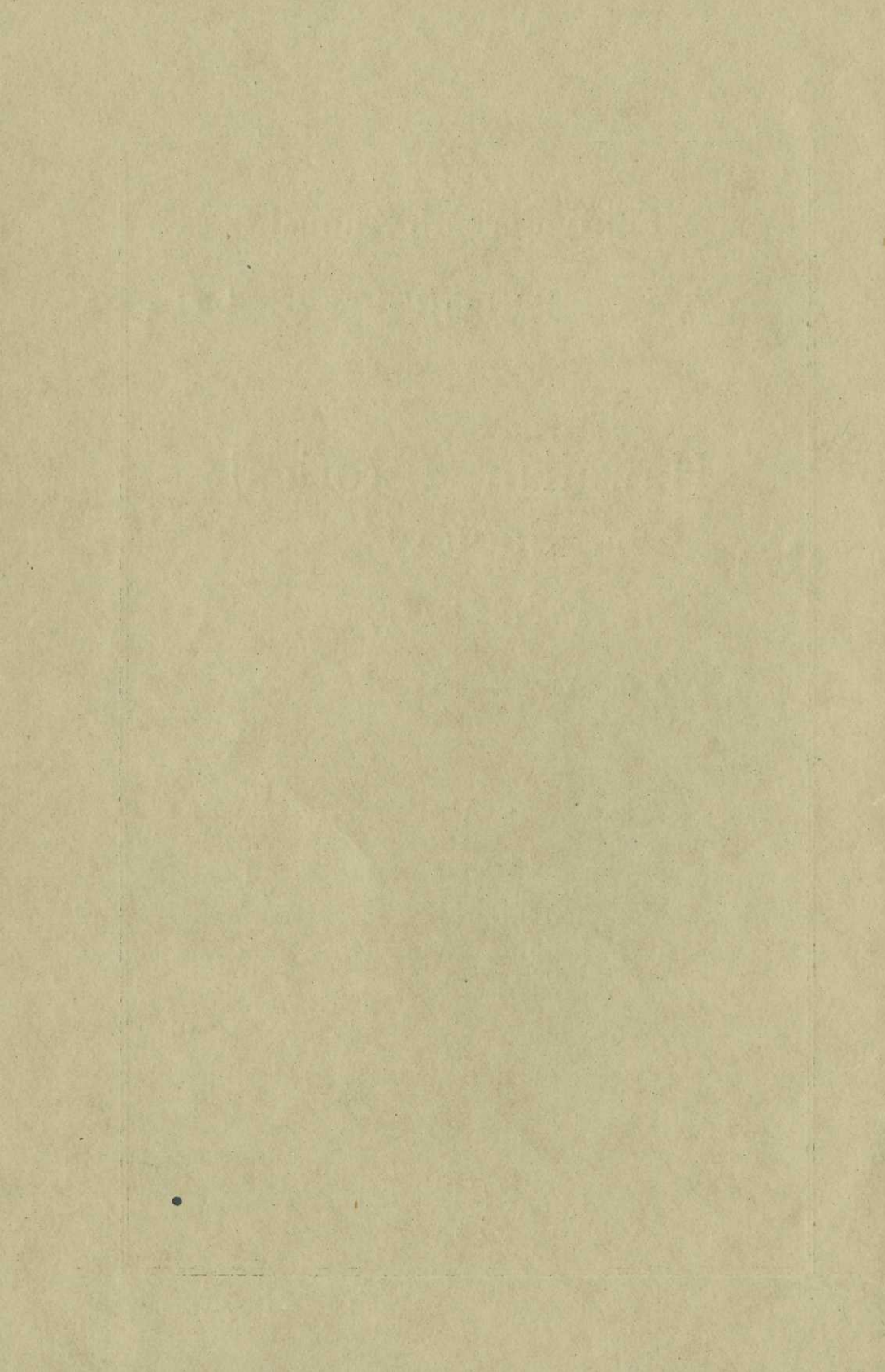
Thirty-Seventh Annual
REPORT
of the
Hawaiian Historical
Society

FOR THE YEAR 1928

*With Papers Read at the Annual Meeting
February 5, 1929*



Printed by
Honolulu Star-Bulletin
Merchant Street
1929



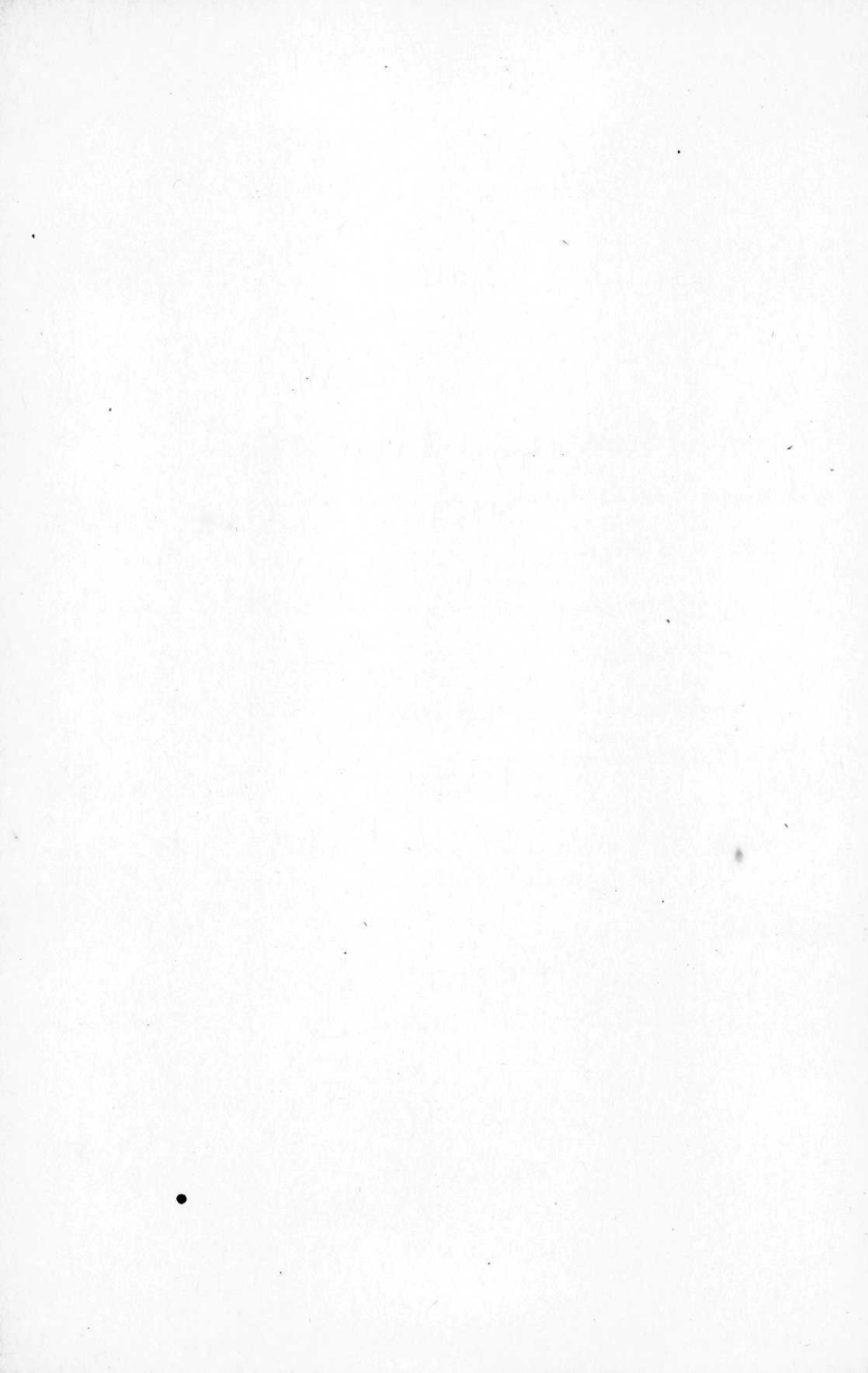
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OFFICERS FOR 1929

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| President..... | RT. REV. HENRY B. RESTARICK |
| Vice-President..... | HON. W. F. FREAR |
| Secretary..... | EDGAR HENRIQUES |
| Treasurer..... | SAMUEL WILDER KING |
| Librarian..... | MISS CAROLINE P. GREEN |
| Trustee until 1930..... | EDGAR HENRIQUES |
| Trustee until 1930..... | R. S. KUYKENDALL |
| Trustee until 1930..... | W. D. WESTERVELT |
| Trustee until 1931..... | HON. W. F. FREAR |
| Trustee until 1931..... | ALBERT P. TAYLOR |
| Trustee until 1931..... | SAMUEL WILDER KING |

TRUSTEE LIBRARY OF HAWAII

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT

COMMITTEES

Finance Committee

George R. Carter W. F. Frear Wm. W. Goodale

Duty of Committee

To devise ways and means of providing funds to enable the
Society to accomplish its aims.*House Committee*

Miss Margaret Newman Miss Caroline P. Green Miss Maud Jones

Duty of Committee

To take charge of the arrangement and preservation of the
Society's library and collections.*Editorial and Printing Committee*

Bishop H. B. Restarick R. S. Kuykendall Edgar Henriques

Duty of Committee

To edit and arrange for printing all publications. Shall call
for bids for printing.*Purchasing Committee*

J. T. Phillips A. P. Taylor Miss Caroline P. Green

Duty of Committee

Shall attend to the purchasing and acquisition of new ma-
terial for the Society's library and collections.*Membership Committee*

Bishop H. B. Restarick Edgar Henriques Miss Elsie H. Wilcox

Duty of Committee

To obtain new members for the Society.

Program and Research Committee

J. T. Phillips Bruce Cartwright R. S. Kuykendall

Bishop H. B. Restarick A. P. Taylor

Duty of Committee

To take charge of and arrange programs.

Nominating Committee

George C. Potter Arthur C. Alexander Rev. Thurston R. Hinckley

Duty of Committee

To present nominations for the office of President and for
three Trustees to be voted on at the annual meeting.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

February 5, 1929

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held Tuesday, February 5, 1929, in the Young Women's Christian Association rooms on Alakea Street, as alterations were being made in the Library of Hawaii making the rooms of our society unavailable.

Right Rev. Henry B. Restarick presiding.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Reports of the President, Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, and the Historical Site Committee were read and approved. These reports were ordered printed in the next issue of our Annual.

The Nominating Committee, by Mr. Arthur C. Alexander, Chairman, made the following nominations:

For President, Right Rev. Henry B. Restarick.

For three Trustees to serve until the annual meeting in 1931, Walter F. Frear, Samuel W. King, Albert P. Taylor.

There being no further nominations, the Secretary was instructed to cast the vote, and they were elected.

The following papers were read:

Some Early Commercial Adventurers of Hawaii, by Prof. R. S. Kuykendall.

Lahaina: The Versailles of Old Hawaii, by Albert P. Taylor.

Hawaii's Pioneers in Journalism, by Riley H. Allen.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

EDGAR HENRIQUES,

Secretary.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Members of the Hawaiian Historical Society,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

A modern definition of history is that it is a record of human experience. In the past it has often been considered a record of events, and while history must take cognizance of occurrences yet the important matter is to consider them with reference to human development or retrogression.

The history of Hawaii and indeed of the Polynesians is the tracing if possible of their origin in Asia and the culture which they brought with them and how they used it and added to it in the development of a civilization which extended from Hawaii to New Zealand.

The avowed object of this Society is to promote an interest in all that pertains to Hawaii and the Pacific area. We have not the funds, nor the trained men to do research work along the lines indicated, but we should all be glad that the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum has and is pursuing such research and in publications revealing to us much that is important about what may be called the pre-historic period, that is before 1779.

During the past year the members of this Society have not been called together since the last annual meeting. The reason is that the officers and some of the members gave much time and did earnest work to prepare for and carry out the 150th anniversary of the discovery of Hawaii by Captain Cook. It should be remembered that the idea of that celebration originated at a meeting of the Trustees of this Society, that at a meeting of the members a resolution was passed that a committee be appointed to lay the matter before the Governor; that he appointed members of this Society to prepare a tentative program which he presented to the Legislature, and then on their authorization he appointed a commission of five all of whom were members of this Society, as were the advisory selected by the Commission.

So it was from its inception to its final wonderful pageant, the celebration was the work of this Society. I can assure you it was no small work and you all should take a pride in the success of the whole event.

The report of the committee on historic sites will be read. I call your attention to the fact that five sites marked were the result of the efforts of this Society, and for one of them this Society bore the expense.

There is an article in our Constitution which provides for honorary members. Your Trustees acting under Article II have by ballot elected as honorary members three men. These are Joseph S. Emerson, and Thomas G. Thrum, whose long membership and eminent service to this Society has merited this recognition. The third man is Judge F. W. Howay, who has contributed valuable papers and has always been ready to give us valuable information about the Northwest Coast and Hawaii, and has sent us important documents. It is most fitting that these gentlemen should be recognized and honored.

We have one Benefactor, George R. Carter, the contributor of \$1000. We have 14 life members the contributors of \$50 or \$100 at one time.

I call your attention to the need of more members. We have now two hundred and fifty-three, Kauai members paying \$1.00 a year. If each member were interested and used a little effort he could I believe obtain one member. As it is the President and Secretary are almost the only ones who obtain new members. If any one here would like to join the Society he can see the Secretary at the close of the meeting.

Hoping that whatever officers you elect that the year will see an advance in the usefulness of this Society,

Respectfully yours,

H. B. RESTARICK.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

(Jan. 27, 1928, to Jan. 26, 1929)

INCOME

| | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| Balance General Account | \$ 712.74 | |
| Life Membership | 251.00 | |
| Initiation Fees | 49.00 | |
| Dues | 430.00 | |
| Dues—Kauai Branch | 76.00 | |
| Dividends McBryde Bonds | 100.00 | |
| Dividends Pearl Harbor Yacht Club Stocks..... | 12.50 | |
| Sale Reprints, Reports, etc | 302.67 | \$1933.91 |
| | | <hr/> |

DISBURSEMENTS

Honolulu Star-Bulletin

| | | |
|---|--------|-----------|
| 400 Pamphlets and Expenses | 183.46 | |
| 125 Copies Reports and Correspondence of the Minister of Foreign Relations and Expenses | 60.00 | |
| 400 Copies 36th Annual Report and Expenses | 213.85 | |
| Books and Prints | 47.61 | |
| Multigraph List & Letter Co. (Notices, letters, plates, etc.) | 47.40 | |
| Miscellaneous | 3.10 | |
| Transferred to Savings Account | 150.00 | 705.42 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Balance in General Fund | | \$1228.49 |

ENDOWMENT FUND

Receipts

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Balance Savings Account | 1032.58 |
| Interest on Savings Account \$20.10 and \$34.50 | 54.70 |
| By Sale Pearl Harbor Yacht Club Shares | 1017.36 |
| | <hr/> |
| Balance in Savings Account | \$2104.64 |

ASSETS

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| Two \$1000.00 McBryde Bonds | \$2000.00 |
| Cash—Savings Account | 2104.64 |
| Cash—General Account | 1228.49 |
| | <hr/> |
| TOTAL | \$5333.13 |

Respectfully submitted,

S. W. KING,

Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

1928

To the Officers and Members of
The Hawaiian Historical Society,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Sesquicentennial of the discovery of Hawaii, and the introduction of a course in Hawaiian History in the curriculum of the schools, has brought a keen realization of the historical value of the library and the publications of this Society. Not only is the material in demand for research here, but there are many calls for our reports and papers, and several sets have been sold or exchanged during the year. I have recently compiled a list of the publications by number and contents, which shows exactly how many copies of each item are still available.

Since our last annual meeting 68 volumes have been accessioned and cataloged; ten of which were books of historic interest transferred from the Library of Hawaii, and thirteen, volumes of bulletins, reports, and periodicals from the bindery.

Of the twelve volumes purchased the following are worthy of special note:

"Journey to Lower Oregon and Upper California, 1848-49," by Rev. Samuel C. Damon; a beautifully bound volume compiled from old files of "The Friend" and published by John J. Newbegin of San Francisco, in a limited edition.

"Captain Cook," by Sir Walter Besant, a reprint of a work published in London in 1890.

"Population Problems of the Pacific," by Stephen H. Roberts of the University of Melbourne. This careful study of the problems of the changing Pacific is based on the vital and social conditions of the people.

"Honolulu: Sketches of Life, Social, Political and Religious in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861", by Laura Fish Judd, pub-

lished by the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1928; a reprint celebrating the centenary of the arrival in Hawaii of Dr. and Mrs. Gerrit P. Judd.

"Pioneer Days in Hawaii", by Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, which is receiving great consideration from the leading journals in the East, is a fascinating account of life in Waialua in days long gone by.

"British Columbia: the Making of a Province", by Judge F. W. Howay, the outstanding historian of the Northwest coast; a fully illustrated volume of unusual interest.

Through second-hand catalogs I secured a copy of "The Boston at Hawaii", by Lucien Young; and a copy of "The Tourists' Guide to the Hawaiian Islands", compiled and edited by Henry M. Whitney in 1890. An interesting comparison might be made between this guide book and the recently acquired, "All About Hawaii: a Standard Tourist Guide", copyrighted by The Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1928.

In addition to the usual exchanges we have had a number of valuable gifts:

From the Hawaiian Historical Commission "Hawaii in the World War," by Ralph S. Kuykendall and Lorin Tarr Gill; from Mr. Gerrit P. Wilder a scrapbook of Hawaiiana which belonged to his cousin Dudley C. Bates; from the Pan-Pacific Union, "The Proceedings of the Food Conservation Conference held in Honolulu, 1924", and "The Proceedings of the Women's Conference held in Honolulu, 1928".

Eighteen volumes from the library of Rev. Henry H. Parker include: "Ke Alauala", a complete bound file of an illustrated periodical, published for the children of Hawaii, 1866-1873. The text is entirely in the Hawaiian language. A Biography of Hon. Joseph K. Nawahi written in the Hawaiian language by J. G. M. Sheldon. "The Islands of the Pacific", by Rev. James M. Alexander; "Hawaiian Life; Lazy Letters from Low Latitudes", from the pen of Charles Warren Stoddard; and two Dictionaries of the Maori language.

From Mr. James T. Phillips we have received "The Cruise of the Alert in Patagonian and Polynesian Waters," by R. W. Coppinger, M. D., Staff-Surgeon in the Royal Navy, published in London,

1883; and a bound volume of "The Saturday Magazine", London, 1833-1843, containing many articles on the Sandwich Islands. Mr. Phillips has also given us a large number of pamphlets and reports which have completed files. He has rendered the Society a great service in compiling "A Preliminary Check-List of the Printed Reports and Correspondence of the Minister of Foreign Relations of the Government of the Hawaiian Islands from 1845-1862."

Mrs. Julie Judd³ Swanzy presented the library with "Fragments III and IV" of the "Records of the House of Judd", and two pamphlets: "Ship Parthian, 1828-1928", containing the full program of the centenary service commemorating the arrival of the Parthian in Honolulu, which was held in Kawaiahao Church March 31, 1928; and "Kuakini and Hulihee; the story of the Kailua Palace in Kona," written by Jane L. Winne and published by the Daughters of Hawaii.

In exchange for some duplicates, Mr. John A. Ferguson of Sydney, Australia, sent a copy of Woodes-Rogers' "Cruising Voyage Round the World", and an illustrated pamphlet "The Captain Cook Monument at Whitby", England, where the great circumnavigator served his apprenticeship; and a very fine "Bibliography of Captain James Cook", compiled by librarians in New South Wales. These two items supplement material on the Cook Sesquicentennial celebration presented by Bishop Restarick; and the coin presented by the Cook Sesquicentennial Commission.

Among the many splendid publications of the Bishop Museum, so generously donated, it is gratifying to find "Ancient Tahiti", by Teuira Henry. In the second preface to the book Professor Alexander says, "There is no book in existence which covers the ground occupied by this account of a most attractive and interesting country and people." Those of us who knew Miss Henry when she lived in Honolulu, will rejoice that her urgent wish to have the manuscript printed has been fulfilled.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLINE P. GREEN,

Librarian.

REPORT OF HISTORICAL SITE COMMITTEE

This is the second report of the Historical Site Committee.

As far as your Committee is aware, there are now nine historical places marked in the Islands. Six more tablets were provided for by the Legislature of 1925. These have arrived and are now being placed under the direction of the Department of Public Works. Mr. Bigelow says that the design of the frame of these tablets was drawn with the idea of adopting it as a standard for all plaques erected by the Territory. It is a beautiful work of art, and Mr. Bigelow should have the thanks of our Society.

Historical Sites Marked

1. Missionary Church at Kailua, Hawaii, to Henry Opukahaia, the first Hawaiian Christian;
2. Birthplace of Kamehameha III, at Keauhou, Hawaii, erected by the Daughters of Hawaii;
3. Battle of Nuuanu, 1795, Establishing the Kamehameha Dynasty, erected by the Daughters of Hawaii;
4. Napoopoo, Hawaii, Cairn, where first recorded Christian burial was held, erected by the citizens of Kona, Hawaii;
5. Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii, marking the spot where Captain Cook was killed February 14, 1779, dedicated by the Cook Sesquicentennial Commission;
6. Kaawaloa, Hawaii, Heiau where Captain Cook's bones were separated from the flesh, erected by the Hawaiian Historical Society;
7. Former Court and Parliament House, Honolulu, placed by American Factors, Ltd., on their own building;
8. Landing Place of Captain Cook at Waimea, Kauai, erected by the citizens of Kauai;
9. Napoopoo, Hawaii, Stone, in memory of Henry Opukahaia, erected by

*Tablets Now Being Placed by the Superintendent of Public Works,
Territory of Hawaii*

1. Heiaus of Poliahu and Malae; and
2. The Menehune Ditch at Waimea, Kauai;
3. Iao Valley, Maui, marking one of the greatest battlefields in Hawaiian history;
- 4-5. Heiaus of Puukohola and Mailekini, at Kawaihae, Hawaii;
6. Condemning and Cleaning the Heiau of Upo at Kailua, Oahu.

Although your Society has not marked many places of historical interest, it has been instrumental in seeing that they are marked. Five of the above fifteen are due to the efforts of your Committee.

Your Committee suggests that our Society stand sponsor for a Bill to be passed by the next Legislature appropriating sufficient funds for marking the following places:

1. Pohukaina, the tomb of the Chiefs and Royalty in the Palace Grounds up to 1864, when their remains were moved to the Royal Mausoleum, Nuuanu;
2. Honolulu Fort Site, where now stands Pier 11;
3. Thomas Square;
4. Princess Ruth's Home, now Central Grammar School;
5. Site of Oahu Charity School;
6. Former Royal Barracks.

Respectfully submitted,

EDGAR HENRIQUES,

Chairman.

SOME EARLY COMMERCIAL ADVENTURERS OF HAWAII

By R. S. Kuykendall

Executive Secretary, Hawaiian Historical Commission

In this paper I propose to relate some incidents in the commercial history of Hawaii during the early years of the reign of Kamehameha III. These incidents all have to do with the commercial operations of two men: the native chief Boki,¹ governor of the island of Oahu, and the half-Hawaiian, half-Spaniard George Marina, one of the sons of the well-known Don Francisco de Paula Marin. The period in which these incidents occurred was one in which the economic development of the kingdom was being shifted gradually from a sandalwood to a whaling basis. Hawaii was also becoming more and more important as a center for a general trade extending to all parts of the northern Pacific (China, the Russian settlements in Kamchatka and Alaska, the Spanish settlements along the American coast) and to many of the islands in the south Pacific. This foreign trade was carried on mostly by American and English firms through agents established in Honolulu, but the Hawaiian chiefs occasionally tried their hands at the game—without very conspicuous success. In the same period (the opening years of the reign of Kamehameha III), the Hawaiian chiefs were called upon to pay the fiddler for the orgy of buying in which they had indulged during the preceding reign.

The reign of Liholiho had been a flush time for the sandalwood traders. Restraint was thrown to the winds, and the New England houses interested in this trade did their best to keep the speculating

¹ William Richards, in a letter dated May 20, 1828, in which he discusses the question of the proper orthography of the Hawaiian language, gives the following account of Boki's name: "I would just remark respecting the name of Boki that even according to our present rules it may be spelt with the *B* for the name is of foreign origin. His original name was *Ilio-punahele*, that is, favourite dog. When the king became acquainted with a large American dog named Boss, he immediately changed the name of the young chief from *Ilio-punahele* to Boss, which in native language is Boki, pronounced by 99/100 of the people Poki." (*Missionary Letters*, III, 725. These missionary letters are a typewritten collection in the Carter Library, Honolulu, copied from the originals in the archives of the A. B. C. F. M. in Boston. This typewritten collection contains the letters and parts of letters that were not printed in the *Missionary Herald*.)

spirit at fever heat among the Hawaiian chiefs. They sent out everything from pins and scissors to carriages and sailing ships; and since the competition was keen, they accepted in payment not only sandalwood but anything else of substantial and negotiable value, including duly attested promissory notes. And the chiefs were not slow about buying. At first the sandalwood furnished a convenient medium of exchange, but in a few years this became scarce and difficult to get and the chiefs had to drive their people hard in order to satisfy the clamorous demands of their creditors. Still they kept buying, led on by a species of salesmanship in which these Yankee traders were adept. One of the missionaries describes the situation. In speaking of Governor Kaikioewa of Kauai, he says:

He is remarkably fond of purchasing novelties, & almost whatever is offered by foreigners, with little regard either to the cost or the utility of the article. This propensity to buy, seems indeed, to be deeply rooted in most of the chiefs. . . . (Some of the foreigners who trade here, are too well acquainted with this trait in their character.) For however bitterly they may complain, of dilatory payments, & want of veracity, & integrity in the natives, they urge upon them things which they do not want; & for which, they have no means of paying, but by imposing new burdens upon the people.²

Whatever may be thought of the activities of these traders, considered abstractly from the ethical standpoint, the fact remains that they were carried on with remarkable success over a period of years, the traders getting large profits both in cash and barter and in promises to pay at some future date. By the time Kamehameha III came to the throne, the debts of the Hawaiian chiefs to American traders had risen to \$150,000 or \$200,000, a figure which was really enormous, considering the circumstances.

To aid them in collecting these debts, the traders urged the United States government to send a warship to the islands; and this was one of the reasons for the visits of the armed schooner *Dolphin* (Lieutenant John Percival) in the spring of 1826 and the sloop of war *Peacock* (Captain T. A. C. Jones) in the fall of the same year. After some negotiations an agreement was reached in December, 1826. The governing chiefs duly acknowledged their indebtedness

² P. J. Gulick to J. Evarts, Waimea, Kauai, Feb. 18, 1830. (*Missionary Letters*, III, 14.)

to the amount of about \$150,000³ and an arrangement was made which promised a speedy payment of the entire amount.

The burden of seeing that these debts were paid fell most heavily on Kalanimoku, who was the chief fiscal officer of the government, and on his brother Boki, governor of the island of Oahu. Kalanimoku died in the early part of 1827 and hence additional responsibility fell on the shoulders of Governor Boki. I have referred to this matter of the debts because it is an essential part of the setting of the story and because I am satisfied that Boki's commercial operations were undertaken, in part at least, for the purpose of obtaining funds with which to liquidate these obligations. Other men were making large profits in trade. Why should he not do the same?

II

During the greater part of 1827 Boki devoted himself with reasonable diligence to the business of collecting sandalwood to apply on the old debts.⁴ But it was difficult to keep the people working at this irksome task. Furthermore, Boki was at the focus and in a measure the victim of cross currents which pulled him this way and that. Paying the old debts was a favor to the American traders; but Boki's sympathies and natural affiliation were with the English party headed by Richard Charlton, the British consul. This fact tended to place him in opposition not only to the American traders (who were constantly prodding him about the debts) but also to the American missionaries (though he tried to maintain a friendly attitude toward them) and to Kaahumanu (the real ruler of the country) and other chiefs who were under missionary influence. And it must not be forgotten that Boki had political ambitions which nearly involved the nation in civil war. I can illustrate the situation by quoting from two letters written in 1827: the first by Elisha Loomis, the missionary printer and a shrewd observer, who was in the United States in the summer of that year. He says:

When I left Oahu Kalaimoku lay at the point of death cheered & consoled by the hopes of a glorious immortality. (Through the influence of the English Consul, fears were entertained that Boki might when Kalaimoku was dead, take up arms against Kaahumanu, who is hated by Mr.

³ Some years later Captain Jones stated that the amount was \$500,000 and it is so given in some books; but available contemporary documents prove that the amount could not have been much if any in excess of \$150,000.

⁴ There are frequent references in the letters of J. C. Jones to Boki's activities in the collecting of sandalwood. Boki and the King (of whom Boki was the personal guardian) spent much time in the mountains directing the people in their work.

Charlton and other foreigners because she is a determined enemy to wickedness). We have no confidence in Boki, altho' he professes to be our friend. He is entirely under the influence of Mr. Charlton, a bitter enemy to missions.⁵

In September, 1827, John C. Jones, who besides being the American commercial agent in Hawaii was also a trader and the local agent for the Boston firm of Marshall and Wildes, wrote a long letter in his usual style, in the course of which he said:

The natives now begin to feel the weight of paying their old debts for other people, and grumble most dreadfully. I shall continue to press them to new exertions, and hope they may be induced to pay all; they have many advisers to tell them that America cannot compel them to pay, that the debts will soon be outlawed, &c., which has a bad tendency indeed, amongst these advisers is Mr. Charlton, who is most bitter against the Americans, is a worse liar and more unprincipled a fellow than ever was . . . Since the arrival of the English ship from Canton consigned to him, he has done all in his power to injure the Americans, . . . You cannot conceive the vilany and intrigue that has been going on. This Charlton has always been the Snake in the grass, his rascality is now blazoned out, and he receives the contempt of all honest men. I wish he was off, I have borne with him as yet, but cannot much longer.⁶

It is fair to say, not in defence of Mr. Charlton but in explanation of the other party, that in certain quarters Mr. Jones was described in terms very similar to those which he applied to his British colleague. These two men were the official representatives of their governments and were two of the leading traders in Hawaii at that time.

III

Boki's trading operations (so far as present evidence indicates) began on an extensive scale in the summer of 1827, not long after the death of his brother Kalanimoku. On June 27, the English ship *Tinemouth* arrived at Honolulu with a cargo from Canton,⁷ the first English trader that ever came to these islands for sandalwood.⁸ The cargo was consigned to Richard Charlton; Governor Boki bought the whole of it and opened a retail store in Honolulu. The American traders saw at once the effect which this transaction was likely to have on their interests. Thus Stephen Reynolds writes on July 5:

⁵ E. Loomis to J. Evarts, Baltimore, June 24, 1827. (*Missionary Letters*, III, 838).

⁶ J. C. Jones to Dixey Wildes, Oahu, Sept. 30, 1827. (Josiah Marshall MSS, Harvard College Library).

⁷ Journal of Stephen Reynolds. (Thrum's *Annual*, 1901, p. 79).

⁸ J. C. Jones to Josiah Marshall, Oahu, July 20, 1827. (Marshall MSS).

Report says the king and Boki bought the cargo and are to pay sandalwood therefor immediately. The ship proceeds direct to Canton and will return as speedily as possible. I am afraid we shall never get any more pay for old debts.⁹

And John C. Jones says:

... the English ship *Tinmouth* . . . has brought a cargo to this place from the house of Robinson & Co. of Canton. The cargo is not of the first quality but Govr. Poki has bought the whole and opened a retail shop in the Wooden House which formerly stood on the point, which is now removed directly back of our house and has been fitted up in the most elegant style at a cost of no less than 4000 dollars. How Poki is to pay for this Cargo is hard to determine. Our *Friend* Charlton has the Consignment. I think myself there will be a long tail to it, all the chiefs are much dissatisfied with the Governor. I think he has got himself into a scrape! He has paid me since you left [i.e. over a period of six months] all that he was indebted and for articles which he purchased afterwards about 400 pickuls. he now owes us on the *Neo* voyage about 500 pks. which is ready at Whymaah. Had not the English ship arrived we should have made an elegant voyage in the *Neo*, as it is shall do well.¹⁰

Somewhat later in the year (1827) Boki opened a hotel in the same building in which his store was located, giving it the name "Blonde Hotel". A certain Eugene Sullivan had charge of this hostelry from December, 1827, to December, 1829. The building used by the Governor for his store and hotel was one that had been given to him by Kaahumanu. It was a two-story wooden building with a balcony in front and had been occupied by Lord Byron while he was in Honolulu in 1825. The name that Boki bestowed on the establishment came, naturally, from the British frigate *Blonde*, in which he and the other survivors of King Liholiho's party had returned from England.¹¹

We have no means of knowing very definitely how successful the Governor's store and hotel proved to be. It is quite likely, however, that the competition of other similar establishments prevented the realization of very large profits. At any rate we find Boki the next year seeking new markets. Early in June, 1828, he entered into an agreement with Thomas Meek, master of the brig *Chinchilla*, and George Marina, master of the brig *Tamorolanu*, for a trading voyage

⁹ Thrum's *Annual*, 1901, p. 79.

¹⁰ Jones to Dixey Wildes, Oahu, July 20, 1827. (Marshall MSS).

¹¹ C. S. Stewart, *Visit to the South Seas* (New York, 1831), II, 115; Eugene Sullivan to J. C. Jones, Feb. 9, 1839 (Archives of Hawaii, F. O. & Ex.); Wm. Downes to Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy, Valparaiso, Oct. 26, 1832 (Captains' Letters, Navy Department, Washington).

to the Russian settlements in Alaska. By this agreement it was provided

that the said Brig Tamorolanu being laden with a quantity of salt and other articles on freight, (not herein mentioned) the two last contracting parties do hereby engage to conduct the said vessel . . . unto Norfolk Sound . . . and there dispose of the salt for the interest of all concerned and to the best advantage; and then load the said Brig with spars, saw logs & firewood, . . . together with as much fish as can be procured, and having so laden the said Brig to return with all convenient speed to these Sandwich Islands.

For and in consideration of which, the said Thomas Meek and George Marina are to receive one half the proceeds of the Salt, and freight to Norfolk Sound, and one half the spars and other articles which may be brought from thence to this Island of Wahoo. . . .¹²

At about the same time or a few months later, Boki fitted out and dispatched the brigs *Ainoa* and *Kamehameha* to Manilla and Canton in charge of the chief Manuia. Among the articles sent to the Chinese market in this venture were about a thousand seal skins and five or six hundred piculs of sandalwood. While fitting out the expedition Boki borrowed some \$800 from Richard Charlton. At Canton the *Ainoa* was sold at auction. From the fragmentary information we have about this venture it appears that Manuia made purchases in Canton to the amount of about \$1200 in excess of the avails of the voyage and consequently had to borrow money on drafts of the Sandwich Islands government or of Governor Boki.¹³

Boki embarked upon still another trading enterprise during this year 1828 or in the early part of 1829, a consignment of goods sent to Tahiti for sale in charge of a native Hawaiian. There is some reason for thinking that this consignment may have been taken to Tahiti in the brig *Ainoa* while the latter vessel was on her way to China. Rev. C. S. Stewart, chaplain of the U. S. Ship *Vincennes*, on his visit to Tahiti in August, 1829, found a little shop which had been set up by Boki's agent "for the disposal of Chinese goods, blank books, stationery, slates, pencils, &c., and various articles of hardware,

¹² The original agreement, dated June 9, 1828, is in the Archives of Hawaii, Hist. & Misc.

¹³ Eliab Grimes to Josiah Marshall, Oahu, July 20, 1828 (Marshall MSS); R. Charlton to the King, March 11, 1840 (Archives of Hawaii, F. O. & Ex.); Account Sales Charges and Net Proceeds of the Brig Ennore [*Ainoa*] Sold this day at Public Auction by Markurich & Lane on account of the Sandwich Island Government by Order of General Manuia, their representative here, Macao, Jan. 1, 1829 (Archives of Hawaii, F. O. & Ex.); Colonel Manuia in account current with Robertson Cullen & Co., Canton, April 13, 1830 (Archives of Hawaii, Hist. & Misc., Marin Papers). The brig *Ainoa* was commonly called the *Inore* by the foreign traders. It is possible that the *Kamehameha* did not go to China, although two of the foregoing references speak of her as being fitted out for China.

all in demand here, and purchased for cocoanut oil and arrowroot." Stewart adds: "It is not believed, however, from the character of the agent, that this attempt in commercial enterprise will prove very profitable to the governor."¹⁴ It may be this enterprise that William Sumner refers to in the statement of his services to the Hawaiian government.

On May 21st, 1829, Governor Boki gave me charge of the brig *Neo*, bound for Tahiti, to recover a cargo of goods sent to that place by a chief named Kamanohu, which cargo, at that time, was supposed to be lost. I accordingly proceeded on the voyage and on arrival at Tahiti found the cargo above alluded to had been sold, and that the proceeds were likely soon to be squandered away by Kamanohu. I remonstrated with him and after much persuasion and exertion to buy a full cargo of coconut oil, a quantity of wood for furniture, etc., with the money he then had, but which very shortly would have been expended by him in drunkenness and profligacy. This oil I had to bring in bamboos, having neither cooper nor casks on board. I arrived back here September 23rd, 1829.¹⁵

While engaged in these trading ventures, Governor Boki was also attempting, with the aid of some of his foreign friends, to run a sugar plantation on the island of Oahu. There is not space here to go into the details of that affair. It is sufficient to say that it was a failure.

Whatever Boki's object may have been in embarking upon these various enterprises, the immediate effect was to interfere with the payment of the old debts and to increase his personal obligations. In October, 1829, the U. S. Ship *Vincennes* (Captain W. B. Finch) arrived at Honolulu on a friendly visit which continued somewhat over a month. The American traders requested his aid in obtaining a new settlement of the old debts. A conference was held and on November 2 the King, Governor Boki, Kaahumanu, and other chiefs signed two notes in settlement of the claims: one for 4,700 piculs of sandalwood at seven dollars per picul (this being the amount still unpaid of the debts acknowledged in 1826); and one for 2,165 piculs of sandalwood (this being the amount still due on the brig *Kamehameha*, which had been purchased by the King in February, 1828). At seven dollars per picul, the face value of these notes was \$48,000.¹⁶

¹⁴ Stewart, op. cit., II, 20f.

¹⁵ Thrum's *Annual*, 1907, p. 71.

¹⁶ A full account, with copies of all the documents, is in Captain Finch's Cruise in the U. S. S. *Vincennes*, Navy Department archives. See also Stewart, op. cit., II, 211f. The original of one of the notes (the larger one) is in the Archives of Hawaii, F. O. & Ex.

Of this amount, Boki as governor of Oahu would be held responsible for the payment of one-fourth. Since this took account only of old debts to American traders, Boki in addition was faced with the obligation to pay his personal debts growing out of his recent trading speculations and certain political activities which we have not referred to, much of this personal debt being due to Richard Charlton and other English traders. The outlook was made more discouraging by the fact that sandalwood was now very scarce, and most of what remained was of poor quality so that it was now reckoned at only seven dollars per picul, whereas in 1826 it had been reckoned at ten dollars.

But to Boki's way of thinking, the old saying that it is darkest just before the dawn must have seemed demonstrated just at this moment, for in this very month of November, 1829, a ship arrived at Honolulu from Sydney, New South Wales, with a report that sandalwood in abundance had been found on the island of Erromanga in the New Hebrides group. To understand how such a report would be received, it is necessary to notice the history of Pacific Ocean trade in that period. For thirty years sandalwood had been one of the principal exports from the islands within the ocean and had brought wealth to those engaged in the trade (as well as occasional disaster). The trade had been carried on first in Fiji (at its height 1805-1815) and then in Hawaii (at its height 1815-1825). The report about sandalwood in the New Hebrides was true, as later developments proved. It had been discovered there about 1825, but since trade in the south Pacific was carried on chiefly by ships from Salem, Massachusetts, and from Sydney, very few of which ever came to Hawaii, it is not strange that the report did not reach here until 1829. In this trade, which was one of exploitation, the greatest profits came to those who were first in the field. The people of Hawaii were well acquainted with the details of the business. Looked at in this light, Boki's decision to send an expedition to Erromanga and the speed and extent of his preparations—the whole enterprise, in fact—loses much of that rash and desperate character which is commonly ascribed to it, and is seen to have been a rational proceeding; though it may be conceded that there was some mismanagement in connection with it.

- It is not my purpose to give an account of Boki's famous expedi-

tion. The details of it, so far as they can be ascertained, are set out in various places.¹⁷ The expedition was a complete and horrifying failure, a disaster without parallel in the whole recorded history of these islands. When Boki went on board the good brig *Kamehameha* and sailed away from Honolulu in December, 1829, he stepped forever off the stage of Hawaiian history together with more than four hundred of his followers. But there are some points in connection with the enterprise which may be worth noting.

Though the adventure was planned by Boki, it seems to have had the approval of King Kamehameha, who was perhaps more mature than his age (sixteen years) would imply. There exist in the Archives of Hawaii two documents connected with this affair and both of them bear the signature of the King as well as that of Governor Boki. This suggests that Boki did not at first intend to accompany the expedition, since it is entirely improbable that the King would favor such a step. One of these documents, dated November 30, 1829, is an agreement or contract with Thomas Blakesley who apparently went on the expedition as sailing master of the *Kamehameha*; it provides that Blakesley shall receive \$4,500 in case the venture is a success. Blakesley on his part avows "that Sandalwood may be got sufficient to render a profit to the Undertakers." From this it may be inferred that he was the person who brought the report from Sydney.

The other document is more interesting. It is addressed to the commander of the *Karimoku* (*Becket*) and reads literally as follows:

You having the Command of our Vessell of War the *Karimoku* will proceede in Company and under the Directions of James [sic] Blakesley Comander of the Brig *Tameahamea* to Certain Islands in the South Seas which are now in an Uncultivated State and prevail on the Inhabitants to Except of our protection by them taking the oath of alegiance and allowing our colours to be hoisted and for them to Conider themselves under our protection to have all the previlladeges of our Subjects at the Sandwich Islands and Should any vessell or people molest them or making war on them you will render them all the assistance in Your power the Same as if the made war against us at the Sandwich Islands and in Case of Capturing any Vessell that are at war against those people you will put Sufficient people on bord and send her with all Speed to Oahu for Our adjudication

¹⁷ See, for example, the account in Bingham, *Residence . . . in the Sandwich Islands*, 361-362; Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands*, 288-290; Manley Hopkins, *Hawaii* (2 ed.), 222-225; *Polynesian*, Aug. 22, 1840; *Missionary Herald*, XXVII, 121-122 (by Levi Chamberlain); a brief account in Kuykendall, *History of Hawaii*, 129-130.

You will also Receive on bord our Ambasadore [blank] who will proceed with you to the above Islands and there you will abide by any future orders you may receive from him.

Tamehameha 3rd
Governor Boki

(Seal)
(Seal)

If these documents are authentic (and the misspelled words do not prove a lack of authenticity), we have here an early antecedent of that grand policy of a Polynesian confederation which had some fascination for so practical a man as Robert Crichton Wyllie in the middle of the century and which came to a serio-comic climax in the reign of Kalakaua under the guidance of Walter Murray Gibson.

In view of the ill-success which attended Boki's efforts, one might judge that he had little or no business ability. There is some evidence to the contrary. The fact that he was appointed to the governorship of the island of Oahu (commercially the most important in the group) by Kamehameha I, who was a shrewd judge of men, is in itself of some significance. On Saturday, October 31, 1829, Captain Finch of the U. S. Ship *Vincennes* had a private conference with the King and Governor Boki on matters of business. Stewart says of this conference:

The interview continued the greater part of the day; and, on returning to the ship in the evening, he [Captain Finch] expressed great regret, that I could not have been with him. The development of native intellect, and evidences of a capacity for the management of financial and governmental affairs, exhibited on this occasion, he considers decidedly the most interesting that have yet come under his notice.

He was greatly delighted with the dignified and businesslike manner in which the king, as well as Boki, entered upon the exposition of their commercial relations; and with the intelligence and ability of both, in the discussion of the subject, during the interview.¹⁸

Boki's lack of success was no doubt due in part to his lack of skill in commercial manipulations, but his failures and his disastrous end are to be ascribed in no small degree to fortuitous circumstances over which he had very little control. His lack of skill is not surprising in view of the fact that trade was comparatively a new thing to the Hawaiian; whereas it was bred into his American and British competitors.

¹⁸ Stewart, op. cit., II, 211-212.

IV

The reference already made to the contract of June 9, 1828, between Governor Boki and Captains Thomas Meek¹⁹ and George Marina suggests the existence of a partnership between the two last named. We are here interested only in Marina, but his activities in this period are bound up with those of Captain Meek. We do not know when the partnership was formed. When we first become acquainted with it, in 1828, the concern was operating two vessels, the brig *Chinchilla* and the brig *Kamahalolani*,²⁰ apparently in a general trading and freighting business to various part of the Pacific. Their primary interest was probably in the South Seas trade, which consisted in the collection of *bêche-de-mer* or trepang, pearl-shell, tortoise-shell, coconut oil, sandalwood, and other products of the tropical islands and reefs, which found their principal market in China.²¹

In the early part of August, 1830, the two brigs arrived at Honolulu from the South Seas, the *Kamahalolani* under command of Marina and the *Chinchilla* under command of Meek. One or both of the vessels had on board some natives of Wallis Island.²² About the operations of Marina and Meek from the fall of 1830 to the spring of 1832 we have fairly detailed information, derived mainly

¹⁹ Captain Thomas Meek was a New England man who as early as 1811 was engaged in the fur trade along the northwest coast of America. Later he was a resident of the Hawaiian Islands. He died in Marblehead, Mass., in 1840, at the age of 60 years. He must not be confused with Captain John Meek, a somewhat younger man, who lived in Honolulu for many years and died there in 1875 at a very advanced age.

²⁰ This vessel is variously called *Kamahalolani*, *Kamalolani*, *Kamoholelani*, *Kamoralana*, *Tamorolana*, *Tamorolanu*, and *Tamahourelanne*. I have seen all of these spellings, and doubtless there are others. The spelling used in the text seems to be the one preferred by Mr. Thos. G. Thrum.

²¹ *Old Slade*, cited below, says (p. 49) that in "the Kamoralana, a brig belonging to the government of the Sandwich Islands [Marina] had boxed-hauled it along the Feejee Islands, and others in the vicinity, for three years", prior to 1831.

²² This is an inference from the following data. In a *List of Arrivals* (Carter Library, Hawaiian Collection, No. 334) the *Kamoholelani*, Geo. Marine, is set down as arriving from the "S. Sea Islands" on August 2, 1830, and the *Chinchilla*, Meek, is set down as arriving from "Fanning's island &c." on August 4. Mrs. G. P. Judd, in her journal (*Fragments*, IV, 39) under date August 4, 1830, says: "Kinau tells me this evening that she has seen the natives from the Feejee Islands today," and then goes on to tell something about them. Later on (p. 51) Mrs. Judd writes, under date September 29, 1830, "We have just had a visit from the natives from the Feejee Islands," and she gives some account of the interview. Though they are spoken of as natives of the "Feejee Islands," Mrs. Judd says (p. 52), "They expect to return soon to their own island the name of which they call Oea;" this is probably Uea or Uvea, which is Wallis Island. Knowledge of South Seas geography was rather vague at that period. We know, from the books cited below, that Marina at least had been at Wallis Island as well as the Fijis. It is much more likely that he would take on natives of Wallis Island than natives of the Fiji Islands; the latter had a very murderous reputation. Wallis Island is not very far from the Fiji group.

from two small books, now very rare, written or dictated by two men who were participants in much of this history. It will be worth while to give some account of these two books and their authors.

The earlier of the two is entitled *Old Slade; or, Fifteen Years Adventures of a Sailor*.²³ Slade's story is briefly as follows:

He was born in New Hampshire in 1807 and was well brought up, but from an early age had a strong inclination to go to sea. About 1828, when he had scarcely attained his majority, he left home and shipped as a sailor on the whaling ship *Canton* of New Bedford, bound for the Pacific Ocean. In this ship, Slade visited the Hawaiian Islands in November, 1829. He was at Maui, undoubtedly at Lahaina, when the U. S. sloop of war *Vincennes* arrived at that port on November 7, 1829,²⁴ and he was at Honolulu while Governor Boki was getting the *Kamehameha* and the *Becket* ready for his famous expedition to Erromanga.²⁵ From here he went on to the sperm whale fishing grounds off the coast of Japan, and returned to Honolulu in March, 1830. He then left the *Canton* and remained on shore about eight months for the sake of his health.²⁶ At this point he joined a trading venture gotten up by Captain George Marina and the rest of his book is an account of his experiences while serving as Marina's clerk. *Old Slade* reads like a fantastic bit of South Seas romancing, but the main incidents are corroborated by the book mentioned in the next paragraph and by scattered fragments of evidence from still other sources.

The second book, entitled *Wreck of the Glide, with Recollections of the Fijiis, and of Wallis Island*,²⁷ is an account of the adventures of James Oliver, a member of the crew of the ship *Glide*,

²³ *Old Slade; or, Fifteen Years Adventures of a Sailor*: including a residence among cannibals on Wallace Islands, and sketches of other parts of the north and south Pacific Oceans. Edited by Charles W. Denison, editor of the "Sheet Anchor." [Stories of the Sea. Number I.] (Boston: Published by John Putnam, 81 Cornhill. 1844. Pp. 108.)

²⁴ *Old Slade*, 37; Captain Finch's Cruise in the U. S. S. *Vincennes*, Navy Department archives. The whaleship *Canton* is included in a "List of Vessels found at Lahaina by the U. S. S. *Vincennes*, and arrivals after her entrance. November 7th, 1829."

²⁵ *Old Slade*, 39. This was just at the end of November and beginning of December, 1829.

²⁶ *Old Slade*, 39, 41f. In the *List of Arrivals* cited above, note 22, the date of the *Canton's* arrival is given as March 19, 1830.

²⁷ *Wreck of the Glide, with Recollections of the Fijiis, and of Wallis Island*. (New York and London: Published by Wiley & Putnam. 1848. Pp. 203.) An earlier edition, with slightly different title, contains only the first 122 pages. The part which relates directly to our subject begins on page 123.

which sailed from Salem in May, 1829, on a voyage to the South Pacific. The principal object of the *Glide* was to obtain *bêche-de-mer* from the Fiji Islands for the China trade. The ship arrived among the Fijis, by way of New Zealand and the Friendly Islands, in October, 1829. An interesting account is given of the Fiji Islands and islanders, of the dangers of navigation in that group, and of the manner of obtaining and curing the *bêche-de-mer*. Having obtained a cargo (a thousand piculs of *bêche-de-mer* and a small quantity of tortoise-shell and sandalwood), the *Glide* sailed in April, 1830, for Manila, where the cargo was sold to Chinese merchants. The ship then returned to the Fiji Islands by way of Hawaii and while engaged in obtaining her second cargo was driven on a reef in a storm, March 21, 1831, and was speedily reduced to a mass of wreckage. The crew escaped, found temporary shelter among the cannibals, and were eventually taken off by other ships which traded in the group. The author of this book, James Oliver, and some of his companions were rescued two months after the wreck by the schooner *Harriet*, of which George Marina²⁸ was part owner and on which he was at the time acting as linguist and trading master. From this point the *Wreck of the Glide* supplements *Old Slade* in giving us the story of Marina's operations and carries that story along to its tragic conclusion. Oliver's book is more soberly written than *Old Slade* and gives the impression of being a reliable narrative.

Slade gives the beginning of the story. Of the inception of the enterprise and his own connection with it, he says:

My sojourn at the Sandwich Islands, after I left the Canton, continued about eight months. I was employed there quite variously: sometimes at writing, sometimes in public houses, sometimes taking account of the cargoes of ships. A few weeks were spent in charge of one of the largest hotels at the islands. It was at this establishment that I heard for the first time of a contemplated expedition to the Fejee Islands. My curiosity was all aroused anew. The impulse of my sailor nature kindled itself afresh. . . . Mr. Marinna, a Spaniard, was the originator of the enterprize. It was designed to traffic with the Fejee men. There was a good chance with the natives in the trade in Beche de la mar, tortoise shell, pearl shell, clubs, spears, and warlike implements. By his representations several Americans, myself among the number, were induced to engage in the affair. . . . My connexion with Mr. Marinna was quite intimate. Every day brought me to his house, and in close conversation. He had procured for us superior vessels, which were then fitting out. He invited me to go as his assistant—offering me

²⁸ Oliver spells the name "Maninni". We cannot be sure just what is the correct spelling of the name. I have used the form "Marina" because that is the form used in the contract of June 9, 1828.

one half his private avails of the voyage. The consent of the remainder of the owners was easily procured. My discharge from the hotel followed, and in a few days I was again snugly on shipboard—as cozy and as comfortable as you please. The vessel I joined was the schooner *Harriot Blanchard*²⁹—built in Boston, but carried out in pieces in the ship *Hoqua*, and set up at the islands, at Robinson's ways. The captain of the *H. Blanchard* was Levi Young, of Maine—formerly chief officer of the brig *Owyee*, Captain Dominus. . . . Our crew was a 'Dutch one'—that is, made up of all nations. . . . The vessel was well found in every thing. So also was our consort, the brig *Chinchilla*, Captain Thomas Meek, of Barnstable. There were about sixty men in the expedition, all told—as daring a set of fellows as ever snuffed salt water.³⁰

John C. Jones was the Honolulu agent for the concern. The plan was for the *Harriot Blanchard*, with George Marina in general charge of the enterprise, to proceed to the south and begin operations in the collection of products of the tropical islands. The *Chinchilla*, in the meantime, was to go to China with a cargo of furs and sandalwood then on hand and to bring back in exchange a cargo suitable for the trade in the Pacific. With this plan in view the two vessels sailed from Honolulu, probably some time in November, 1830. Let us follow the *Harriot Blanchard* as she dips down into the blue waters of the southern sea. Her first place of call is Fanning Island. Of this island, or cluster of islets, Slade gives a brief description and a story that is worth preserving:

This is a beautiful group, densely covered with cocoa-nut trees, down to the very brink of the sea. The land lies in a splendid lagoon, but it is so low that you are upon it, sometimes, before you are aware of it. When it rains the soil is so completely flooded, that it looks like a fresh lake in the midst of the ocean. Regiments of land crabs—called by sailors red-coats—are filed along the shore. As you approach they generally disappear in their holes; but sometimes are a serious inconvenience to foot travellers.

A sailor, a low fellow who had been aid to the cook, went on shore here one day. He was as dirty as a man could well be. His jacket was filled with grease, and his face and hands were not much better. In this rig he laid down on the beach to take a drunken snooze. He was soon snoring away, in the miserable sleep of the drunkard, at the rate of thirteen knots. Wandering alone, as usual with me, I descried the sleeper. I was struck with amazement. The land crabs were tackled to his jacket in a way that hove me all aback. One sleeve was off, and at that they were nibbling like a troop of rats at a country cheese. Seizing a stone, and throwing it at his feet, the sand flew like a shower in his face. He started up in a fright, shaking off the loose crabs, and lifting up from the ground a multitude that

²⁹ This is undoubtedly the *Harriet* of Oliver's narrative. Oliver gives the following description of the schooner: "She was of about sixty tons burthen, of beautiful proportions, and had a large well furnished cabin. From her after port-holes projected several loaded cannon. She was also well provided with small arms. Drawing not more than seven feet of water, she was much more suitable for these dangerous waters [of the Fiji Islands] than larger vessels." (*Wreck of the Glide*, 123f.)

³⁰ *Id.* Slade, 42-44.

very affectionately clung to him. I hid myself from him in the bush, keeping the secret until we arrived on ship-board. We had then abundance of fun with the case. Poor old Josh! He came to be spoken of by all hands as the sailor who liked to have been eaten up by crabs! It was a lesson to him, however; and should be a caution to all toppers who lie down on the beach of Fanning's Islands.³¹

The next stop is at the Navigator Islands (Samoa); from this group the vessel passes on to Wallis³² Island. Marina has been here before, and Slade gives a glowing picture of the typical South Seas welcome extended to them on their arrival. That evening, in a conversation with Slade, Marina announced his intention to purchase one of the islands, and on the following day the bargain was concluded with the native chiefs, the price paid consisting of one dozen long knives, one dozen large axes, one dozen small axes, one dozen jack-knives, one dozen red shirts, seven pieces cotton cloth, one hundred and fifty large and small china looking glasses, seven pieces blue dungaree, seven pieces Nankeen, fifty Owhywee kapas, five pounds large blue beads, and five pounds of small variety beads. By this transaction, whether or not the natives understood it as a bona fide sale, Marina gained control of a small island facing the entrance to the harbor and not far distant from the main island.³³ "But," says Slade, "it was not our intention to confine ourselves to this spot. We purchased it for the purpose of carrying on our trade with the more extensive and populous islands to better advantage. It was the depot for our vessel and cargo. We had instructions to carry on traffic as long as possible, and procure all the beche de la mar that could be obtained. As fast as cargoes should be procured, we intended to ship them in the Chinchilla to China. . . . My office was assistant trading master to Mr. Marina. Here my business experience came into good play. Mr. Marina was poorly versed in writing and figures, so that he relied on me exclusively. I tried several times to learn him to write, but he was a dull scholar. It seemed as if his mind was wandering over the ocean continually, dwelling on scenes of danger and blood."³⁴

³¹ *Ibid.*, 44-45.

³² Slade spells it "Wallace." Wallis Island is an atoll composed of nine islands and a number of islets enclosed within one reef, and with a ship passage into the lagoon.

³³ *Old Slade*, 45-68; Cf. *Wreck of the Glide*, 128, 156. Oliver says Marina got permission to occupy part of this small island about the end of 1829, but the transaction here described took place about the end of 1830.

³⁴ *Old Slade*, 62f.

During the next few weeks a little village sprang into existence on the island. The cargo of the *Harriot Blanchard* was brought on shore and stored in a row of native huts. A large two story building was erected, half dwelling house, half fortress, equipped with cannon and small arms and provisions. An immense smoke house and a store house for the *bêche-de-mer* were built, and a group of grass huts for the fishermen and workmen. All of this being done, the business of collecting *bêche-de-mer* was begun and prosecuted with moderate success for several months.

It had evidently been intended that the *Harriot Blanchard* should remain at Wallis Island until the *Chinchilla* returned from China, but the time having elapsed within which the brig was expected to arrive, it was decided that Marina should make a trading voyage to the Fiji Islands in the former vessel, leaving Slade in charge of the establishment at Wallis Island. A comparison of the two books we are following leads to the conclusion that it was during this voyage, on May 22, 1831, that Marina picked up James Oliver and his companions of the ill-fated *Glide*. Shortly after the rescue of these men and after having recovered a considerable amount of property belonging to the *Glide*, the *Harriet*³⁵ returned to Wallis Island, arriving there on June 29. In the meantime the *Chinchilla* had arrived from China by way of Honolulu and was riding peacefully at anchor in the harbor; but Captain Meek had begun to be apprehensive over the prolonged absence of Marina.³⁶

The two vessels soon set out on new trading voyages, the *Chinchilla* with Marina on board going to the Fijis and the *Harriet* sailing to the Marian Islands. Oliver remained at Wallis Island and his narrative gives an interesting description of the island and its inhabitants. Slade continued in charge of the establishment there and his book gives a rather melodramatic account of his experiences. After about four months absence, the brig and the schooner returned and then, apparently, remained for several weeks at Wallis Island. The business had not been running any too smoothly at that place. The natives had become restive under enforced labor and the high-handed proceedings of Marina and Slade. There were signs of revolt and

³⁵ I. e. *Harriot Blanchard*.

³⁶ This paragraph and the preceding one are based on *Old Slade*, 68-80; *Wreck of the Glide*, 123-128.

Marina decided to strike a decisive blow before matters became worse. After a hard fight, in which Marina was aided by some volunteers from the whaleship *Pusey Hall*, the native king and his people were defeated and reduced to practical slavery.³⁷

Soon after this battle, the *Chinchilla* sailed once more to the Fiji Islands, Oliver going as a passenger.³⁸ A few weeks later, the *Harriet* returned to Hawaii and Slade took passage in that vessel to Honolulu. Marina remained at Wallis Island.³⁹ In the Archives of Hawaii there is an unsigned draft of a letter, in Spanish, undoubtedly written by Francisco de Paula Marin, father of George Marina, in which the recent happenings at Wallis Island are referred to. The letter says:

I also give you the information that my son's schooner has arrived from the island of Vea [Wallis Island] and the islands of Fiji ("filli") . . . My son has remained as king of the island of Vea, since he had to make war on them and conquered them.⁴⁰

The remainder of the story is told by Oliver, from whose book the following extracts are taken:

The *Chinchilla* . . . after three days' pleasant passage, arrived at Soma-Soma, one of the Fijis. Here we found the steward of the *Glide*, and several Kanakas, whom Maninni had left, some weeks before, upon the island, to take care of his buildings. . . .

It was declared in my hearing by a chief, that the natives had conspired to destroy Maninni, should he return to the Fijis. Had Maninni come to this island with us, we should undoubtedly have been involved in a common massacre.

The second week after our arrival, we encountered a severe storm [in which the *Chinchilla* lost her anchors.] . . . When the storm was over, we were surprised to find ourselves altogether free from the islands, having drifted two hundred miles.

We immediately bent our course back to Wallis Island, to procure ground-tackling. On arriving, we sent a boat to Maninni's island for anchors, and waited outside the port until they were brought to us. Two American whale-ships were at anchor in the harbor, some of whose officers and crew presently came aboard, and informed us of what had occurred on Wallis Island, whilst we were away.

The natives had borne with patience the many indignities which were heaped upon them, and were waiting calmly for an occasion of revenge. One day, just before sunset, an American ship approached the harbor, and

³⁷ *Wreck of the Glide*, 128-162 (account of the battle, pages 159-162); *Old Slade*, 81-98 (account of the battle, pages 93-97).

³⁸ *Wreck of the Glide*, 163.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 167, 170.

⁴⁰ Archives of Hawaii, Hist. & Misc., Marin Collection, April 8, 1832.

Maninni, desiring to pilot her to an anchorage, in order to have at hand the utmost available aid, should the natives rise against him, ordered his boat to be brought to the beach. A party of Kanakas had obeyed his command, and were waiting for him to take his seat. Maninni had nearly reached the shore, when an armed native rushed out from his hiding-place, ran up stealthily behind Maninni, and, with one blow of an axe, severed his head from his body. The Kanakas could help neither their master nor themselves, and were soon despatched by other natives. The rest of the Kanakas, who were not of the boat's crew, eluded the fury of the savages, and, as they had opportunity, separated to other islands.

The news of Maninni's assassination flew swiftly over Wallis Island, and elevated the hearts of the people that had been depressed by servitude. It was to them a day of independence. Tradition will preserve among them the story of Maninni's apparent kindness, of his despotic sway, and violent death. . . .

Maninni's corpse was laid out in the building which he had occupied. A coffin was prepared for him by the carpenter of the *Glide*. The natives bore him to his grave, under a cluster of cocoa-nut trees, and, as they remembered his early benefits and subsequent injuries conferred upon them, they mingled with scorn of the usurper a generous pity for the man.

The intelligence was not wholly unexpected. Maninni had frequently been reminded of the danger of his overbearing treatment of the natives, and had been urged by Captain Young to leave the island for Oahu in the *Harriet*, which sailed a few days before the massacre. He was deaf to remonstrance, and suffered the dreadful penalty. . . .

The *Chinchilla* soon bore away to the Navigator Group, and I bade farewell to Wallis Island, recollecting with joy and sorrow the hospitality and the tragedies of which it had been alternately the scene. . . .

The *Chinchilla*, having remained here [at the Navigator Group] several days, sailed. While passing the island of Boke, we were informed by an English whaler which we met, that a whaleship, in coming to anchor in a harbor of Fanning's Island, had struck a rock and sunk. Captain Meek sailed for that place, with the hope of recovering a part of her cargo.

On arriving, we found that the ship had sunk in five or six fathoms' water, three miles up the harbor. Her outline only could be discerned. Our Kanakas, a part of those who had been in the employment of Maninni, were good divers. One of them dived down, and having been under water three minutes, (the time was observed by the second officer,) arose to the surface, holding a quadrant in both hands, as if about to take an observation. He said that he had descended to the cabin, opened a chest, and taken out the instrument. Two more then dived down to remove the "main hatch," but had time to remove only the tarpaulin that covered it. Two others next descended, and their greater success was presently announced by two full oil-casks, bounding completely out of the water. Not long after, twenty hogs-heads came tumbling up in rapid succession. They were locked together, and towed to the brig; and all hands hoisted them aboard. Thus, in several days, by diving, were broken out from the wreck three or four hundred barrels and hogsheads of oil. There was no room in the *Chinchilla* for more. . . .

Fanning's Island lies about two degrees north of the equator, is ten or fifteen miles around, and is apparently uninhabited; the only persons that we saw upon the island being ten or twelve Sandwich Islanders, who had come in some vessel, and had built three or four huts near the beach. No other dwellings or canoes were to be seen. The greater part of the island

seemed to be scarcely three feet above the level of the sea. The island is remarkable for its groves of cocoa-nut trees, whose immense number is accounted for by the sandy soil, and the uninterrupted growth of the fruit. The harbor, being nearly land-locked, is very smooth, but insecure for large vessels, on account of many rocks, just far enough below the surface to escape unnoticed by those who are unaware of their existence. The water is so clear, that one may see, amongst the coral on the bottom, myriads of fish of many kinds.

After staying here a fortnight, the Chinchilla sailed for the Sandwich Islands. Her progress was very slow, as she was very heavily laden.

April, 1832. In this month, the Chinchilla arrived at Oahu. The natives, on being told of Maninni's massacre, assembled in great numbers at the abode of his afflicted father, who, it was said, was bent upon avenging the violent death of his son, and for several hours expressed their grief by loud and passionate cries. Maninni's clerk, who had left Wallis Island in the Harriet a few days before the murder, appeared like an insane man. It was painful to converse with him; and when endeavors were made to moderate his grief, his eyes glared wildly, and either with clenched fist, or unsheathed sword brandished as if to ward off the assassin, he shouted aloud, "Maninni! Maninni!" and could not be consoled. One evening, in order to turn his attention from the painful subject that was wearing his mind, I persuaded him to accompany me to a religious service at the house of one of the missionaries. It was of no avail. His mind could be fixed upon nothing but "Maninni! Maninni!"⁴¹

This story, strange as it may be, is confirmed by a letter of Henry A. Peirce, one of the familiar figures in the mercantile history of Hawaii. Writing in the early part of June, 1832, to a correspondent in Boston, he says:

Capt Thomas Meek . . . has arrived from Feegee, Wallace & Fannings Islands.—George Marini & 15 other Natives of this Island were massacred at Wallace Island—Having began to be oppressive—soon after getting possession of the Island—the Natives rose upon them & put them all to death.—Meek brought 60 lb of Shell & some beach le Mar—and about 230 barrels of Sperm oil—which he got at Fannings Island from the wreck of Ship Harriett Capt Buckle (formerly of the Ship Daniel 4th)—lost upon that Island about a year since.—he has also brought part of her ground tackling, copper, rigging &c &c—all of [which] will help to bring up the losses of his Voyage. & which otherwise would be a very large sum.—

The Chinchilla is sold as she now lyes for \$4000. to Capt McDonall—payable by a draft on Dent & Co Canton,—I believe he intends to send her to New Zealand to be repaired which she requires very much.—Capt Meek is now like a fish out of water & thinks of & is trying to charter Schooner "New York" to go. "BECHO LE MAR" again!!⁴²

⁴¹ *Wreck of the Glide*, 163-171, passim. Maninni's clerk, referred to in the last paragraph, is, of course, Slade. His behavior on hearing of Maninni's massacre is such as one would expect after reading his book.

⁴² H. A. Peirce to J. Hunnewell, Oahu, June 11, 1832. (Hunnewell Papers, Harvard College Library.)

LAHAINA: THE VERSAILLES OF OLD HAWAII

By *Albert Pierce Taylor*

Lahaina—theme of the bards of ancient Hawaii and of poets of civilized Hawaii, favorite residence of kings and princes, chiefs and chiefesses, the half-way port in the Hawaiian archipelago, rendezvous of fleets of outrigger canoes bearing warriors on voyages of conquest; intellectual center of missionary influences after 1820; home of American leaders in promulgating the Word of God and defenders of the Faith and morals and raising the banner of Christ against the licentiousness of mariners from nations representing many flags; burial place of famous great men and women of Hawaiian blood; official residence throughout most of the long reign of Kamehameha III, called "The Good"; the hub of practical missionary educational effort at Lahainaluna, standing like a moral and uplifting sentinel upon the hills back of this interesting port—Lahaina has a background of ancient and modern history of unusual vividness.

Even today, Lahaina, other than Pearl Harbor, is the Hawaiian name most known at Washington when naval experts discuss the problems of offense and defense in the Pacific, and frequently refer to the "Lahaina Roads", which are the mobilizing waters for a large part of the American fleet.

The incident of the massacre of a hundred Hawaiians at Olowalu, near Lahaina, 139 years ago, (in 1790), had a more far-reaching effect upon the subsequent history of the Hawaiian Islands than most of us realize, for the act of the American merchant marine captain, Simon Metcalf, responsible for that wanton act, was the direct cause of Kamehameha I detaining a boatswain subsequently sent ashore from Metcalf's ship (*Eleanora*) at Hawaii, as well as the detention of another white man from the ship of Metcalf's son (*Fair American*) both of whom, John Young and Isaac Davis, became stalwart advisers, companions and collaborators in the conquest of the islands, welding them into an empire, developing the maritime and commercial interests and establishing a line of descendants who played important roles in the government.

Lahaina has always lain in the path of voyagers between Hawaii and Niihau. Some Hawaiians assert it was at Lahaina the first Polynesian voyagers landed from distant archipelagos. The early Hawaiians traveled in their great open canoes, craft that were magnificent in their proportions, capable of carrying seventy men. After the rediscovery of the Hawaiian Islands by Captain Cook—for there appears to be sufficient evidence, at least in Hawaiian traditions and legends, to warrant the assumption that foreigners saw these islands centuries before 1778—traders and explorers visited Hawaiian waters in search of water, provisions, firewood and other needs. They went to the Great Northwest and traded for furs, and then, returning to the Islands for refreshments, picked up sandalwood in trade for nails, cloth, guns, powder, furniture and apparel, and continued their voyages to China, the chief market for furs and sandalwood.

They called at Maui, as they did at Hawaii, but it was generally necessary that they should go to the islands where the king resided and there receive authority to carry on trade. Captain Cook landed on Kauai and Hawaii, but not on Maui. He saw the windward side of this island, but not Lahaina.

Decades before Lord Anson sailed across the Pacific in 1743, when he captured a Spanish galleon on which he found a map of the Pacific with a group of islands charted in about the Latitude but east of the Longitude of the Hawaiian Islands, which has since been a source of bitter controversy as to whether the Spanish did or did not actually visit these islands long before the English, and about the period when Kamehameha was born on the island of Hawaii, great events were happening and being recorded by the bards, those remarkable "word-of-mouth" historians on whom we depend for most of our data about ancient Hawaii.

In the sloping elevations back of Lahaina there was fought a battle in 1736. Warring Maui chiefs essayed to wipe out all rivalry. Bones of slain warriors were shown early missionaries when they made trips across the mountains through the Olowalu Pass, a treacherous, hard route which indicates in large measure the stalwart, muscled type of men they were in those primitive days. At that time Kamehameha-nui was king of Maui, later to be succeeded by Kahekili, with whom Kamehameha the Great warred constantly and finally, at the death of Kahekili, the Hawaiian conqueror swept across

Maui, then Molokai, and finally upon Oahu, in 1795, and there in the last spear-thrust at Nuuanu Pali, welded the islands into the empire which lasted 98 years.

In the ancient days each island was a separate kingdom, as separate as are or were the Samoan, Society and Tonga groups. Then, those of Hawaii were Hawaiians; of Maui, Mauians; of Oahu, Oahuans; of Molokai, Molokaians. As the conqueror swept on, the islands became Hawaiianized and the national identity of each island was absorbed in the empire and named for the Big Island whence Kamehameha had started.

Some historians give the origin of the name La-hai-na from the following words: "*La*", the sun, and "*Haina*", merciless. Quoting from a modern writer, J. N. K. Keola, a thin-haired chief who lived at Kauaula Valley, while going to and fro without a hat, felt annoyed at the effects of the scorching rays of the sun. He looked up and gazed into the heavens and cursed at the sun thus: "*He keu hoi keia o kala haina*" ("What an unmerciful sun".) The sun, however, did not stay its progress over the chief's head. But his words were not lost upon the people. They were heralded around Maui, and "*La-Haina*" is said, therefore, to have taken its name from this incident.

Andrew's dictionary, in the portion devoted to names of places, gives the translation as "Day of Cruelty". This is Thrum's version.

There are others who say that the original name was "*Lele*". "*Lele*" is usually the flying piece of a kuleana, that which is near the shore. As Lahaina is along the shore it is not difficult to sense the application of "*lele*" in this instance.

Kalaniopuu, king of Hawaii, who with Captain Cook, was to be a central figure in the unfortunate affair at Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii, on February 14, 1779, when the navigator lost his life, dispatched a fleet of canoes manned by warriors to Maui in 1776. Kahekili prevented a successful invasion. At Kakanilua, in the sandhills between Wailuku and the mill at Puunene, a battle was fought. The flower of the invading army was crushed. The famous Alapa Guard was wiped out almost to a man.

• Kalaniopuu died in 1782, his kingdom being given to his son

Kiwalao, and the custody of the war god placed in care of Kamehameha. A coalition was formed against Kamehameha. From 1782 to 1795 there was savage warfare. Kamehameha was halted now and then. He won victories and suffered defeats. Rival chieftains crossed his path. Taiana, who may be styled the "Benedict Arnold of Hawaii", because of his defection from Kamehameha at the time the famous War Council was held on Molokai in the spring of 1795 and crossed over to Oahu to join with King Kalanikupule of that island, was always a thorn in the side of Kamehameha, although Taiana was supposed to be one of his supporters.

It was not until 1790 that Kamehameha decided to make an end of the long war with the Maui chieftains. He is said to have transported 16,000 men to Maui in that year (and by coincidence this is the same number he took to Oahu in 1795). He landed at Kahului, and then, marshalling his men, sent them off towards Wailuku. According to some historians, Kamehameha looked after his battles as do generals of today, establishing his headquarters at a strategic point at the rear. John Young and Isaac Davis had only come into Kamehameha's entourage in that year. They became able and active corps commanders, and introduced artillery as part of Kamehameha's forces.

Kamehameha almost literally burned his bridges behind him. Like Napoleon, he also uttered a dramatic war-cry, flamboyant in its tenor—"Forward, forward, until ye taste the bitter waters (meaning death) for there is no retreat!"

Inspired with these flaming words the warriors leaped forth and crushed the Mauians. The victory came conclusively at Panawai-o-Iao.

Kalanikupule, conquered, became a fugitive, fled across the historic mountain trail to Lahaina and returned thence to Oahu. Five years later he was again a fugitive after the battle of the Nuuanu when he found cruel temporary shelter in the mountains, but was finally captured and put to death.

Kamehameha had a habit, after the conquest of a district or a kingdom, of taking the conquered chiefs into his train, thereby insuring himself that his own loyal men would keep sharp watch over

them and prevent conspiracies and rebellions. He moved his capital first from fertile Kailua to bleak Kawaihae, on Hawaii, for there, with his carefully guarded storehouses, the conquered ones were dependent upon the King for their support.

After the Maui conquest, he established a capital at Lahaina, having a residence there. It became a favorite rendezvous for many of his royal family, and especially for Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III. Within a few years after historic 1820 Honolulu became the most important port for warships, whalers, traders, etc. Official business of the monarchy increased and it was there that the American consular representative, Jones, and the English consul, Richard Charlton, established their official residences. The illustrious dead were placed in the royal tomb in Honolulu, which was then in the grounds adjoining those of Kekauluohi, and now only a mound directly in front of the Archives of Hawaii building. Lahaina continued to be the favorite residence of the king, and that meant of the queens of Kamehameha I and II, the great chiefs and chiefesses and men of note in the kingdom. La-Haina flourished as the *royal* capital, while Honolulu was the *business* capital.

The devastating wars of Kamehameha wrought havoc with Maui. Capt. Vancouver, the English navigator who first saw Hawaii as a midshipman in Captain Cook's squadron, and returned in 1792 as commander of the exploration ship *Discovery* and remained off and on until 1794, describes this coast as he saw it in 1794, when Kamehameha had pleaded with him to discuss peace on his behalf with the King of Oahu and Maui. He states that the taro patches were desolate and weedy. The canoes were in wretched state, as they were on Oahu. There was a general air of decay, and why not? For the able bodied men-at-arms of the chiefs were serving under their masters under the banner of their king.

Archibald Menzies, who was surgeon and naturalist on the *Discovery*, commanded by Vancouver, gives considerable space in his diary to what he saw on Maui and particularly at Lahaina. On March 17, Menzies accompanied Vancouver and a party of his officers, with two Niihau women, to see the village of Lahaina, "which", quoting, "we found scattered along shore on a low tract of land that was neatly divided into fields and laid out in the highest state of

cultivation and improvement by being planted in the most regular manner", etc. . . . "On our coming near the king's house, the greatest part of them separated from us, particularly the women, on account of the ground round it being tabooed.

"The royal residence was sheltered with beautiful spreading trees and cocoanut palms situated near some beautiful fish ponds with which it was more than half surrounded, though they were not all at this time in repair or filled with water. They were so contrived as to be filled or emptied at pleasure or in succession.

"Here we found Kahekili and some of his chiefs seemingly in deep consultation. He received us with cordiality, and on our expressing our being thirsty, after our walk, we were supplied with abundance of cocoanuts, the liquor of which we always found to be cool, pleasant and refreshing." The king also supplied their wants for eatables.

The party returned on board by dark, accompanied by some chiefs, and some fireworks were discharged from the ship providing entertainment for the island visitors. Kahekili and Kao both slept on board that night.

In this journal we learn of the violent temper possessed by Captain Vancouver, a temper displayed the following morning that caused Kahekili to speed out through a port hole, enter his canoe and paddle back to shore.

Menzies describes the anchorage at Lahaina as "good with smooth water and well sheltered from the prevailing trade winds by the high mountains of Maui, and in a great measure from all other accidental winds by the surrounding group of islands, viz.: Molokini, Kahoolawe, Lanai and Molokai, none of which are at a very great distance. It likewise possesses the advantage of an abundant supply of fresh water and every kind of vegetable refreshment, but hogs at this time were scarce. The scarcity of hogs was due to the ravages and devastations of the late wars on these islands, and to the great warlike establishment which Kahekili was obliged to have at this time upon them, to prevent their falling into the hands of Kamehameha, king of Hawaii."

Menzies at this time relates that Kamehameha in his invasion

of Maui and his conquest of that island, captured the Alii Moi of the island. She was taken prisoner to Hawaii but treated with every consideration due to her former rank, so that the natives prostrated themselves before her. She was Keopuolani, the tabu princess, then quite young, but who became Kamehameha's wife and in time was known as the "Queen Mother", the mother of Kamehameha II and Kamehameha III, she who was responsible, with her youngest son, for the breaking of the tabu and the emancipation of the women of Hawaii into a freedom never before known.

The battle of the Iao Valley was the last great engagement fought on the island of Maui, and thereby closes its actual military history. Thenceforward Maui was a peaceful isle, and opportunity was given its dwellers to develop their lands and, in general, to aid in the prosperity of the kingdom.

However, in 1802, the great Peleleu fleet of Kamehameha I, composed of large double outrigger canoes, built and assembled by order of Kamehameha at Kawaihae, Hawaii, in 1801, arrived at Lahaina, enroute to Kauai to lay that island under subjugation. The great fleet astonished the Mauiites, even as the great fleets of modern America, in rendezvous in the "Roads", have similarly given astonishment. That proposed invasion, however, came to nought.

In 1810, Kaumualii, king of Kauai, ceded his island, including Niihau, to Kamehameha, and the cession was the basis of a letter forwarded by authority of Kamehameha to the British Government, informing the British king that now Kamehameha had all the islands under his control.

Kamehameha resided at times at Lahaina, but mostly at Kailua, and died at the latter place in 1819. He was succeeded by his son Liholiho, as Kamehameha II, during whose reign, in 1820, the first American missionaries arrived from Boston were permitted by him to land and take up residence for a year, the group being separated, some remaining at Kailua, others going to Honolulu, and eventually a mission was established on Maui in 1823, at the special request of Keopuolani. Kamehameha II went to Lahaina in December, 1819, to reside, remaining until February, 1820.

It is now that we bring Lahaina into the new era, that of Chris-

tianity, and civilized law and order, the latter, of course, being the rigid standard of the missionaries, the wall which was raised as a barrier against the breaking of decent laws by visitors in ships, who seemed to have lived up to the axiom, that "Law and Order were left behind on rounding Cape Horn."

We have several interesting descriptions of Lahaina from this period on. The first might be said to be that of Rev. William Ellis, the English missionary who came to Hawaii at the request of the American mission to assist them in their contacts with the Hawaiians, as he was versed in the language of the residents of the Society Islands. The next might be credited to Rev. C. S. Stewart, who came as a missionary in 1823 on the ship *Thames*, from Boston, arriving April 25, 1823, and who again visited the Hawaiian Islands as chaplain of the U. S. frigate *Vincennes*. Rev. Mr. Stewart, assigned to the missionary station at Lahaina, arrived there May 31, 1823. He made his first visit to Lahaina in 1823 on the famous yacht *Cleopatra's Barge*, renamed by the king, *Haaheo o Hawaii*.

Another illuminating phase of Lahaina is that of 1831 when the Lahainaluna Seminary was organized, that institution which was destined to play an important part in the educational system in the islands, and from whose printing presses came so many remarkable books and pamphlets, especially in the comparatively new printed language of the Hawaiians.

Again, in 1844 appeared in "The Friend," the notes compiled by Robert Crichton Wyllie, the Scotchman, then connected with the British consulate, and who within a year was appointed minister of Foreign Relations holding that important post until 1865, one of the remarkable men who made unusual history in Hawaii.

In 1846 we have the view of Henry L. Sheldon, who sailed to Lahaina in the new yacht *Kamehameha III*, and, because she beat the king's old schooner *Hooikaika*, making the trip in 10 hours from Honolulu, she was bought. We also have the view in the 1840's of Gorham D. Gilman, whose reminiscences of old Hawaii are full of charm and fact.

Comes then another description of Lahaina in 1857, and still another in 1862, showing the gradual development of the port, its royal life, and then coming into modern times an inviting description

by Charles Warren Stoddard, whose poem dedicated to Lahaina is one of unusual beauty. This was penned about 1885.

Rev. Mr. Stewart on May 31, 1823, records in his diary the following:

The settlement is far more beautiful than any place we have yet seen on the Islands. The entire district stretching nearly three miles along the sea-side, is covered with luxuriant groves, not only of the cocoanut, the only tree we have before seen except on the tops of the mountains, but also of the breadfruit and of the kou . . . while the banana plant, kapa and sugar-cane are abundant, and extend almost to the beach, on which a fine surf constantly rolls. The picture presented is purely Indian in all its forms.

On coming to anchor Kalanimoku expressed his regret that there was no house at the disposal of himself or queen suitable for our accomodation; and wished us to procure a temporary residence, until houses could be provided for us by Keopuolani. Under the guidance of Mr. Loomis, Mr. Richards and myself accordingly landed for this purpose. We were soon met by Keoua, governor of Lahaina, to whom I delivered a letter of introduction from his friend Laanui, of Oahu, and proceeded in search of the plantation of Mr. Butler.

He describes the Butler enclosure as about a quarter of a mile directly in rear of the landing place. Mr. Butler tendered his best house for the use of the missionaries, men and women. He speaks of the thick, luxuriant breadfruit trees surrounding the cottages, and says it all seemed like paradise compared to the dreariness of Honolulu. On June 1, it being announced that Keopuolani was to meet the visitors, Mr. Stewart hastened to erect an altar upon the beach, "an altar to the true god", he records it, where only idols had before been raised for worship. He adds that "about 350 persons had encircled the tent pitched for the temporary accommodation of the queen in a grove of kou trees near a brick building now used as a store-house, but once the residence of the late king when he visited Maui."

What a galaxy of chiefs were living then at Lahaina. Schools established at the residences of the many chiefs and chiefesses—one at the house of Keoua, the governor; at that of Keopuolani and Hoapili, her husband; of the princess Nahienaena, sister of Kauikeaouli; of the young queen Kekauonohi, a wife of Liholiho; of Wahineopio, the sister of Kalanimoku; and Kehikili, her husband; of Kaiko and his wife Haaheo; and of the governor. The pupils were chiefs, mostly adults. Keopuolani was indefatigable to learn to read in her own tongue. Stewart tells of the return to Honolulu of Kalanimoku whose object in visiting Lahaina then "was to escort Keopuolani,

who, being the highest chief by blood in the nation, receives every mark of honor and affection from the government and people."

Stewart, after getting himself geographically located, records in his diary his impressions of Lahaina, as follows:

Lahaina is situated on the north-west end of Maui, and lies between two points projecting slightly into the ocean; one on the north and the other on the south, about two miles distant from each other. These, in their respective directions terminate the view of the beach.

The width of the district from the sea towards the mountain is from one-half to three quarters of a mile. The whole extent included within these boundaries is perfectly level and thickly covered with trees and various vegetation. . . . The breadfruit trees stand as thickly as those of an irregularly planted orchard, and beneath them are kalo patches and fish-ponds, 20 or 30 yards square, filled with stagnant water, and interspersed with kapa trees, groves of banana, rows of the sugar cane, and bunches of the potato and melon. . . . It scarcely ever rains, not oftener, we are told, than half a dozen times during the year, and the land is watered entirely by conducting the streams, which rush from the mountains, by artificial courses, on every plantation. Each farmer has a right, established by custom, to the water every fifth day.

The number of inhabitants is about 2,500. Their houses are generally not more than eight or ten feet long, six or eight broad, and from four to six high, having one small hole for a door, which cannot be entered but by creeping, and is the only opening for the admission of light and air. They make little use of these dwellings except to protect their food and clothing, and to sleep in during wet and cool weather and most generally eat, sleep and live in the open air under the shade of a kou, or breadfruit tree.

The land begins to rise rather abruptly about three-fourths of a mile from the sea, and towers into lofty mountains, three rude elevations of which, immediately east of Lahaina, are judged to be 4,500 or 5,000 feet above the level of the ocean. From the first swell of rising ground, almost to the summits of these mountains, there is nothing to be seen but the most drear sterility and sunburnt vegetation, intersected by gloomy ravines and frightful precipices. . . .

The south point of La-Haina, however, presents one subject of glorious meditation; the ruins of an Hei-au, or idolotrous temple. While wandering over this now confused heap of stones, I involuntarily shuddered at the thought that they had often been bathed in the blood of a human sacrifice; a fearful truth. . . . Yes, we confidently believe that the stifled shrieks of a devoted human victim will never again break on the midnight silence of these groves; . . .

On Wednesday, May 18, Mr. Stewart records that a messenger from the queen came, directing him and Mr. Richards to repair to the beach to make definite selection of a site for the missionary establishment. They found the timber already on the ground, and a large force of men from another district waiting to put it up. Keo-

puolani and Nahienaena both accompanied them to a site partially chosen by the missionaries. He says:

It is a bank a few yards from the sea, elevated about six feet above the level of the water, and at present promises greater retirement than any spot in the section of the district in which the queen wishes us to reside.

Then, at the word of command, the men began digging holes for corner posts, making each house 23 feet long and 15 wide with a space of 15 feet between them. The posts above ground were about five feet high. Horizontal posts were laid and lashed with "strings made from a small vine."

That evening the missionaries noticed a crowd near the residence of Keopuolani and going over saw that the hula-hula was under way. Stewart, himself a missionary of the so-called intolerant kind, had no harsh criticism of this dance, or the one, at least, he saw. He describes the various dancers, women and girls, the male beaters of calabashes, and adds: "The motions of the dance were slow and graceful, and, in this instance, free from indelicacy of action; and the song, or rather the recitative, accompanied by much gesticulation, was the character and praises of the queen and princess, who were compared to everything sublime in nature, and exalted as gods." And *that* is a description of the old hula as recorded by a missionary only three years after the first missionaries reach Hawaii in 1820. And even then, when Keopuolani saw the visitors she had the performance cease that prayers might be said.

True, Mr. Stewart found the life at Lahaina monotonous, as the June weather was a bit enervating and he speaks of a "stillness of desolation that drowns the spirits and destroys the elasticity both of body and mind."

Monday, June 23, 1823, was a memorable day in Lahaina, Stewart records: "The first humble temple for the worship of Him 'who dwelleth between the cherubims', ever founded between these dark mountains, has today been commenced." To the natives it was "Ke hale a ke Akua" and "ke pale pule".

By coincidence that evening they heard the sound of five cannon shots, the private signal of Kamehameha II, announcing his approach to the port. The missionaries accompanied the queen mother to the beach. The greetings between mother and son were affectionate.

Stewart says he scarce ever witnessed such an affectionate greeting as the king bestowed not only upon his mother but upon Wahineopio, the mother of his queen. "The king is a fine-looking man and graceful in his manners," says Stewart; "while gazing on him, the queen's heart seemed to float in her eyes, and every feature told a mother's joy. Naturally, that night was given over by the natives to extreme revelry. That *did* hurt Stewart and he records his feelings because of what he described as debauchery and riot. However, that evening on entering the enclosure of Keopuolani he found the queen and all his pupils awaiting him, as usual. This is his description of the great queen Keopuolani:

Never can we forget the appearance of Keopuolani. The countenance and manner of *no pious Christian mother* could have manifested more real anguish of spirit in witnessing the dissipation of a beloved son. As we approached, her eyes filled with tears, and with a voice almost inarticulate from emotions ready to overpower her, she lifted her hand, and pointing to the scene of intemperance and debauchery, exclaimed, "Pupuka, pupuka." ("Shameful, shameful"), and throwing herself backward with a convulsive sob, hid her face and her tears in a roll of kapa, against which she was reclining.

That was the licentiousness introduced by the white man, the foreigner, who had left law and order behind him at Cape Horn, and brought intemperance of a new kind into the islands, and drew these fine people into the meshes of a form of debauchery which never was completely controlled from the natives. However, the following day, on receiving a message that "he would die and go to the fire", it had such an effect that Stewart adds that he had ceased to dissipate.

Stewart describes how the tax was levied and collected on the Lahaina beach.

On July 4, Rev. William Ellis, the English missionary arrived at Lahaina from Oahu, accompanying the Queen, Kalakua, on his way to Hawaii.

August 21 was also a great day at Lahaina, for a great fleet of vessels entered the Roads. In them were Kaahumanu, the favorite queen of Kamehameha I, with King Kaumualii of Kauai; three brigs and two schooners, comprising the Kauai fleet. There were, in addition, other notable figures in Hawaiian history—Kalanimoku and suite, Naihe, the national orator, and his wife, the great chiefess

Kapiolani, she, who shortly was to make a historic walking tour around Hawaii, and, on the brink of Kilauea, to defy the goddess Pele in the name of Jehovah. Laanui and Namahana, Auna, the Tahitian chief and his wife, and others, accompanied the chiefs.

Rev. Hiram Bingham, the missionary stationed at Honolulu, was also present, and the following Sunday led the devotional exercises, his audience being unusually royal, the King and his queens, including Kamehamalu, being present.

The illness and death of Keopuolani was an outstanding event at Lahaina in 1823, in fact, throughout the kingdom. Messengers were sent to the outer islands calling the chiefs to assemble at Lahaina. The outbursts of grief when they came were touching. On Tuesday night, September 9, while the missionaries were at tea, he states—"We were alarmed by the hasty entrance of this man (a servant), exclaiming, "*Ua make loa Keopuolani*".—(Keopuolani is dead.) However, they learned that she was only more ill but would soon die. Mr. Richards and Mr. Stewart immediately hastened through the dark to the queen's house, and found it and the grounds crowded with great chiefs.

At her couch was Hoapili, her husband, the king and favorite queen, prince and princess, King Kaumualii, Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku. The queen, feeble, reached out her hand saying softly, "Aloha", adding "maikai, maikai", in expression of gratitude for the visit in the dark. She added, "Make make au i ke Akua" (I love God—and Great indeed is my God). A pilot boat was sent to Honolulu for Dr. Blatchley, who arrived in a few days and reported soon that the queen could not recover.

She was known to be the highest chief on the islands, and the missionaries, knowing the ancient custom of throwing off all restraint in paroxysms of grief at the death of such a high personage, prayed that something might happen to change the custom. While the missionaries were discussing this matter with John Jones, American consul, a native arrived, breathless, shouting, "The Queen is dead!" The missionaries hastily, and for obvious reasons, returned to their own enclosure. Excesses began, but just then Rev. Mr. Ellis ran to the enclosure with the news that the queen had merely

fainted. The chiefs were importuning him to baptize her immediately. Surrounding her couch Mr. Ellis proceeded to administer baptism.

Thus, at Lahaina, the highest chief in the land was received in to the host of Christian life. Within an hour she joined the Great Majority. It was only a year before that Keopuolani manifested interest in Christianity and entered fully into its spirit.

Lahaina came into unusual prominence in the Christian movement, and the conversion of Keopuolani, and the conferences held by her in this village of La-Hai-na, bore splendid fruit for the work of the mission. Minute guns were fired steadily and all vessels in the roadstead had their yards canted, and wore their colors at the half-mast.

On Tuesday, September 18, the body of the queen was deposited at 2 p. m. in a substantial mud-and-stone house, lately built by her order. This was the first Christian burial of a high chief that had ever taken place in the Hawaiian Islands, avers Stewart, and he adds, "will probably be a precedent for all future burials among the heads of the nation." It was Keopuolani's express wish that none of the former customs attending deaths and burials be permitted.

Within a few days the thousands of Hawaiians present were engaged in carrying the stones from the old hei-au on the south point to the tomb of Keopuolani, to build a monumental wall around the house. All ranks of Hawaiians engaged in this work of love.

The council, at which it was decided that King Liholiho and his party should go to England to visit the King of England, was held in Lahaina. Liholiho returned to Lahaina from Kailua on the ship *Arab*. It was determined he should sail on the whale-ship *L'Aigle*, Captain Starbuck. It was desired that Mr. Ellis also make the voyage and a large sum was offered to pay his passage, and if Captain Starbuck would not accommodate him, then the king's barge should be fitted up. Mr. Ellis was desirous of making the voyage, but Captain Starbuck declared emphatically he could not take him along. It was regretted by chiefs and missionaries, and possibly, says a historian, a much different type of voyage would have resulted had Ellis gone along. The king left Lahaina on November 18 and from Honolulu on Nov. 27. "We are happy",

records Stewart in his diary, "that he (the king) has actually undertaken this visit, and believe it cannot fail of benefitting himself and the nation."

The story of the life of King Kaumualii, of Kauai, is interwoven with Lahaina. He became the husband of Kaahumanu after the death of Kamehameha I. He was diligent in his endeavors to aid the missionaries in their work, and Mr. Stewart records with sincere regret, the death of that splendid ruler of the leeward island, on Wednesday, May 26, 1824, at Honolulu. He states that he was a "royal captive". He was laid out in the house of Kaahumanu upon a Chinese lounge, and surrounded by his beautiful war cloaks, a feather wreath lying over his eyes. "He always appeared more civilized, more dignified, more like a Christian than any of his fellows; and I can, with strictest veracity, say of him that which I can hardly do of any other in the nation, that I have never heard from him a word, nor witnessed in him a look or action, unbecoming a prince, or, what is far more to his praise, inconsistent with the character of a professedly religious man. His high features and slightly stooping shoulders give him a patrician and venerable look. His manners were easy and gentlemanlike, and as a 'royal captive', to those acquainted with his public and private history, he was truly an interesting object. A shade of melancholy was always traceable in his countenance; and when visiting him, I have often been reminded by his case, of the early history of the amiable king James the First, of Scotland."

He added that his body was to be carried to Lahaina to be deposited, at his special request, in the same sepulchre with Keopuolani.

How rapidly did those of the chiefs who met in and around Lahaina in 1823 and 1824 pass away—Kamehameha II and his queen, Kamehamalu; Keopuolani, King Kaumualii, and others. But what became of the sketches made of the dead king, one by Stewart when the corpse was garbed in the uniform of a British hussar, and another of the king's features made by Rev. Mr. Ellis? The desire of Kaumualii to be buried in the same tomb with Keopuolani, was by mutual agreement during their lifetime. They agreed that their bodies lie side by side, that they might rise together on the morning of the resurrection. The interment took place at Lahaina on the 30th of May, 1824.

Even the rebellion on the island of Kauai in August, 1824, had its reflex on Maui, for from Lahaina went forth the chief Hoapili, old as he was, with reinforcements to augment the warriors being assembled at Honolulu, to put down the rebellion. Hoapili took charge. They went to the assistance of Kalanimoku, who had been besieged at the fort near Waimea. It was at Hanapepe, Kauai, that Hoapili sat down, and with his newly acquired knowledge of writing in his own language, reduced to that form only two years before, and wrote to his sovereign, Kamehameha II, the account of the battle and the victory of the king's troops, the rout and destruction of the army of George Tamoree. With childlike simplicity he addressed the letter to "Na Berekane, Iolani," to be sent on to the great English world. That letter is on file in the Archives of Hawaii.

It was at Lahaina about this time that Kaahumanu promulgated laws some based directly upon the Ten Commandments—Thou Shalt not Murder; There shall be no Drunkenness; no Boxing; no Fighting; There shall be no Theft; All the people must regard the Sabbath; When Schools are Established all the people must Learn."

Outstanding, too, was the arrival of the British frigate *Blonde*, commanded by Captain Lord Byron, cousin of the poet, at Lahaina, en route from London to Honolulu, carrying the bodies of Kamehameha II and Kamehamalu to be buried at Honolulu. She was becalmed outside. A boat was lowered and the people on the beach finally descried Boki. Thousands collected along the beach, for news had previously arrived of the death of the young chiefs. The people wailed. Hoapili, under excitement, received his daughter, Kuini, the wife of Boki. There was screaming and wailing of unusual magnitude, says Rev. William Ellis in his account as given to him by Rev. William Richards. At the call of Princess Nahienaena, the people became calm when she asked all to say a prayer in the name of Christ. The following day the *Blonde* arrived at Honolulu.

Comes now the incident of the attempt of men attached to sailing ships in the roads at Lahaina to attack and burn the homes of the missionaries. Mr. and Mrs. Stewart arrived on a vessel from Honolulu at Lahaina and the former went ashore to greet his friends the Richards. He was halted by an armed sentry and later found

that the Hawaiian soldiers were guarding the Richards home from attack because of restraints laid upon the licentiousness of the seamen. The firmness with which they were met by Mr. Richards, only made them doubly infuriate. Some had actually landed under the black flag and armed with pistols. The Hawaiians massed to defend the missionaries and would have taken the ship but for Mr. Richards' intervention.

Even then, however, the newly-built chapel, erected by the chiefs, claimed the attention of the missionaries.

The house of Rev. William Richards is described at the time of Stewart's second visit, as a large, well-built edifice of stone, two stories high, with a verandah on each floor in front presenting as comfortable and substantial an aspect and as pleasant as most farm houses in the States, though it cost the American Board of missions less than \$400. Rev. Lorrin Andrews, who, with Mrs. Andrews and Miss Ogden, the teacher, also at this station, occupied a thatched house, in an adjoining enclosure, but was then preparing to build a house similar to that of Mr. Richards.

The example of building with stone and mortar was copied by prominent Hawaiians. Besides the mission house at that time, several dwellings were up. One belonged to the Princess Nahienaena, another to Marao, secretary to Hoapili, Governor of Maui, and an assistant to Mr. Richards in the translation of the Scriptures. This last was on an elevation. It was stuccoed and whitened.

When Stewart was revisiting Lahaina he recorded the building of the new chapel, which was of stone, 98 feet long, 62 feet broad, two stories in height, and to be furnished with galleries and calculated to hold 3,000 hearers. It was pleasantly located in a grove of coconut trees, and had been erected at the expense of the governor and chiefs of Maui.

The new home of the ex-queen Kekauonohi and her husband, Kealiiahonui, was nearly a mile inland from the beach. There was a carriage road approach to it branching from the turnstile.

Stewart describes the house of the ex-queen. The first room entered was large and airy, and furnished as a parlor, and in addition to chairs, tables and a side-board, had a mahogany hand-organ

at one end. The whole apartment, as well as another adjoining was hung with festoons of maile.

The second room, spacious, was for sleeping and contained two large field beds of handsome dark wood, surmounted by canopies of chintz; a toilet table covered with white cushions, festooned with draperies, beneath a full pier glass; and an immense lounge, or native bed of mats, spread with silk velvet in place of sheets.

On November 1st, 1829, Captain Finch of the *Vincennes*, invited the king and his suite and the chiefs who lived on Maui and Hawaii, to be his guests on his ship to sail for those islands. The invitation was accepted. It was an imposing party—the king, secretary, and suite, the various gentlemen of the wardrobe, etc., the princess Harietta Nahienaena and suite; the ex-queens Kekauluohi and Kekauonohi; Madam Boki, the governors of Maui and Hawaii; Naihe, chief counsellor of state and lady, making a company of 36, and in addition there was also Rev. Hiram Bingham. With a gun salute the *Vincennes* came to anchor in the Roads about dusk, and the Governor of Maui and Princess Nahienaena were landed, Captain Finch going ashore also. It was at this port on November 10, 1829, that the Princess who had been named after Mr. Stewart's wife—Harriet—wrote a letter, to Mr. Stewart, that, for beauty of thought and repose in the effulgent glory of Christianity, is a model.

The episode of the firing of cannon balls from the decks of a whaler upon the residence of Rev. and Mrs. William Richards in October, 1827, seems fresh in the memories of old-time residents, for it was an outstanding event. Captain Clarke, who was an American, his ship being the whaling ship *John Palmer*, of London, found that the moral restrictions at Lahaina as imposed by the Hawaiian governor, and he, in turn, receiving the backing of Mr. Richards and other missionaries, were too rigorous for his ideas of physical and moral license. Incensed, the sailors became an ungovernable mob. The Governor resisted these outbreaks against morality, and in fact decided to detain the captain as a hostage for good conduct on the part of his men. Eventually, the guns of the whaler were trained upon the Richards' house and several cannon balls fired at it. The women took refuge in the cellar. Happily, no one was killed.

The cannon balls, for a century, were a daily reminder of the

assertion in those days that "Law and Order were forgotten this side of Cape Horn." Two of them are now at the Archives of Hawaii having been sent to that governmental department in 1927 by John M. Bright, at whose house they had been held. Eventually they will go to the proposed general historical museum which may be located near the Bishop Museum. The chiefs after a meeting then, and later, with regard to a Capt. Buckle, decided that Mr. Richards was to be defended.

The old church, Wai-nee, started in 1828 and dedicated four years later, was a structure of magnitude. The Lahaina fort and Lahainaluna Seminary were started in 1831, the former being demolished in 1854 by order of the Government, just as three years later, 1857, the old Honolulu fort, standing at what is now the foot of Fort street, was demolished.

The forts were forts largely in name, that is, garrisoned by soldiery, but not very effective from a military standpoint, at least not so in Honolulu, and used largely for parades, guards, and the pomp and ceremony that seems always to go with royalty. The forts were used as prisons, and the governors often maintained their offices, and the courts also sat there. By the middle of the 1850's, military power in Hawaii waned. It was necessary only to have Royal Household Guards for palace service.

Education seemed to replace military power, and it was thus that Lahaina became famous after the establishment of Lahainaluna Seminary, on the heights back of Lahaina, an institution conducted by the American Board of Missions, and where Hawaiians were taught not only the reading of the Bible and to sing psalms, but to learn carpentering, printing, engraving, agriculture, and various crafts that would aid them in a practical way, and render them serviceable as teachers.

Lahainaluna is engraved deeply on the scrolls of Hawaiian achievement. Ancient thought was transmitted to the printed page by Hawaiians who became historians. The year 1931, the centennial of the beginning of Lahainaluna, is only two years distant, and I trust that Lahaina will take the lead, with the island of Maui solidly behind the town, in celebrating this event.

- It was at Lahainaluna that the first so-called Hawaiian news-

paper in Hawaii was published. This was in 1834. It was styled "Ka Lama Hawaii", or "Hawaiian Light". The "Kumu Hawaii" was published at Honolulu on the Mission press.

The high school and theological seminary at Lahainaluna was started to take care of the best pupils they could obtain from the youths who were daily instructed in these new primers, leaflets and sermons. It was designed to so instruct the young men that they might become assistant instructors in religion, to disseminate sound knowledge embracing literature and science and to qualify native school teachers for their respective duties. The manual labor system was to be introduced so far as practicable. The decision to found this school was made in June, 1831. Lahaina was selected as the place, and Rev. Lorrin Andrews delegated for the work. He and his associate, Rev. Mr. Richards, selected the location at Lahainaluna, on the hill back of and above the town.

Twenty-five pupils was the initial enrollment, the number increasing to 67 by the end of the year. Many scholars were married. A rough shed was the first school. A native house was used by the teacher, Mr. Andrews, as his domicile. On September 5, 1831, the school went into operation, the scholars being selected by the chiefs and missionaries from the different islands, whither they were expected to return when they had finished, and take up their new labors. They were for the most part teachers in the common schools. They were not always equipped for the higher education. The king visited the school in 1832. In that year the new school construction was under way. Timber was secured from the forests for desks. The pupils selected the rocks for the floors. The lime was made from coral cut out of the reefs.

In 1834 printing began to be a major enterprise at Lahainaluna. The first book put to press was Worcester's Scripture Geography. On the 3rd of February the first sheet of the Hawaiian geography was worked off. Mr. Andrews, in a statement, said:

On the 14th of February, 1834, we published the first Hawaiian newspaper ever published in the Sandwich Islands. Of the style in which it was gotten up I will say nothing, as we had but one sort of types and those had been so worn as to be thrown aside as had also our press. We called our paper "Ka Lama Hawaii", that is the "Hawaiian Luminary."

He added that cuts were engraved on wood at first and also the titles by Dr. Chapin.

At Lahainaluna Rev. Mr. Richards undertook the translation of a part of the Scriptures into the Hawaiian language, as Rev. Hiram Bingham was then doing. There would be a consultation with the Hawaiians at Lahainaluna. The notes would be given to David Malo, who afterwards became one of the most eminent of the Hawaiian historians, and he in turn, re-translated the sentences into pure Hawaiian, and handed them to Mr. Richards, and thus, laboriously, the Scriptures were slowly reduced into the Hawaiian language and prepared for the printers.

All this time, while Lahaina was the favorite residence of Kamehameha III, and naturally, most of his Hawaiian officials were with him, Honolulu was gradually becoming the real center of official life in the Islands. It was to Honolulu that warships and whalers went, and where actual business was transacted. Honolulu, because of its harbor, and the ability of vessels to go up to wharves, was preferred to Lahaina and Hilo. The old Honolulu fort was the center of Governmental business, where Governor Kekuanaoa had his offices and where customs matters were attended to, and court held, and prisoners incarcerated. During the French aggressions in the 1830's, the King was frequently called to Honolulu. Having fast royal yachts, it was an easy matter. The Governor of Oahu would dispatch a yacht to Lahaina with a messenger, and soon the king was in Honolulu, signed papers, etc., attended to diplomatic needs, and often they were harrassing, in which, of course, was firmly enmeshed the Catholic question, until Kamehameha III, in 1839, granted the famous Declaration of Rights, or Magna Charta of Hawaii, and in 1840, signed the new constitution, which paved the way for actual constitutional monarchy and legislative acts, to replace the old Council of Chiefs.

The Government began to be more systematized, and a far cry from decisions, promulgations of law, orders, etc., emanating from a council of chiefs, presided over by the King.

It was the incident of 1843, when in February 25, 1843, Lord George Paulet, commanding the British frigate *Carysfort*, after making arbitrary demands of the king, based largely upon trumped up charges preferred by Richard Charlton, British consul, and a thorn in the side of the government for 20 years, seized the Islands, at

Honolulu, lowered and destroyed all Hawaiian flags, raised the British standard, and occupied the city of Honolulu for five months, until the arrival of Admiral Richard Thomas, who repudiated all his acts and restored the kingdom to Kamehameha.

During that time the King retired to Lahaina, but one time made a secret visit to Honolulu, unknown to the British, then and there signing important documents which finally found their way to Washington, London and Paris governmental bureaus.

It was decided then that it would be better to designate Honolulu as the official capital of the kingdom, retiring Lahaina to the position of a residence for the King.

But in the previous year, 1842, a grand temperance league was formed at Lahaina, to combat the growing intemperance which was sadly undermining the good that missionaries had accomplished. The King, John Young, or Keoni Ana, the son of John Young, the elder, who arrived in Hawaii in 1790; Kekauluohi, the kuhina nui, or premier; Charles Kanaina, her husband, Keliiahonui, Paki, Leleiohoku and other chiefs of the royal blood signed pledges to abstain from the use of all alcoholic stimulants. The league did some good for the people, although, of course, there were many backsliders.

The description of Lahaina about the time that Robert Crichton Wyllie, the Scotchman who came to Honolulu in a secretarial position under British Consul General Miller in 1844, and who, in 1845 became Minister of Foreign Relations under Kamehameha III, is told in *The Friend*, December, 1844, as part of "Wyllie's Notes", as follows:

The largest town and most frequented port (of Maui) is Lahaina. It contains about 2800 souls, and promises to increase with the increased afflux of whalers. Of these, the major (Major Low, British army), says 250 touched for refreshments in 1843, besides numerous departures and arrivals of native vessels. . . . At Lahainaluna there is a seminary for boys, with three teachers and 134 pupils.

And while great names are being linked up with Lahaina, we must not forget Rev. Sheldon Dibble, that zealous Christian theologian, teacher and instructor, whose history of Hawaii is an effulgent gleam in literature, even though he wrote in an ascetic white light, and in some respects may be judged in these days as intolerant of any human actions except those based on the direction of the Bible

and the teachings of Christ. His was the narrow, straight road, to be tread by the Hawaiians, and their standards were impossible, even immoral, because he judged everything by his own standards. Yet, he was one of the remarkable, splendid men of the American Mission, whose labors on behalf of the Hawaiians brought on illness and death. He died in 1845.

He arrived first at Honolulu June 6, 1831, at the very time Lahainaluna, with which he was to be so intimately associated, was decided upon. In 1834 he was assigned to Lahainaluna, owing to ill-health on Hawaii. He was appointed to the head of the department of History and Moral and Sacred Science in the Seminary, and was soon after installed as pastor of the Seminary church. Mr. Dibble devoted himself with great zeal to the seminary's interests. The establishment of a boarding department, absolutely necessary, it was found for the development of the pupils, called for more labor on the part of the missionaries. Being now placed near a printing office, he commenced his labors with the pen, which he prosecuted with great diligence to near the close of his life. Mrs. Dibble died there February 20, 1837, and shortly after, his own health declining, he embarked for the United States. His addresses on the mission in Hawaii, which he made in many cities, were afterwards compiled and published as the *History and general views of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, now one of the authoritative books about Hawaii. He returned to Hawaii in April, 1840, and soon resumed his labors at Lahainaluna. He rewrote his history, made a large number of translations into Hawaiian of things needful in instruction of the native youths, and in 1843 organized a class in theology.

In July, 1844, he was attacked by disease, and finally died at Lahainaluna Seminary. He died January 25, 1845, of lung disease, then but 36 years of age. Few men at his age had been able to accomplish more in the missionary work. His example at Lahainaluna was splendid.

Among his compilations was a small work on Hawaiian History, written mostly by pupils in the Seminary.

Just at the turning point of Lahaina, from its former glory as the official capital of the kingdom, when Honolulu became the seat

of Government, the résumé' of its life was given in *The Friend*, June 1, 1846, as follows:

In January, 1846, the census of Lahaina, Maui, was taken, by which it appears there are, of native children under 14 years of age, 1062; 589 of these boys, 473 girls. Of native adults, there are 1198 men, 1185 women, in all 2383 adults. The total native population is 3345. The excess of native males over the number of females is 129. Of foreigners there are 88 men, 6 women, or 94 adults; 7 boys, 11 girls, or 18 children—total foreign population 112, not including seamen of the hospital and others on the hands of the consuls.

Total, foreigners and natives, 3,557. It was found that there were 528 dogs, making about one to every seven of the people, and about one to every two houses in the place.

Of the natives, 1422, including men, women and children, have no land or cultivation of their own, in the language of the country, are *kuewas*.

There is in Lahaina one native meeting house, for the repair of which, about \$2000 have been raised by natives the past year. There are also five or six district houses for religious worship. There are 10 common native schools, with about 600 scholars. In 1845, \$180 were paid to the teachers of these by the people, and \$150 by the government. The people of Lahaina have within a few years made commendable progress in civilization. Whale ships have furnished them with increased facilities for wealth, and there has been an increasing disposition, on their part, to use these means to procure for themselves better houses, to purchase bedsteads, tables chairs, table and kitchen furniture, time keepers, decent clothing, &c., and in many cases, better education for their children.

At Lahaina there is a Seamen's Chapel, which is supplied by the American Missionaries.

In all Lahaina, there are 882 grass houses, 155 adobie houses, and 59 of stone or wood—in all 1096 houses, which would give an average of about three individuals to each house throughout the place.

About 500 native families in Lahaina, eat at the table in the style of civilization, and many prepare their food after the manner of Europeans.

The number of whale ships which annually visit Lahaina for recruits has increased to about 400. These demand all kinds of refreshments, of which they find an abundance in the market, the productions of the islands of Maui and Molokai. There have also anchored at Lahaina, during the year 1845, about 400 inter-island coasting vessels. These afford frequent, often daily opportunities of communication from one island to another.—The missionary post-master at Lahaina has forwarded during the year 1845, about 4000 letters in different directions. Of these, 1386 were sent to different missionary stations on Oahu and Kauai, and 1753 to the stations on Maui, Molokai and Hawaii. This free and frequent interchange of letters has been to the missionaries, no small part of the comfort attending their abode in these ends of the earth. [*Abstract of Rev. D. Baldwin's Report before the General Meeting of American Missionaries, May, 1846.*]

It is realized that only in the last few years, especially in 1923, you of Maui and Lahaina celebrated the centenary of the establishment of the first Christian mission in Lahaina, and that was only

five years ago, and upon that occasion Rev. H. P. Judd, of the Hawaiian Board of Missions, presented then a paper on the Lahaina Mission and Lahainaluna Seminary, in which he quoted liberally from the journal of Rev. Mr. Stewart, from which I have also quoted (necessary of course), and then Mr. Judd presented a very complete résumé of all the mission activities at Lahaina. This paper appeared in *The Friend*, June, 1923, and is a fine compilation of that part of the historic picture.

The story of the 1830's and 1840's, particularly would not be complete without reference to Rev. Dwight Baldwin, a profound religious scholar, a scientist and researcher, who succeeded Rev. Mr. Richards at the Lahaina mission, in 1835 and was ever afterwards identified with Lahaina and Maui. His family and descendants have made Maui their home ground, their battle-ground, and as captains of industry, eventually brought rich harvests upon the fertile lands in the development of sugar plantations, and today the Baldwins seem to be "carrying on" for the welfare of the people as the Baldwin progenitors did in the old Mission days. And the same can be said of Rev. W. P. Alexander, at the mission, and his descendants, for Alexanders were and still are associated with the development of Maui, and one of the descendants became the famous historian, Dr. W. D. Alexander, whose *History of the Hawaiian People*, stands, and will ever stand, as the standard history of the Islands.

Rev. Lorrin Andrews, too, became famous as the author of the Andrews' Hawaiian Dictionary, the standard work, and all others are merely based upon his great labor and authority.

Perhaps the story of the first Hawaiian History, published in Hawaiian on the presses of the Lahainaluna Mission, should be told at greater length. Rev. Mr. Dibble says that in 1836 he made an effort to secure as many facts as possible from the Hawaiians while the important events were fresh in their memories, which, if lost, would pass into oblivion. He drew up a list of historical questions and chose ten of the most promising scholars of Lahainaluna school and set them at work. He formed them into a class of inquiry, then asked them to go to the chiefs and people and gain information which they could put in writing and be ready to read it. When the

time arrived each one was to read, and corrections were made in all compositions. He says he endeavored to make from these one connected and true account, and then was the result of the History of Hawaii, in Hawaii, which he published. In order to accentuate the need of recording old-time history gleaned from old Hawaiians, a Hawaiian Historical Society was organized by Dibble at Lahainaluna. Two of the pupils, David Malo and S. Kamakau, showed unusual ability, and in time they became the chief Hawaiian historians in the Islands, their works being considered standard and authoritative. Kamakau wrote a "Life of Kamehameha I". Kamehameha III was president, William Richards, vice-president, Sheldon Dibble, secretary; S. L. Kamakau treasurer. It lasted three years. At the time of Dibble's death the King removed to Honolulu because the legislature held its sessions there, and in 1846, a handsome structure was turned over to the King by Governor Kekuanaoa, as his palace, and there the King took up his official residence. This was the first palace in Honolulu being succeeded in 1882 by a new one, also called "Iolani", and now the executive building of the territory of Hawaii.

David Malo was born in North Kona, Hawaii, not far from historic Kealahou Bay. His father was associated with Kamehameha I. Malo himself was acquainted with Governor Kuakini and the chiefs, and was in a favorable position to obtain knowledge of ancient Hawaii.

Another missionary closely allied to the Lahaina mission, was Rev. Sereno Bishop, who was born on Hawaii, his father being one of the early missionaries. It is said that five of his own children were born in the house at Lahaina which Mr. Richards had occupied. Sereno Bishop was also associated with Lahainaluna.

In passing, let me refer to one of Maui's residents, Charlotte L. Turner, who, in *The Friend* of December, 1922, recorded much interesting history of Lahaina, old and new, and identified many of the old sites and ruins, which is valuable for future researchers. In her notes she says that Governor Hoapili's house at Lahaina was on the road where the plantation club house is now located, that it was still standing in 1922.

Lahaina has many things of historical record. The first legisla-

tive session was held in the town in 1840. The Constitution was promulgated at Lahaina, it is said, and it was desired a few years ago to commemorate this event, by the erection of a tablet in memory of the King, but for some reason, it failed to pass the legislative body. I believe it is essential to history that such a monument or tablet should be erected and trust that the people of Maui may revive the matter and put it through. The draft of the constitution was made at Lahaina in 1839. The council gathered there. The Declaration of Rights, was signed by Kamehameha III in Lahaina and promulgated June 7, 1839.

Henry L. Sheldon, that vivid writer of old Hawaii, whose "Reminiscences of Thirty-Five Years Ago", published in *The Saturday Press*, Honolulu, in 1881, and referring to 1846 and on, contain interesting notes about Lahaina.

He arrived in Honolulu in 1846 on a beautiful yacht previously named *Kamehameha III*. The King said he would buy it if it could beat his own yacht the *Hooikaika*, commanded by Admiral Hall. The yachts sailed, one of the finest exhibitions of seamanship known in Hawaiian waters, Sheldon making the trip also. The *Kamehameha III*, made the run in 10 hours, beating the *Hooikaika* by two hours, and the King bought her. She was used until 1849 when the French carried her off to Tahiti and never gave her back to Hawaii. Sheldon's description of Lahaina in 1846, is as follows:

On the morning of the third day out we came in sight of Lahaina, of which its inhabitants then boasted that it was "the second city of the Kingdom." In fact, it was a stirring little town, with a total native population of between three and four thousand and something over one hundred foreign residents. The business of the entire population was the furnishing of supplies to whalers and entertaining the crews. There were ninety of these ships at anchor when we arrived, spread out in the roads half way over to Lanai, and this was a portion only of the "spring fleet." We were informed by an intelligent resident that the number of whaleships annually visiting Lahaina for recruits, spring and fall, was no less than four hundred. These required large quantities of vegetables, hogs, poultry, etc., which were raised on Maui and the adjacent Island of Molokai. The increased facilities for wealth thus afforded the natives had led to the erection of better houses, and better furnished with the comforts and some of the luxuries of life than was to be found in localities less favored. I was informed that about five hundred native families in Lahaina were accustomed to eat at table in civilized style, instead of squatting on the mats. So much for the civilizing influence of foreign commerce.

But there was another side to this pleasant picture. Crowds of seamen were on shore, on "liberty," which they improved variously in riding on

horseback, roaming about the native huts, or lounging in the numerous eating houses and beer shops. There was no license issued by Government for the sale of spirits outside of Honolulu, but it was pretty obvious that then, as since, the stuff was obtainable at Lahaina without difficulty. The "hop beer," which was sold so plentifully in almost every other house on the beach was, to be sure, pretty strong, but the style of drunk to be seen about the streets was plainly alcoholic. There was a "Fort" near the beach (on the site of the present Court House) and every afternoon about sundown a native soldier appeared on its ramparts and beat a drum furiously. This was the signal for all seamen on shore to go on board their ships, on pain of being locked up, and the result would be a rush and a scramble for the boats, by those who were able to walk, while many were obliged to be carried by their shipmates. The scene on these occasions was uproariously ludicrous.

There was a Seamen's Chapel in Lahaina, in which services were conducted on Sundays by the American Missionaries; there was also a commodious native church building. Besides the Mission Seminary at Lahaina-luna, there were ten common native schools, with about six hundred scholars. Lahaina was the residence of the principal Government officers for the Island of Maui, which were the late Governor James Young (uncle of Her Majesty the Queen Dowager Emma) and Henry S. Swinton, Esq., Sheriff and Collector of Customs—in reality, the factotum of the town. Mr. Milo Calkin was U. S. Commercial Agent, and the mercantile firms on the beach were Waldo & Co., Punchard & Co., and Bush & Co.

Gorham D. Gilman, of Boston, who resided in the Islands in the 1840's, and later on, and after returning to Boston, represented the Hawaiian government there as a consul, has written entertainingly of the old Lahaina. In the *Advertiser's* Anniversary number, July 2, 1906, marking the 50th Anniversary of that paper in Honolulu, he had a long story about the Lahaina of the 40's.

He remarks that it was the seat of government in old or ancient days, or at least the seat of royalty. In his day the town was drowsy and dreamy, with stores and dwellings scattered along the beach under shade trees. He recalls that at the old landing

are very evident marks of the ancient times consisting of quite a long tract of land forming what is familiarly known as the point, which is built up by a wall of stone to keep the sea water back and filled in with earth and making a broad plateau. On this was erected, as tradition informs, the first brick house, a small two-story affair built by the order of the old King, Kamehameha I. Near the landing stood a long thatched building in native style; this was said to be the place where the preparation for and the production of the first book of law was made. It is said that Rev. Mr. Richards after he became employed by King Kamehameha III, gave lectures to the king and chiefs on political economy and assisted in outlining the simple laws for the government of the kingdom. . . .

Mauka of these premises was a large kalo patch which even in my day, in the 40's, showed signs of excellent care and protection. This patch was bordered with cocoanut trees . . .

Across the street stood the two dwellings of the Mission families, the

place of hospitality for those who were passing back and forth between the islands, and they proved most agreeable shelter to those who were called to go by land or sea. . . .

In front of the landing to the right is what was known as the old fort. A very poor attempt as a matter of defence to be sure. Upon its walls, which were about twelve feet high and as many more feet thick, were mounted a curious assortment of old cannon which were occasionally loaded and fired to salute the king on his arrival or his departure. . . .

Scattered along the beach facing the ocean were the residences of the high chiefs of the land. Among the most pretentious was that of the ex-queen of Kamehameha II, Auhea [or Kekauluohi, who was the Kuhina Nui, or premier, the wife of Chas. Kanaina, and mother of King Lunalilo. She was] most familiarly known as the big-mouthed queen. This was a fine building of colored stone plaster with a wide veranda and every convenience suitable for those who occupied it. I think it was in this building that King William was born. Under the shade of the beautiful kou trees the royal company spent their pastimes in sports and story telling to gratify their simple desires. Just beyond adjoining was the place of the Princess Nahienaena, the only daughter of Kamehameha I, and sister of Kamehameha III. This was one of the finest straw houses in the village, erected in a plot of ground partly reclining from the beach with sea walls in front and planted with kou trees. The house was some thirty by forty feet in dimensions. The interior was lined by dry banana stalks, and had hard earth floors covered with fine mats. It was a very commodious and comfortable house for the climate. In later years it was occupied by the United States Consul, and through him I became a tenant of Kamehameha IV. It was while here that I had the pleasure of entertaining a great number of Hawaiians and visitors from abroad, as it was almost half way between Honolulu and Hawaii. It was often a pleasure to entertain guests passing from one island to another. . . .

There was a variety of interesting little incidents connected with my residence in Seaside Cottage, the name of the place where I lived, which come back to me with very precious recollections of those who have passed on. There are few who are left, one of whom I venture to think will remember pleasant moments beneath the thatch roof of Seaside Cottage, who now holds the title of Her Majesty, the Queen.

Adjoining these premises was one building quite noted, though small and inconspicuous, which was erected to receive the remains of the royal pair, King Liholiho and Kamamalu, the Queen, which were brought back from England by the English frigate *Blonde* and deposited here where they remained for several years until removed into the large tomb adjoining the king's residence where, with other remains of royal personages, they remained until removed to the Mausoleum in Honolulu. In later years after the royal remains had been removed, the little building was remodeled into a very tasty and convenient little cottage which was occupied by my partner, George Brayton, Esq., who was one of the United States Consuls at Lahaina.

A little further along the shore was the residence of the high chief Paki and Konia, the parents of the honorable Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop, who was not an infrequent visitor at Seaside Cottage, which was the center at that time of most of the social entertainments of the village.

You can form some idea of the noble stature of the old chiefs by a look at Paki's surf board now at the Bishop Museum. A piece of wood remarkable for its size, length and breadth, which was the sea piece of this noted

chief. The sea in front of these premises and along the line of the king's premises was the favorite for sea bathing, surf riding on a board or canoe. Under favorable conditions one could see the entire company of king and nobles enjoying the rare sport afforded by the incoming waves. It was somewhat of a promiscuous gathering, but all were absorbed in the exhilaration of the sport, although some have differed in the avoirdupois as the royal sportsman or sportswoman of 350 pounds, to the youngest that was playing along by the wavelets on the shore. There was an attempt as a building of a so-called palace which answered for a time as the show place, the name which should properly attach itself to royalty. It was also occupied part of the time by the courts of the kingdom. It was more of a curiosity than an adornment. It seemed out of place amid all the tropical profusion and exuberance of natural life to see this building intruding into the atmosphere. With some idea of making the building larger they undertook to double its length and make a still further blotch on the landscape. Fortunately so far as beauty was concerned it was partly dismantled and never finished and remained quite a conspicuous figure on the beach. However, in later years they had to transport its stones to the premises of the old fort where they now appear in the government building which is much more in harmony with the surroundings.

Again passing across the street we come to a narrow causeway across which a little gate is constructed, so that passing is prevented unless by permission of the sentry of the king who has charge of the royal premises. The buildings occupied by the king are in keeping with most of the other large, fine thatched houses with modern conveniences for comfort and with a certain lanai or kind of canopy made of cocoanut leaves and natural vines. . . .

On the mauka side of the water encircling the king's residence were the premises of the old chief Hoapili and his wife, who were among the first of the nobility to be married by Christian ceremony, she assuming the name for the first time of Hoapili Wahine, that is—Mrs. Hoapili. These were people of importance. Hoapili was the constitutional governor of the island.

A change from the old to the new, like most other changes, was slow but steadily progressing. Political exigencies called for the removal of the king from the peaceful and ideal life in Lahaina to the more conspicuous living at Honolulu. This was necessarily the case from the gradual demands, from the progress of the times, to meet the exigencies as they were constantly arising from the foreign government and business interest. There had been for many years a few places occasionally touched at in the islands for furnishing supplies. The ships connected with the opening up of the north-western territory trade with Indians for the furs, passed on to China to dispose of the same articles, and to load teas and other products for the United States and England.

In 1848-49 and '50 there was a great demand made upon the islands for furnishing supplies in the way of vegetables for the California market. Gold having been discovered, thousands of bar-

rels of potatoes and hundreds of hogs were shipped to the San Francisco market through the port of Lahaina.

From 1840 to 1850 was the great period for the whale ships. The Okhotsk Sea and the Arctic Ocean had been discovered as great resorts for the whale. Large numbers of whale ships were dispatched there for the purpose of obtaining the oil. Naturally the Hawaiian Islands, being right on the direct route to that region, Lahaina was a favorite place for anchoring, as the crews were better controlled there than they would be in the little harbor of Honolulu. Leaving on shore all unnecessary articles of the voyage the ships went north in pursuit of their vocation.

Mr. Gilman concludes:

Years go by; once again I land on the sands of Lahaina. The building that once bore the name of Gilman & Co. still stands. Its formerly, varied contents for ships, vessels, and native trade are all gone, and there is only a store house for the sugar plantation.

The old council house that once held the proud chiefs, the kings and his advisers, has passed into a matter of history. The chiefs that once gave reputation and dignity have all passed on. Seaside Cottage, once containing royalty and distinguished guests, is no more, and in its place stands growing a grove of young algaroba trees. Few or none in the streets to recognize me; the old church still standing as a memento of the olden time, and so I say Aloha! Aloha ino ia Lahaina!

Passing over a span of years, when Lahaina was more modern, we come to the year 1857; when the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of Honolulu, was less than a year old, and when, very up to date, its editor was giving each of the islands a "write up". In the issue of February 12, 1857, No. 4 of "Ports of the Sandwich Islands", is devoted to Lahaina and what changes were noted appear, as follows:

LAHAINA (anciently called LELE, from the short stay of Chief there) is pleasantly located on the western shore of West Maui, and is in West long. 156° 41' and North lat. 24° 51' 50". It may be considered as the second port of the Hawaiian Islands, as, next to Honolulu, it is most generally frequented by the whaling fleet which touch at the islands in the spring and fall for recruits and refreshments.

This town was selected by Kamehameha III. and his chiefs to be the seat of government of the group, and it continued such till the troublesome times of 1843, when he removed the royal residence to Honolulu. Its public buildings are few. It has two churches, a hospital, a "palace," which from the anchorage looms up and appears a stately building, but is fast going to ruin from neglect. There are three ship chandlery stores, some fifteen retail stores, and three practicing physicians. The best seminary on the Islands for the education of natives, is located about two miles back of the village. It is under the charge of capable foreign teachers, and is sustained by the government. It numbers from sixty to eighty students.

Perhaps there is no village on the group that presents to the stranger a more striking tropical appearance than does Lahaina. There is one principal street, several miles in length intersected with many others, lined with large kukui trees, which cover the road, rendering it in places a shady and cool bower. These trees remind one of the noble branching elms of New Haven, though the shade of the kukui is denser and cooler. Numerous groves of cocoanuts and tall bananas line the beach and environs, while grape and other vines almost bury in their foliage many of the cottages. There is no spot on these islands equal to Lahaina for gardening or raising fruit and vegetables of every description, owing to the abundant supply of water.

The native inhabitants of Maui are far more advanced in the knowledge of self-government, and also in agriculture, and consequently are more independent than those of either of the other islands of our group. This is owing mainly to the influence of old Governor Hoapili, who governed the island for some twenty years, and who was thoroughly imbued with republican ideas. Whenever he undertook any public work, he first called the common people together to advise them, telling them that the work, if needed, was for their good; and it is said that he always yielded to the popular voice. The successors of Hoapili have been intelligent governors, and, in a measure, carried out his popular views. Hence it is that far more attention is paid by the natives of Maui to agriculture, and some of the common people have become independent.

The anchorage being an open roadstead, vessels can always approach or leave it with any wind that blows. No pilot is needed here. Vessels generally approach through the channel between Maui and Molokai, standing well over to Lanai, as far as the trade will carry them, then take the sea breeze, which sets in during the forenoon, and head for the town.

The anchorage is about ten miles in extent along the shore and from within a cable's length of the reef in seven fathoms of water, to a distance of three miles out with some twenty-five fathoms, affording abundant room for as large a fleet as can ever be collected here. The holding ground, with clear anchors, is considered good, though somewhat rocky, and little or no danger is ever experienced, more than usual where a number of ships congregate. The best anchorage is opposite the native church in about fifteen fathoms. There has been generally during the winter months a southerly storm which the natives call a "Kona", but it seldom or ever comes when there is a fleet in port, or so strong that a vessel cannot ride it out in perfect safety. There has never yet been any vessel lost at this port by stress of weather; and but one, under any circumstances, which was lost on the reef some two or three miles from the channel. It was a remark of old Capt. Butler who resided here for many years, that he never saw it blow so hard here as to endanger a ship at anchor with good tackle; and the immunity from accident to the shipping which have visited the port, is the best proof of its safety.

As near as we can ascertain, the first whale ships that visited these islands and touched at this port were the *Bellina*, Capt. Gardner, and Capt. Worth, which was some where about 1819. A few north-west traders touched here from 1799 to the date above given, but that trade dropping off, the whaler was a welcome visitor, and we are informed by old Mr. White that the "Old Palace" was first built as a home to entertain them. It was erected by, or under the direction of Kahekilli, (Old Thunder,) who at that time was the head man of Kamehameha I.

In 1842, Capt. John Stetson was appointed the first American Vice-

Consular Agent at this port, and from the records kept in the consulate office we gather the following table of the number of ships touching at this port in the course of each year since that date. Most of the ships touched in the spring and again in the fall. The figures are the total arrivals for the years:

| | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----------|-----|
| 1842..... | 40 | 1850..... | 102 |
| 1843..... | 96 | 1851..... | 110 |
| 1844..... | 291 | 1852..... | 187 |
| 1845..... | 245 | 1853..... | 170 |
| 1846..... | 395 | 1854..... | 207 |
| 1847..... | 202 | 1855..... | 171 |
| 1848..... | 161 | 1856..... | 111 |
| 1849..... | 155 | | |

To whale ships no port at the islands offers better facilities for all their business (with the exception of heavy repairs) than does Lahaina. As it is on this island, and but a short distance that the extensive potato fields are located that have furnished an almost inexhaustible supply for many years, and also the large sugar plantations from which the best sugar and molasses are procured, and fine herds of cattle which dress up better than any beef slaughtered for market that can be produced on the group.

Efforts have been made for the last two or three years to introduce the "Tombez" variety of sweet potatoes, and the last fall season we were able to supply fully the demand of as good an article as has ever been offered in the market. Fruits are generally abundant. The grape seems to luxuriate in the rich soil, and the sunny, clear weather of Lahaina, as it is, par excellence, the fruit of this place or Islands. Figs, bananas and melons are produced in abundance, and pumpkins enough for all New England to make pies for a general thanksgiving. All other supplies needed by merchant or whale ships can always be procured at this port.

In riding through "Tropic road" a few days since we counted twenty varieties of trees and shrubs growing by the road side, and presenting within a mile's ride, as fine specimens of tropical productions as any similar drive to be found on the Islands.

The population of Lahaina is estimated at fifteen hundred, the foreign part of which will not probably exceed one to two hundred. The causes that have been at work depopulating the islands have likewise tended to reduce the numbers here. "Years ago there was a hut under every bread fruit tree," was the statement of an old man who has seen the four Kamehamehas as the rulers of the land. So far as local diseases, we are singularly free. The climate is unequalled; the mild, sea breezes temper the heat of the day, and the cool breeze of the night makes sleeping a luxury to be enjoyed.

Epidemics do not seem to act with the virulence that they do at some other places. There were but seven fatal cases of small pox, while some districts counted by thousands. The "boohoo fever", at is is called, which is said to have appeared first at this place, but which has now entirely disappeared, or exists only in isolated cases, is not considered acclimated among us.

Charles Warren Stoddard, that facile American writer, whose pen so beautifully described Hawaii in the reign of King Kalakaua,

visited Lahaina about 1885, and on that occasion wrote his famous poem entitled Lahaina. He sailed on the steamer *Kinau* from Honolulu for Hilo, and at midnight anchor was dropped at Lahaina. He described the town in a little booklet, "A Trip to Hawaii" which was issued by the Oceanic S. S. Co., in 1885, as follows:

Lahaina is a little slice of barbarism beached on the shore of barbarism; a charming, drowsy and dreamy village with one broad street—a street with but one side to it, for the sea laps over the sloping sands on its lower edge, and the sun sets right in the face of the citizens just as they are going to supper.

It is true that there are two or three long and narrow lanes overhung with a green roof of leaves, and there are summer houses with hammocks pitched close upon the white edge of the shore—but all this we see as through a glass, darkly, for the *Kinau* tarries but an hour in the roadstead and the moonlight, when we trip anchor and hasten on our voyage.

This souvenir of one of the prettiest and most tropical corners in the Kingdom, once the Capitol of the Kingdom, and the favorite of the Kamehamehas, we bring away with us [and he appends the following poem about Lahaina, his own composition:]

LAHAINA

Where the wave tumbles;
 Where the reef rumbles;
 Where the sea sweeps
 Under bending palm branches,
 Sliding its snow-white
 And swift avalanches:
 Where the sails pass
 O'er an ocean of glass,
 Or trail their dull anchors
 Down in the sea-grass.

Where the hills smoulder;
 Where the plains smoke;
 Where the peaks shoulder
 The clouds like a yoke;
 Where the dear isle
 Has a charm to beguile,
 As she lies in the lap
 Of the seas that enfold her.

Where shadows falter;
 Where the mist hovers
 Like steam that covers
 Some ancient altar.

Where the sky rests
 On deep wooded crests;
 Where the clouds lag:
 Where the sun floats
 His glittering moats,
 Swimming the rainbows
 That girdle the crag.
 Where the new comer
 In deathless summer
 Dreams away troubles;
 Where the grape blossoms
 And blows its sweet bubbles;
 Where the goats cry
 From the hill side corral;
 Where the fish leaps
 In the weedy canal—
 In the shallow lagoon
 With its waters forsaken;
 Where the dawn struggles
 With night for an hour,
 Then breaks like a tropical
 Bird from its bower.

Where from the long leaves
 The fresh dew is shaken;
 Where the wind sleeps
 And where the birds waken!

HAWAII'S PIONEERS IN JOURNALISM

By Riley H. Allen

Editor of The Honolulu Star-Bulletin

Read before the Social Science Association of Honolulu on Monday evening, January 7, 1929.

(Note: The author of the article below has found, in previous existing references, some discrepancies as to dates and other figures. An effort has been made to reconcile these but possibility of error exists. Should any reader have authentic information on any point stated herein, it will be appreciated if such information is communicated to the writer.)

I

Casualties and Survivals

Hawaii's journalistic history is thick-starred with casualties—footnotes that tell of pioneers who lived, fought and suffered the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.

The story to be briefly sketched tonight is like the narrative of some protracted campaign, some Hundred Years' war, in which there were successes and reverses, achievements and failures, each at its time seeming to be important and epochal, but which in the light of long retrospect appears now as an episode in that notable development which has brought Hawaii from an abysmal obscurity to its place in world-prominance.

The roots of the Hawaiian press of today extend back for more than a century—back, indeed, to the day when the first printing-press arrived in Hawaii. That was in 1820. The 108 years since that time have seen the birth, growth and death of more newspaper and magazine enterprises than we shall ever be able to chronicle. For the records are imperfect; there are many gaps; there have been casualties unregistered in any permanent form; and journalistic graves unmarked for future generations.

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Judging by the records that are available, I estimate the number of newspapers and periodicals established in Honolulu and no longer printed as upwards of fifty—and I mean now those which were established with some pretensions to authority and substance; and not mere fugitive sheets. Even this reckoning must be a guess.

And the majority of these are unknown today. Most of them are scarcely mentioned in past chronicles. Even some of the journals which were prominent in their day do not survive except in casual references found in other journals or papers. No copies of them are known to exist—none are preserved in our archives.

A rich mine of material for history has thus been lost, for Hawaii's various journals have in many cases contained the only histories of contemporary events. No writer of Hawaiian history could afford to be without the help of the journals which are still extant; they give an unequalled insight into times, characters and events; and the historian who attempts to tell the story of the emergence of the Sandwich Islands from primitive barbarism to nineteenth century civilization, must inevitably go to the dailies, weeklies, monthlies or other periodicals of bygone years to get many of his facts and much of his background.

And yet the volume that remains is rare treasure, considerable in bulk and magnificent in its historical content. It has often been remarked that no pioneers ever were so prolific in diaries and personal journals as the early missionaries to Hawaii. They came here with a background of education and a zeal for spreading it; they wrote voluminously, for public print and for private communication; they were keen observers and conscientious chroniclers.

And Hawaii was early the meeting-place of educated men and women outside missionary ranks—diplomats, travellers, scientists, students, news correspondents—all of whom wrote and wrote well.

Most of Hawaii's pioneer editors were men of excellent education and trained writing talent. Any list that includes James Jackson Jarves, Abraham Fornander, Henry L. Sheldon, Henry M. Whitney is a lustrous list. Puny as were most of the early journals in size, they were well written—far above the average country weekly in the States of those days. They had distinguished contributors—often

anonymous—and not a few of their ephemeral comments well deserved rank as essays of merit.

Fortunately Hawaii has preserved many of these pioneer journals, though unhappily many have been lost. Those which remain—stained a rich brown with age, ink often fading, leaves tattered and fragile—speak to us from a remote past of the struggles and storms, political, industrial and social, from which has come our Hawaii of today.

Our Library of the Archives of Hawaii and our Historical Library are today the repositories of most of these pioneer journals. From these two libraries has come the major part of the material for this paper.

II

The First Printing-Press

The coming of the first printing-press to Hawaii is essentially a part of the story of early journalism, and worth telling in some detail.

It is, you will agree, an unusual coincidence that precisely 106 years ago tonight the first printed sheet was issued in Hawaii. That was January 7, 1822, and tonight we hark back over a century to the humble beginnings of the Hawaii press of today.

(It should be noted here that the first printing in Hawaii was probably not the first printing in the Pacific. There is substantial ground for belief that the first printing in this ocean was done at Afāreaitu on the island of Moorea, Tahiti, on June 30, 1817, when King Pomare, of the Society Islands, composed and struck off on a hand-press one page of an "A B C" book. This long-ago island King had been instructed by the Rev. William Ellis, a missionary who had learned the printing trade before leaving England, and thus we see it was a missionary who brought printing to Tahiti, as five years later a missionary brought printing to Hawaii.)

Authorities are agreed that the first printing-press in the Hawaiian Islands came with the first missionary group in the famous little brig Thaddeus, and was landed at Honolulu in April, 1820. In that

long-ago company were a practical printer, Elisha Loomis, and his wife, who also seems to have had some knowledge of the printing trade.

The press, a little hand-worked machine called the "Ramage", was set up in a thatched house standing a few rods from the old mission frame house across from the present Mission Memorial building, but the press was not actually used for printing until the afternoon of January 7, 1822.

On the brig *Thaddeus* there had been three Hawaiian boys returning to their native land, and from them this first company of missionaries received their first lessons in the Hawaiian language.

Printer Loomis and his wife were ardent students, and even on the brig began to formulate means for transforming the Hawaiian language into print. On arrival at Honolulu, Loomis first sought a place to house the press and afterward strove to master the language.

W. D. Westervelt, in *Thrum's Annual* for 1909, tells how, within twenty months after the arrival of the first missionary, they "had not only heard words intelligibly, but had applied consonants and vowels to the sound so accurately, that nearly one hundred years later the words are standard". He goes on to relate that the missionaries had committed to writing words and sentences for a primary lesson book, and for other material still to be printed. It was this material on which the pioneer printer of the islands, Elisha Loomis, went to work in one of the houses belonging to the Mission near the site of the present Kawaiahao Church.

It is recorded that the first sentence printed in Hawaiian was the native equivalent for the immortal sentence "God Is Love".

One of the major difficulties of Printer Loomis' was the peculiarity of the Hawaiian language. Loomis early found out that only the capital letters and small letters of the vowels a e i o u and the consonants h k l m n p w were needed in his new island home. The missionary printers would write to Boston ordering type according to these restricted specifications and the hard-headed, and, I suspect, thrifty New England type founders would insist on sending out the full font or case of types with all the letters of the alphabet. Furthermore, the missionary printer ordered certain accents and these the

Boston type founders either refused or forgot to send, the result being the Hawaiian Bible appeared without any accents; and it is said by experts that this is the reason that the Hawaiian language today uses no special accents.

The press brought from Boston had been thoroughly overhauled with a special room set aside for it, and it was in that room that a little group of chiefs and friends from the Mission gathered on January 7, 1822—an historic date—for the first ceremony of printing in the Sandwich Islands.

Keeaumoku, a high chief who was among the group present watching with curious interest the movements of the foreigners, was shown how to set a few type and was then given the lever of the press. The short lever in the vigorous hands of the tall, grave high chief struck off the first printed impression made not only in the Hawaiian Islands, but along the North Pacific Coast West of the Rocky Mountains.

"Hawaiian Club Papers" of 1868 gives an account of this little ceremony, part of which is worth quoting:

At this inauguration there were present, His Excellency Governor Kiamoku (Kalanimoku¹), chief of the first rank, with his retinue; some other chiefs and natives; Rev. Hiram Bingham, missionary; Mr. Loomis, printer (who had just completed setting it up); James Hunnewell; Captain William Henry and Captain Masters (Americans). Of these named, Mr. Bingham and Mr. Hunnewell are the only survivors (August, 1868). Mr. Loomis 'set up' Lesson 1, of a spelling-book. Kiamoku (Kalanimoku¹) was instructed how to work the press, and struck off the first impression printed in the Hawaiian Islands. Mr. Loomis struck off the second, and Mr. Hunnewell the third. The last mentioned impression has been given by Mr. Hunnewell to the "American Board", and is now in the Mission collection, Pemberton Square, Boston. It is a sheet four by six inches, headed 'Lesson I', beneath which are twelve lines, each having a five separate syllables of two letters.

This was certainly the first printing at the Hawaiian Islands, and probably the first on the shores of the North Pacific Ocean. This account is from Mr. Hunnewell (who visited the island before the *Thaddeus*, in which vessel, also, he arrived with the press), and is transcribed from his personal explanations, and from his notes made at the time of the event described.

It would be interesting to follow the history of the Mission press did time permit, but this record is, from here on, that of the secular press which developed into the daily papers of today. We

¹ Should be Keeaumoku.

shall, therefore leave this industrious and devoted pioneer printer, Elisha Loomis, cheerfully busy with setting up his sheets of lesson paper and steadily adding to the variety of Mission printed products, and go on to the first newspaper.

It should be added, however, that this first press was supplanted sometime probably between 1830 and 1835 by larger and improved presses, also brought out by the Missionaries; and that Printer Loomis "remained in charge of the mission press until he left the islands in 1827 worn out with disease, which brought death in a few years after his return to America." (W. D. Westervelt.)

Over the final disposition of this first printing-press there has been a discussion amounting at times to controversy. For many years it was believed, and frequently published, that the press was taken in 1839 to Oregon by E. O. Hall, another mission printer, and there remained. Oregon historians, in fact, claimed that such was the identity of an old Ramage press still to be seen in that state.

In later years there arose a question whether the press which Mr. Hall took to Oregon was actually the first to be used in Honolulu by Loomis. The late Robert W. Andrews, for so long the beloved custodian of the first frame house built in Hawaii, now standing near Kawaiahao Church, at one time told Mr. Albert P. Taylor, librarian of the Archives, that in a house in Nuuanu Valley there were parts of a printing press said to be the first to have been brought to Honolulu. If this is the case, it is likely that the press taken by E. O. Hall to Oregon was one brought to Honolulu subsequent to 1822 at a time when the missionaries were improving their printing equipment.

The late Howard M. Ballou, who for several years was a member of the University of Hawaii faculty, and also a painstaking searcher of history, has concluded that the press sent to Oregon was not the original press brought out by the first missionaries in the Thaddeus. In an article in *The Friend* for May, 1923, dealing with E. O. Hall's visit to Oregon territory in 1839, he goes into this question in considerable detail. He insists that the press which was sent to Oregon was a small hand press donated to the Mission in Honolulu at some date subsequent to 1820. It is still a mystery what became of the original press on which the first Hawaiian print-

ing was done, but it has been suggested that, as would doubtless be consistent with New England thrift, it was taken down when years of usage rendered it incapable of further service, and its parts put to other uses. (See pages 111 to 114, *The Friend*, May, 1923.)

This is a subject which we may well leave to the investigation of historians and antiquarians, since it has no direct bearing on the subject of newspaper origins.

Only a short time ago the *Star-Bulletin* published in one of its Saturday historical articles by Bishop Restarick, extracts from the journal of Maria Loomis, wife of the pioneer printer. In this she tells how a thatched cottage, formerly occupied by the Chamberlains, was used as a printing office. The site of this could without much difficulty be identified near the Kawaiahao Church, and well deserves marking as a historical spot.

The story of that early printing is important for this paper particularly chiefly as evidence of the realization by the early missionaries of the power of the printed word in promoting public information, enlightenment and education. The zeal of the missionaries to reduce the Hawaiian language to writing and immediately to make this written language available for students, shows their recognition of the value of printing in public affairs. (See pages 106, 107, and 108, *Thrum's Annual*, 1909; also *The Friend*, 1875, page 74, "First Printing Press in Oregon".)

III

The First Newspapers

In contrast to the unsettled question concerning the first printing press, there is a substantial agreement as to the first newspapers, both in English and in Hawaiian. *Thrum's Annual* for 1909, already quoted, says (page 135) "The first newspaper printed in these islands was *Ka Lama Hawaii*, issued at Lahainaluna, (Maui), in February, 1834, and *Kumu Hawaii* at Honolulu in October of the same year."

At Lahainaluna, Maui, is still standing the first newspaper building in Hawaii. It was erected in 1834, a high-gabled white

frame-and-plaster rectangular structure. Beside it there now flows a gentle stream and over it wave the branches of tall trees, but then the site was rather bare of shrubbery.

Of this pioneer enterprise in newspapers, Albert Pierce Taylor, librarian of the archives, records (Pre-centennial number, *Ka Nani O Hawaii*, Lahainaluna high school journalism class publication, December, 1928):

The printing press was the right arm of the school; and especially during the residence of Mr. Rogers, 1838-9, the office vied with that of Honolulu as a publishing center for instruction books in wide variety. The first outfit was a wooden construction, called a Ramage press, and a few old type. But within two months, on Feb. 14, 1834, the first number of 'Ka Lama Hawaii' was issued, and each monthly part contained a large woodcut. Copperplate engraving and printing were taught and this art furnished to the country atlases in primary, intermediate, and high school sizes, besides much else. Manual labor, much of it out of doors, was always the rule of the Seminary. [This building is the present commercial building of Lahainaluna.]

Ka Lama Hawaii, while usually referred to as the first newspaper in Hawaii, was not, strictly speaking, a newspaper, for it was not a journal for general reading. It was more a record of missionary work, aspirations and plans. It was controlled and directed by the missionaries conducting Lahainaluna seminary, but it may be said to have paved the way for the newspaper that followed a little more than two years later.

IV

First Secular Newspaper

Our faithful friend Thrum's Annual agrees with other authorities that the first secular and English newspaper was the *Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce*, a four page weekly. Thrum's states that this paper was "issued at Honolulu July 10, 1836."

There is an error in the date just given, and being charitable, and also having had sad experiences as a newspaperman, I suggest it is possibly a typographical error. The date of the first newspaper published in English was July 30, not July 10, 1836. Of the establishment of this the Rev. Father Reginald Yzendoorn says: (Ref-

erence: Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society, p. 17.)

After the first two Catholic missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands had been sent into exile, Bro. Melchior Bondu, a lay brother and mechanic who was legally the owner of the mission premises and property, remained at Honolulu. Daily he jotted down such events as might interest the exiled priests, and occasionally he sent copies of his journal to Father Bachelot in California. The original journal is now kept in the Archives of the Fathers of the Sacred Hearts at Braine-le-Comte. It covers the period which extends from the departure of the missionaries on the eve of Christmas 1831 till the beginning of the year 1837, and throws interesting sidelights on Honolulu life of that time.

From this diary we see that the first secular printing press was established on the premises of the Catholic Mission; the actual spot being the place which is now occupied by the sanctuary of the Cathedral. The history of its establishment is contained in the following entries which we translate as faithfully as possible from the imperfect French in which the journal is written.

May 30, 1836. The printer, Mr. Hall, has arrived at Oahu. He is an American. . . . He has rented the upper room of the house in the center for \$10 a month, for one year. The contract has been made in writing.

[This was Nelson Hall who must not be confounded with Mr. Edwin O. Hall, the missionary printer.]

June 13. Kekuanaoa [who was the governor of Oahu] has summoned me to the fort. There he asked me how many foreigners there were in my house. I told him that we had one newcomer. He further inquired what he did. I answered that he was a printer. Again he asked to what nationality he belonged. I said he was an American. He had already sent several natives to watch the printer. After I had answered all his questions, he said: "This stranger has taken up a residence here without making himself and his profession known to us. Neither the King nor Kinau know him. We don't want two printers here. You furnished him with a house against our will; you will have to send him away." Then he added: "You have no house any longer: I take your place from you." I answered him at once: "If the man is here against your will, I am going to dismiss him. I did not know that you did not approve of him. Now that I do know, I will talk with Mr. Mackintosh about it; he is the one who has rented the printer's room." I went to see Mr. Mackintosh and told him of the order I had received. Going to his house I met the British consul whom I informed of what was going on. He said he was going to take a hand in the matter. Then I told Mr. Mackintosh that if we left the press any longer in the house, we were exposed to losing our establishment which would be a considerable loss to us. He answered: "Don't be afraid: I'll speak about it to our consul, Mr. Reynolds. We shall go to the fort, and have talk with the chief, and if there is no means of staying at your place, we shall take our belongings away."

The Mackintosh referred to was Stephen D. Mackintosh. I have been told that he was a Catholic but have no historical authority for the fact. He was evidently a resident of Honolulu before this controversy, for on May 1, 1836, his name had appeared in connec-

tion with that of H. A. Peirce, early merchant, and John Paty, on business connected with the Oahu charity school. Bishop Restarick, president of the Hawaiian Historical Society, gathers from his study of this phase of Hawaiian history that the missionaries opposed the publication of a paper by Mackintosh because he was not of their views.

One Samuel A. Cushing, it appears, got the King in acquiescent mood to authorize the second printing-press. He went to see the king, after Mackintosh had given up, and the king "gave his consent readily in writing."

Brother Bondu's diary continues:

July 16. The King has answered Mr. Mackintosh's petition. He allows him to remain and to print. He has also sent a letter to Kinau to tell her to leave us alone. He said he was glad to have another printing press.

July 30. The printers who live at our house have printed today their first newspaper. They are to issue one paper a week at six dollars a year.

This paper was entitled *The Sandwich Island Gazette*.

It will thus be seen that the first English newspaper in Hawaii was born amid some travail, which is no uncommon experience for embryo papers.

In the archives of Hawaii is preserved a copy of this first newspaper, the *Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce*. It is a four-page, four column paper, the pages being 10 by 15 inches. Names well-known of the Hawaii of the present day figure in its pages. Stephen D. Mackintosh and Nelson Hall in their opening announcement and prospectus, stated that the newspaper would be devoted to the interest of commerce, navigation, and agriculture in the Pacific and would include items of news, amusement, and general utility. An opening editorial asked the forbearance of friends and thanked the King and the government of the islands for giving their approbation to the undertaking.

The first newspaper contained a substantial amount of advertising, although no records exist as to the space rate. The names of Benjamin Pitman, Edmund Bright, Thomas Cummins, William Johnson, T. K. Thomas, William R. Warren, Henry Paty, and Peirce & Brewer, appearing in the advertising are familiar to most of us present. (Vol. 1, 1836-1837, *Sandwich Island Gazette*, Archive of Hawaii.)

The Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce was published and edited by Stephen D. Mackintosh for two and one-half years and then published and conducted by a committee of residents of Honolulu. At the end of the third volume in 1839 this was discontinued. A possible result of attempting to edit a newspaper by a committee. But another cause seems to have been the resentment it aroused by chronic abuse of many of the white residents of the little seaport village, including the missionaries. A later chronicler, Henry L. Sheldon, printer and editor, hereafter to be referred to, states in his memoirs that the Gazette "was coarsely and violently offensive to the government of the day and abused the American missionaries without stint." He also states that "the Gazette died for want of support in 1839." Its circulation is said to have been at its best about 100 copies. It was printed on a grade of paper subsequently referred to as Chinese wrapping paper. Although I have seen references to the illegible condition of many of the copies, the fact that they are still quite easily read—nearly a hundred years after publication—indicates to me at least that the editor and printer who produced this paper gave it not only enthusiasm, but a considerable amount of technical skill and care.

The Sandwich Island Gazette was followed by the *Sandwich Island Mirror and Commercial Gazette*, which ran for one year, from August 15, 1839, to July 15, 1840. The Mirror was a monthly, but in all other respects (publisher, form, content, and policies) was merely a continuation of the Gazette. It contains, in the numbers for March, April, May, and June, 1840, a valuable series of articles on early agricultural enterprises in Hawaii, written by someone, evidently well informed, who signs himself "Tatler". The Mirror is best known from the "Suppliment" (*sic*) to the number for January 15, 1840. This "Suppliment" is a pamphlet of one hundred pages "containing an account of the persecution of Catholics at the Sandwich Islands", and was written by John C. Jones, erstwhile U. S. Agent for Commerce and Seamen, though the author's name is not given in the pamphlet. The Mirror fills the gap between the Sandwich Island Gazette and the Polynesian.

(The *Hawaiian Spectator* was a quarterly publication conducted by an "Association of Gentlemen" established in 1836 and averaged about 100 pages in size. Its editorial content was unusually good—

well written, showing the effects of keen observation and careful study. It contained descriptive and comment material, which has remained of unusual value to the historians, scientists and sociologists even to our own time.)

V

The Polynesian Appears—Jarves

The town of Honolulu of that day—the late thirties—was already attracting attention overseas. Its five or six hundred foreign population was growing rapidly, soon to be increased to more than a thousand. Traders, sailors, missionaries, soldiers of fortune and beachcombers came to its shores. Adventurers, political and financial, were beginning to appear. The whaling era was at its height; hundreds of vessels lay in the harbor or outside, outfitting for long cruises. Hawaii was not only in the path of world trade, but of international intrigue.

Already the destiny of Honolulu as the focal point of ocean commerce was a bright prospect. Though the Sandwich Island Gazette died, and for about a year there was no weekly newspaper in Honolulu—or none of which I can find record—it was inevitable that soon some other aspiring editor and manager should come upon the field, undeterred by the casualties just related.

The newcomer was *The Polynesian*, which was born June 6, 1840, and its birth brought into Hawaiian journalism a name which will always be remembered conspicuously in Hawaiian history—James Jackson Jarves.

Jarves was a Bostonian, born in 1818. His youth was a disappointment to himself and his father, for he could not settle down. In Hawaii he had a missionary uncle, one Tinker, stationed at Lahaina with his wife; and it was decided that young Jarves should come out to the Sandwich Islands and join this worthy pair. His father got him passage on a sailing-vessel, and entrusted to him a small amount of trade goods, concerning which he remarked to the son that needles and jews-harps were in much demand in Polynesia. Young Jarves came to the islands out of a spirit of adventure, a de-

sire to collect curiosities, and the hope of making enough money to return home and marry the girl of his choice.

Thus, this youth—a peculiar combination of artist, dreamer, adventurer and trader—with a strong strain of religious mysticism somewhere deep within him, came to the islands in 1838.

He first appeared as a newspaper editor in 1840.

The steps that took the young Bostonian from his uncle's post at Lahaina to Honolulu, and brought him to the notice of a group of men who wished to publish a paper, are not known. He must have somehow impressed them with his unusual though complex personality and his ability to write. He had youth, enthusiasm, and an audacious readiness to tackle the difficult.

The first number of the *Polynesian* was issued Saturday, June 6, 1840, with Jarves as editor. It began as a four-column, four page journal, issued weekly. This first issue declared the *Polynesian* to be independent—organ of no sect or party.

The *Polynesian* was a decided improvement over the *Sandwich Island Gazette* both in its make-up and general appearance and in its news and features. But it suffered the same fate as the *Gazette*—it became a casualty of the journalistic campaign. To continue the military metaphor, its lines of communication were cut, and it perished—it was discontinued, after a year and a half, for lack of support. A later chronicler remarks "The paucity of foreigners resident here at that early day as well as the expense of maintaining a weekly journal, caused both papers to be given up."

This phase of the *Polynesian's* existence is usually referred to as the "first series," and does not end the story. It is probably well for the sake of continuity to follow the *Polynesian's* career through now, even though this will cause some chronological skipping.

VI

The Government's Polynesian

When the little weekly paper gave up the ghost, Jarves left Honolulu. He returned in 1844, graver, keener, and the *Polynesian* was revived as the official organ of the government—a status which

was later to give it a multitude of troubles. At that time it was felt that such an organ was advisable. The Friend had been started in January, 1843, by the Rev. S. C. Damon and at times was critical of royal actions and policies. Nor was it meant to be a newspaper of general circulation. There were signs of other journals to be launched—independent of royal patronage or control. Probably this situation resulted in the decision by the king and his counsellors to have a newspaper in which their views might be fully presented in just the way they wished.

The Polynesian (second series) was begun in May, 1844, with Jarves as editor, and a skilful, versatile editor he was. He was editor until 1848, when he again left the islands. This time he did not come back. He travelled widely before his return to the states, visiting Mexico and Central America; later went to Europe, became a vice-consul in Italy. A man of varied interests, he sought paintings and objects of art with such zeal and on such a scale that he is said to have amassed a collection worth several hundreds of thousands of dollars, and his talent both as amateur connoisseur and art writer is recognized today.

Jarves' notable place in Hawaiian history and letters rests on his books rather than on his newspaper editorship. Both on his first return to America, just after the first Polynesian died, and on his second return, he wrote of the islands. His *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands*, published in 1843, and his *Scenes and Scenery of the Sandwich Islands* have established his fame in Hawaiian history and letters; but this is only a small part of his voluminous and valuable works. Less known than these two volumes, but of interest locally, is his "Why and What Am I?", also called "Confessions of an Inquirer," which is a curiously introspective study of himself, his personality and his experiences. In this he tells something about his life in Honolulu—which he calls by the mythical name of "Lilibolu", but his narrative is so mixed with comment and confession that it gives us little actual information about his editorial work here. It is quaintly remindful of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, of Gulliver's Travels and of the moral tracts of Jarves' own day which personified the powers of good and evil and visualized the epic struggle between the Lord and Mammon. It is of value to this paper only as illustrating one aspect of a pioneer editor. He was

also the author of "Kiana"—a tradition of Hawaii, a novel based on the legend of Spanish discovery of the Hawaiian Islands by castaways from a foundered Spanish vessel of discovery.

VII

Later Polynesian Editors

When Jarves left Hawaii and the second Polynesian in 1848, he was succeeded as editor by C. E. Hitchcock, and Hitchcock was followed in turn by Charles Gordon Hopkins, by Edwin O. Hall, who, as I have told, had previously gone to Oregon as a mission printer taking a press, and Abraham Fornander. Fornander was the historian and ethnologist, as will be related later. The Polynesian was published under Fornander's editorship for three years as a government organ, but in 1863 it was leased by him and continued as an independent journal until finally discontinued in 1864.

John F. Thrum, elder brother of Thomas G. Thrum, writing in 1877 said, "For sometime previous to the appearance of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser (in 1856), the only weekly paper published was the Polynesian which had degenerated from quite a readable journal into anything but a newspaper. . . . Government hobbies were quite as ridiculous, if not more so, in those days than now". He goes on to describe at length the cordial welcome given the Pacific Commercial Advertiser by a community which desired to get the news served up in typographically attractive form.

Undoubtedly as a result of the preliminary campaign on behalf of the forthcoming independent Advertiser, a drastic change—at least on paper—was made in the policies governing the conduct of the Polynesian. An amendment was passed on June 30, 1856, to the law relating to the government press. This amendment, it is indicated, was inspired by Minister of Foreign Affairs Robert Crichton Wyllie, and reads as follows: "The editor of the Polynesian shall conduct his paper free and independent of all government influences and responsibility, excepting only in regards to the publication of notices and communications by authority of the government, or any of the departments thereof". This notice does not seem to have been taken seriously even by the editor of the Polynesian. In the

same issue that carried the formal notice, Editor Charles Gordon Hopkins treats "the little act of emancipation", in a facetious vein. It contained little in the way of news, and much in the way of long communications, dignified but heavy official announcements, inspired propaganda, and occasionally government matter which was decidedly offensive to various of the parties in Honolulu.

Its past few years prior to 1856 had been a struggle, even with subsidies. Now in 1856 we find it printed veiled attacks upon the United States on a controversy then pending with Great Britain, an attack so little disguised, that the American Minister, David L. Gregg, addressed to the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Wyllie, a vigorous protest. In this protest he pointed out that the Polynesian was an altogether government concern and suggested frankly that the publication of articles offensive to the United States was quite improper.

VIII

Fornander as Editor

In 1860, Abraham Fornander became editor of the *Polynesian*. Like Jarves, he deserves more than passing mention. Fornander was a Swede, born in Gerdlasa, South Sweden, November 4, 1812. He was given an exceptionally good education, taking university work, and particularly attracted by history courses. Of adventurous seafaring blood, he came to the Sandwich islands in 1838, went on a long whaling cruise, returned in 1842, became a coffee planter in Nuuanu Valley, later a surveyor, married a Molokai chiefess. Stories of the California gold fields lured him and he went to California, returning, disillusioned, in 1852. Then he entered the newspaper field. He edited the *Weekly Argus*,² concerning which so little is

² *The Weekly Argus* appeared January 14, 1852, and ran until sometime in the middle or latter part of 1853, when it was succeeded, either immediately or after a short lapse of time, by a paper called the *New Era and Argus*. This latter paper was certainly in existence in January and in June, 1854, and there is good authority for saying that it continued until sometime in 1855. The following contemporary view of the *Argus* is contained in an official dispatch of Luther Severance, U. S. Commissioner to Hawaii, dated May 31, 1853:

"It may not be out of place to mention here that there are three newspapers published in the Sandwich Islands, all at Honolulu, viz: the *Polynesian*, the government organ edited by Mr. Hall; the *Argus*, edited by Mr. Fornander, a Swede married to a native woman; and the *Elele*, supervised by Mr. Armstrong, the Minister of Public Instruction, and printed in the native language. The *Argus* is the successor of several other papers which have existed for a time and successively failed for want

known that most chroniclers do not mention it at all. One Matthew K. Smith was the publisher, and the Argus was established to oppose government restriction of free speech and free press. Fornander was a great student and talented writer. He succeeded C. G. Hopkins when the latter wearied of editing a government organ, and the Argus had given up a losing struggle. From 1860 to 1863 Fornander carried on a rather thankless job as government editor. Then he leased the Polynesian and attempted to run it as an independent paper, but it could not survive the disfavor into which it had fallen, and it was discontinued in 1864.

As we shall tell later, another effort was made not long after to operate a government organ, with similar results.

Fornander was appointed circuit judge for Maui about the time the Polynesian was passing away for lack of sustenance. He remained in the judiciary service and won high honors there. He died November 1, 1887. The last 20 years of his life were largely devoted to historical research and writing. Though later studies have brought disagreement with many of his conclusions concerning the origin and early history of the Hawaiian race, his three volumes are, and will continue to be, valuable for their information and their thorough scholarship. He was truly one of the great pioneers of Hawaii's journalism.

The Polynesian was printed at the government printing-office, a stone building on Alakea street near Hotel street, long ago torn down. In this same building and office was printed The Friend for some years. In 1847 the government put up a new building for a printing office, of coral stone, on Merchant street near the present tax office, branch (formerly the Honolulu post office). This too has disappeared. It was used for the Polynesian until the latter ended its career in 1864.

of support. These papers have generally professed to be friendly to the King, but have been sustained chiefly by the efforts of a few persons who are implacable in their opposition to his Ministers, and persevering in their efforts to induce him to change them. These few persons include the British, French and Bremen consuls, the latter an American long resident [Stephen Reynolds], who has a chronic hatred of American missionaries and of the government generally and of Dr. Judd especially and intensely, in which the British Consul General concurs. The Argus embodies and rallies the opposition to the government, but spares Mr. Wyllie, who has been making persevering efforts to remove the restrictions on the sale of strong drinks and greatly reduce the high duties. The Argus represents the *free liquor* interest, opposes Missionary influences, and opposes annexation to the United States, as earnestly as it dare to do, being anxious on one side to favor the wishes of its British and French supporters, and to prejudice the King, and especially Prince Liholiho, against the ministers: and on the other hand not to offend its American anti missionary anti liquor law patrons without whose support the paper could not exist."

IX

Henry L. Sheldon

Now I must skip back a few years—back to 1846—when Henry L. Sheldon already mentioned, arrived in Honolulu.

Sheldon was a native of the state of Rhode Island, born in 1809, and well educated in schools. He had ample training as a printer and was particularly skilled in fine printing work. The first 35 years of his life were spent in newspaper and printing shops along the eastern seaboard. He was of a restless and roving disposition, and prior to coming to Honolulu had already had a taste of the ups and downs of the old-time editor. After residing in Honolulu for two years, he went to San Francisco although intending to remain at Monterey, and was employed on the *Californian*, a weekly published by B. R. Buckelew, a watchmaker. A month after he was employed he, with two other printers, bought the paper and paid \$1500, in notes, for it. Along came the gold fever and as Sheldon recorded many years later "it took away all of our subscribers." His two partners took the fever also and rushed off to the gold fields. Finally Sheldon decided that publishing a newspaper without help and without subscribers was hardly a profitable business, and prepared to leave San Francisco for the gold fields also. He got out an extra informing the public, which consisted, he relates, of two merchants and the wives whose husbands had gone to the mines, that the *Californian* would be suspended for an indefinite period. In August he and his partners came back from the mines with several sacks well filled with gold dust, but his creditor Buckelew declined to take the gold dust, demanding coin, and forced the ambitious printers to sell out. It was this disaster which headed Sheldon towards Hawaii again, and gave to the islands one of the most competent editors and skilful writers of the early days.

Soon after his return to Hawaii, Sheldon founded and was the first editor of a weekly newspaper called the *Honolulu Times*, which was started on November 8, 1849, and continued for at least one year, until October 30, 1850. Edmund C. Munn became editor on May 8, 1850, but Sheldon continued as "Proprietor". The *Times* was critical of the government but not in a vituperative manner.

Sheldon came to Hawaii in 1846 on a yacht intended to be sold to the reigning sovereign of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Kamehameha III. The King bought the yacht, after she had out-sailed his old yacht from Honolulu to Lahaina, making the run in exactly ten hours. The yacht was named the "Kamehameha III". Sheldon immediately began work as a printer and developed into one of the outstanding figures of Hawaii's journalism. Incidentally, his reminiscences of Honolulu from 1846 to 1852—a rich mine of historical material—have been assembled at the Library of Archives, together with an able and appreciative introduction by Albert P. Taylor, archivist. Sheldon died in Honolulu in November, 1883, the year of the coronation of King Kalakaua, having lived thirty-seven years in the islands. He was not only a skilled printer, but a judge and legislator, as well as an able newspaper editor, and general observer of men and events. He was for many years the manager of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser. It was he, who after the occupation of California by the United States, and the effort to publish an American newspaper, sent to Honolulu for so-called American type. The only fonts at first were Spanish, which contained no "w", so two "v's" were placed together to form a "w". To handle this typographical obstacle, Sheldon sent to Honolulu, which appears always to have been a source for needed modern materials throughout the Pacific, and procured regular "w's".

K

The Tough Forties

The forties were apparently tough on editors and papers. It was hard going in the poor, straggling seaport town. One notes the Cascade, 1844-45; the Monitor, 1845; the Fountain, 1847; the Honolulu Times (mentioned above). They were weeklies that came, saw and were conquered by well-known economic law. Most of them cannot be found today. Perhaps few copies survive. A Commercial is mentioned, I find, but have no dates for its publication.

The *Sandwich Island News*, however, won a place prominent enough to warrant attention in this paper. This weekly, started in 1846, had as ostensible proprietors three men of Honolulu who

called themselves "A Committee of Foreign Residents" and announced that they were editing and publishing the paper.

The first issue was on September 2, 1846, and on its first page was carried this statement about the committee, repeated in all subsequent issues. This committee was composed of Alex G. Abell, former U. S. Consul; J. B. deFiennes, a Belgian lawyer who is said to have been prominent in several land and financial schemes; and Robert C. Janion, an Englishman engaged in business in Honolulu. DeFiennes subsequently withdrew and his place was taken by P. A. Brinsmade. Brinsmade had been prominent for several years as a representative of the firm of Ladd & Company, which firm had large holdings in the Hawaiian Islands and claimed much more. Incidentally, one of the most famous legal cases of those early days was that of Ladd & Company versus the Sandwich Island Government. It seems at least a possibility, therefore, that the establishment of the Sandwich Island News was partly on behalf of Ladd & Company and an effort to bolster up its claims. This assumption is given some basis by the fact that the first issue of the new journal is largely filled with statements concerning this famous case, and is generally favorable to the Ladd side of the question. Big stakes were in the play; control of a newspaper would have been merely one of the moves on an international chessboard.

Sheldon, the observing printer, remarks that the News was, from the start, particularly hostile to the government; and that Brinsmade waged bitter war upon everybody in any way connected with the government. Editor Brinsmade was well-educated—it was said he had been headed for the Christian ministry—but Sheldon puts him down as a disappointed man who conducted an unprincipled editorial course.

Fortunately, the Library of Archives has preserved a complete volume of the Sandwich Island News. Time does not permit any considerable discussion of this paper, whose character may be taken generally as anti-government. It was discontinued on August 25, 1847. In his swan song the editor—Mr. Brinsmade—finds consolation for the demise of the journal in the achievements which it lists. Thus, in the same paragraph we find him expressing satisfaction for "exposing the ridiculous attempt to pompously impose the observation of the code of etiquette borrowed from Vienna"—

evidently a matter in the realm of politics and diplomacy; and expressing equal satisfaction that the "dangerous practice of driving wild and infuriated bullocks into town to be slaughtered" had been so denounced by the News that the practice was promptly prohibited. One might observe parenthetically, that even in 1846 problems of national and international relations were no more pressing than Honolulu's traffic conditions—much as is the case today.

The Sandwich Island News was revived on November 4, 1847, and continued until October 26, 1848, possibly longer. During the entire second volume it was published by William J. Wilson, but the name of John G. Munn appears as editor on January 20, 1848. Munn was succeeded as editor by E. A. Rockwell on February 24, 1848. The policy of the News during this second volume was essentially the same as it was in the first volume.

XI

Hawaii's Oldest—The Friend

Although *The Friend* is not, strictly speaking, a newspaper, it should be mentioned here, since often in the early days it did yeoman service as a medium of public information and discussion.

To *The Friend*, which I assume is known to all of us here tonight, justly goes the credit for being the oldest existing newspaper in the islands. Furthermore, *The Friend* has the honor and glory of being the oldest newspaper West of the Rocky Mountains. It was founded in January, 1843, by the Rev. Samuel C. Damon and was first called "The Temperance Advocate and Seamen's Friend". It was established by Rev. Mr. Damon as the means of approach in printed form to the large number of seamen who visited the isolated, but busy, little port of Honolulu. Their debaucheries ashore formed not only a grave political but social problem for the residents of those early days. *The Friend* has maintained with unusual consistency its status as a journal of moral and ethical affairs, with sufficient informative material to justify its claim to being a chronicler of current events. It has been published continuously from 1843 to the present time, eighty-six years. In April, 1902, it was taken over by the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Associa-

tion and it is still the organ of that Board. For many years prior to that date Mr. T. G. Thrum was its business manager. The Friend is replete, especially in the early decades, with historical material and is often referred to as the "Historical Bible of Hawaii".

The demise of the New Era in 1855 left the field open except for the Polynesian. As previously stated, the Polynesian was not popularly accepted or trusted because of its government control and the time was ripe for an independent news medium. That medium soon appeared in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser.

XII

The Oldest Newspaper

The Advertiser is the oldest newspaper in Hawaii which can trace an unbroken line of descent to the present. It made its first appearance July 2, 1856.

The establishment of this journal is directly connected with the death of the famous old Polynesian, and this death in turn is traceable to the failure of a government owned and government subsidized newspaper to win and hold the confidence of the readers.

The Polynesian, as already stated, first appeared on June 6, 1840, and was given up at the end of eighteen months and revived in 1844, this time as the official organ of the Hawaiian government. In 1856, when the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* appeared, The Polynesian was still a weekly and still subsidized by the government. It was operated under a "director of the government press".

At this time one Henry M. Whitney—and many of you here are familiar with that name—was business manager of the Polynesian. He was a native of Hawaii, son of a missionary, and a printer by trade. He had come to the islands on a clipper ship in 1840—come from Printing House Row in New York—and in that city had been in charge of the press room of Harper and Bros. For a time he was associated with Col. Stone's Commercial Advertiser in New York and it is easy to guess, when a few years later he decided to start a journal in Hawaii, that he recalled the name of

his former connection and gave to his new venture the title of Pacific Commercial Advertiser.

Whitney had served faithfully as business manager of the Polynesian, and his knowledge of printing stood him in good stead, but it needed more than a printer and a manager to make a success of a government organ. It is said, too, that he was constantly irritated by the policies and support of the government and particularly by its anti-American policy, already referred to.

There was so much demand in Honolulu for an independent journal that in 1856 Mr. Whitney decided to start such a paper. He sent to New York for a press and other material and this came around the horn by sailing ship.

The prospectus of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser said in part:

The necessity for a reliable domestic Newspaper, devoted to inter-island Commerce, Agriculture and the whaling interests in the Pacific, and independent of Government control and patronage, has long existed; and the wants of our business-community having at length demanded the establishment of such a paper, the undersigned proposes to publish a Weekly Journal to be called "The Pacific Commercial Advertiser", the first number of which will be issued on Wednesday, July 2, 1856. This paper will be devoted to Commerce, the Whale Fishery, Agriculture, Manufactures, Literature, and Politics.

It is announced that a portion of each weekly issue would be printed in native Hawaiian in a special edition, and that the Advertiser would be issued every Wednesday morning at \$6.00 per annum, payable in advance.

The first issue of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser came off the Washington hand press, the capacity of which, by the way, was 600 copies an hour. The scene was a little frame building on what is now Merchant street near the little coral building, known as Honolulu Hale. The frame building vanished many years ago and Honolulu Hale was torn down a few years ago. William Brash, a printer who assisted at the birth of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, still resides in Honolulu.

The first issue of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser (weekly) is preserved in the Library of Archives, and although like most of these early papers it is stained and defaced by time, it is generally in

a good state of preservation. It is a four page, five column paper of approximately the same size as the newspapers of today. Three of the four pages are printed in English and the fourth, or back page, in Hawaiian, and this was a form generally followed for a considerable period. Its size was enlarged in September of the same year, chiefly by a matter of three inches in length.

The Pacific Commercial Advertiser went through a number of vicissitudes as a weekly from 1856 to 1882. In the late sixties Mr. Whitney violently opposed the planters on the issue of importation of Oriental labor. As a result of this, it is recounted, he found his position untenable and the Advertiser was sold on September 1, 1870, to Black & Auld. This firm owned and operated the paper for ten years.

On September 1, 1880, brokers acting for Claus Spreckels, that famous old "sugar king", bought the Advertiser and used it actively and energetically—if not adroitly—in furthering his many political and industrial enterprises.

In fact, the purchase by Spreckels reversed the Advertiser's policies. Heretofore it had been an independent newspaper; under Spreckels it was an organ of the crown and its editor-in-chief was Walter Murray Gibson, regarded as one of the most able and most dexterous, if not the most unscrupulous, officials the Kingdom of Hawaii had ever had. Gibson, a man of high education, later became Prime Minister of Hawaii under King Kalakaua. Both Gibson and Gibsonianism passed in Hawaii in July, 1887, when the so-called "Bayonet" Constitution was obtained from Kalakaua.

Henry M. Whitney's struggle for independent journalism in Hawaii was a valiant struggle. He believed in the freedom of the press to criticize as well as to inform. He had the true Anglo-Saxon instinct for democratic government.

One editorial will suffice to show the sturdy principle he upheld. It appeared in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser of June 30, 1859.

The Advertiser was still and for years afterward a little weekly paper. Its circulation was about 1000, swelled in the busy season to 1200 to 1500. The busy season, as I gather from a perusal

of the files, was the height of the whaling season for Hawaii, when ships from many ports were in Honolulu harbor outfitting for their long cruises in arctic or tropic seas.

In this editorial, nearly seventy years ago, the editor evinced a faith in Honolulu which ought to stir his present brethren of the profession to similar belief in a greater destiny. He prophesied that some of those who read his editorial "will live to see the day when not simply one, but rival daily papers will be issued in Honolulu, and the arrival and departure of steamers will be of daily occurrence." This valiant prediction was abundantly borne out since. It was only thirty years later that two daily papers were established to be followed within a comparatively short time by others, and at least one Hawaii resident, our venerable and revered fellow editor, Thomas G. Thrum, not only was living in Honolulu when the editorial just referred to was published, but is with us today—a life that spans the range from a busy season of whaling ships to a busy season of tourists arrivals.

I wish to quote a bit further from this editorial in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser of 1859, because there was then enunciated a principle as true today as it was seventy years ago. The editorial closed with the following statement:

The history of journalism in Honolulu illustrates one fact, that the foreign population *will* have an independent journal in contra-distinction to any official or governmental publication. The first journal established, the *Gazette*, was started mainly to exhibit the faults of the government and its advisers. So too, with the *News*, one of the most sarcastic and powerfully-edited papers ever published in any country. Both these journals when private enterprise failed to sustain them, were taken in hand and supported by the mercantile public. The *Times*, the *Era* and *Argus*, as well as the *Commercial*, were all called into being to oppose and contend with the real or imagined tyranny of officials and with government restraints on freedom of thought, and to maintain a fair and open expression of public opinion. It is a trait inherent to the Anglo-Saxon mind, that it will not submit to mental despotism. It calls for, and will have the same freedom for thought as for limb. The despot who attempts to chain—else than for crime—or restrain in any manner the bones and sinews of the Anglo-Saxon race, does it at his peril. Wherever such personal oppression has been attempted on that race, it rises with the power of a giant, and breaks the fetters. To attempt to chain the mental faculties, meets with the same resistance. Wherever the English language becomes established, newspapers, devoted to freedom of thought, are as necessary to the existence of the community as the light of the day. Without a paper through which to utter its grievances, the public mind, always changing and restless, lies pent up, like a boil, that racks with anguish the whole frame of its victim, and aches for some vent to discharge its stinging poison. Such was the case on the establishment of the *News* in 1847, which pursued the government and all its officers, high

and low, with a rancor and bitterness rarely exceeded. Such too, was the case on the establishment of this journal in 1856. The public mind had for several years been pent up, the indiscreetness of the government editor only adding force to the fermenting elements at work.

Thus early was it recognized that the public demands its news from other than official or government sources and the newspaper is not only a public utility, but a public safety valve.

Mr. Whitney launched an Hawaiian newspaper, too, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*—or “The Independent”, which was well edited and widely followed. The Friend of January 1, 1862, says, “The Hawaiians are as much attached to newspapers as any newsmonger of old Athens was to the gossip of Areopagus,” and lists a considerable number of publications in Hawaiian. This was one of many attempts to give to Hawaii a permanent newspaper in the language of the islands—an effort inevitably thwarted by the steady and natural process of developing a single language—and that the English language—for all the inhabitants of Hawaii.

XIII

The Gazette

A brief history of the Gazette should be given. The name Gazette, which has since so long been associated with the Advertiser, first seems to have appeared in the “Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce”.

On the 21st of January, 1865, the name reappeared with the first number of the *Hawaiian Gazette*, an eight page weekly. (Walter G. Smith, former Advertiser editor, in the 50th anniversary number of the Advertiser, July 2, 1906, gives the date of the Hawaiian Gazette's appearance as January 19, 1865).

The Hawaiian Gazette was originally an organ of the government, started when after the death of the Polynesian the government felt the need of an official paper to represent its viewpoint and support its policies. Apparently the government had not learned by the Polynesian's fate.

The first issue of the Hawaiian Gazette announced editorially that this would be an organ of the government and frankly stated

that there was a need for a medium which would present for the King's government "a ready means of declaring its policies to all who are interested in its measures". It was also stated with equal frankness that the weekly papers at present published in Honolulu "have misrepresented the government to its great injury and through it the most important interests of the country". It was stated that it would be a medium of news and that also in connection with it a weekly newspaper in the Hawaiian language would be published.

The Gazette was managed from 1865 for several years by Mr. Mott Smith, who was "director of the government press". In 1873, Mr. Henry M. Whitney, who had previously edited the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, as mentioned, and had left the country for a time, was again back and looking for employment. He leased the Gazette which he published until 1878. For a time Robert Grieve, a printer and bookseller, owned the property. The Gazette seems to have been one of the most substantial of the journals of that day, since in 1888 the Gazette Company bought the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, which had been a daily since 1882. The Advertiser was continued as a daily paper with the Gazette as the weekly—later the semi-weekly—issue, and has continued as a daily to the present time. The Gazette was discontinued several years ago.

XIV

Daily Hawaiian Herald—Pioneer Daily

For the first daily paper in Hawaii we must go back to 1866. It is rather remarkable that comparatively little has appeared in print about this first daily newspaper published in the islands. This was the *Daily Hawaiian Herald*, issued every morning, except Sunday and Monday, printed at the corner of Queen and Kaahumanu streets by J. J. Ayers, for 25c a week or \$10.00 per year in advance. It was a four-page paper with very small print, its advertising being made up largely of business cards. It was announced as being independent, progressive, and devoted to the enlightenment of the public and encouragement of commerce. For that early day it contained a considerable volume of local news, together with some foreign news gleaned from the incoming mails. I have been able to find little concerning

the personality of the editor, manager, and printer, Mr. Ayers, but take it that he was one of the considerable number of foreigners who had come to the islands seeking fortune and that he got into the newspaper business largely because he was familiar with printing. He had twenty-five years experience in newspapers in the states and had risen from the lowly status of a "printer's devil" to that of founder and editor-in-chief of a daily in San Francisco. Reverses in San Francisco apparently caused him to seek new fields in the islands, but as he confessed in his valedictory "a daily paper cannot at present exist in Honolulu".

The Hawaiian Herald while frequently critical of the government was upon the whole not apparently given to prejudice or abuse.

The Herald was suspended December 21, 1866, and it was sixteen years before another daily appeared in Honolulu. In its closing issue the Herald was frank to confess that its appearance as a daily paper was an experiment and that "instead even of the paper supporting itself, it has in a few months—notwithstanding all the labor and economy we can bring to bear personally—eaten up a small fortune."

Judging from the amount of advertising which the Herald regularly carried, it should have been at least self-supporting, but very possibly Editor Ayers had the not unfamiliar experience of being unable to collect all of his advertising accounts.

Several references to Mark Twain appear in this Daily Hawaiian Herald. Its issue of December 13, 1866 contains a column and a half under the heading "Letter from Mark Twain".

This little journal of five columns, its pages yellowed and stained by time and somewhat disastrously riddled by those insect pests which thrive on a diet of old newspapers, is interesting and yet melancholy reading for the editor of the present day. It is obvious from its closely printed and laboriously compiled pages, that this editor of sixty-two years ago worked with zeal and devotion to give to his little reading public a combination of news, editorials, wit and humor, antidotes, and moral precepts. He was a real pioneer on uncertain seas—the master of a frail bark which long ago has gone down with all hands.

XV

The Evening Bulletin

Thomas G. Thrum, whose painstaking record of current events from 1875 to the present day gives him ample claim to authority, credits the *Evening Bulletin*—predecessor of The Star-Bulletin—with being the oldest *daily* paper in Hawaii.

In the establishment of this paper there reoccurs the name and achievements of Henry M. Whitney, already mentioned in the story of the Honolulu Advertiser.

Mr. Whitney left Hawaii after the sale of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser to Black & Auld in 1870. He was not satisfied in the states, however, and his return to Honolulu within a few months is evidence that the membership rolls of the "Come Back Club" were even then open and growing rapidly. Returning in late 1870 or early 1871, Mr. Whitney started a stationery, news, and book business in Honolulu Hale, which was still serving as the office of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser which he had launched in 1856. Mr. Whitney was, during this later stay, also publishing the Hawaiian Gazette, for some years.

This building—Honolulu Hale—was next to the Post Office building on Bethel and Merchant streets, the old Post Office building now being the territorial tax office.

On account of the growing community and business needs the postal authorities were using part of Honolulu Hale. A partition divided the Ewa or North side, which was used by the Post Office, while the Waikiki or South side was used by the Whitney stationery business and also the office of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser.

At that time the postal authorities were putting up on the Ewa side door of the Post Office, daily bulletins concerning arrival of ships, dispatches of mail, et cetera. This custom of daily postal bulletins apparently had originated in 1856 or 1866 and from this custom there grew a similar enterprise by Mr. Whitney, in posting up a manuscript sheet daily, except Sunday, on the opposite door of the Post Office bulletin. On this manuscript Mr. Whitney, with the

editor's instinct for information, used to record not only marine information of arrival and departure of ships and mails, but passenger lists, and items of local events in business or other circles.

This one-page written bulletin was the genesis of the Evening Bulletin. Unfortunately, as Mr. Thrum records with regret (Hawaiian Almanac for 1897, page 109 to 111), no copies of these bulletins of long ago were preserved and there is no certainty as to the date when Mr. Whitney posted his first little news sheet on the door of his stationery store.

The power of local news items in attracting public attention was never better shown than in the subsequent development of this bulletin. Whitney enlarged and changed the form of his sheet, added a printed title with headings for several departments and expanded the scope of the news. So successful was the daily sheet in attracting public notice, and thus advertising Mr. Whitney's stationery business, that a rival stationery firm put out the "Daily Commercial Bulletin" in distinct competition to Mr. Whitney's daily marine bulletin. The "Daily Commercial Bulletin" was in existence for two years.

Later James W. Robertson—long afterwards well-known as a shipping man with C. Brewer & Company—with several associates formed the firm of J. W. Robertson & Company and bought out Mr. Whitney's stationery and news business. It was this firm, J. W. Robertson & Company, that put out the first printed issue of the daily bulletin. This appeared February 1, 1882—Honolulu's first daily printed news sheet to live to the present day. It was distributed free among the business houses of the city.

This daily bulletin made its debut as a one-page affair four columns wide. Jimmy Robertson, youthful and enthusiastic, found an opportunity to make some money with his news sheet and began taking advertisements for merchants. These advertisements being printed on the second or back page. On March 1st the Daily Bulletin was enlarged to five columns and printed on both sides, and continued to be distributed free of charge until March 20th, when announcement was made that a subscription price of 25c a month would be charged.

On April 24th, the daily bulletin appeared as a four-page, six column daily paper. H. L. Sheldon, whose activities as printer, editor, judge, and legislator have previously been mentioned, was the editor, and although he was then 73 years of age, he began his editorship with vigor and vision.

It was one week later, May 1, 1882, that the Pacific Commercial Advertiser made its appearance as a daily.

XVI

The Hawaiian Star

The Pacific Commercial Advertiser of May 1, 1894, gives the following account of the birth of the *Hawaiian Star*.

The Hawaiian Star, although the baby of Honolulu's newspaper family, is a lusty child, and one that its parents may feel proud of. It was started March 28, 1893, and is consequently, only a little over a year old. But in that year it has pushed itself to the front and is a strong factor in the forces allied on the side of the Provisional Government.

Walter G. Smith, the Star's editor, came here shortly after the revolution of 1893 as a special correspondent of the San Francisco Chronicle. He wrote a number of letters to his paper, the tone of which showed that he was a staunch upholder of the annexation cause. When it was decided to start the Star, Mr. Smith was at once chosen as its editor, and has served in the capacity ever since. About the time that he took the editorship of this paper, the Chronicle sent him word that his services here would be needed no longer, as matters had quieted down, and they did not care to keep a man here. Naturally, Mr. Smith was expected to return to San Francisco and resume his old position on the Chronicle, but rumor has it that, instead of going to San Francisco himself, he simply mailed a copy of the Star to his former paper, with his name, as editor, marked with a heavy blue border.

The Star has, ever since its inception, been the organ of the radical wing of the Annexation party. It has made a strong fight against the keeping of royalists in office, has advocated the banishment of the ex-queen, has demanded the control of the Government by the loyal annexationists alone, and has advanced several other radical views.

The Star, during the first few months of its issue, was published by the Press Publishing Company on Bethel street. Later, an entire new plant was purchased and the office of the paper was moved to its present location in the McInerny block.

The first executives of the Hawaiian Star were: Dr. J. S. McGrew, editor-in-chief; Walter G. Smith, managing editor; Wm. P. Tilden, business manager.

The officers of the Hawaiian Star Publishing Association, which launched this annexationist daily, were: J. S. McGrew, president; A. S. Hartwell, vice-president; G. W. Smith, secretary; E. A. Jones, treasurer; John Emmeluth, auditor.

Dr. J. S. McGrew's invincible desire for an annexationist organ is said to have been one of the chief moving forces in its establishment. Among the well-known names associated with *The Star*, either actively or backing it with influence and money, were the late J. B. Atherton, C. M. Cooke, P. C. Jones and S. M. Damon, and F. J. Lowrey.

Ed Towse, who had come to the islands with practical newspaper experience, joined the staff late in 1893 and took charge of its news department, and when he left in May, 1894, M. F. Prosser, now a well-known attorney, then a recent arrival from the states, took his place.

(NOTE: The Honolulu Star-Bulletin was established July 1, 1912, by a merger between *The Hawaiian Star* and *The Evening Bulletin*. As this article covers only the beginnings of the daily press of Honolulu, no extended discussion of the Star-Bulletin is included.)

XVII

Untouched Fields

It is not the purpose of this paper to go further, at this time, than the establishment of Honolulu's dailies which are still published. There is a vast untouched field for some future time and occasion. From the late sixties to the present there have been many weeklies or semi-weeklies and several dailies in Honolulu that have had their day on the stage, and on which the curtain has been rung down.

There is, too, a virgin field for some historian who will tell of the various generations and epidemics of pamphleteering, an art, science and enterprise which on various occasions has flourished extraordinarily in Honolulu.

And I would like to pay more than passing tribute to the revered dean of all the writing men in Honolulu—newspapermen or

magazine men or historians or whatever they may be—Thomas G. Thrum, whose name has been connected with many a Hawaii publication of merit in addition to his remarkable period of editorship of Thrum's Annual.

Nor have I time to tell of the press on other islands; or of the foreign language press—both fruitful subjects. Nor of the birth, comparatively brief time of activity, and death of the Hawaiian dailies and weeklies. Of this I can only say that in 1895 there were in Honolulu one morning and three evening papers in English and two dailies in Hawaiian—a total of six. Today there are two dailies in English and two in part-Japanese and part-English. In Honolulu, as everywhere else in the United States, the tendency is toward fewer and larger, more powerful newspapers.

XVIII

Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge particularly the cordial and efficient assistance of A. P. Taylor, librarian of the archives, in searching many musty volumes for the material for much of this paper, and certain valuable references given me by Bishop H. B. Restarick, president of the Hawaiian Historical Society. I am further indebted to R. S. Kuykendall for suggestions in the interests of accuracy and proof revisions.

It would not be proper to close this discussion without saying that the research of the past few weeks has given me many a pleasant acquaintance among those editors of long ago. Crabbed some of them, sarcastic and domineering some, suave and Old-World-courtly some, humble and aspiring some. Most of them command respect, whether or not you agree with their policies and pronouncements; and the body of day-by-day information and comment which has been built up through the early press of Hawaii is a heritage and an asset which future generations may recognize even more than do we.

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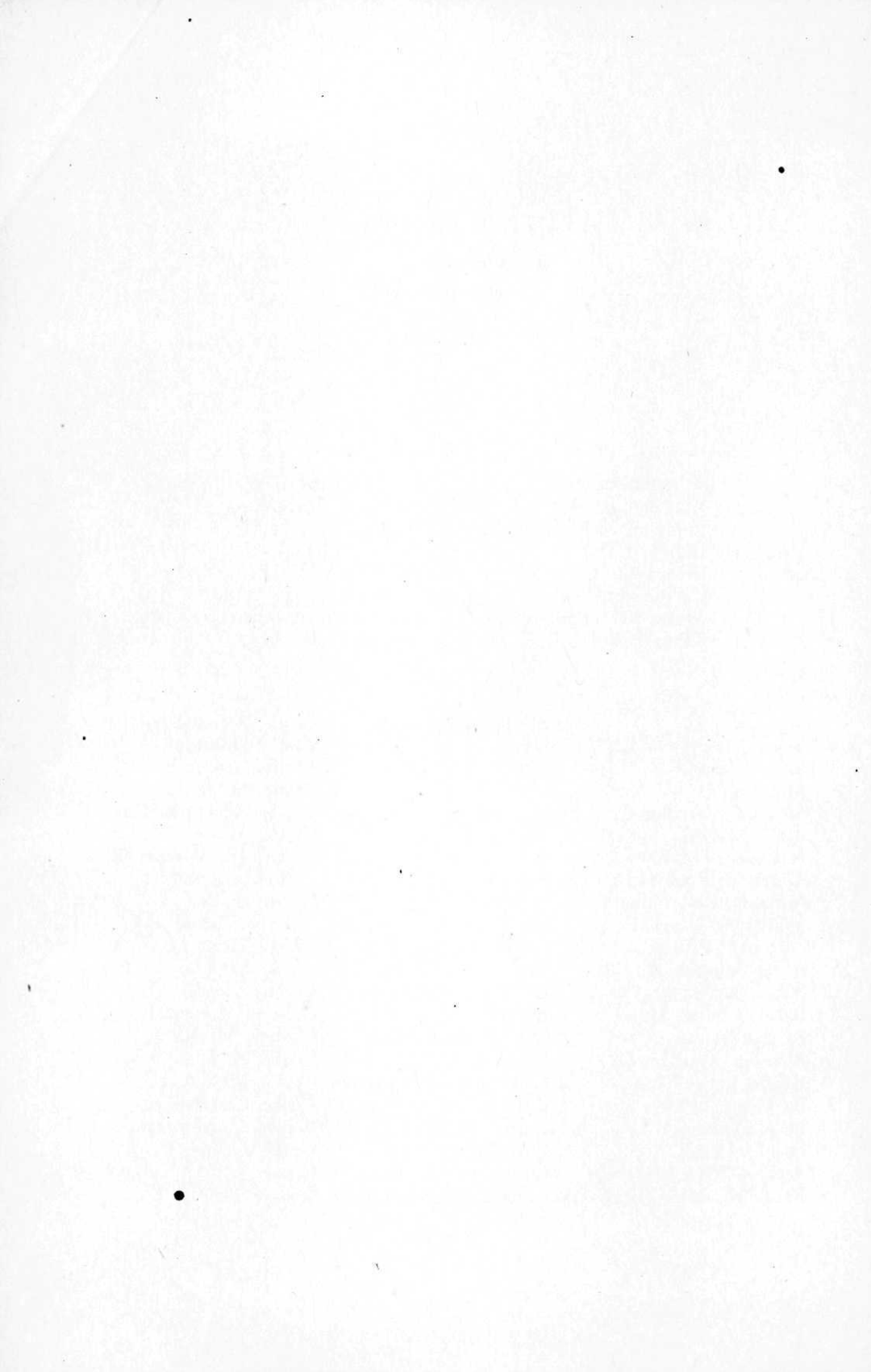
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Sheldon, H. L.

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- Soga, Y.
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- Yzendoorn, Reginald
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LIST OF MEMBERS

Honorary

Emerson, Joseph S.
 Howay, Judge F. W.
 Thrum, Thomas G.

Benefactor

Carter, George R.

Life

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| Atherton, Frank C. | Phillips, Stephen W. |
| Atkinson, R. W. | Robinson, Mark A. |
| Baldwin, Mrs. Emily A. | Swanzy, Mrs. F. M. |
| Bishop, E. F. | Tenney, E. D. |
| Brown, C. A. | Westervelt, W. D. |
| Cartwright, Bruce | Westervelt, Mrs. W. D. |
| Marx, Mrs. Eloise C. | Westervelt, Andrew C. |
| Midkiff, Frank E. | Wilcox, G. P. |

Annual

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Ai, C. K. | Bennett, Mrs. George Y. | Castle, Alfred L. |
| Aiona, Mrs. Annie P. C. | Biggs, Clark | Castle, Dorothy |
| Akimo, James | Billson, Marcus K. | Castle, George P. |
| Allen, R. H. | Bixby, A. E. | Castle, H. K. L. |
| Alexander, Arthur C. | Black, S. | Castle, Mrs. Ida Tenny |
| Aluli, Noa A. | Blue, George V. | Castle, W. R. |
| Anderson, D. W. | Bode, R. R. | Castle, Jr., William R. |
| Anderson, Robbins B. | Bogardus, Everardus | Catton, Sr., Robert |
| Anthony, Rev. Father | Bowen, H. Stevens | Caum, E. L. |
| Armitage, George T. | Boyer, F. O. | Chamberlain, W. W. |
| Bachman, Paul S. | Brown, Francis H. I. | Clarke, Adna G. |
| Bailey, Thomas A. | Brown, George Ii | Clarke, Mrs. Jane Comstock |
| Baker, Albert S. | Bryant, Mrs. Gerald | Collins, George M. |
| Baker, Charles H. | Buck, P. H. | Colson, Warren H. |
| Balch, John A. | Bukeley, Rudolph | Conner, Martin |
| Baldwin, William D. | Burbank, Miss Mary A. | Cooke, A. F. |
| Banks, James J. | Canavarro, Miss Helen | Cooke, Mrs. A. F. |
| Beakbane, Walter | Carlsmith, Carl | Cooke, Clarence H. |
| Beal, Walter | Carter, A. W. | Cooke, C. Montague |
| Beckley, Fred | Carter, Mrs. A. W. | Cooke, George P. |
| Beckley, Mrs. Mary C. | Carter, C. Hartwell | Cooke, J. P. |
| Beckwith, Miss Martha W. | Carter, Mrs. George R. | Cooke, Thomas E. |

Cooper, Bryant
 Crane, Charles S.
 Cross, Miss Ermine
 Crosno, Mrs. May F.
 Damon, Miss Ethel M.
 Damon, Mrs. H. F.
 Damon, Miss May M.
 Dillingham, Walter F.
 Dole, Miss Emily C.
 Dole, James D.
 Doty, J. Lamb
 Dowsett, John M.
 Duncan, Rudolph M.
 Dunkhase, Mrs. Carl
 Ellis, T. W.
 Emory, Kenneth P.
 Erdman, John P.
 Fernandes, Frank F.
 Fired, Wm. H.
 Fleming, D. F.
 Fleming, John L.
 Ford, Alexander Hume
 Frank, Rev. Father Valentine
 Frear, W. F.
 Frear, Mrs. W. F.
 Gartley, Mrs. Ada J.
 Garvie, James A.
 Gibson, T. H.
 Giffard, W. M.
 Goodale, Mrs. Emma Whitney
 Goodale, W. W.
 Green, Miss Caroline P.
 Greenwell, Mrs. E. C.
 Gregory, Herbert E.
 Hart, Henry H.
 Hauck, Arthur A.
 Hedemann, C. J.
 Hemenway, C. R.
 Henriques, Edgar
 Henriques, Mrs. Edgar
 Heusinger, E. W.
 Hinckley, Thurston R.
 Hitchcock, Miss Harriet C.
 Ho Fon
 Holstein, H. L.
 Holt, William D.

Hooley, O. E.
 Hotze, Henry
 Houston, Victor S. K.
 Howell, Hugh
 Howell, John G.
 Hunnewell, James M.
 Iaukea, Curtis P.
 Jones, Miss Maude
 Jones, Miss Stella M.
 Judd, Albert F.
 Judd, Miss Bernice
 Judd, Miss E. Pauahi
 Judd, Henry P.
 Kahalepuna, B. N.
 Kea, Mrs. Edward
 Keola, James N. K.
 Kimball, Clifford
 King, Charles E.
 King, S. W.
 Konze, Rev. Father Sebastian
 Kopke, Mrs. Ernest
 Krauss, F. G.
 Kuykendall, R. S.
 Langpaap, Max
 Larsen, Nils P.
 Leebrick, K. C.
 Lewers, William H.
 Lewis, Jr., A.
 Lorentzen, Her Lekker C. F.
 Low, Miss Mary E.
 Lowrey, F. J.
 Lowrey, Mrs. Sherwood
 Lyman, Levi C.
 McCandless, John A.
 McCandless, L. L.
 McCandless, Mrs. L. L.
 McChesney, Jesse M.
 McClellan, Edwin North
 McDonald, John D.
 McDuffie, Mrs. Cathlene
 McGrew, Merlin
 McKay, William
 Macdonald, Miss I. G.
 MacIntyre, Miss Janet L.
 Marx, B. L.
 Massee, Edward K.

Merritt, E. Percival
 Midkiff, Mrs. Frank
 Mist, H. W. M.
 Morgan, Mrs. Margaret K.
 Mori, I.
 Morris, Penrose C.
 Newman, Miss Margaret
 Nexsen, Miss A. W.
 Norton, L. W. de Vis
 Nott, F. Dickson
 Nowell, Allen M.
 Palmer, Harold S.
 Parsons, Charles F.
 Perry, Antonio
 Petrie, Thomas H.
 Phillips, J. T.
 Post, Miss Maude
 Potter, G. C.
 Prosser, M. F.
 Rath, J. A.
 Rawlins, Miss M. F.
 Restarick, Arthur E.
 Restarick, Mrs. Arthur E.
 Restarick, Henry B.
 Restarick, Mrs. Henry B.
 Robertson, Mrs. A. G. M.
 Robinson, Mrs. C. J.
 Ross, Mrs. Ernest
 Schaefer, Carl J.
 Schoen, B. F.
 Schoen, Edward
 Schoen, Miss Evelyn
 Schoen, Miss Mabel
 Schuman, Gus
 Sellander, W. H.
 Shaw, Miss Ruth C.
 Shipman, Mrs. William H.
 Smith, Arthur G.
 Smith, F. H.
 Smith, Henry
 Smith, W. O.
 Snow, Mrs. Fred G.
 Snow, Mrs. Mary
 Soga, Y.
 Soper, W. H.
 Spalding, E. I.

Spaulding, Mrs. Alice C.
 Spaulding, Philip E.
 Stanley, W. L.
 Stokes, John F. G.
 Taylor, A. P.
 Taylor, Mrs. A. P.
 Thayer, W. W.
 Thomas, H. N.
 Thurston, L. A.
 Tong, Ruddy F.
 Towse, Ed
 Tracy, Clifton H.
 Turner, Miss Charlotte L.
 Uecke, Miss Claire H.
 Valentin, F. H.
 Vetlesen, L. M.
 Vercammen, Valerian

Waddoups, William M.
 Waldron, J. W.
 Walker, Miss Margaret J.
 Wall, William A.
 Wall, W. E.
 Warren, H. L. J.
 Waterhouse, George S.
 Waterhouse, John
 Watson, Mrs. Edward M.
 Watson, Mrs. E. B.
 Webb, Mrs. H. H.
 Wichman, Fred W.
 Wilcox, G. P.
 Wilcox, Miss Kilani K.
 Wilcox, Mrs. May T.
 Wilder, G. P.

Wilder, James A.
 Wilkes, Mrs. Elizabeth
 Williams, H. H.
 Wilson, J. Hay
 Wilson, Oren C.
 Wilson, William F.
 Winne, James L.
 Winne, Mary P.
 Withington, Mrs. Paul
 Wodehouse, E. H.
 Wood, Edgar
 Wood, Mrs. Hubert
 Wood, Sanford B. D.
 Woods, Maitland
 Young, J. M.
 Yzendoorn, Reginald

Kauai Branch

Achi, Jr., William C.
 Anthony, Rev. Father
 Axtell, J. D.
 Crawford, Frank
 Crawford, Mrs. Frank
 DeLacey, E. St. C.
 Dickey, Lyle A.
 Dole, C. S.
 Gates, C. H.
 Gates, Mrs. C. H.
 Grandhomme, Mrs. Emmy
 Grote, Mrs. W. H.
 Hardy, W. V.
 Hardy, Mrs. W. V.
 Hartwell, Miss S. W.
 Hills, A. D.
 Hills, Mrs. A. D.
 Hobby, W. R.
 Hobby, Mrs. W. R.
 Hofgaard, C. B.
 Hofgaard, Mrs. C. B.
 Hogg, Mrs. I. J.

Isenberg, Mrs. Dora R.
 Johnson, Miss Jennie
 Knudsen, E. A.
 Larsen, L. D.
 Loper, W. H.
 Lydgate, Mortimer
 Lymen, Mrs. H. L.
 McBryde, Alexander
 McIntyre, Miss Katherine
 Moler, R. D.
 Moler, Mrs. R. D.
 Peterson, A. S.
 Pratt Jr., J. S. B.
 Pratt, Jr., Mrs. J. S. B.
 Rice, C. A.
 Rice, Mrs. C. A.
 Rice, Mrs. Mary W.
 Rice, P. L.
 Rice, Mrs. P. L.
 Rice, William Henry
 Rice, Mrs. William Henry

Schwartz, H. B.
 Schwartz, Mrs. H. B.
 Sisson, Mrs. Maud C.
 Sloggett, H. D.
 Sloggett, Mrs. H. D.
 Swan, E. S.
 Swan, Mrs. E. S.
 Troeller, Mrs. E. S.
 Waterhouse, A. H.
 Waterhouse, Mrs. A. H.
 Wedderburn, Miss Edith
 Wedemeyer, Henry
 Wedemeyer, Mrs. Henry
 Wilcox, Mrs. Anna C.
 Wilcox, Miss Elsie H.
 Wilcox, George
 Wilcox, Miss Mabel I.
 Wilcox, S. W.
 Wilcox, Mrs. S. W.
 Willey, H. A.
 Willey, Mrs. H. A.

