

Hawaiian History from the Outside



From Captain James Cook's Discovery to American Territory

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Introduction

I lived in Hawai'i for about a year while attending graduate school on Honolulu. Apart from suffering from island fever after settling in, I was struck by how few native Hawaiians I saw apart from the workers at a car wash near Ala Moana Mall, a few women dressed in *muumuus* downtown or the residents in the poorer neighborhoods around Makaha or the Windward (wet) side of the island far from the tourist and civic centers, except when performing. I was shocked by how many churches or temples there were around the small area of Makiki where we rented an expensive, cinderblock apartment below an apartment where Mormon missionaries lived. Every day, I would walk past the illustrious Punahou high school started by missionaries in the 19th Century. Then I learned that even the most prominent and lavish luau on the island was run by and for the Mormon Church. The most expensive homes were to be seen in Nu'uuanu and Manoa Valley where if you encountered residents at all, they were typically white and panese. In classes at the University, resident students who I thought of as Asian identified as Hawaiian rather than Chinese, Korean, Japanese or some combination of these or other groups as I was used to from living on the mainland where boundaries are more important.¹ I could not find a concise, cogent work to explain these phenomena to me so, after a return visit to the Islands some years later, I set out to write one myself. This essay, or more precisely in places, edited work does not attempt to cover the plantation era in any detail but lays the groundwork for understanding how Hawai'i changed during the nineteenth century from a group of islands dominated by native peoples to becoming an unique appendage of the mainland United States. The title makes clear that this is a work based on sources from "outside" because it is not based on the voices of native Hawaiians, rather from those who came later or influenced them. Still, the tone of this piece is to be sympathetic to a culture that had recorded its ideas orally in *mele* rather than the written word.

¹ A retired Uber driver from Maui I hired over a decades later said dismissively they were just Hawaiians at heart because unlike his kids, they couldn't go to Kamehameha schools like his children whose mother was part Hawaiian. Preference is given to applicants of native Hawaiian descent to the extent permitted by law." And up to 25% of new spaces are reserved for applicants identified as either orphaned or indigent. From an academic paper from Hilo: "At the time of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop's birth in 1831, there were approximately 124,000 Native Hawaiians. By the time she wrote her will in 1883, there were only 44,000 Native Hawaiians left. Today according to the US Census Bureau there are about 400,000 people of part Hawaiian ancestry. However, in 1984 there were only 8,000 pure Hawaiians, according to the Office of Hawaiian Affairs."

Requiem for the Island People

Before European explorers,
Before merchant seamen,
Before American missionaries,
Hawaiians knew not innocence
They fought,
Yet they played
And they loved
As foreigners could only imagine

They arrived carrying—
Materials, we could not imagine
Weapons, we could not imagine
Ideas, we could not imagine
--in floating treasure chests

For these things,
We had no *mele*
So they gave us,
Their written words
We seduced them
Their treasures seduced us

We were pulled
like *'ami* (moths) to the flame
And we were scorched
Our people
Our ways
Like weightless ashes
Floating away into the air

Captain Cook discovers Hawai'i and others follow



In the course of my several voyages, I never before met with the natives of any place so much astonished as these people were upon entering a ship. Their eyes were continuing flying from object to object; the wildness of their looks and gestures fully expressing their entire ignorance about everything they saw, and strongly marking to us, that till now they had never been visited by Europeans, or been acquainted with any of our commodities except iron, which, however, it was plain they had only heard of, or had known it in some small quantity brought to them at some distant period... Plates of earthenware, china cups, and other such things, were so new to them that they asked if they were made of wood; but wished to have some that they might carry them to be looked at on shore. They were in some respects naturally well bred; or at least fearful of giving offence, asking where they should

sit down, whether they might spit upon the deck, and the like.

(From a report of the third voyage of exploration headed by Captain James Cook to Hawai'i)

Out of context, it is difficult from the quote above to clearly discern which party is doing the exploring. Polynesians had been sailing on the open sea from as early as the time of Jesus Christ. Europeans, until Christopher Columbus, and Asians even later, had always sailed within sight of coastlines. To say Captain James Cook, who commanded the ships, the *Discovery* and the *Resolution*, "discovered" the Hawaiian Islands on his third voyage of exploration in 1778 is not quite accurate. After all, the islands were inhabited by people who had discovered them hundreds if not more than a thousand years earlier. If the need to explore was based on the need to fill some discontent, the early Hawaiians were probably more content even if their material goods were less complex, if not as complex, than the goods of the Europeans who came looking for them.

Cook named the island group the Sandwich Islands after his sponsor, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Sandwich. The records of Cook's third voyage along with the reports of two subsequent British explorers, Captain George Vancouver (1792, 1793 and 1794) and Archibald Campbell (1809), and a Russian expedition led by Lieutenant Otto Von Kotzebue (1816 and 1817) provide perhaps the best early observations of the Native Hawaiian people. Cook had already visited Tahiti and had a Tahitian on board, but purportedly found the Islands by following the path of land birds and large sea turtles. One of the first things he had learned upon finding out the islands were inhabited was that the natives spoke a language similar to Tahitian.

In fact, Hawaiians and Tahitians share an estimated 85 percent of their basic vocabulary, according to Anthropologist Dorothy Barrère. The written form of Hawaiian that is in use today, however, was not developed until the 1820s—Hawaiian was a spoken language in which traditions were recorded in *mele* (songs or chants), so earlier written accounts use strange spellings for words that are common to us today, including at times r, t and v which appear in Tahitian, but were omitted and replaced with l, k and w in the system later standardized by Protestant missionaries.



Hula, for example, was usually spelled "*hura*", Hawai'i was *Owhyhee*, Kamehameha was *Tamaahmaah*. Other examples include Honolulu for *Hana-rura* or *Hannah-rourah*, Kauai for *Attowai*, Maui for *Mowee*, Niihau for *Onehow*, O'ahu for *Woahoo*, and Waikiki for *Whyteete*. Consequently, I have substituted the original spellings of words from these accounts with modern spellings below, even in quotations.

The early Hawaiians clearly saw the European vessels as large, floating treasure chests. Cook bragged that "several small pigs were got for a sixpeny nail or two apiece." But the Hawaiians were not simply satisfied with trading for what they wanted from these new, foreign people:

Some of their most expert swimmers were one day discovered underneath our ships, drawing out the filling nails of the sheathing, which they performed very dexterously by means of a short stick, with a flint stone fixed in the end of it. To put a stop to this practice, which endangered the very existence of the vessels, we at first fired small-

shot at the offenders; but they easily got out of our reach by diving under the ship's bottom. It was therefore found necessary to make an example, by flogging one of them on board the *Discovery*.

On another occasion, a native had stolen a boat's rudder from one of the ships: "I thought this a good opportunity to show these people the use of fire-arms," wrote Cook, "and two or three muskets and as many four-pounders, were fired over the canoe which carried the rudder. As it was not intended that any shot should take effect, the surrounding multitude of natives seemed rather more surprised than frightened." These exchanges did not always end without injury, and the murder of a chief on another occasion is thought by many to have precipitated the incident which ended in Cook himself being killed in the Sandwich Islands.

Cook had seen tattooing in the South Pacific before arriving in the Sandwich Islands, but what he noticed was unique about Hawaiians was that they had facial tattoos, as only in New Zealand, and rather than spirals that were found in the latter's tattoos:

[The designs were] in straight lines, crossing each other at right angles. The hands and arms of men are also neatly marked, and they have a singular custom amongst them, the meaning of which we could never learn, that of tattowing the tips of the tongues of the women. From some information we received, relative to the custom of tattowing, we were inclined to think that it is frequently intended as a sign of mourning on the death of a chief, or any other calamitous event... The lowest of the class is often tattowed with a mark that distinguishes them as property of the several chiefs to whom they belong.²

Captain George Vancouver, who had served under Cook as a midshipman on the *Resolution* during Cook's second voyage as well as on the *Discovery* during the third voyage, explored the Sandwich Islands during the winters of 1792, 1793 and 1794. Here he describes how the Hawaiians dressed:

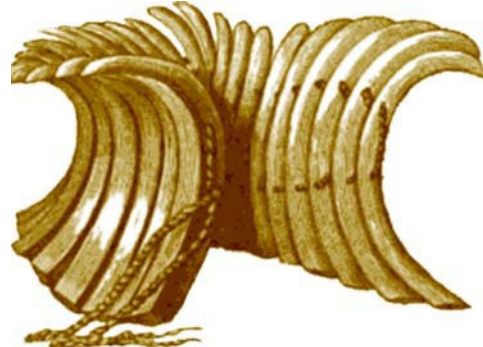
These people are scanty in their cloathing, very few of the Men (*kane*) wear any thing more than the *malo* (a loin cloth), but the women (*wahine*) have a piece of cloth (a *pa'u* made from *kapa* or bark cloth) wrapped round the waist, so as to hang down like a petticoat as low as the knee; all the rest of the body is naked. Their ornaments are bracelets, necklaces and Amulets, which are made of shells, bone (typically dog teeth for an anklet or boar tusks for bracelets] or stone; They have also neat Tippetts

² It was later confirmed that the tattoos on women's tongues were memorials to the dead as learned by Lord Byron in a visit on the *Blonde* (see below).

[*ahu'ula* or cloak) made of red and yellow feathers,.. and Cloakes covered with the same or some other feathers; the cloakes, reach to about the middle of the back, and are like the short cloakes worn by the women in England, or like the riding cloakes worn in Spain.



pa'u



boar-tusk bracelet

Archibald Campbell, who explored the Sandwich Islands in 1809, provides this detailed explanation of the composition of the cloth used for women's *pa'u*:

The cloth called *kapa* is entirely manufactured by women, and is made from the bark of a tree, which is first steeped in water, and then beat out with a piece of wood, grooved or furrowed like a crimping machine. The bark is laid upon a piece of wood, grooved like the former. As these two instruments are at right angles during the operation, the marks in the cloth are crossed like warp and woof.. It is colored with the juice of berries, laid on with a piece of tortoise shell, shaped like a knife, or with a brush, formed by chewing the end of a slip of bamboo. In this manner it is tinged brown, blue, green or black; to produce a yellow, the cloth is dipt in a dye prepared by boiling the cone of a tree in water. They often paint a variety of patterns, in which they display great taste and fancy.. This cloth, from its texture, is, when wetted, extremely apt to get damaged, in which state it tears like moist paper; great care, therefore, is always taken to keep it dry, or to have it carefully dried when it is wetted; when they swim off to ships, they hold their clothes out of water in one hand, occasionally changing it as it becomes fatigued.

Cook noted that Hawaiian women also wore a *malo* "that is thin, much resembling oil-cloth; and which is actually either oiled or soaked in some kind of varnish, and seems to resist the action of water pretty well."

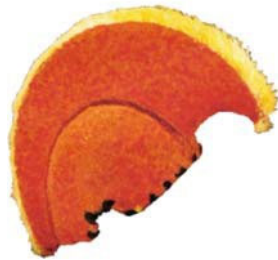


mushroom mahiole



mahiole

The men sometimes wore *mahiole* (helmets) covered with feathers similar to those used for the *ahu'ula*, or cloaks, which were made "so as to fit very close to the head with a semicircular protuberance on the crown exactly like the helmets of old." (Vancouver) These *mahiole* had "a strong lining of wicker work, capable of breaking the blow of any warlike instrument, and seems designed for that purpose." (Cook)



Mahiole



ahu'ula

Women often wore vine wreaths on their head with flowers strung on them. "They prefer purple, yellow and white, and arrange them alternately three or four inches of colour. This is twined several times around the head and has a very elegant appearance." (Vancouver) "Some of the men had a kind of wig made of human hair twisted together into a number of long tails," commented Vancouver, "each a finger thick that hung down as low as the breach. Some of the men had long beards but the general custom was to have it short."

More than two decades later, after foreign vessels had regularly been wintering in the Islands, commentators from the Russian expedition on the brig *Rurick* reported:

The men shave their beards, and cut their hair in the form of a helmet, the crest of which is often bleached, so as to be of a light or whitish colour. The women have it cut short, keeping only a rim over the forehead, bleached white with unslacked lime, and

standing up like bristles. Sometimes a fine long curl is preserved on the middle of the forehead, and dyed violet, which is combed back.

Vancouver admired Hawaiian salt production which was done in large quantities because it was "equal in colour and in quality to any made in Europe, but the crystals are much larger."

While Campbell said that "all ranks" of natives "pay the utmost attention to cleanliness," Cook provide a more general account of their health after cataloguing several different deformities due to birth or injuries he had observed, some of which were blamed on heavy consumption of salt or kava, an herb:

Squinting is also very common amongst them... They are, in general, very subject to boils and ulcers which we attributed to the great quantity of salt they eat with their flesh and fish... Many of them suffer still more dreadful effects from the immoderate use of *'awa (kava)*. Those who were the most affected by it had their bodies covered with a white scurf, their eyes red and inflamed, their limbs emaciated, the whole frame trembling and paralytic, accompanied with a disability to raise the head.

Lieutenant Otto Von Kotzebue added this observation about the use of *'awa*:

I took a walk every evening when the air was cooled. This may be done here without any fear of attack, for though one frequently meets with drunken people, they are in this state the most cheerful and affectionate. They intoxicate themselves with the *'awa-root*, which is prepared in the same manner as in the other South-Sea islands, with this exception, that here only the old women chew the root, and the young ones only spit into the dish to dilute the pap.

Archibald Menzies, a "naturalist" whose notes come to us from the Vancouver exploration, hinted at the free sexual spirit of the common Native Hawaiian: "whoever might be inclined to censure the conduct of the" Native Hawaiian "ladies for with-holding their company from us on the preceding day, had now no cause to complain for they came off in large groups not only in the Canoes but on swimming boards with no other intention than that of tendering their persons to any one that would choose to have them (casual sexual liaisons were referred to as *moekolohe*), & those who were unsuccessful in their aim went away chiding us for our want of gallantry."

Earlier, Cook had recorded his concerns during his first voyage to the Sandwich Islands that his men might spread venereal diseases amongst the native women:

The opportunities and inducement to an intercourse between the sexes are then too numerous to be guarded against; however confident we may be of the health of our men, we are often undeceived too late. It is even a matter of doubt with me, if it be always in the power of the most skilful of the faculty to pronounce, with any certainty, whether a person who has been under their care, in certain stages of this malady, is so effectually cured as to leave no possibility of his being still capable of communicating the taint. It is likewise well known, that amongst a number of men. There are generally to be found some so bashful as to endeavor to conceal their labouring under any symptoms of this disorder. And there are others again, so profligate as not to care to whom they communicate it. Of this last we had an instance at Tongatapu [Tonga]...who had been stationed to manage the trade... After he knew that he had contracted this disease, he continued to have connexions with different women, who were supposed not to have already contracted it. His companions expostulated to him without effect, till Captain Clerke, hearing of this dangerous irregularity of conduct, ordered him on board.

Upon returning to the island, Cook found his worries had come true:

Women were also forbidden to be admitted to the ships, except under certain restrictions. But the evil I meant to prevent, by this regulation, I soon found, had already got amongst them... Some canoes coming off to us, I brought to. As soon as they got alongside, many of the people who conducted them got into the ship, without the least hesitation... These people had got amongst them the venereal distemper.

Kotzebue imposed a strict discipline amongst his sailors, at least at times. During his first visit to the Sandwich Islands in 1816 while at Hawai'i, he stated: "Several canoes, filled with girls, rowed up to us; but as I had not time to show the politeness due the fair sex, I sailed quickly on." And a week later at O'ahu:

We had scarcely cast anchor when a great number of native women surrounded the *Rurick*, some in boats, and others swimming; they all wanted to come on board, and were angry at being refused admittance. I had declared the ship *kapu* [meaning no Native Hawaiians were admitted] for some days, to be able to do some necessary work. The amiable nymphs sang to us some love-songs, and turned back much astonished at our cruelty.

A naturalist from the Russian expedition, Adelbert von Chamisso, had an informant on O'ahu, a

Spaniard named Don Francisco Pablo Marin. Marin was himself a naturalist who had imported several varieties of flora and fauna to the Sandwich Islands which he raised on a plantation and in the wild. He told Chamisso about the Hawaiian caste system which reveals the limits of sexual freedoms:

M. Marin assumes four casts in Hawai'i. The princes, the nobility, the middling class (who constitute the great majority of the people) and the populace, a despised class, which is not numerous.

... It is to be understood, that the casts are so determined, that it is not possible to go from one to the other. Nobility which can be given and taken away is none. The woman does not share the rank of the husband. The rank of the children is determined by very fixed and certain laws, chiefly after that of the mother, but also after that of the father. A noblewoman who marries a man of the lower class loses her rank as soon as she has children, in which case she and her children descend to the cast of her husband.



Temple on the Island of Hawai'i, by Louis Choris from the Russian expedition aboard the Rurick

This caste system, no doubt, allowed for incestuous relationships amongst the leading *ali'i* (or ruling elite). Charles Samuel Steward, a missionary in the Kingdom of Hawaii from 1822-25, discovered, Keopuolani, for example, was, at once, the cousin, niece, and wife of Kamehameha; and Kaumuali'i, the king of Kauai, and his son, Keali'i ahonui, are both, at present, the husbands of Ka'ahumanu. Kap'iolani also has two husbands."

Amongst the *ali'i*, religious life centered around the *heiau*, or temples. Kotzebue observed several *heiau* on the island of Hawai'i, "which belong to the chiefs of these parts, and may be recognized by the stone fence, and the idols placed in them." Chamisso, who was invited to go to one on O'ahu by the principal chief at Honolulu, Kalanimoku or Karimoku, noted that the breaking of *kapu* of the *heiau* would lead to certain death, yet he was surprised:

We expected a certain seriousness during the sacrifices and prayers; and were astonished at the profane disposition which manifested itself; the indecorous sport that was made with the idols; and the tricks which they delighted to play us during the sacred ceremony. Children show more sedateness in playing with their dolls.

Kotzebue shared this uncharacteristically condescending viewpoint of Native practices at the *heiau* where he found: "the sight of the idols laughable," but "did not let the islanders perceive it, that I might not offend them; but I was the more astonished when the priests themselves made me observe the caricatures, felt their eyes and noses, tried to imitate, in various ways, the distorted faces, and laughed heartily at their wit."

It is generally difficult to assess observations in isolation, though when we have consistent patterns of observations over several visits, or a range of observations in one visit to the Sandwich Islands we can rest more comfortably in the reliability of observed practices unprejudiced, or at least the prejudices are easier to strip away in our detached assessment, by foreign perspectives that attach a certain meaning to a specific type of decorum and discipline. While we hear of priests being what we might view as sacrilegious, we might temper that belief with another observation by Kotzebue which provides an extended, if not more well-rounded understanding of Early Hawaiian humor noted in earlier comments. Eight double canoes led by John Young (see below) and manned by Hawaiians were coming towards the *Rurick* at Honolulu to help transport the crew to land. "The scene on board the boats was very entertaining; they laughed and joked, and even their work was done as if in play, and the islanders appeared like sportive children." The Early Hawaiians were entitled as anybody to have a unique sense of humor without being characterized for it as being childlike.

Still Chamisso was broad enough in his perspective of Hawaiian life to argue: "Human sacrifices, it is true, still take place, but it would be unjust to upbraid the Hawaiians for them. They sacrifice culprits to their gods, as we sacrifice them in Europe to justice." *Kapu*, was actually a term for social sanctions imposed both by Hawaiian religion and the high chiefs. Some *kapu* were imposed specifically on women, who Cook explained "are not only deprived of the privilege of eating with men, but the best sorts of food are *kapu* or forbidden them. They are not allowed to eat pork, turtle, several kinds of fish, and some species of the plantains." Kotzebue said that because these meats were *kapu* for women, they ate fruit-fed dogs instead. *Kapu* extended to cooking and eating together so that besides having a hut to sleep in, each family had one for the men to eat in and one for the women. Chamisso shared the story of a body of a woman which was found floating around the *Rurick*. Drunk, she had apparently entered the hut where her husband was eating and consequently was killed for the transgression. Despite *kapu*, however, Chamisso found "that women, when they know they are unobserved, make no difficulty of transgressing the many prohibitions to which they are subject."

Kapu could be permanent interdictions as above or temporary ones, as when Vancouver explained that women who were not permitted to use canoes to go out to his ship simply swam; or connected to a specific holy day. *Kapu* could also involve spatial restrictions marked off with "tuft wands or *kapu* sticks" (Cook) just as Kotzebue made the Hawaiian women understand that the *Rurick* was *kapu*. However, *kapu* were merely restrictions, either religious or legal against Hawaiians and even foreigners.

Two of the most distinctive aspects of early Hawaiian culture, surfing and *hula*, have long since spread far beyond Hawai'i requiring a look at how they once existed. The water that surrounded the islands was an intrinsic part of early Hawaiian life as Vancouver relates here:

They are an open, candid, active people and the most expert swimmers we had met with; in which they are taught from their very birth: It was very common for women with infants at the breast to come off in Canoes to look at the Ships, and when the surf was so high that they could not land them in the Canoe they used to leap over board with the child in their arms and make their way a shore through a surf that looked dreadful.

As surfboards have become smaller and smaller over the last several decades, we are prone to think the early Hawaiians only surfed on extremely long boards, but this is not the case according to what Cook observed: a "float-board" is a "board a little longer than the human body, feathered at the edges, on which these Islanders stretch themselves and float for hours on the water, using their limbs as paddles to guide them, or at other times trusting to the impulse of the waves: the very children have their little boards." Surfing was apparently favored by young and old, *ali'i* and commoner. One of Vancouver's mates, Peter Puget, recorded this surfing scene he observed while walking on a small, stony beach in Kona with the chief Ke'eaumoku in 1794:

The natives were amusing themselves in the Surf on Swimming Boards. Namahana, the wife of Ke'eaumoku [the chief of Kona and father of Ka'ahumanu], who is reckoned one of the most expert at that Diversion immediately Stript naked and she certainly notwithstanding her Corpulency performed her part with wonderful Dexterity. The first Sea or Surf that brought her in towards the Beach was immensely high, on it Top she came, floating on a Broad Board till the Break[er] had nearly reached the Rocks, she then suddenly turned, went under that & the one following and so on till she regained her Situation at the back of the whole. Then she waited for a large Swell and once more performed her part with great Expertness."

Vancouver and his party attended a royal *hula* performance one afternoon where he

conservatively estimated the audience numbered 4,000 people "of all ranks and descriptions of persons" including several female family members of the principal chiefs. Seven women performed, three of whom were *ali'i*, and they were accompanied by five males who provided percussion-musical accompaniment for the 4-part performance which last about an hour long.

Vancouver was obviously impressed by most of the *hula*:

The variety of attitudes into which these women threw themselves, with the rapidity of their action, resembled no amusement in any other part of the world within my knowledge....

In each of the first [three] parts the songs, attitudes, and actions, appeared to me of greater variety than I had before noticed amongst the people of the great South Sea nations, on any former occasion.

But his reaction to the fourth part of the performance changed drastically:

Had the performance finished with the third act, we should have retired from their theatre with a much higher idea of the moral tendency of their drama, than was conveyed by the offensive, libidinous scene, exhibited by the ladies in the concluding part. The language of the song, no doubt, corresponded with obscenity of their actions; which were carried to a degree of extravagance that was calculated to produce nothing but disgust even in the most licentious.

It is difficult to imagine what could have shocked this man who had also spoken so frankly about his men spreading venereal disease to the Hawaiians, but, unfortunately, we have no more details.

The aim of these historical observations is to provide an introduction to a people and a way of life through the lens of those who first encountered them from outside and is necessarily limited. A more thorough explanation of early Hawaiian material culture can be found in an impressively detailed volume, Arts and Crafts of Hawaii by Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck), Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1957.

Having given a brief introduction to the early Hawaiians, we now shift focus to four individuals, Kamehameha, Ka'ahumanu, Isaac Davis and John Young, who helped shape Hawai'i during the turn of the eighteenth century and laid the foundation for what was to come. During Cook's visit to the Sandwich Islands from 1778-1780, Kamehameha was not yet a chief and the Sandwich Islands were ruled by disparate chiefs. Twelve years later, through Vancouver's three trips to the Sandwich Islands, various chiefs still shared rule of the islands, but Kamehameha was chief of the northern half of the Big Island, Hawai'i, and was actively engaged in spreading his rule, in part through the use of acquired foreign advice, ships, and weapons. By 1809 when Campbell came to the Sandwich Islands, Kamehameha was all but finished unifying them under his rule.



King Kamehameha, Bishop Museum

Cook's lieutenant described Kamehameha in 1779 as having "as savage a looking face as ever I saw, it however by no means seemed an emblem of his disposition, which was good natured & humorous." Vancouver's evaluation of Kamehameha seems always in relation to how he interacted with others. During one of the voyages, Kamehameha and one of his wives, Ka'ahumanu, were having a quarrel because Kamehameha felt she was seeing another man. After their reconciliation, Vancouver wrote in February 1793:

She appeared about sixteen [she was actually closer to 20], and undoubtedly did credit to the choice and taste of Kamehameha [who was about 35], being one of the finest women we had yet seen on any of the islands. It was a pleasure to observe the kindness and fond attention, with which on all occasions they seemed to regard each other; and though this mode of behaviour in public would be considered as extravagant in the polished circles of society, yet to us, so far removed from the civilized world, the profusion of tenderness was very admissible, and could not be regarded without a warmth of satisfaction at thus witnessing the happiness of our fellow creatures.

Commander of the British sloop *Providence*, William Robert Broughton, encountered Kamehameha in the midst of his conquest in January 1796: In the morning, he paid us a visit, attended by all his chiefs, dressed for the occasion in cloaks (*ahu'ula*) and helmet caps (*mahiole*). He himself wore European clothes, with a beautiful cloak composed of yellow feathers, which nearly covered him."

Several merchant ships had wintered and provisioned in the Sandwich Islands between Cook's discovery and Vancouver's voyages a dozen years later. American fur trader Simon Metcalfe was onboard one of his vessels, the *Eleanora*, and planning to meet up with another of his vessels, the *Fair American*, in Hawai'i before moving on to trade in China. A Hawaiian chief, however, had seized the *Fair American* (presumably with Kamehameha's foreknowledge), killing six men on board, including Metcalfe's son. Welsh-born Isaac Davis was the only survivor. Kamehameha provided protection to Davis but would not let him leave the island fearing initially that he would tell Metcalfe or other foreigners of the incident.

English-born boatswain, John Young, meanwhile, went to shore from the *Eleanora* to capture some wild boar on the island. When he reached land, he was held captive because Kamehameha didn't want him either to spread news of what had happened to the *Fair American* and its crew. Later, Kamehameha told Davis and Young that if either left the island, the other would be killed. In this way he held them hostage for three years as advisers, particularly on foreign military hardware and munitions. He rewarded them for their technical expertise with land and prestige. Vancouver, who was told the story of their lives on Hawai'i, offered to take them to America in 1794--for though they were both born in Britain, they were Americans--but they declined the offer:

After mature consideration, they preferred their present way of life, and were desirous of continuing at Hawai'i; observing, that being destitute of resources, on their return home, (which, however, they spoke of in a way that did honor to their hearts and understandings) they must be again exposed to the vicissitudes of life of hard labour,

for the purpose of merely acquiring a precarious supply of the most common necessaries of life; ...for, besides the high reputation, and universal good opinion they had acquired amongst all classes of the inhabitants, they were now considered in the light of chiefs, and each of them possessed a considerable landed property. Here they lived happily, and in the greatest plenty.

Campbell, Kotzebue and Chamisso offer some of the most detailed observations of Kamehameha when he was at his height of power. During Campbell's visit in 1809, Kamehameha was living in Honolulu where foreign sailors had discovered a deep-water port:

The village of Honolulu, which consisted of several hundred houses, is well shaded with large cocoa-nut trees. The king's residence, built close upon the shore, and surrounded by a palisade on the land side, was distinguished by the British colours and a battery of sixteen carriage guns, belonging to his ship the Lilly Bird, which at this time lay unrigged in the harbour.



View of Honolulu in 1816 by Louis Choris

... His principal chiefs always being about his person, there were generally twenty or thirty persons present; after being seated upon mats, spread on the floor, at dinner, a dish of *poi*, or *kalo* (*taro*) pudding, was set before each of them, which they ate with their fingers, instead of spoons. This fair, with salt fish and consecrated pork from the *heiau*, formed the whole of the repast, no other food being permitted in the king's house. A plate, knife and fork, with boiled potatoes, were, however, always set down before Moxey and me, by his majesty's orders. He concluded his meal by drinking half a glass of rum, but the bottle was immediately sent away, the liquor being *kapu*, or interdicted for his guests.

... [Kamehameha is] about fifty years of age, he is a stout, well-made man, rather darker in the complexion than the natives usually are, and wants two of his front



Kamehameha by Louis Choris

teeth.³ The expression of his countenance is agreeable, and he is mild and affable in his manners, and possesses great warmth of feeling; for I have seen him shed tears upon the departure of those to whom he was attached, and has the art of attaching others to himself. Although a conqueror, he is extremely popular amongst his subjects, and not without reason, for, since he attained the supreme power, they have enjoyed repose and prosperity. He has amassed a considerable treasure in dollars, and

possesses a large stock of European articles of every description, in particular arms and ammunition; these he has acquired by trading with the ships that call at the islands. He understands perfectly well how to make a bargain; but is unjustly accused of wishing to over-reach in his dealings. I never knew of his taking undue advantages; on the contrary, he is distinguished for upright and honorable conduct in all transactions. War, not commerce, seems to be his principal motive in forming so extensive a navy.

.... He sometimes dressed himself in the European fashion, but more frequently laid aside his clothes, and gave them to an attendant, contenting himself with the *maro*. Another attendant carried a fan, made of feathers, for the purpose of brushing away flies; whilst a third carried his spit-box, which was set round with human teeth, and belonged, as I was told, to several of his predecessors.

³ On another occasion, Campbell had written that after Kamehameha's brother died, "the natives cut off their hair, and went about completely naked. Many of them, particularly the women, disfigured themselves, by knocking out their front teeth, and branding their faces with red hot stones, and the small end of calabashes, which they held burning to their faces tell a circular mark was produced; whilst, at the same time, a general, I may say, an universal, publicprostitution of the women took place" Also in the journals of officers aboard the *Blonde*, which transported bodies of Kamehameha II and his favorite wife's back to the Kingdom of Hawai'i after they died in England, was written: the Native Hawaiians "have naturally fine teeth, but hitherto few men had grown up with a full set, it having been the fashion to extract a tooth or two to commemorate the death of a friend or chieftain. Our friend Boki [the governor of O'ahu] himself had four of his front teeth sacrificed to the Great Kamehameha; and the operation must have been severe: he was laid on his back, and his mouth filled with kapa, a sharp instrument was placed at the front of the teeth, and at one blow they were all knocked out at once!"



Pu'uohonua o Hoanau, 1825

Kotzebue, who first met Kamehameha in 1816, arrived at an assessment of the King similar to Campbell's seven years earlier:

The view of the king's camp was concealed only by a narrow tongue of land, consisting of naked rocks, but when we had sailed round we were surprised at the sight of the beautiful landscape. We found ourselves in a small sandy bay of the smoothest water, protected against the waves of the sea; on the bank was a pleasant wood of palm trees, under whose shade were built several straw houses; to the right, between the green leaves of the banana-trees, peeped two snow-white houses, built of stone, after the European fashion, on which account this place has the mixed appearance of a European and Hawai'i village, which afforded us a new, but charming prospect; to the left, close to the water, on an artificial elevation, stood the *heiau* of the king, surrounded by large wooden statues of his gods, representing caricatures of the human figure... He conducted me to his straw palace, which, according to the custom of the country, consisted of one spacious apartment, and, like all the houses here, afforded a free draught both to the land and sea breezes, which alleviates the oppressive heat... Though the king has houses built of stone in the European fashion, he prefers this simple dwelling, not to forsake the customs of his country; he imitates every thing he knows to be useful, and tries to introduce it among his people; palaces built of stone appeared to him superfluous, as the straw houses are convenient, and as he only wishes to increase the happiness, and not the wants of his subjects.

Kamehameha provided Kotzebue and his officers with a meal in which: "he sometimes conversed with me, and then with his ministers, who could not refrain from laughing at his conceits." After the Russians finished, the King went for a walk to the *heiau* where:

He embraced one of the statues, which was hung round more than the others, with fruits and pieces of a sacrificed hog, saying, "These are our gods, whom I worship;

whether I do right or wrong, I do not know; but I follow my faith, which cannot be wicked, as it commands me never to do wrong... While the king is gone into the *heiau*, nobody is allowed to enter; and during that time we admired the Colossal idols, cut in wood, and representing the most hideous caricatures.

Afterwards, Kamehameha ate a meal himself, using his hands to do so. Knowing full well that Europeans and Americans did not eat with their hands, he turned to Kotzebue saying, "This is the custom in my country, and I will not depart from it!"



Ka'ahumanu by Choris

When Kotzebue returned to the Sandwich Islands in 1817, Kamehameha was living back on Hawai'i, but off fishing when the Russians arrived at his home, so an interpreter took him to...:

[the King's] wives, who were sitting in the middle of a tent, on fine mats, under an umbrella of white sail cloth, refreshing themselves with water-melons. They were all three greatly rejoiced to see us again. I was obliged to sit next to Ka'ahumanu, who, after having put to us some indifferent questions, ordered water-melons to be brought, which were very cooling in the heat. Her politeness went so far, that she ordered a *kanaka* [the Russian explorers took this to mean servants, but it means more generally "person" or "people"] to drive away the flies from me, with a tuft of red feathers; she even cut out, herself, the middle of the melon, and put the piece into my mouth with her own royal hands; in doing which the royal nails, three inches long, incommoded me not a little.

When Kamehameha arrived later after fishing,

He did not give himself time to dress, but came naked up to me, and welcomed me with a cordial shake of the hand... His wardrobe was now fetched, which consisted of a shirt, a pair of old velveteen small-clothes, a red waistcoat, and a black neckcloth; and,

without any ceremony, he dressed himself in my presence. His elegantly embroidered uniform he puts on only on very solemn occasions, and even then unwillingly... I observed, while he was dressing, many scars on his body, and, on my asking in what campaign he had received them, he answered, pointing to the N.E., "I have conquered these islands; and these scars prove that I deserve to be king of the whole group."



kahili pa'a lima (fly swatter)

Isaac Davis and John Young were said to have been instrumental in Kamehameha's defeat of rival high chiefs of Maui, Molokai and O'ahu during his effort to unify the Sandwich Islands. When he left Hawai'i for O'ahu to be at Honolulu, where foreigners had discovered a port large enough for their ships, Kamehameha took Davis with him and named Young governor of Hawai'i. Campbell shares more details about Davis whom he spent time with at Honolulu:

Davis was married to a native woman, by whom he had no children. By a former wife he had three, two of whom were left under the charge of Mr. Young on Hawai'i. His house was distinguished from those of the natives only by the addition of a shed in front to keep off the sun; within, it was spread with mats, but had no furniture, except two benches to sit upon. He lived very much like the natives, and had acquired such a taste for *poi*, that he preferred it to any other food. He had, however, at all times abundance of pork, goat's flesh, and mutton, and frequently beef sent by Young from Hawai'i; and in the mornings and evenings we had tea. His wealth consisting of mats, feathers, and cloth, the produce of the island, and a large assortment of European articles, which he had acquired by trading with the ships which touched here; these were contained in a large storehouse, built of stone, adjoining his dwelling.

Davis died a year after Campbell's visit to the Sandwich Islands. The same year Davis died, 1810, Kamehameha formed the Kingdom of Hawai'i, renaming the island chain after the largest island where he was born, raised and which remained his favorite. The Hawaiian flag is very similar to the flag of the British East India Company with a Union Jack in the upper left-hand corner, except it contains 8 horizontal stripes of white, red and blue (as opposed the EIC's 13 red and white stripes) representing the 8 major islands. There are contesting versions of its origins, one of which is that another British adviser to Kamehameha, the Scottish Captain Alexander Adams, claimed to have designed it and was the first to fly it on the vessel, the Ka'ahumanu (after the

King's favorite wife) when he sailed on a trade mission to China in 1817.



Ka'ahumanu by Choris

The early Hawaiians had not lost the wanderlust they evinced after boarding the first foreign vessel brought to their shores by Captain Cook, hints of which Campbell's reports reveal, such as his comment about *hula* performances where "women display all their finery, particularly in European clothes, if they are so fortunate as to possess any." Kotzebue and Chamisso's journals of the Russian brig *Rurick* are most distinguished by the changes they reveal occurring in the Sandwich Islands even before Kamehameha died. Kotzebue, for example, made the following observation about the royal entourage:

The black frocks look very ludicrous on the naked body; add to this, that they seldom fit, being purchased of American ships, where the people are not always so tall and so robust as the chiefs of the Sandwich Islands. One of the ministers had the waist half way up his back; the coat had been buttoned with the greatest difficulty; he perspired in his tight state dress; his distress was very evident, but fashion would not suffer him to relive himself of this inconvenience.

While at Honolulu, Kotzebue invited John Young (who was by this time "old and infirm"), his wife and the leading *ali'i* to dine with him:

My guests had all dressed themselves in their best attire. I scarcely recognized Karimoku, who shone in the dress of an English pilot, with polished boots, and a cocked hat; but all his things were so tight, that he could scarcely move a limb, and the noon-day's heat threatened to stifle him in his costume. Not less proud, but equally distressed, the other *ali'i* moved in their European dresses; and we saw here, sailors, coxcombs, and Moravians, confusedly mixed together. They were in the most painful situation in their gala-dress, and put me in mind of dressed-up monkeys. In comparison with this the dress of Kamehameha's ministers is preferable, as it merely consisted of a frock. This mode has served to individual to such a pitch, that some

article of European dress has become a matter of necessity, even to the meanest individual; some wear only a shirt, another has trowsers, and a third parades in a waistcoat.

The naturalist, Chamisso, observed that many imported plants were growing alongside native plants, but the Native Hawaiians stuck mostly to their traditional diets with a few exceptions: tobacco, watermelons, "and fruit in general." Native Hawaiian tattoos had evolved from what earlier explorers had seen, they now included imported designs of "goats, muskets, even letters of the alphabet," as well as names as was mentioned earlier. "To please the Europeans," Chamisso added, some Native women "suffer their hair to grow, and tie it up behind in a queue"; and "Every body has now a looking-glass, and a pipe-head tied round the neck in a European handkerchief." Unlike at the time of Campbell, some seven years earlier, chiefs in general, not just King Kamehameha, were drinking rum bartered from Americans. Though Kamehameha did not smoke, Kotzebue watched Ka'ahumanu smoking with two of the King's other wives "with evident pleasure" and continued to do so "half dizzy." Kotzebue felt that smoking was so fashionable in the Sandwich Islands that "young children smoke before they learn to walk." Despite these foreign influences, however, Chamisso concluded:

The Hawaiians have in general wisely remained faithful, both to their national costume, and to their mode of life. Their princes only dressed themselves in honour of us with the utmost neatness, in fine English clothes, and imitated our manners with much propriety. They are at other times always dressed in their native costume, and only their foreign guests are served in porcelain and silver.

... Their intercourse with the Europeans has not yet had any particular influence on the social order, arts and manners of these peoples.

The death of King Kamehameha on May 8, 1819 marked the end of early Hawai'i, and British influence on the islands.⁴ Other, non-material influences were making inroads as well, but Kamehameha had managed to keep them at bay until the end, if we can believe Chamisso who had observed Kamehameha less than two years before his death, and said:

⁴ Both Davis and Young were colonial Americans who had been born in Great Britain. Their allegiance to one or the other country is not what dictated the influence on Hawai'i, rather it was Kamehameha who chose which country to align with and it was clearly Britain, not the as yet nascent America. In his journal of the adventures of the trading ship *Maryland* from 1805-1808, which included a stay in the Sandwich Islands from May to August, 1807, Isaac Iselin wrote: "Kamehameha is said to possess about two thousand muskets, twenty carriage or ship, guns, a ship, formerly the *Leila Bird* (an American), several large three masted schooners, besides small vessels of twenty to fifty tons."

"He is noble-minded, and, with the instruction he receives from foreigners, remains still faithful to the spirit of his people, and to the customs of his ancestors." When the Russian brig *Rurick* had first arrived in the Sandwich Islands, Kamehameha had manned the shore with 400 Natives Hawaiians armed with muskets. The King was anticipating a fight because of an earlier incident involving the crew of another Russian vessel. Later, Kotzebue learned from a *haole* interpreter that the every watchful conqueror Kamehameha had chosen his son, Liholiho to succeed him "from political motives, that no revolution may arise after his death."² Kotzebue was no more impressed with the heir apparent, Liholiho, than Chamisso who called him "weak" and "dull-minded":

We entered a neat and small house, in which Liholiho, a tall, corpulent, and naked figure, was stretched out on his stomach, and just indolently raised his head to look at his guests; near him sat several naked soldiers armed with muskets, who guarded the monster; a handsome young native, with a tuft of red feathers, drove away flies from him, and from his interesting countenance and becoming behaviour, I should rather have taken him for the king's son... The dog of all dogs [note: a later, false translation for his name] at last rose very lazily, and gaped upon us with a stupid vacant countenance... I could not learn his age, as no account is kept of it. I guess it may be about twenty-two years, and am of opinion, that his enormous corpulency is occasioned by his constant lying on the ground.

Liholiho did indeed succeed his father as King of Hawai'i using the name Kamehameha II while Kamehameha's favorite wife, Ka'ahumanu, not Liholiho's mother, Keopuolani, served as *kuhina nui*, or regent.



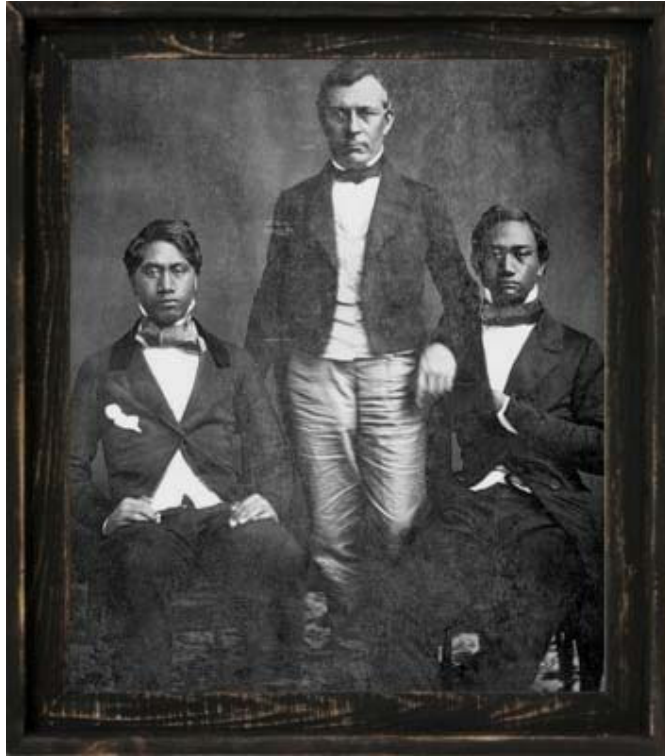
Liholiho or 'Iolani (Kamehameha II)

Borrowing liberally, I suspect, from a work published by Protestant missionary Hiram Bingham (see below) some twenty years before his own visit to the Kingdom of Hawai'i from 1866-67, Mark Twain, with his telltale sardonic humor, introduces us to the momentous changes which began shortly after Kamehameha's death:

While the first missionaries were on their way around the Horn, the idolatrous customs which had obtained in the island, as far back as tradition reached were suddenly broken up. Old Kamehameha I, was dead, and his son, Liholiho [or 'Iolani], the new King was a free liver, a roystering, dissolute fellow, and hated the restraints of the ancient *kapu*. His assistant in the Government, Ka'ahumanu, the Queen dowager, was proud and high-spirited, and hated the *kapu* because it restricted the privileges of her sex and degraded all women very nearly to the level of brutes. So the case stood. Liholiho had half a mind to put his foot down, Ka'ahumanu had a whole mind to badger him into doing it, and whiskey did the rest. It was probably the first time whiskey ever prominently figured as an aid to civilization. Liholiho came up to Kailua as drunk as a piper, and attended a great feast; the determined Queen spurred his drunken courage up to a reckless pitch, and then, while all the multitude stared in blank dismay, he moved deliberately forward and sat down with the women!

(From Mark Twain's Roughing It which was based in part on a four-month sojourn in Hawai'i.)

Kamehameha II's cousin and a chief on the island of Hawai'i, Kekuaokalani, led a battle against the new king's acquiescence to Ka'ahumanu's abandonment of the religion, but the insurrectionists soon gave up their fight after Kekuaokalani was killed. Momentous changes for the early Hawaiians had been ensured.



Gerrit Parmele Judd with Princes Alexander 'Iolani Liholiho Keawenu (later Kamehameha IV) and Lot Kapu'iwa (later Kamehameha V), 1850

Missionaries arrive on the dark heathen shores

No missionaries had yet come to the Sandwich islands; and, in truth, they could promise themselves but little fruit among this sensual people. Christianity cannot be established in Eastern Polynesia, but on the overthrow of every thing existing.

(Adelbert von Chamisso from the Russian expedition on the Rurick)

Ahupua'a [a subdivision of island land]: from the uka, mountain, whence came wood, kapa, for clothing, olona, for fish-line, ti-leaf for wrapping paper, ie for rattan lashing, wild birds for food, to the kai, sea, whence came ia, fish, and all connected werewith.

(from land surveyor and missionary's son, Curtis Lyons, as quoted in Shoal of Time by Gavan Daws)

It is a fact well known to me that since I came to the Islands the Government have depended on individuals of the Mission for advice on all important measures and for aid in carrying them into execution.

(Gerrit Parmele Judd in 1843 as quoted in The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 by Ralph Simpson Kuykendall)

You must know that I am at present the King Bingham of the Sandwich Islands.

(Gerrit Parmele Judd to a friend in Boston, 1845, as quoted in To Steal a Kingdom by Michael Dougherty)

Whereas Kamehameha had used foreign advisers to aid his own goals while furthering the desire to protect and strengthen Native traditions, after he left the scene, his successors came to be dominated by Protestant missionaries. The missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM; Congregational Church now the United Church of Christ) from New England disdained Hawaiian culture for religious and secular reasons and insinuated themselves on the Hawaiian royalty to spread their faith. The strength and breadth of their impact was fortuitous because they were numerous, resident and devised a writing system to aid in their conversion. As such they were natural teachers and translators. Because the foundation of their message was unified, they were stronger than earlier advisers. Meanwhile, the population of Native Hawaiians was being decimated by diseases introduced by the foreigners more broadly. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Native Hawaiian population would dwindle while their culture would become subverted to American culture. The conversion of Native Hawaiians never led to them to become full partners in the new, capitalist culture that was imposed on them. So while over the nineteenth century their population continued to diminish, the survivors were increasingly disenfranchised and impoverished on their own islands.

Five months after King Kamehameha died, a group of 17 Protestant Missionaries from New England, including Hiram Bingham, Asa Thurston and their new wives set sail on the brig *Thaddeus* for Hawai'i. Bingham recorded his first impressions upon arriving at the "Darken heathen shores" of Honolulu on April 19, 1820, which serve as a striking contrast to Cook and other explorers:



Hiram Bingham later in life

A first sight of these wretched creatures was almost overwhelming. Their naked figures and wild expression of countenance--their black hair, streaming in the wind, as they hurried the canoe over the water, with all the eager action and muscular power of savages--their rapid and unintelligible exclamations, and whole exhibition of uncivilized character, gave to them the appearance of half-man and half-beast. and irresistibly pressed on the thoughts the query--'Can they be men--Can they be women!--do they not form a link in creature, connecting man with brute?

There is not a little bit of hyperbole in this description of their landing in Hawai'i. Bingham and Thurston had, after all, been sponsored by the ABCFM which had given religious training to several Hawaiian youths brought to the East Coast by merchant vessels. What was not exaggerated, though, is his missionary zeal which was inextricably tied to his disdain for the Kingdom of Hawai'i, "a rude, dark, vile part of the world," its people and their

culture. He criticized *hula* dancers, for example, arguing that:

While some of the people who sat in the darkness were beginning to turn their eyes to the light, and were disposed to attend our schools and public lectures, others, with greater enthusiasm, were wasting their time in learning, practising, or witnessing the *hula*, or heathen dance and song....

Melody and harmony are scarcely known to them, with all their skill and art. The whole arrangement and process of their old *hulas* were designed to promote lasciviousness, and of course the practice of them could not flourish in modest communities. They had been interwoven too with their superstitions, and made subservient to the honor of their gods, and their rulers, rather living or departed and deified.

Acknowledging that swimming, diving, surfing and canoeing were “the favorite amusement of all classes” of the early Hawaiians he easily foresaw how this part of their culture was under fire from his own work of civilizing the heathen:

The adoption of our costume greatly diminishes their practice of swimming and sporting in the surf, for it is less convenient to wear it in the water than a native girdle, and less decorous and safe to lay it entirely off on every occasion they find for a plunge or swim or surf-board race. Less time, moreover, is found for amusement by those who earn or make cloth- garments for themselves like the more civilized nations.

By July, missionaries from this first contingent of the ABCFM were settled on the three most populous islands of O'ahu, Hawai'i and Maui. In June of the next year, Ka'ahumanu's attack on the Native Hawaiian religion continued with the burning of 10 wooden representations of gods early in the month followed by the burning of 102 more, which she had ordered gathered together, later in the month. If the missionaries had any doubts, now there were none. The most effective way to convert the masses was to convert their leaders. Bingham's target was Ka'ahumanu. After a year of persistent proselytizing, in December 1821, Bingham and his wife Sybil's prayers at the side of Ka'ahumanu through a life-threatening illness paid off:

She was soon restored, and with her friends set a higher value on the religion which we were endeavouring to inculcate. There was from this period a marked difference in her demeanor towards the missionaries, which became more and more striking, till we were allowed to acknowledge her as a disciple of the Divine Master.

A few years later at a council of the Kingdom of Hawai'i's chiefs held in Honolulu after Kamehameha II's burial in 1825, which Lord Byron as emissary from the British Government attended, Hiram Bingham, speaking on behalf of the missionaries, told the chiefs that the missionaries had no intention of interfering in Hawaiian politics or commerce. This was a deceptive comment as his mere presence at the meeting was evidence to the contrary. Meanwhile, missionary children were kept apart from Native Hawaiians and sent to the United States to be educated. After 1841, they were sent to Punahou School established in Honolulu where they were cloistered in such a way that nurtured the contempt their parents possessed for the Native Hawaiians (Punahou was later opened up to non-missionary children). For the rest of the century, missionaries of the ABCFM, their children and those connected to the Punahou School, though only 906 students passed through their doors until 1898, would be in the forefront and directly involved in political activities directed at the shifting of power, land and commerce away from the Native Hawaiians to the *haoles*.

In spite of Kamehameha II's faults and the changes to early Hawaiian culture that the *kuhina nui*, Ka'ahumanu, had orchestrated, the status quo remained more or less the same until he died. His successor was his younger brother, Kauikeaouli, who began his rule at the young age of 13 as Kamehameha III with Ka'ahumanu continuing on as *kuhina nui*.

At this time, the proclamation of new laws readily showed the influence of the missionaries as they were all laws of morality: in 1827, there were laws against murder, theft and adultery; and in 1829 added were: "fornication, retailing ardent spirits at houses of selling spirits, amusements of the Sabbath day, gambling and betting on the Sabbath day and all times." Ironically, these laws seem to be aimed primarily at foreigners, largely sailors rather than the Native Hawaiians, who presumably were able to address violations of social rules as always though foreign morals were obviously making inroads particularly as regards sexual intercourse. And yet traditional arts faced increasing restrictions as well. Public performances of the *hula* were banned in 1830.

A French mission aboard the *Cometè* which carried three Catholic missionaries and lay persons arrived at Honolulu in 1827 and had in two years converted some 69 adults plus children. In competition with Catholic missionaries in Tahiti and fearful that they would make inroads in the Kingdom, Protestant missionaries retaliated by ensuring the Catholic missionaries were deported in 1831 and Catholics on the islands in general were persecuted.

Ka'ahumanu died in 1832 when the king was 19, and overnight, according to Michael Dougherty, he became "a liberated hedonist, outshining his late brother Liholiho in horse

racing, card playing, woman chasing and rum drinking." Due largely to such open defiance for the strictures previously imposed under Ka'ahumanu there was some easing on them in general. Still the *hula*, for example, faced various restrictions until the mid-1880s when a revival was sponsored under the elected king, David Kalakaua.



Kamehameha III



Kina'u

In losing the *kuhina nui*, ambitious ABCFM missionaries had lost their greatest sponsor so they approached one of Kamehameha II's wives, Kina'u, who was also his half-sister (her mother was of lesser rank than the king's), and according to missionary Gerrit Parmele Judd, "our arguments convinced her. By our advice, she presented herself to the king and claimed her rights, which were acknowledged, and she was in due time proclaimed as *Kuhina*." She took the name Ka'ahumanu II to both give her the élan of legitimacy and make clear to everyone whose side she was on.

The early doyen of Hawaiian history and scholar at UH Mānoa, Ralph Simpson Kuykendall, whose monumental three-volume history of Hawai'i written between 1938 and 1967 (though based initially on a single volume published earlier in 1925; and the third volume here was published posthumously because he died in 1963) initiated the push of the territory-then state's historiography beyond the confines of the missionary perspective to include other archival materials though as time passes he appears increasingly as an apologist for the missionaries and commercial concerns. Still, he wrote in an era when public rhetoric was conservative and dominated by the Big Five commercial interests on the islands whose origins dated back to the first half of the prior century. Kuykendall argues increasing foreign commercial trade, particularly with Americans, necessitated that the Hawaiian rulers begin to formulate laws, and by extension, a government that the American and European traders could effectively understand, have confidence in and anticipate. But this is only true in so

much as the early Hawaiians were pushed by foreign trade. They were not. Instead it was the missionaries and, later, commercial interests, who pushed the needs of the islands to suit themselves. After all, the Native Hawaiians had for more than 40 years since Cook's discovery succeeded without a need for a foreign form of government so Kuykendall's argument is *ex post facto*. It is true that Kamehameha had built up his military resources to first unite the islands and then, with intent to both maintain the union as well as to protect against errant foreign aggressions, but there was never a serious concern of a large-scale invasion for which the Hawaiians were unlikely to have the capacity to counter until they manufactured armaments themselves. The real difference was between the rulers and their foreign advisers.

The ABCFM actually had a precept which denounced mixing religion and politics: "The Kingdom of Christ is not of this world, and it especially behooves a missionary to stand aloof from the private and transient interests of chiefs and rulers." So when their missionary, William Richards, who had served in Lahaina, Maui for 15 years accepted an appointment as "chaplain, teacher and translator" to King Kamehameha III in 1838, the ABCFM forced him to resign from the mission. Richards was the architect for the Declaration of Rights (1839) and Constitution of 1840, both of which would have been completely foreign in form and substance to Hawaiians a generation earlier. These documents acknowledged the supremacy of God/Jehovah. The Rights protected individuals, their property and productions (with a New England Puritanical nuance), and provided that chiefs should be removed if they violated these rights. The Constitution, in creating a premier, House of Nobles, representative body and courts, made the King subservient to the law. The Kingdom was effectively no more--Hawai'i was now a constitutional monarchy. While there would be many more Hawaiian constitutions created through the rest of the 19th century, the basic principles of this one remain today, with two exceptions, constitutional changes in 1887 and 1893 when the monarch's powers were sharply curtailed and then the monarch was overthrown.



William Richards

In 1842, William Richards was appointed by the Kamehameha III to go on a mission to Europe. At this time, the ABCFM requested another missionary, Gerrit Parmele Judd, to replace Richards in Lahaina. Judd, who had helped found the Punahou School with Hiram Bingham, was more interested in replacing Richards in his positions in government and resigned from the mission instead. In addition to replacing Richards in 1842 as translator, he was appointed recorder, a member of the treasury board, authorized to assist the governor of

O'ahu in “all business of importance between foreigners”; and Minister of Interior from 1845 to 1846, and Minister of the Finance from 1846 to 1853. In these positions he did more for the *haoles* in Hawai'i than has ever been done by one man before or since.

Judd's influence was primarily in two areas, placing *haoles*, particularly those who supported his views, in important government positions and orchestrating a massive reorganization of land tenure in Hawai'i. Judd set an impression of imperiousness early on, according to Dougherty. He ordered a coat of arms designed in Paris, which Kamehameha III presented him in a public ceremony, yet this did not satisfy the former missionary:

When Judd appeared at official functions attired in a vivid blue coat with gold insignia, white vest and trousers and the plumed hat of a field marshal, he regularly received 17-gun salutes as he alighted from his gilt-encrusted, plush brocade coach, which once carried Queen Victoria.

Now properly accoutered, Judd set about to form his government in the name of the King:

It was easy to see that the foreigner could never consent to be ruled entirely by the native, and with the full concurrence of the King I adopted the plan of employing foreigners and required all who wanted land or other favors to take the oath of allegiance to the King. This system soon produced its effects and by the time Mr. Richards returned we had a dozen of the best foreigners in office as ministers, councilors, judges, collectors, etc. Over time, Judd's appointments mushroomed in numbers.



Kamehameha III



Gerrit Parmele Judd

Having ensured that the levers of power were firmly in his hands, Judd set about to guarantee that those who shared the values of the Protestant missionaries would have adequate real estate to permanently sow the seeds of Christianity and civilization in the Islands. This was called The Great Mahele, or division of lands, though it was obviously

much more. Initially, Judd had sought to clearly record what lands the King and the chiefs owned on the islands. Then he aimed to give some to the state, followed by common Native Hawaiians and lastly to create a viable solution whereby industrious *haoles* could own land permanently rather than rent it for a clearly demarcated period of time. In itself this would not have been so catastrophic, but the manner in which it was carried out and who was ultimately left with the land would make it so.

In a typewritten document from circa 1888 found at the University of California, Berkeley's Bancroft Library whose authorship is not listed⁵, the missionaries, here referred to more broadly as "the foreigners"'s explanation for the need for land reform is explained:

What the king or the chiefs said was to be, had to be; there was no question about it. It was in the power of the chief to turn the people away from the land, or to take from them almost anything they possessed. To this foreigners attributed a good deal of the improvidence and idleness, and want of thrift among the people, and thought if the people could have the benefit of their own labor and its earnings, they would become more industrious, and make better homes form themselves, etc.

Dougherty, who best captures Judd's land grab, explains that members of the ABCFM gained 7,888 prime acres on O'ahu, in part because the government permitted missionaries who had served eight years in Hawai'i and owned less than 500 acres of land to purchase land at a reduced rate. Judd did better than most, gaining at least 5,295 acres across the Kingdom. By comparison, approximately 8,750 Native Hawaiians received 28,600 acres, or 3.27 acres each on average. Keep in mind that Native Hawaiians comprised 91.75% (71,019) of the population and Non-Native Hawaiians a mere 2.9% (2,119, predominantly whites) in 1853 by which time most of the Mahele had been instituted. Vested with the ability to purchase and own land permanently and installed in the levers of power, *haoles* rapidly took over. By the end of the 19th century, *haole* men owned four acres for every one owned by a Native Hawaiian.

⁵ The catalogue entry for this document, Data regarding the Hawaiian Islands : typescript, [ca. 1888] , gives William Lee as the creator, though it clearly states that Lee had been dead since 1857 and the document covers events which occurred in the 1880s.. It is highly likely that the author was missionary scion, William De Witt Alexander, who served on Berkeley's faculty.



King Kalakaua



Queen Lili'uokalani



Sanford Dole



Lorrin Thurston

Rise of sugar and the end of Monarchy

For many years our sovereigns had welcomed the advice of, and given full representations in their government and councils to, American residents who had cast in their lot with our people, and established industries on the Islands. As they became wealthy, and acquired titles to lands through the simplicity of our people and their ignorance of values and of the new land laws, their greed and their love of power proportionately increased; and schemes for aggrandizing themselves still further, or for avoiding the obligations which they had incurred to us, began to occupy their minds. So the mercantile element, as embodied in the Chamber of Commerce, the sugar planters, and the proprietors of the

'missionary' stores, formed a distinct political party, called the 'downtown' party, whose purpose was to minimize or entirely subvert other interests, and especially the prerogatives of the crown...they would be bound by no obligations, by honor, or by oath of allegiance, should an opportunity arise for seizing our country, and bringing it under the authority of the United States.

[Deposed Queen, Lili'uokalani]

Unquestionably the constitution was not in accordance with law; neither was the Declaration of Independence from Great Britain. Both were revolutionary documents, which had to be forcibly effected and forcibly maintained.

[Lorrin A. Thurston referring to the Bayonet Constitution he helped to impose on King Kalakaua]

After Judd was eventually purged in 1855 for his rabid efforts to get the United States to annex the Kingdom, the missionary group, consisting of ABCFM missionaries, their offspring, laypersons, and allies connected primarily through the Punahou School, was increasingly challenged by Native Hawaiians and other *haoles* with competing interests. Two of Judd's protégés, whose tenure in government outlived his, were William Little Lee and Charles Reed Bishop, distant relatives and friends from New York who came to Hawai'i via Oregon together. Lee, a graduate of Harvard Law School, offered the legal skills Judd needed so was appointed judge of O'ahu and enlisted to help draft the architecture for the Kingdom's judicial system. He also served on King Kamehameha IV's Privy Council. Ironically, Lee was one of those who helped push Judd from power, according to Dougherty.

Bishop lacked the fortuitous training that Lee possessed but he, who along with Lee played "bat and ball" at Punahou on Saturdays with the enthusiastic youngsters at the school, made the most of his connections (Bishop later served as trustee of Punahou from 1867-1891). The same year he arrived in Honolulu, 24-year old Bishop met his future wife, Bernice Pauahi Paki, at a party thrown by Amos Starr Cooke, when she was 15-years old. Cooke and his wife, Juliette, were secular employees of the ABCFM and ran the Chiefs' Children's School (later called the Royal School) where converted children of the *ali'i* and every Hawaiian monarch after Kamehameha III received their education isolated from other Native Hawaiians. Selectively pious, the Cookes helped cultivate Bishop's three-year courtship of Bernice against her parents' wishes that she marry an *ali'i*. Bernice was the Great Granddaughter of Kamehameha I and his last surviving heir, after Kamehameha V died in 1872. As a result, she gained rights to the royal lands still reserved for the monarch since the Mahele, some 11% of all land in Hawai'i. In 1858, Bishop established the first bank in the Kingdom, Aldrich & Bishop (later Bishop & Co.), and held a monopoly for more than two dozen years (his bank served as the origins for the First Hawaiian Bank (1960) which is still

Hawai'i's largest bank).

John Owen Dominis was another *haole* who married Hawaiian royalty. The son of a sea captain, Dominis married the last monarch of Hawai'i, Queen Lili'uokalani. As a boy, he and other boys who attended a schoolhouse next to the Cookes' residence would climb a fence separating the two schools to spy on the royal children, including Lili'uokalani. Later, when they were both adults, they met while Dominis was on the staff of Kamehameha V and fell in love. They had no children though Lili'uokalani adopted her husband's bastard child after Dominis and the mother, her servant Mary Pudry Lamiki 'Aimoku, died.

Hawai'i's economy has never been diverse, and, as we saw from the fortunes of Lee and Bishop, the skills of the enterprising civilization that Bingham, Richards, and Judd had foisted on the Native Hawaiians took time to develop. Sandalwood (*'iliahi*), which grows wild on the island was highly valued in China, dominated the Islands' foreign trade from roughly 1810 until it was exhausted by over exploitation around 1830. Hawai'i had become an important wintering port for vessels trading with China soon after the Islands were discovered, but whaling in the Pacific Ocean exploded in the first half of the nineteenth century with the discovery of hunting grounds in the Sea of Japan, South Pacific and the Arctic. Whale oil was used for heating, lamps and in industrial machinery. The two important ports of Honolulu (O'ahu) and Lahaina (Maui) owe their early growth to the whaling industry. Like sandalwood before it, whaling declined though this time due to the discovery of oil fields on the mainland beginning in 1859.

Sugarcane (*ko*) was different. It grew easily in Hawai'i, only took two years to grow to harvest, and was sustainable. *Haoles* with capital only needed land, a market, and a labor force. Judd had solved the first problem years earlier. The Civil War destroyed sugar production in the American South. but Hawaiian growers still had to overcome a tariff on exports to the US. Warfare to unify the islands and diseases introduced by the *haoles* such as measles, whooping cough, dysentery and influenza, and to a lesser degree, emigration, were responsible for the precipitous decline of Native Hawaiians from an estimated

400,000 at the time of Cook's discovery to 40,622 "Natives and Half-Castes" in 1890, or a reduction to one-tenth of its pre-European contact size.

The first efforts at stabilizing the labor supply needed for sugar plantations targeted Chinese labor. The influx of laborers was so great that by the 1880s the Islands' taro growers began to switch to growing rice to feed them. In 1878, Portuguese started emigrating to the Kingdom to work on the plantations. They were treated differently from the Chinese, who were often whipped, and other Asian groups that followed because they were European. The Portuguese were encouraged to immigrate as families, were given an acre of land, a house and improved working conditions. They were often chosen as overseers (*luna*) of other plantation workers. Because the Portuguese were needed, their Catholicism was tolerated and strengthened the community that the Protestant missionaries had earlier suppressed. They also introduced foods such *malasadas*, *pao doce* and Portuguese sausage to Hawaiian cuisine. The *'ukulele* was adapted from the Portuguese *barguinha* and *cavaquinho*. The greatest change in the makeup of the Island population during this period, though, was encouraged by the US Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 which precipitated the influx of Japanese labor. The 1890 Census provides us with this breakdown of sugar plantation workers:

Japanese	8,024	43.7%
Chinese	4,517	24.6%
Portuguese	3,017	16.4%
Native Hawaiians	1,873	10.2%
South Sea Islanders	433	2.4%
Americans	101	
British	80	2.7%
Other nationalities	314	
Total	18,359	100%

The obstacle of US tariffs held more direct implications for the Kingdom's politics. After the last of Kamehameha's direct descendants, Lot Kapuaiwa (Kamehameha V) died in 1872, successive Hawaiian monarchs were elected. *Ali'i* David Kalakaua was the second king to be elected after contesting the election against Queen Emma (granddaughter of John Young and wife of King Kamehameha IV). Sugar interests backed Kalakaua because he secretly agreed to cede Pearl Harbor to the US in exchange for a free-trade agreement. The resulting Reciprocity Treaty was concluded in 1875 and went into effect near the end of the following year but did not include a Pearl Harbor provision as initially conceived.

Instead, the US was granted the "exclusive privilege of entering Pearl Harbor and establishing

there a coaling and repair station" for its navy when the treaty was renewed in 1887. The effect of the treaty was immediate and substantial, exports of raw Hawaiian sugar increased from 13,000 tons in 1876 to 229,000 tons in 1898.

Sugar brought Clause Spreckels to the Kingdom. A technology entrepreneur and sugar baron whose capital far outsized that of any of the *haoles*' on the Islands, he was an outsider who was both a monarchist and rich, so his independence was anathema to annexationists. After having originally immigrated to the US from Germany, Spreckels arrived in Honolulu in 1876, a month before sugar was allowed into the US duty free. He already owned the California Sugar Refinery and aimed to use his fortune to leverage himself into the Hawaiian sugar plantation business. Spreckels made a loan of \$34,000 to Prime Minister Walter Murray Gibson with the latter's property holdings on Lana'i serving as collateral. He also loaned Kalakaua \$40,000 secured by royal lands. Spreckels purchased 24,000 acres of royal lands on Maui and loaned the *ali'i* Ruth Ke'eklikolani \$60,000 as part of the package. By 1886, he held \$700,000 of the Kingdom's debt and commensurate political influence as a top adviser to Kalakaua and Gibson to go with it.

Prime Minister Gibson was an adventurer who, before coming to Hawai'i, had served a year imprisonment in the Dutch East Indies for inciting a Sumatran raja against Dutch colonial rule there. He arrived in the Kingdom as an envoy of the Mormon Church with the mission of revitalizing the church on the island of Lana'i. In the process he used church funds to purchase lands in his own name. After Mormon officials learned that he had defrauded the church he was excommunicated but he retained title to the lands.

Gibson learned to speak fluent Hawaiian and moved to Honolulu where he began publishing a small Hawaiian-language paper, *Ka Elele Poakolu*, and purchased the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in 1880. He was so effective in utilizing these newspapers for his populist propaganda that he was one of only three *haoles* elected to the Legislature in 1882--27 missionary-sugar industry candidates were defeated. The missionary-sugar industry tried to win Gibson over with political inducements, but he resisted. As chairman of the Finance Committee, Gibson delivered a report to the Legislature condemning the Finance Minister for loaning \$250,000 in public funds to Bishop & Co.--at the time, Bishop was a member of the House of Nobles and on the Privy Council. Gibson also denounced "cabinet ministers and their political cronies among Missionary Families and other long-established *haole* groups" involved in conflicts of interests with the business concerns.

With Gibson and Spreckels at his side, Kalakaua was further emboldened to chisel away at the legacy of political power Judd had created for the missionary group. During his tenure, Kalakaua appointed 11 Native Hawaiians while the three previous kings had appointed only

two. The missionary group's opposition to the King and top supporters, Prime Minister Gibson and advisor Spreckels, came up short in the election of 1886. Only 10 of their candidates won, and four of these were Native Hawaiians. The government's party won 18 seats. Kalakaua rewarded Gibson by naming him both Premier and Foreign Minister.

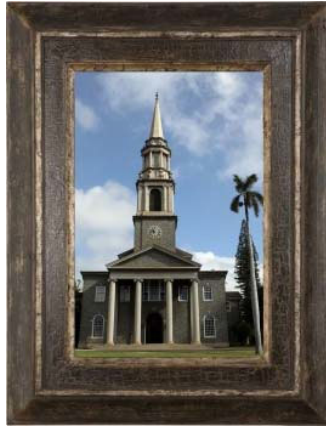
The missionary group had already been holding strategy meetings before the election, but afterwards they gained more urgency and their discussions a greater need for secrecy as they began to consider extralegal tactics in earnest. It is difficult to clearly identify the core members of the missionary group because their meetings were secretive, those actively involved outside of a handful of individuals changed over the eight years of their most active period from 1885-1893, and it was incumbent upon the group to exaggerate their numbers to foster a belief in the legitimacy of their efforts. Even within the missionary group, unanimity of thought did not always prevail. Some individuals might have been against annexation, others were angry over corruption in the government and wanted changed but differed over how to effectuate it and how far it should go.

The missionary group's leaders were Sanford Dole and Lorrin Thurston, both children of missionaries and Punahou alums, and included William Wisner Hall, William Owen Smith, William Ansel Kinney, Charles Reed Bishop, Samuel Mills Damon, William Richards Castle, William De Witt Alexander, Joseph Ballard Atherton, Edward Griffin Hitchcock, James A. King, Samuel Gardner Wilder, Peter Cushman Jones, Paul Isenberg and William Harrison Rice.

Sanford Dole was the son of Daniel Dole, who served as Punahou's first teacher and principal from 1841-1854. The younger Dole was first elected to the Legislature in 1884 and reelected in 1886. Lorrin Thurston was the grandson of Asa Thurston, an ABCFM missionary who arrived in the Kingdom on the *Thaddeus* with Hiram Bingham. Lorrin Thurston spoke Hawaiian, had been an overseer on a sugar plantation in Maui before attending Columbia Law School and began practicing law upon returning to Hawai'i. He was elected to the Legislature for the first time in 1886. William Owen Smith was a son of ABCFM missionaries, and both he and William Ansel Kinney were Punahou alums and Thurston's law partners. William Wisner Hall was also a son of an ABCFM missionary and Punahou alum.

Samuel Mills Damon's maternal grandfather helped found the ABCFM and his father was a missionary as well. Samuel was Charles Reed Bishop's partner in Bishop & Co. Damon's brother-in-law, Henry Perrine Baldwin, co-founded the Big Five firm, Alexander and Baldwin, with Samuel Alexander. Baldwin and Alexander were both the sons of ABCFM missionaries and Punahou alums. Their business centered on sugarcane production. Samuel married Martha Cooke, daughter of Amos Cooke, and Henry married Samuel's sister, Emily.

Samuel's brother, William De Witt married Henry's sister, Abigail Baldwin. Another of Samuel's brothers, Charles, married Helen Thurston, the sister of Lorrin Thurston, and granddaughter of Asa Thurston. All had attended Punahou.



Central Union Church at Punahou and Beretania Sts. (three blocks west of Punahou School). Though built in the 1924, the congregation dates from Seamen's Bethel, founded in 1833-- later renamed the Bethel Union Church, which merged with another branch of the same church in 1887. Congregants included Charles Reed and Bernice Bishop.

William Richards Castle was the son of Samuel Northrup Castle and was named after ABCFM missionary William Richards. The elder Castle arrived in Hawai'i in 1836 charged with the handling of ABCFM's financial affairs. He was a trustee for Punahou and the treasurer for 40 years. He served in a series of high-level government appointments from 1863 to 1880 with a small break between 1874 and 1876. Samuel Castle formed Castle & Cooke with Amos Starr

Cooke who headed the Chiefs' Children's School with his wife, Juliette. Castle & Cooke started off as a department store for ABCFM missionaries and laypersons and later expanded into sugar plantations. It grew to be one of the Big Five businesses which dominated Hawai'i's economy into the second half of the 20th century. Joseph Ballard Atherton was an alum of Punahou and married Cooke's daughter, Juliette. He would go on to succeed Castle as president of Castle & Cooke in 1894. Edward Griffin Hitchcock was another Punahou alum and Castle's son-in-law.

James A. King had been in charge of Samuel Gardner Wilder's shipping operations for years. Wilder was married to Mary Kina'u Judd (G.P. Judd's daughter). Wilder's younger sister, Harriet, married Joseph P. Cooke, Amos Starr Cooke's son.

Peter Cushman Jones was a trustee of Punahou and a partner and president of yet another Big Five firm, C. Brewer & Co. His partner was Henry A.P. Carter, a Punahou trustee, who had married to Judd's daughter, Sybil Augusta Judd. As Hawai'i's minister to the United States, Carter had negotiated the Reciprocity Treaty in 1875 and its extension in 1887. Charles Reed Bishop was an investor in C. Brewer & Co. Paul Isenberg was a German immigrant who ran the Big Five firm, Hackfeld & Co (later known as Amfac, or American

Factories). Isenberg was married to Hannah Maria Rice a Punahou alum. Her father, William Harrison Rice, was an ABCFM missionary and teacher, and business manager at Punahou.

Already in 1884, Sanford Dole and William Owen Smith had purchased the editorial rights of the *Daily Bulletin* from its owner, Walter Hill, so Lorrin Thurston could serve as the missionary group's public mouthpiece. Here Thurston echoes nostalgically the Judd era arguing: "It is a misfortune to this Kingdom that its constitution does not provide for utilizing the opinions of its foreign population [i.e., Americans, Germans and British citizens] so that the progressive ideas of the older culture maybe incorporated with the 'united wisdom' of the national representatives in the administration of the affairs of state."

Gibson's *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* responded: "The truth is, however, the Opposition objects to the Constitution because it grants the majority of the people the right to control the Government through the Legislature and guarantees the independence of the Crown."

In his memoirs, which Thurston urged him to write to capture revolutionary events through the revolutionary's eyes, Dole's story is self-righteous and cleansed of any self-incrimination. When one looks at Dole's arguments for what spawned action and the changes imposed by the missionary group's coups, however, it is clear that the motivation was nothing more than the racism of their progenitors, ABCFM missionaries Bingham, Richards and Judd, nurtured in their childhood, and indignation over challenges to what this tightly-knit group of *haoles* grew to believe was their birthright.

Dole claims that the precipitating factors for a coup the missionary group engineered against Kalakaua in 1887 were:

1. A bill to license an individual to sell opium [only to Chinese residents or others for medical purposes with a prescription] duly passed by the Legislature.
2. A license sold to "a Chinaman, named Aki" for \$71,000 and another individual for "similar consideration."
3. A desire of the missionary group for the Kingdom of Hawai'i to be annexed by the United States.

The first two points are an obvious rhetorical sham much as any modern political advertisement used to attack one's opponent is. The third point is not. Annexation provided a path for activist members of the missionary group to gain security and permanence to their power.

In a 33-page handwritten history of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Republic presumably

authored by William De Witt Alexander, a co-conspirator, found in the Alexander Family Papers at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, a slightly modified explanation was given:

Among the measures urged by the King and opposed by the Reform party were the project of a ten million dollar loan, chiefly for military purposes, the removal of the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquor to Hawaiians, which was carried in 1882, the licensing of the sale of opium, the chartering of a lottery company, the licensing of a Kahunas or medicine [sic] men, ie. Systematic efforts were made to turn the constitution question into a race issue, and the party cry was raised of 'Hawaii for Hawaiians.

Ironically, W.D. Alexander's missionary father, W.P. Alexander, had written thanking William Hooper for sending him poppy flowers, "I have no objections to cultivating the poppy at present, & have planted the seed, hope they will grow and yield opium." (see reel 1, letter dated 23 February 1839 to Wm. Hooper Esq. and reel 3).

Charles Reed Bishop, who unlike his dear friend William Little Lee--who had died of tuberculosis in 1857--actively supported annexation, presented a more forthright resolution to the leading agitators of the group saying the "King has encroached on our rights...it means either a new constitution, or one with material reforms, which I am sure we shall have." Dole readily admits that they were a minority opposition, but this did not matter.

What neither Dole nor Bishop admit was that they were also emboldened by the fact that Claus Spreckels had left for San Francisco after Kalakaua had become fed up with his financial manipulation of the government. Kalakaua bought off Spreckels with a loan from the British. The missionary group, which ironically called itself the Hawaiian League, armed themselves and successfully sought out the support a large contingent of a local militia group numbering less than 200 men, the Honolulu Rifles, and their commander, Lieutenant Colonel Volney V. Ashford (Ashford would later regret his involvement after realizing that the missionary group was more corrupt than the monarchy; Alfred Wellington Carter, the nephew of Henry A.P. Carter, partner of the Big Five firm, C. Brewer & Co, was also an officer in the Honolulu Rifles). They were ready to use force if necessary, but first approached Kalakaua to see if he would submit peacefully.

Members of the missionary group were tense enough to reveal the lengths they would go to carry out their "Bayonet Revolution" as this event has come to be known. While the League was drawing up a new constitution, one of their members who were on guard duty warned the others that the government was amassing an armed force to attack the Honolulu Rifles's headquarters at the Ali'iolani Hale (the main government building where the Legislature

met), according to Dole:

The meeting immediately adjourned, and the members returned to their homes, armed themselves, and started for the [Ali'iolani Hale], to assist in repelling the expected attack. Before reaching their destination, however, they were met with the information that the story of the impending hostile movement was a false alarm.

The League demanded Kalakaua fire Prime Minister Gibson and his Cabinet, accept a group of League members, including William Lowthian Green, in choosing replacement ministers, and support a new constitution. Kalakaua agreed to all. Gibson and the Cabinet were removed and replaced with League members including Thurston as Interior Minister, Green as Finance Minister and Volney V. Ashford's brother, Clarence W. Ashford, as Attorney General.

The Bayonet Constitution fundamentally changed the role of the monarch more than any time since the constitutional monarchy had been created. Article 41 of the constitution states the Cabinet (Ministers of Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Attorney General) would be appointed by the King, but his choices required the approval of a majority of the Legislature, and "No act of the King shall have any effect unless it be countersigned by a member of the Cabinet..." Other provisions were more specific: "the Legislature [Nobles and Representatives], and when not in session, the Cabinet," and the "whole Privy Council" had to agree with the King on the levying of any subsidies, duties, or taxes (Article 15); the King had to obtain the Legislature's agreement to proclamations of war (Article 26); the Cabinet had to agree to any pardons the King proposed; and the Legislature could now override the King's veto with a two-thirds vote (Article 49).

This was more than the penultimate political attack on the monarchy of the Hawaiian Kingdom, for it was truly a political revolution. Article 59 restricted the vote for Nobles, which were formerly appointed by the King, out of reach for most Native Hawaiians with a new requirement to "own and be possessed, in his own right, of taxable property in this country of the value of not less than three thousand dollars (equivalent to about \$74,000⁶ in 2011; only 4,695 people owned real estate in the Islands as late as 1890 and very few of these were Native Hawaiians) over and above all encumbrances, or shall have actually received an income of not less than six hundred dollars (about \$14,787.50 in 2011) during the year next preceding his registration of such election." The Chinese and Japanese were not permitted to

⁶ These are rough comparisons based on the Consumer Price Index. The property values are exponentially higher today than they were back then. What we really need to know is that these figures were specifically devised to limit the vote of Nobles to relatively well-off *haoles*.

vote so by pushing the financial requirements beyond the reach of most Native Hawaiians, the minority missionary group was clearly trying to engineer a path for permanent political domination of the Legislature and, consequently, the Cabinet through the Bayonet Constitution.

Even with the Constitution rigged in their favor, though, the missionary group still were not sure they could control the Legislature so they attempted "to balance the vote with the Portuguese vote," according to Chief Justice Albert Francis Judd--Portuguese plantation workers, who outnumbered other white voters, would, it was believed, vote according to their overseers whims.

It is difficult to understand why Kalakaua capitulated seemingly so easily to the Hawaiian League had we not become aware from later events how tenuous the King's security really was. Kalakaua's sister wrote:

He had discovered traitors among his most trusted friends, and knew not in whom he could trust; and because he had every assurance, short of actual demonstration, that the conspirators were ripe for revolution, and had taken measures to have him assassinated if he refused. His movements of late had been watched, and his steps logged, as though he had been a fugitive from justice. Whenever he attempted to go out in the evening, either to call at the hotel, or visit any one of his friends' houses, he was conscious of enemies who were following stealthily on his track.

In 1890, the McKinley Tariff was introduced and passed in the Republican-controlled US Congress. Overall, it was protectionist, raising tariffs to 48.4 percent ad valorem on average. Sugar was dealt with in a more complicated manner. While removing removed all duties on raw sugar coming into the US, it ended duty-free status to countries who imposed unequal or unreasonable duties on US products. At the same time, it placed a bounty of two cents a pound on American-grown sugar. This caused a financial panic in Hawai'i where the economy was reliant on sugar exports to the US. It also provided the impetus for both the missionary group and sugar plantation concerns, which were often intricately connected, to renew a push for annexation to the US--Gerrit Parmele Judd's last undone triumph. The only significant political obstacle was the Native Hawaiian monarch. While the monarchs had nearly always bent to the will of their missionary teachers and *haole* advisors, this was one issue they consistently resisted.

In 1891, Kalakaua fell ill and went to San Francisco on the advice of his doctor, then died there at the Palace Hotel. His sister, Lili'uokalani succeeded him. Meanwhile, it had become increasingly clear that the missionary group had miscalculated in designing the Bayonet

Constitution. In 1890, enough *haole* electors defected from voting for the missionary group's slate of Nobles that the Legislature voted out the Cabinet put in place by the Bayonet Revolution. After the 1892 election, the Cabinet was constantly changing as the missionary group in the Legislature tried to form alliances but only one Cabinet they supported was put in place and this did not last long. Both these legislatures petitioned for a new constitution to replace the Bayonet Constitution.

On Saturday, January 14, 1893, Queen Lili'uokalani was prepared to proclaim a new constitution, which included provisions naming her heirs, returning absolute veto and power to appoint the nobles (limited in number to 24 while the representatives were to increase to 48) to the monarch and prohibiting foreigners from voting. Just before doing so, she met with her all-*haole* Cabinet who refused to sign it. Consequently, she told a gathering at 'Iolani Palace assembled for celebrations to mark the end of a legislative session that a new constitution would have to come at a later time due to the lack of support from the Cabinet.



Minister John L. Stevens

At the time of the denouement of events between Queen Lili'uokalani and the missionary group, the American military cruiser, *USS Boston*, was at the port of Honolulu having just returned from a trip to the island of Hawai'i, with a force of "blue jackets" (sailors) and marines, and United States Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary John Leavitt Stevens onboard. The missionary group formed a "Citizen's Committee of Safety" (with obvious reference to the French Revolution and American Revolutionary War groups of the same name) and made an agreement with Minister Stevens. Under the pretext of protecting American lives and property, a force from the *Boston* would be landed, and if the Committee occupied the Ali'iolani Hale and proclaimed a new government, he would recognize it.

Stevens had been appointed Minister by Secretary of State James Blaine. He had been a partial owner of the *Kennebec Journal*, a newspaper in Maine when Blaine was the editor. The previous August, Blaine had written to President Harrison: "I think that there are only three places that are of value enough to be taken that are not continental. One is Hawai'i and the others are Cuba and Porto Rico... Hawai'i may come up for decision at any unexpected hour and I hope we shall be prepared to decide it in the affirmative." Thurston had gone to Washington as a private citizen in Spring, 1892 carrying a letter of introduction from Stevens, who later referred to Lili'uokalani as "the semi-barbaric Queen," to lobby for annexation of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. The President sent a message to Thurston through

his Secretary of Navy offering "if conditions in Hawai'i compel you to act as you have indicated, and you come to Washington with an annexation proposition, you will find an exceedingly sympathetic administration here." In November, Harrison lost his bid for reelection to Grover Cleveland who would be inaugurated in March 1893, so time was imperative.

Queen Lili'uokalani had provided a window of opportunity and the missionary group held at least four meetings between Saturday afternoon and Monday evening to shepherd events along after Minister Stevens had returned with the *Boston*. The first, where the Committee of Safety was appointed, was held at William Owen Smith's house; a second meeting was held at William Richards Castle's house on Sunday morning; the third was held at Lorrin Thurston's office on Monday morning; and the fourth was held on Monday evening at Henry Waterman's house.

The play began to unfold sometime after 3pm on Monday, January 16 when the Committee of Safety delivered an appeal to Minister Stevens requesting protection for American lives and property. The problem with the credibility of the request was that only five of the letter's signers were Americans: Henry Ernest Cooper, John Emmeluth, Theodore F. Lansing, John A. McCandless and Frederick W. McChesney. The four who organized meetings and a fifth, William C. Wilder, brother of Samuel Gardner Wilder, were all members of missionary group and Hawaiian subjects. There were also two German nationals (Crister Bolte and Edward Suhr) and a Scottish national (Andrew Brown).

Around 4pm, the American force of 180 servicemen from the *USS Boston* landed with artillery and small arms, and instead of moving to protect Americans, they marched up Front Street, dropped off a few men at the U.S. Consulate office, and split into two groups a little further down Front as one group went down Merchant Street and the other down King Street with both heading parallel to each other as they headed towards the Ali'iolani Hale where they held a position between that building and armed forces of the Hawaiian Kingdom located a few hundred yards to the north, nearby barracks, and a station house about a third of a mile away.

Later that evening, Honolulu Police Deputy Marshal Arthur Brown and Captain Robert Parker Waipa arrested Queen Lili'uokalani for treason at her private residence, Washington Place. Most of the Queen's guard had gone home for the evening, and she was taken to 'Iolani Palace⁷ where she was handed over to Honolulu Rifles Captain Joseph Henry Fisher (Fisher, a teller at Bishop & Co), presumably on Chief Justice Albert Frances Judd's instructions though he later denied knowing about the unfolding events until the next evening.

⁷ It's not clear where the Hawaiian Kingdom's forces had gone.

As she was being led away from her home, Lili'uokalani saw the Chief Justice enter her home. She later learned that he had a warrant and seized all "the papers in my desk, or in my safe, my diaries, the petitions I had received from the people,--all the things of that nature which could be found were swept into a bag, and carried off by the chief justice in person." These papers were taken to the Honolulu Fort where he put them under lock and key.

Lili'uokalani's papers were kept from her by the Judd family for the entirety of her life. Several years after she died, they were finally released for inspection in 1924.

Although the Queen and her Cabinet had sent a note to Minister Stevens on Monday along with a copy of a public notice providing "assurance that any changes desired in the fundamental law of the land will be sought only by methods provided in the constitution itself," and reiterated the same on the 17th.

Stevens colluded with the missionary group. At 1pm on Tuesday, the 17th, two Cabinet officials, Interior Minister John F. Colburn and Attorney General Arthur P. Peterson, met with Minister Stevens and were told by him that if the Queen's forces attacked the insurrectionists, the American servicemen would intervene.

At 2:30pm, members of the Committee of Safety and Sanford Dole went to the Ali'iolani Hale and proclaimed a Provisional Government. Sanford Dole was named President, James A. King would be Interior Minister, Peter Cushman Jones the new Finance Minister, and William Owen Smith the Attorney General (Francis M. Hatch was named Foreign Minister several months later). As they were concluding their proclamation, 50 Honolulu Rifles associated with the missionary group arrived to protect the Committee members. The Honolulu Rifles were supplemented in the Revolution by the *drei hundert*, or 300, an armed German-national force of some 80 individuals.

Although there is some debate about the exact timing of what happened next, Cleveland's special commissioner who arrived in Hawai'i before the end of the month to investigate, believes that Stevens recognized the Provisional Government as early as 3pm. Lili'uokalani's Cabinet sent a request to Minister Stevens asking for his assistance in maintaining peace, explaining that "certain treasonable persons" had occupied the Ali'iolani Hale and "pretending that your excellency, on behalf of the United States of America, has recognized such Provisional Government." Stevens replied that he no longer regarded them as ministers as he now recognized the Provisional Government (he later referred to the Queen and her Cabinet as "a semibarbaric court and palace").

Subsequent to this, Queen Lili'uokalani and her Cabinet yielded her authority to the

Provisional Government in protest explaining that she did so because Minister Stevens had landed the American military force and declared his support for the Provisional Government. She concluded:

Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, under the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.

Chief Justice Albert Francis Judd said the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii was justified because Queen Lili'uokalani's proposed constitution, though it was never proclaimed, "would have made it impossible for white men to live here." This was an ironic imitation of his father's dictum decades earlier "that the foreigner could never consent to be ruled [by Native Hawaiians]." Although he denied knowledge of the secret activities of the Committee of Safety until after the Provisional Government made its proclamation. Beginning in 1881, Judd would serve as Chief Justice for 19 years.

The Revolution was running on a schedule. President Harrison had been defeated in the election held in November 1892 and Grover Cleveland was to be inaugurated as the new president in March 1893. A few days after the Revolution, the Provisional Government sent William C. Wilder to Washington to request annexation of Hawai'i. Cleveland later observed: "between the initiation of the scheme for a provisional government in Hawaii on the 14th day of January and the submission to the Senate of the treaty of annexation concluded with such government, the entire interval was thirty-two days, fifteen of which were spent by the Hawaiian Commissioners in their Journey to Washington." On March 11, Cleveland appointed James H. Blount to investigate what occurred in Hawai'i in January (the events above are based largely on his report though supplemented by other sources). Blount delivered his report in July and before the year was out, Cleveland informed Congress of his desire to withdraw the treaty for annexation from the Senate, citing his belief that "Hawaii was taken possession of by the United States forces without the consent or wish of the government of the islands, or of anybody else so far as shown, except the United States Minister [Stevens]." Cleveland demanded Dole and the provisional Government return Queen Lili'uokalani to her throne, but did so without invoking the threat of force, so Dole boldly refused, reminding the US President that he had no authority over Hawai'i.

A Reverend Sereno E. Bishop (a son of ABCFM parents and a missionary himself) published letter expressing the sentiments of those behind the blatant overthrow of Hawai'i, the missionary group who were finally able to complete their project, to Blount:

As intimated in the *Star* such a weak and wasted people prove by their failure to save themselves from progressive extinction, and their incapacity to help or defend the denizens of Hawaii, their consequent lack of claim to continued sovereignty. Their only claim can be to the compassionate help and protection of their neighbors. It is not an absurdity for the aborigines, who under most favorable conditions have dwindled to having less than one third (now barely one fourth, probably) of the whole number of males in the Islands, and who are mentally and physically incapable of supporting, directing, or defending a government, nevertheless to claim sovereign rights? It would seem that the forty millions of property interests held by foreigners must be delivered from native misrule. Not to do that will be wrong!

In lobbying the Senate, Samuel Northrup Castle had earlier argued why the Native Hawaiians owed annexation to the US:

Citizens of the United States have spent millions of money as well as years of weary labor in Christianizing and civilizing the people; in giving them a written language, and books,, and schools, and churches, and laws, as well as a civil polity.

Left unmentioned was that while the missionaries giveth with one hand they taketh away with the other, as another wealthy sugar plantation owner would admit so forthrightly: “No natives have property.”

The Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs held its own investigation in early 1894. The Committee was chaired by John Tyler Morgan, an Alabama Democrat, a Confederate General who favored segregation and was a known imperialist who later supported the US takeover of the Panama Canal, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The investigation was really nothing of the sort. The record clearly demonstrates the “investigation” was aimed at providing an opportunity for the missionary group and its allies to rebut Blount's report as well as to show favorable reasons for annexation of Hawai'i.

The following taken from a statement and testimony of William Brewster Oleson, a teacher at the Kamehameha Manual-Labor School of Honolulu (forerunner of the Kamehameha Schools), provides a telling sample of both the ethos and inconsistencies of logic portrayed by the revolutionaries' testimony:

I have been a consistent supporter of the Hawaiian monarchy, in public and in private, out of deference to the prejudices of the aborigines...

The foreign population that had been united in 1887 in the movement for a new

constitution had lost its cohesion through the operation of several causes. Notably among these was the anti-Chinese agitation, which enlisted the mechanics and tradesmen against the planters and their sympathizers. So long as the foreigners were united they were able to guide the legislation and administration of the Government. When they became divided the leaders of the anti-Chinese agitation joined forces with the natives, and the political leadership fell into the hands of men who had little sympathy with the reform movement of 1887. I wish to state here that when I say foreigners I mean voters in the Hawaiian Islands of foreign extraction, and when I say natives I do not intend to raise any race question, but simply to show that the majority in Honolulu were natives.

The events of Saturday, January 14, convinced me that there was no option left to the intelligent and responsible portion of the community but to complete the overthrow initiated by the monarch herself. It was essentially either a return to semibarbarism or the continued control of the country by the forces of progress and civilization, and few men hesitated in making the choice, and the development of events has confirmed their decision.

Morgan dominated questioning of the witnesses and many of his questions were leading, though none of the other committee members asked critical questions either. There were numerous affidavits admitted into the record which were mere unchallengeable statements given by the revolutionaries and their supporters. Two public notaries witnessed the affidavits entered in the record, and one of these notaries was Alfred Wellington Carter, a Punahou alum and officer in the Honolulu Rifles.

In response to President Cleveland's opposition to annexation, the Provisional Government opted for a more permanent solution and formed the Republic of Hawai'i on July 5, 1894 (Thurston and Dole had initiated, separately, the first draft of the Republic's constitution). Dole remained President and King stayed on as Interior Minister as did Hatch as Foreign Minister, but Samuel Mills Damon became Finance Minister. (In 1894, Damon also bought out Bishop's shares in Bishop & Co. and Bishop moved to San Francisco, for unknown reasons, where he lived out his life—he is buried at the Mauna 'Ala Royal Mausoleum, ironically, where Queen Lili'uokalani, King Kalakaua, and several kings of the Kamehameha Dynasty are buried). Henry Cooper served as Foreign Minister for a period then Attorney General. Consequently, all the Cabinet officials in the Provisional Government and Republic were from the missionary group, except for Henry Cooper, who served in several positions over the next several years. While the non-missionary group signers of the Committee of Safety's request to Minister Stevens were kept on for a while as “advisors” to the Provisional Government, they held no other official office of importance.

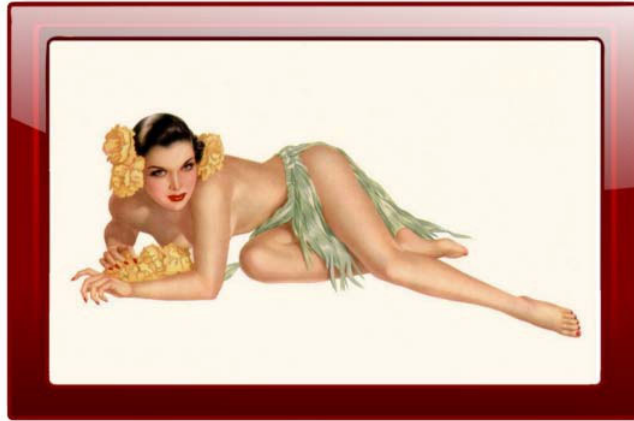
Colonel Zephaniah Swift Spalding, a veteran of the Civil War, former US consul to Hawaii in the late 1860s, and a wealthy sugar plantation owner had explained how the new government, which he had helped to overthrow the old by financing the “sinews of war,” functioned:

We have now as near an approach to autocratic government as anywhere. We have a council of fifteen, perhaps, composed of the business men of Honolulu some of them working men, some capitalists, but they are all business men of Honolulu. They go up to the palace, which is now the official home of the cabinet they go up there perhaps every day and hold a session of an hour to examine into the business of the country, just the same as is done in a large factory or on a farm.

They control [the government]. They assemble--“now it is desired to do so and so; what do you think about it?” They will appoint a committee, if they think it necessary, or they will appoint some one to do something, just as though the Legislature had passed the law to be carried out by the officers of the people.

Annexation finally came after Cleveland's successor, William McKinley, took office. McKinley, whose administration followed the most colonial policy in American history, became president in 1897. The President of Hawai'i, Sanford Dole, surrendered sovereignty of Hawai'i to the United States on August 12, 1898 and the Islands became a US Territory.

Statehood



Early Hawaiian Kitsch (circa 1825): Our coming to reside on shore has been the signal for all the petty traffickers in curiosities to gather round us. Feather tippets and cloaks, war-helmets, weapons, mother-of-pearl fish-hooks, and even gods are brought to market; and as the latter article has been in much demand, the handicraftsmen have set to work and manufactured a few new ones, just as good as the old, but that they have never been worshipped. And do not the antiquemakers in Rome do the same?

[From the journal of Lord Byron's voyage on the *Blonde*, 1822-1825]

While the allure of the floating treasure chests made Native Hawaiians complicit, aided by foreign diseases, in the changes that would be directed on their people and islands by missionaries and business interests, it was those foreign groups' arrogant dismissal of nearly all things Hawaiian which orchestrated the events. In a joint resolution, the US Congress in 1993 apologized "to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii," but offered no restitution of any kind to Native Hawaiians who are now a meager 6% of the population on their islands.

Making our own mark and effectuating change along the way is all well and good until we have reason to lament the past that is no longer. Besides, no culture is immutable. When one culture encounters another, it may choose to prop up barricades and fight to remain unchanged or confidently accept influences from outside. The changes in Native Hawaiian culture on the islands have, of course, been fundamental but the culture lives on in

remnants, ashes floating in the air after the funeral pyre has gone out-- now fostered interestingly enough by the tourism industry.

Long before the *aloha* shirt, Native Hawaiians were marketing items of their former culture. They must have known that tourism was the only sustainable industry for the small island group in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Hawai'i has already been a state for over 50 years. Most of the flowers and birds which make the flora and fauna of the islands so beautiful are transplants, some originating perhaps from the Spaniard Marin as Chamisso had recorded in 1817; the native species are often endangered similarly to the Native Hawaiians and their culture. Whites are the dominant group, now in numbers as well as politically. While ethnic Japanese had numbered slightly higher than the whites as late as 1960, they are now but a half the size in population. Ethnic Filipinos, who surged in immigration beginning in the late 1960s, are now a slightly larger group though Japanese remain important particularly because their social and economic ties to Japan remain strong, and Japanese tourism and investment in Hawai'i is high.

Just as Hiram Bingham had predicted, surfing all but disappeared as Native Hawaiians adopted Western dress but was revived with the introduction of the swimsuit. A group of teenage Hawaiian boys who surfed at Waikiki formed one of the first surf clubs which they called *Hui Nalu* (Club of Waves). In the Early Hawaiian tradition, one of the members of *Hui Nalu*, Duke Kahanamoku, was also a great swimmer, winning gold medals in the 1912 and 1920 Olympics. As an Olympic champion, he became an ambassador for surfing, first in Australia, then in Southern California where he worked for a while as an actor. As a teenager, Kahanamoku rode a traditional 16-foot long, 114 pound, koa-wood board he called "papa *nui*". The board didn't have a skeg, which was invented in the mid-1930s. He would later ride smaller boards, but always made from wood. Kahanamoku then helped make surfing an international sport, but despite its modern popularity, it is still not as important to any one group as it once was to the Early Hawaiians.

English and Japanese are the most common languages you will hear in Hawai'i. To the average tourist, the Hawaiian language is dead except for a handful of words they may encounter like *aloha*, *mahalo* and *poi*, but the language has survived and shows signs of strengthening. The more than 5000 individual phrases broadcast on The Bus, include Native Hawaiian names and words, enunciated by an associate professor at the University of Hawaii's Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language. More substantively, the k-12 Kamehameha Schools established by Bernice Pauahi Bishop, which are largely restricted to students of Native Hawaiian descent, emphasize Hawaiian language and culture. The Hawaiian language continues to be taught at the University of Hawai'i, and through hula as well though the costumes have been modified over time due to changing social conventions regarding

modesty while alternative materials are now used as a convenience.

Newspapers provide one avenue for a community to maintain its identity. Gibson's paper, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, changed hands several times after he was pushed out of Hawai'i. It was owned for a period by Claus Spreckels and was eventually sold to Lorrin Thurston whose family continued to own the paper, which they renamed the *Honolulu Advertiser*. Under the Thurston family, the paper was a stridently pro-business voice of the Big Five until the 1960s when it switched its loyalties to new immigrants and the multiethnic descendants of the plantation workers with a progressive political viewpoint. The Thurston family sold the paper in 1992.

When I lived in Hawai'i, the *Honolulu Advertiser* (now the *Honolulu Star-Advertiser* after merging with the *Star-Bulletin* in 2010) was a font of information about all things Hawaiian whether it be an investigative article about the enormous revenues of the Mormon Church-owned Polynesian Cultural Center on O'ahu, the prostitution businesses which predominated in Chinatown for the US servicemen stationed in Honolulu prior to WWII to those run out of barbershops on Keeaumoku Street straddling Makiki and Ala Moana, or more mundane, everyday events.

Conclusion

While the fight for Native Hawaiian sovereignty continues behind the curtain of the tourist industry, the small remnants of Hawaiian culture are ultimately what make it a unique place. Hawaiian culture has an easy-goingness that harkens back to the days of Captain Cook's discovery. When we lived in Makiki, we smirked at the frequent references to the spirit of aloha. It seemed to us a crass commercial propaganda aimed at supporting the tourist industry which was far removed from life on Anapuni Street. But it existed all the same. Of course, there are the incessant reminders of the missionary past and it is impossible to deny the fact that Native Hawaiians continued to be cheated out of their home. I don't mean to be fatalistic, but Hawaiians are now the long-term residents (*kama'aina*) with varied histories rather than just Native Hawaiians. Still, Native Hawaiian culture lives on. It may be as subtle as a schoolgirl wearing a fresh flower behind her ear or the bestowing of leis to mark celebrations of honor. It may be in the easygoingness of the Asian Americans (okay, Hawaiians!) who live in Hawai'i and are easily distinguishable from other Asian Americans even if they have since moved to the mainland. More substantively it is in the guise of institutions like the Kamehameha schools which ensure that Native Hawaiian culture--if only fragmented--and language live on.

'Imi Au Ia 'Oe

*'Auhea wale 'oe e ke aloha lâ
E ka mea ho'eha'eha pu'uwai
Na wai e 'ole ke aloha ia lâ
A he waiwai ua sila mua ia*

*A'ohē kohukohu o ka ua lâ
Ke pili mai me a'u ka wahineu'i
'Aia ko'u hoa a e kohu ai
O ka 'i'iwi hulu 'ula o ka nahele*

Hui:

*'Imi au ia 'oe e ke aloha lâ
Ma na paia 'a'ala o Puna
A i hea la 'oe i nalowale iho nei
Ho'i mai no kâua e pili*

I Search for You

Where are you, my love
The one who stirs my heart
Who can help loving you
Riches bound to me from the beginning

The rain is not suitable
When I am with a pretty woman
The companion for me, truly compatible
Is the red-feathered 'i'iwi bird of the uplands

Chorus:

I search for you, my love
In the fragrant groves of Puna
Where have you disappeared to?
Come back and stay with me

by Charles E. King & Lili'uokalani

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