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HAWAII - 1819 - 1830: YEARS OF DECISION.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA, M.A., 1982

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HAWAII - 1819 - 1830

YEARS OF DECISION

by

Janetta Susan Williamson Corley

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

The years between 1819 and 1830 saw important changes in Hawaii which propelled it towards modernity and established the dominance of the United States of America as a foreign power within the Hawaiian government. Prior to 1819, the nation had been ruled conservatively. After 1819, the process of westernization changed Hawaiian society in all aspects. Areas of the law which under Hawaiian tradition had been privately controlled changed to accommodate the Islands' growing need for a comprehensive legal code. Industry and commerce flourished, as sandalwood and sugar emerged as cash crops. Socially, Hawaiians abandoned traditional behavioral systems and gradually acquired those of Western society as defined by the American missionaries. Politically, the missionaries encouraged the change in island politics from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy, and formalized governmental relationships were established with several Western nations. Kaahumanu, who as kuhina nui grew to be the most powerful political force in the Islands during the 1820s, preferred the U.S. to Great Britain. Because of her actions, by the close of the 1820s, Hawaii's destiny as a future territory of the U.S. was assured, although that fact was not formalized until 1898.

CHAPTER 1
ERADICATION BY THE HAWAIIANS OF THEIR TRADITIONAL SYSTEM

Before its discovery by Europeans, Hawaii existed according to a system of order common throughout Polynesia. The alii, or nobility class, administered a conservative, autocratic rule buttressed by its ¹ kapu system of governmental, religious and social organization.

Imperious and regal: these adjectives describe the Hawaiian alii at its prime. Missionary C. S. Stewart describes this alii spirit as he saw it exemplified in the 1820s: "The chiefs, male or female, are at once known . . . by their walk, general air, and manners and an unaffected dignity of deportment, that would distinguish them as persons of rank, in whatever company they might be."²

As members of the alii, the chiefs and chiefesses enjoyed certain perquisites. They sported and feasted daily; enjoyed the liberal sexual freedom available to their class, including the opportunity to either marry or form alliances as frequently as they chose; and their extravagant style of living was supported by the

1. Although his authority could be said to be supreme, an alii did adhere to customary law, particularly concerning land distribution and land usage rights; see J. F. G. Stokes, The Hawaiian King (Mo-i, Alii-moku, Alii-kapu), Hawaiian Historical Society Papers, No. 19.

2. C. S. Stewart, Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands during the years 1823, 1824 and 1825 (Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of Hawaii, 1970), 135. (A facsimile reproduction of the Third Edition under the same title printed by H. Fisher, Son & P. Jackson of London, 1830.)

labor of the commoners who inhabited their lands. From birth to death, the alii exemplified the status and influence that had been perfected by their class through hereditary lineage since the last intrusion of Polynesians to the Hawaiian Islands some four hundred years previously.

Unrecognized by most Hawaiians, however, and certainly only imperfectly comprehended by the ruling alii, they presided over a doomed culture whose inevitable extinction was guaranteed on that day in 1779 when Captain James Cook sailed the Resolution and the Discovery into Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii. For without the support of the entire community, Hawaii's complex kapu system could not survive. With the arrival of foreigners who broke kapu with impunity, the mutability of their beliefs became apparent to the Hawaiians. Hawaiians too began to disregard those restrictions they found most confining. Soon their traditional system ceased to provide the necessary order for their culture's continuance, and native ways collapsed. Now their centuries of isolation had ended. Lacking other cultural resources because of their homogeneity and long isolation, substitutes could be found only in the Western cultures introduced after Cook's arrival.

No description of Kamehameha at the time of Cook's arrival at Kealakekua Bay exists; however, Thomas Manby, who sailed with Captain George Vancouver in 1793, tells us that Kamehameha "is of large stature and very athletic The greatest respect is paid to him; as he is beloved by all his subjects, we may certainly pronounce him a

good king." ³ Later descriptions of his character abound: Kamehameha is variously described as a tyrant, an autocrat, a wife-beater, and a violent and abusive man. Two of Kamehameha's wives (Kaahumanu and her sister Kalakaua) testified to his violence as a husband, and Archibald Campbell described him as an autocrat and tyrant. However, Campbell also commented that Kamehameha "is distinguished for upright and honorable conduct in all his transactions." ⁴ Although he reached adulthood unacquainted with other peoples, he adjusted well to foreigners and made good use of the knowledge he gained from Western sailors. In particular, Kamehameha's relationship with Vancouver during Vancouver's several visits to the Hawaiian chain furthered Kamehameha's growth as a leader and assisted his rise to kingship, for he was quick to accept more sophisticated sailing methods and weaponry as well as the advice of foreigners. ⁵

Well into middle age before his opportunity arose to conquer the islands of Hawaii, Kamehameha proved to be a consummate warrior-leader. He swept through the islands, subjugating one after another, until all joined the alliance which became the Hawaiian nation. First

3. Thomas Manby, "With Vancouver at Keālakekua Bay," A Hawaiian Reader (New York: Appleton-Century Crafts, Inc., 1959), 22.

4. Hiram Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands, or the Civil, Religious and Political History of those Islands (New York: Sherman Converse, 1847), 53; and Archibald Campbell, A Voyage Round the World from 1806 to 1812 (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), 137 and 153. (A facsimile reproduction of the Third American Edition of 1822.)

5. Bern Anderson, The Life and Voyages of Captain George Vancouver (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960), 173.

conquering the island of Hawaii in 1791, he then took the islands of Maui, Molokai and Lanai in one campaign in 1794, and the island of Oahu in 1795. In 1810, the leeward islands of Kauai and Niihau were voluntarily ceded by their reigning monarch. Never before had all the islands been ruled by one chief.⁶ Like his predecessor alii chiefs, Kamehameha ruled conservatively, in accordance with Hawaiian tradition. In commerce and in warfare he experimented with Western ways, but he would not agree to alter the traditional kapu system which had delineated social custom for several hundred years, even when dealing with foreigners. For instance, even though he provided a feast for Lt. Otto von Kotzuebue, captain of the Russian ship Rurick which visited in 1816, Kamehameha would not personally partake of the food nor allow any of his subjects to do so because the feast included forbidden items.⁷ Nor would he allow foreigners to disregard the eating restrictions regarding the separation of the sexes.⁸

Hawaiian custom did not preclude plural marriages, and Kamehameha ultimately married more than twenty times. But among all

6. However, Kaumualii, chief of the leeward islands, surely saw the handwriting on the wall were he not to voluntarily cede his lands.

7. Otto von Kotzuebue, A voyage of discovery, into the South Seas and Beering's Strait, for the purpose of exploring a north-east passage, undertaken in the years 1815-1818 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821), 310-11. The forbidden items were animal proteins prohibited on sacred days, and the feast occurred on one.

8. Campbell, A Voyage Round the World, 92. However, Campbell says that foreign men could eat with the native women if they chose; but once having done so they were forbidden to eat with native men.

his wives, the chiefess Kaahumanu became his favorite and the one with whom he lived the longest. They married several years before he began his military campaigns, and their marriage endured to his death. "A handsome woman, six feet tall, straight and well-formed,"⁹ Kaahumanu's individual political importance was well recognized, for "even in the time of Kamehameha I, life and death, condemnation and acquittal, were in the hands of Kaahumanu."¹⁰ When her father Keeaumoku died in 1804, she assumed his seat on Kamehameha's council, the only woman ever to hold such a position.¹¹ To her went the privilege of raising Kamehameha's heir to the throne, Liholiho, and at Kamehameha's death,¹² Kaahumanu assumed the role of chief advisor.

Born in 1798 to Kamehameha and Keopuolani, the highest-ranking chiefess in the islands, Liholiho's ancestry was impeccable. But his natural mother did not have direct responsibility for raising Liholiho. Instead Kaahumanu assumed that duty according to the Hawaiian custom of hanai, which freed the natural parents from the exclusive

9. Samuel Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), 311. The book reprints articles by Kamakau appearing in the Honolulu newspapers Kuokoa and Ke Au O'ko'a between 1866 and 1871.

10. Sheldon Dibble, A History of the Sandwich Islands (Honolulu, T.H.: Thos. G. Thrum, Publisher, 1909), 199-200.

11. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 313. No contemporary native sources exist, as no Hawaiians at this point were literate. Thus for native sources we must rely on the later reminiscences of eyewitnesses.

12. Ibid., 220.

care of their children while retaining strong community interest in their upbringing.¹³ As his royal foster mother, Kaahumanu's relationship with Liholiho was already well established by 1819. Liholiho was barely into his twenties when his father died, and Kaahumanu was well into middle age. Now about fifty years old, Kaahumanu was "tall and portly. . .had black hair, a swarthy complexion, a dark, commanding eye, a deliberate enunciation, a dignified and measured step, an air of superiority, and a heathen, queen-like hauteur. . . ." (See Figure 1.) She easily dominated Liholiho, whose dissolute ways already revealed his weak character. Frequently drunk, he enjoyed the privileges of his rank and abjured all responsibilities. Kamehameha had recognized Liholiho's shortcomings and intended that Kaahumanu direct Liholiho's political development even after he ascended the throne.¹⁴

Following Kamehameha's death, Liholiho left immediately for the district of Kohala to escape the defilement present at Kailua. Custom decreed that the heir to the kingdom leave for another district and not return until his predecessor's bones had been buried and his houses and possessions destroyed.¹⁵ While Liholiho was away, the people at Kailua grieved in typical Hawaiian fashion by mutilating

13. For a description of the hanai custom, see Nana I Ke Kumu (Honolulu, Hawaii: Hui Hanai, 1972), 49, compiled by Mary Kawena Pukui, E. W. Haertig, M.D., and Catherine A. Lee.

14. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 164.

15. David Malo, Hawaiian Antiquities (Mooolelo Hawaii) (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1903), 141-3, describing the ceremonies attending the death of a paramount chief. Malo lived from 1793 to 1853 and wrote extensively on Hawaiian customs.



KA-'AHU-MANU
By Ludwig Choris, artist with Russian explorer von Kotzebue, 1816

FIGURE 1

their bodies and performing acts usually considered evil by Hawaiian society.¹⁶ Several days later, Kaahumanu sent word to Liholiho that the time had come for him to return to Kailua. Perhaps, as Westervelt suggests, Kaahumanu remembered Kamehameha's command that "You are the mother. You are the prime minister (kuhina-nui) for our child. If he does wrong you take the government and care for it."¹⁷ John Papa Ii relates similar advice which he claims was often repeated by Kamehameha to Kaahumanu: "When I am gone on my long journey away from this world, should the King, Liholiho, fail to regard you, then you, a woman, shall arise in your kingdom. You are well supported¹⁸ If he heeds you, none will rebel against the kingdom."¹⁹ Kamakau has a similar remembrance.

16. Agnes C. Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journal of Francisco de Paula Marin (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press for the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1973), Marin's journal entry under 5/19/19. (Conrad reproduces Marin's original journal as translated from Spanish into English by Robert C. Wylie.)

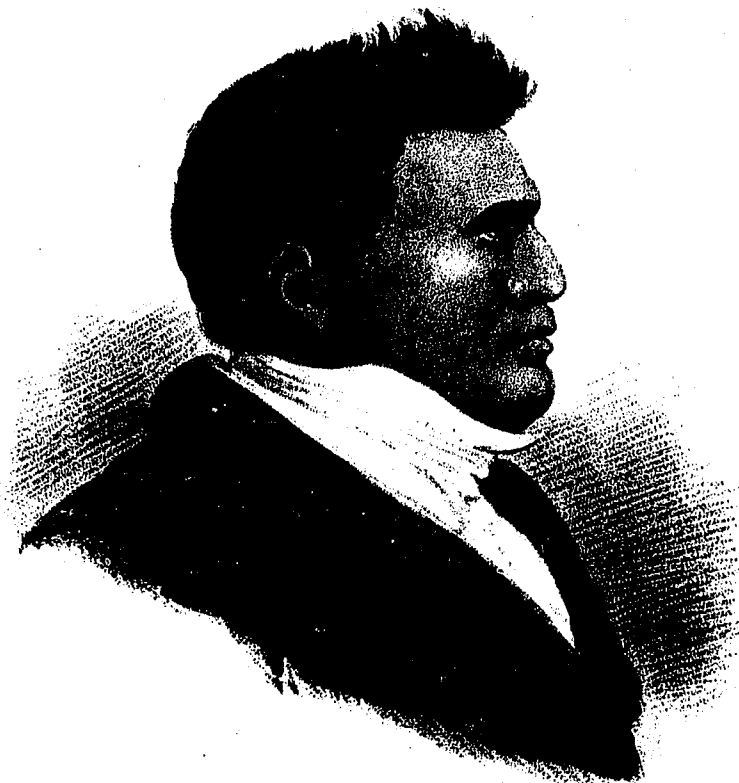
17. W. D. Westervelt, "The Passing of Kamehameha I," Thrum's Annual of 1918 (Honolulu, .T.H: Thos. G. Thrum, Publisher, 1918), 101. Noted historian though he was, Westervelt does not give his source for this important quotation, and thus it cannot be accepted unquestionably. He does mention that he referred to "several Hawaiian papers about fifty years ago," probably printed between 1840 and 1860, but this of course means reliance on a retelling of an event which would have taken place twenty to forty years earlier.

18. John Papa Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1959), 159. Contains reprints from articles appearing in the Honolulu newspaper Kuokoa between 1868 and 1870. Born in 1800 and a member of the royal court, Ii spoke from personal knowledge.

19. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 220.

The day following Liholiho's return from Kohala, Kaahumanu--
dressed in the feather attire of a warrior (highly unusual for a
woman)--personally invested Liholiho as the new king of the Hawaiian
nation.²⁰ Chiefs, retainers, and commoners gathered to witness the
colorful ceremony. Liholiho looked very impressive with his large,
handsome figure clad in a red uniform, with an English royal hat on
his head, and a traditional, intricately woven red and yellow feather
cloak about his shoulders. (See Figure 2.) Two chiefs flanked him:
one carrying a royal feather standard, the other carrying the royal
spittoon studded with human teeth. The people watched as Liholiho
approached Kaahumanu where she stood among the assemblage. Greeting
Liholiho, Kaahumanu said "O heavenly one! I speak to you the commands
of your grandfather. Here are the chiefs, here are the people of your
ancestors; here are your guns; here are your lands. But we two shall

20. Alexander Adams, "Logbook Extracts - Dec. 20, 1815 to
Dec. 26, 1819," Thrum's Annual of 1906 (Honolulu, T.H.: Thos. G.
Thrum, Publisher, 1906), 74. As told to Adams by John Parker, an
eyewitness.



KIHIKIHI
KING OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

LIHOLIHO
Artist unknown

FIGURE 2

21

share the rule over the land." Liholiho accepted Kaahumanu's

charge, and the council of chiefs proclaimed him the head of the

22

kingdom, Kamehameha II. Almost immediately after his investiture,

Liholiho deserted the court for Kawaihae and his companions.

Always important, Kaahumanu now occupied a position unrivaled

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by any other chief. Soon her importance rivaled even that of the

king. During Kamehameha I's life, Kaahumanu's influence had been

checked by his own. After his death, her role as kuhina nui, or chief

advisor to the king, placed her well above her fellow chiefs. No

21. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 220. Kamehameha always referred to Liholiho as his "grandchild" because he was so in chiefly lineage. Liholiho's mother was Kamehameha's adopted brother's daughter. Several renditions of Kaahumanu's statement exist, but all were transcribed long after the event. Remy's Hawaiian version is very similar: "E ka lani, ke hai aku nei au ia oe i na mea a kou makuakane; eia na 'lii a, aia na kanaka o kou makuakane a, aia kou pu a, eia ko aiua a, aka, e ai pu no kaua i ka aina." Jules Remy, Ka Moololelo Hawaii--Histoire de L'Archipel Havaiien (Iles Sandwich) (Paris: J. Claye, 1862), 132. The edition is in French and Hawaiian. Remy visited Hawaii in the early 1850s as a member of the Society of Agriculture, Commerce, Science and Arts of the Department of the Marne and used his text as his report to the Society. Westervelt quotes "early Hawaiian sources" as "E kalani! O Divine One! I tell you the things commanded me by your father. Here are the men, here are the chiefs formerly your father's. Now here are your flowers and here is your land. We will eat together in the land." W. D. Westervelt, "The Passing of Kamehameha I," Thrum's Annual of 1918, 101. Although reports vary slightly, the intent is always clear: Kaahumanu would guide Liholiho.

22. For ease of reference, I will continue to refer to him as Liholiho.

23. Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History, 141. Ii did speak from personal knowledge. However, he placed Chief Kalanimoku on the same level of authority as Kaahumanu at this stage. An examination of other sources strongly supports the position that Kalanimoku's prominence did not equal that of Kaahumanu until after 1824.

doubt it began as a position of councillor and parent. But Liholiho's weakness and inattention to state matters allowed Kaahumanu to assume increasingly greater prerogatives. She soon made it clear that she was the final authority. Although later historians, including Ralph Kuykendall, explain Kaahumanu's importance in terms of the broad powers implicit in the new position of kuhina nui, it is apparent that they miss the point. The role of kuhina nui became what Kaahumanu made it, and not vice versa. Critics suggest that Kamehameha never intended her to have such broad authority; that Kaahumanu merely saw her opportunity and seized it. No doubt that charge is partly correct. But the ready acceptance of Kaahumanu's own, self-stated position of leadership at Liholiho's investiture before the council of chiefs suggests that it was commonly accepted at that time that Kamehameha had intended to so elevate her. Within six months, her supreme position was so assured that Hiram Bingham could report that it was Kaahumanu who provided the final say in extending to the American missionaries permission to land.

24

24. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 90.

Whereas Kamehameha had refused to discuss alteration of the traditional Hawaiian kapu system, Kaahumanu determined to destroy it. While Liholiho remained at Kawaihae, the court at Kailua under Kaahumanu's leadership embarked on a dangerous course. Disregarding custom the kapu system had not been reinstated once the traditional period of mourning for the dead chief had expired. When a paramount chief such as Kamehameha died, Hawaiian cultural tradition allowed a period of evil to reign, characterized by general lawlessness, destruction of property, sexual freedom, and abandonment of eating restrictions between the sexes. After a short period of time, the new government reestablished order by reinstating the eating restrictions.

The kapu system had developed over the centuries as a system of subordination of inferior to superior and so ensured the continuation of the caste system. It affected the daily activities of all classes through its complex rules. The kapu system venerated the male principle, or those things which are believed to be sacred, while it

25. V. M. Golovin, Around the World on the Kamchatka, 1817-1819 (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Historical Society and the University Press of Hawaii, 1979), 207. (English version of the original Russian version which was published in the 1830s.) Golovin relates an anecdote in which Vancouver told Kamehameha that his own god was superior to Kamehameha's because he did not demand human sacrifices. Kamehameha--evidently stung by the insult to his own gods--suggested that Vancouver and one of Kamehameha's high priests throw themselves off a nearby cliff, with the god of the survivor to be acknowledged as the superior. Vancouver declined. Golovin says John Young told this story to American captains, and Golovin heard it from one of them, a Captain William Davis.

26. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 222-3, and 226 for a description of the consequences of not reinstating the kapu.

debased the common and unsacred, or female principle. Anything pertaining to the gods acquired sacredness. Because the Hawaiians believed that the alii had descended from the gods and so were sacred, many kapu restrictions delineated their interaction with each other and with ordinary Hawaiians. Women embodied the common element and were accordingly severely restricted by the kapu system, even women who were alii.

All aspects of living proceeded in conformance with the applicable kapu structure: the various rites of passage ceremonies attending personal changes in state, as well as the conduct of interpersonal relationships; the construction of all forms of material culture, from canoe-making to housebuilding to the manufacture of kapa, or barkcloth; and the observance of religious rites--all adhered to their own particular set of rules. It was this adherence to the kapu structure that ensured the protection of power by a particular person or class. For instance, should a more sacred chief visit one of lesser rank, the lower-ranking chief lay down, face upward, and the superior chief entered and sat on the first chief's chest. The superior chief could then be addressed only through an intermediary.

27. Ralph S. Kuykendall, History of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Vol. 1 (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1947), 8. Kuykendall's synopsis is too well-phrased to be ignored. For a description of the kapu system by a native, see Samuel Kamakau, Ka Po'e Kahiko (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1964), 1-21. (Translated from newspaper articles appearing in Ke Au O'ko'a between 1866 and 1871.); see also David Malo, Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii), 52-63. (Taken from writings of Malo while at Lahainaluna School in the 1830s.)

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In this way he reinforced his dominance. Women had various kapu placed on them from which men were exempt, restricting their freedom of movement during temple days, fishing seasons, and menstrual cycles, and most animal protein was forbidden to them. Punishment for infractions was severe. Men were burned for not observing the kapu.

But the arrival of foreigners in Hawaii challenged the kapu system. Now not only women chafed at the traditional restrictions of the system. Hawaiians of both sexes noted with increasing discontent that the punishments meted out for kapu violations were not visited on the foreigners, and native trust in the kapu system eroded. Neither did divine punishment visit the few Hawaiians who secretly dared to break kapu. Within weeks of Kamehameha's death, his most powerful widow, Kaahumanu, joined with his highest-ranking widow, Keopuolani, to eradicate the system.

28. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 88.

29. Campbell, A Voyage Round the World, 135-6.

30. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 223.

31. Campbell, A Voyage Round the World, 94-5, 136. Foreigners were not required to observe certain serving aspects of the eating kapu, and women broke certain kapu regularly with impunity.

32. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 224. Kamakau gave Keopuolani the greatest credit for ending kapu. He remembered her as the moving force in suggesting it and as the one who pushed Liholiho into free eating by various attempts to compromise his position. As the only remaining high kapu chiefess, Keopuolani's support certainly influenced the result. However, Kaahumanu's strength appears to have been the factor that accomplished the deed.

Now at Kawaihae, Liholiho heard rumors from the court that certain chiefs belonging to the Kaahumanu-Keopuolani camp did not intend to reimpose the eating restrictions, which represented the kapu system as a whole. Liholiho feared the results and would not return, despite the entreaties of his council at Kailua. His own chiefly prerogatives had as their base the kapu system--how could he repudiate that and still reign? Controversy swirled around him. Several conservative chiefs with him at Kawaihae urged him not to return and to uphold ancient Hawaiian tradition. But his high priest Hewahewa, the most prestigious religious representative in the kingdom of the traditional system, advised him to abandon the kapu system and the old gods.³³ Liholiho vacillated for days, postponing his return and drinking continually. Finally, very reluctantly, he returned to Kailua in the first week of November, 1819.³⁴

Having gained the advantage, the two queens moved swiftly. They invited the foreign and native community to a feast and set the palace grounds with the traditional, separate tables for men and women. In 1822, John Young (Kamehameha I's English advisor and a participant in the feast) described the scene to the English missionaries Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett. All the guests having been

33. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 74. Unfortunately, information for this period is very sketchy. It is surely rare for the high priest of any religion to advocate its abandonment. Since this account was imparted to the missionaries within six months of its happening, it appears to be true.

34. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 222.

seated, the feasting should have commenced. But suddenly the king rose from the men's table, walked swiftly to the women's table, sat and began to eat furiously. "The whole assembly was struck with horror and consternation at the sight," Tyerman and Bennett repeated, "but, no harm to the king ensuing, they at length cried out with one voice, 'the tabu is broken! The eating tabu is broken!'"³⁵ Following the meal, Liholiho ordered the destruction of the native gods and religious sanctuaries and directed that men and women should eat freely of all foods. Within days, word had reached the furthest islands, and chiefs throughout the kingdom instructed their people to disregard the eating kapu.³⁶

Several explanations are given for the eradication of the old system, and while certainly exposure to new and foreign interpretations of natural events as well as changing social and economic

35. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett, Journal of the voyages and travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett, Esq. deputed from the London Mission Society to visit the various islands in the South Seas Islands, China, India, between the years 1821 and 1829 (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1831), 378-9.

36. Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journal of Francisco de Paula Marin, Marin's journal entry of 11/6/19. It is interesting to note that Kamakau gives a very sketchy account of the breaking of the kapu system which does not include any reference to a feast. He does make it clear, however, that Liholiho broke kapu at the instigation of Kaahumanu and Keopuolani; see Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 225. Born in 1815, Kamakau would have been just four years old at the time of the event and thus his version lacks the credibility of that related by Tyerman and Bennett, which is substantiated by Marin's journal.

conditions explain the success of the overthrow, the event most probably occurred when it did because it satisfied the purposes of its three major instigators. Kaahumanu had achieved more power than had any other woman in modern Hawaiian history. Under Kamehameha I, she had suffered because of kapu restrictions; one of her lovers had been sacrificed for a kapu violation.³⁷ Her own freedom no doubt was uppermost in her mind. Liholiho, frequently drunk and so unable to perform his ritual duties correctly, evidently preferred to have those duties abolished. High Priest Hewahewa, for some unknown reason (but, like Liholiho, frequently drunk and so unable to perform his own ritual duties) did not oppose them; he even encouraged the abolition of the system which he headed. As Hiram Bingham, leader of the American missionary band which arrived within a few weeks of the event, later observed, "The queen claiming her rights, and the king his unrestrained pleasures, and the high priest unwilling to oppose them . . . a new order of things suddenly sprang into existence."³⁸

But the old order did not crumble overnight. One faction persisted in its attempt to reestablish the traditional system. Liholiho's cousin, Kekuaokalani, challenged Liholiho's legitimate right to rule once Liholiho had abolished kapu. As an alii, Kekuaokalani had a vested interest in the continuation of the kapu system and had gathered together those members of the alii and the priesthood who

37. Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History, 50.

38. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 79.

wished to perpetuate the old order. John Papa Ii reports that Kamehameha I regarded both Liholiho and Kekuaokalani as heirs to the kingdom, with Kekuaokalani having charge of the gods and Liholiho charge of the lands. If Ii was correct (and as a court intimate in Liholiho's train he was in a position to know), Kekuaokalani must have felt it his inherited duty, both personally as an alii, and publicly as holder of the sacred trust to oppose Liholiho's edict.³⁹ In meeting with Liholiho at Kawaihae immediately prior to Liholiho's return to Kailua in November, Kekuaokalani had urged Liholiho to maintain the old ways, but failed to persuade him. Kekuaokalani then withdrew to Kaawaloa and was joined by deserters from the king's forces who desired to continue the old ways. His company claimed Kekuaokalani as the true king.⁴⁰ Now he met Liholiho's forces in battle in December, 1819 at Kuamoo. But the old King Kamehameha's marvelous fighting force led by Chief Kalanimoku was still intact, despite

39. Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History, 140; see also Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 224. A similar arrangement had occurred following the death of Kalaniopuu, chief of certain districts of the island of Hawaii. His son, Keoua, had received charge of the lands, and his nephew, Kamehameha I, had received charge of the gods. Kamehameha later turned that charge to his advantage when he enticed Keoua to a newly-constructed temple and there sacrificed him; see Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History, 14-5. Certainly Kekuaokalani was familiar with this recent history.

40. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 74. The first Western chronicler on the scene, Bingham says "most" of the people sided with Kekuaokalani. However, considering the ease with which the troops defeated his forces, it appears that his support was not as widespread as Bingham suggests.

Liholiho's failure to appear on the battlefield. Kekuaokalani was killed, and with him died all formal challenge to Liholiho or the new order.⁴¹

Kaahumanu, Liholiho, Hewahewa and the court party had successfully destroyed their traditional governmental and religious system. In so doing, they had also destroyed the Hawaiian social order. However, the destruction of the traditional system without the substitution of a new system meant that the new government ruled precariously. It does not appear to have occurred to any of the Hawaiian court what the possible consequences might be. But not all Hawaiians immediately renounced the old ways. Only those in the coastal areas near or in concentrations of foreigners made the adjustment swiftly. Most of Hawaii was remote, and change came very slowly. But the ruling class, the leaders of the nation, lacked a governmental framework to legitimize their rule and enforce order in their kingdom. Bereft of guidance and authority, they faced the future.

Less than six months after the destruction of the kapu system in April 1820, the first band of missionaries sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) arrived at Liholiho's court. Established in 1811, the ABCFM considered that its Christian duty included the evangelization and conversion of heathen peoples in many parts of the world, including native Americans,

41. Ibid., 77.

Celebes, Malaysians, South Pacific peoples, and Central Pacific peoples such as the Hawaiians. The mission to Hawaii was considered "an experiment in foreign missions" in that because the nation was small and united under one central government, the success achieved there could be used as examples for evangelization efforts elsewhere. Given those conditions, it should have been possible for great success to be achieved by the mission within a short period of time.⁴²

In the words of Hiram Bingham, leader of the original band and chief spokesman, the mission had several goals: "to give them the Bible in their own tongue. . .to introduce. . .civilised and Christian society, and to fill the habitable parts of these important islands with schools and churches, fruitful fields, and pleasant dwellings."⁴³ To that end, the mission group included two ordained preachers and translators (the Rev. Hiram Bingham and the Rev. Asa Thurston), a physician (Dr. Thomas Holman), two schoolmasters and catechists (Samuel Whitney and Samuel Ruggles), a printer (Elisha Loomis), a farmer (Daniel Chamberlain), the wives and children of those seven men,⁴⁴ four Hawaiian youths (John Honolii, Thomas Hopu, William Kanui, and Paulaliilii), who with a fifth youth had attended the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut and had provided the

42. Rufus Anderson, D.D., The Hawaiian Islands, Their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labors (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1865), 396-7.

43. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 60-1.

44. Ibid., 61, and index chart following 616.

impetus for the group's debarkment. The fifth youth, Henry Opu-kahaia (also known as Henry Obookiah) had died a few months earlier. Another youth, George Kaumualii, or George Humehume, had attended the same school and accompanied the band on its return but was not a member of the group. George was the son of the ruling chief of Kauai, Kaumualii, and as such was considered by the missionaries to be a valuable addition to the group.

45

Unbeknownst to the missionary group at its outset, their timing could not have been more perfect. They arrived just when Hawaiians, so recently bereft of their native form of order, were most receptive to new direction and guidance. Indeed, once the fortuitousness of the events was made known to them, the missionary band could not refrain from seeing God's hand in the events: ". . . how conspicuous the wisdom and goodness of God to have provided a Christian mission for these islands, and to have brought it near their shores, at this auspicious moment!"

46

But permission to land at Kailua where the Hawaiian court resided did not come readily. Liholiho was "slow to consent," Bingham reported.⁴⁷ Liholiho had several reasons for hesitating, and the

45. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 246.

46. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 79.

47. Ibid., 86.

novelty of the idea of establishing a foreign religion probably was not the least of them.

48

Bingham gives several reasons for Liholiho's hesitation.

The Hawaiian ruling party had just abolished its own religion because of its confinements, and Bingham suggests that Liholiho feared that a new religion would confine them as well.⁴⁹ Liholiho considered

Britain the protector-government of Hawaii and hesitated to take any action of which Britain might disapprove.⁵⁰ Further, Liholiho's

father, Kamehameha, had rarely granted foreigners permission to remain permanently and to establish homes.⁵¹ Native fears existed

48. Unfortunately we must rely solely on Hiram Bingham for an on-the-scene description of the missionaries' arrival. No other journalist reported the event at that time. It is true that native commentators such as Samuel Kamakau and John Papa Ii later touched on the scene, but their accounts were made many years after the event and in no way contradict Bingham's account. Bingham alone chronicled the event as it happened. As he was the major negotiator with the Hawaiians for the missionary group, his account no doubt contains the salient points. In examining his account, however, we must continually keep in mind his own prejudices and goals.

49. Although the explanation again comes from Bingham, it is the most reasonable one presented.

50. Tyerman and Bennett, Journal of the Voyages and Travels, 113-127, relating a future event, but revealing his beliefs.

51. W. D. Westervelt, "Kamehameha's Cession of the Island of Hawaii to Great Britain in 1794," 22nd Hawaiian Historical Society Report, 20.

that the group would prove to be the forerunner of an American attempt
 52
 to seize the islands. It was on this concern that the mission--
 with Bingham as spokesman--answered the chiefs most definitely of all:
 the mission did not intend to interfere in the government or trade
 of the islands. Later the mission--with Bingham as spokesman once
 again--reassured the foreign population on the same point and just as
 definitely: the mission had no interest in commercial endeavors or
 53
 political events. (See Figure 3.)

Bingham also reports that one of Liholiho's objections was
 that the Hawaiian chiefs practiced polygamy, whereas the Americans
 did not. Bingham suggests that Liholiho was not sure how the mission-
 aries' presence would affect this traditional Hawaiian practice.
 However, this argument is unconvincing. It is doubtful that it would
 have ever occurred to Liholiho that the missionary group would ever
 have the power to force the chiefs and the king to change their

52. This fear resurfaced for many years. Even the government
 of Great Britain shared this fear, for Secretary of State for Foreign
 Affairs George Canning advised George IV on July 14, 1824 that English
 reassurances to Hawaii were in order in that the U.S. government's
 interest in the islands was known. Levi Chamberlain, American
 missionary, mentioned it shortly after he arrived in 1823, noting in
 his journal that "certain residents want to prejudice king against
 mission saying it was their design to take over islands." Journal of
 Levi Chamberlain, Vol. 1, entry dated 4/28/23, HMCS Collection
 (unpublished).

53. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 88, 110-111.
 The "foreign" population refers to the resident merchants, captains
 and seamen who resided there briefly from year to year, and drifters.



*Yours, truly,
H. Bingham*

FIGURE 3

54

traditional ways. Perhaps Liholiho mentioned polygamy in jest, or perhaps he never mentioned it at all--perhaps Bingham presumed that it would be a reason.

In any event, Liholiho did not feel free to reach a decision on the question until Kaahumanu returned from an extended fishing trip. ⁵⁵ Liholiho pondered. For several days, the band remained aboard the brig Thaddeus awaiting receipt of permission to land. Captain Blanchard wanted to depart, and he pressured the missionaries to leave with him. Finally, the missionaries decided to move ashore and there await the king's decision. Meanwhile, they increased the intensity and frequency of their petitions.

Now events moved in their favor. Kaahumanu returned to Kailua, as did several other members of the king's council. In desperation the missionaries produced their final card: they would accept a one-year trial period. At the end of that time, if the chiefs wished,

54. However, the missionaries were successful in eradicating this practice, and were successful within a very short period of time. In 1823, for example, when Keopuolani died, her widower Hoapili restricted himself to one wife because he wished to follow the Christian example. Missionary Herald XXI (1825), 103. (The Missionary Herald was published monthly by the ABCFM. It contained reports from missionaries in the field and society business news. When the Missionary Herald is cited in this paper, the material cited is in all cases reports from the missionaries in Hawaii. However, as the missionaries usually claimed group authorship, no particular source is identified.)

55. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 87-9; gives a discussion of all reasons cited.

they would leave peacefully. At last their petition was granted. As long as no new missionaries were sent for until the expiration of the trial period, they could reside and labor on different islands⁵⁶ and enjoy the shelter and protection of the king.

Cognizant of their precarious position in the community while on the one-year trial period, the missionaries determined to fulfill their pledge to Liholiho and the chiefs and prove their worth to the Hawaiian community as quickly as possible: ". . . we now made it a daily object to gain their confidence, to make ourselves acquainted with their language, habits, and modes of thinking . . . and, if possible, adapt our instructions to their capacities and most urgent⁵⁷ wants."

56. Ibid., 87-91.

57. Ibid., 101.

CHAPTER 2
FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS GROW AS HAWAII DRIFTS

In the first few years of the 1820s, the Hawaiian government drifted, following no specific course, merely reacting to the intrusion of foreign influences. The old order continued its process of deterioration, spurred on by the efforts of several chiefs, particularly Kaahumanu. She committed herself to eradicating the old religion and while traveling throughout the islands during the next several years sought out and destroyed scores of idols.¹ Adding to the problems created by the lack of central planning was the general condition of the court. Without the restraining influence of Kamehameha, the royal court (including both Kaahumanu and Liholiho) sank further into drunkenness.

Virtually every account of the period notes the excesses of the court. Marin, for example, makes numerous references to the king's drinking and even considered it newsworthy when Liholiho was not drunk. As a man of few personal scruples, Marin's observations surely reflect fact, untinged by disapproval.² The missionaries also made frequent references to the court's drunkenness, and in particular

1. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 162; see also Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 322.

2. Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journal of Marin; see entries under 8/25/21, 10/3/21, 10/15/21, 3/1/23 to mention just a few. Entries made when the king was sober include 11/2/22 and 11/20/24.

Liholiho's, during this time period. Stewart records his first meeting with Liholiho in April, 1823 in this way: "Riho-Riho was much indisposed, being just on the recovery of his latest debauch³ He was too ill to do more than signify his pleasure at our arrival." And English missionary Ellis states quite flatly that Liholiho "was⁴ addicted to intoxication." Missionary reports to the ABCFM went so far as to note that to the regret of the kingdom and as a matter of increasing concern to Kaahumanu and the council of chiefs, Liholiho lacked the discipline (perhaps simply the sobriety) necessary to function as the titular head of government: ". . . a bright intellect,⁵ and a noble countenance, disfigured and drowned by intoxication." Years later, Kamakau remembered that "one thing conspicuous during Liholiho's time was the extravagant use of liquor among chiefs and commoners, they almost bathed in it."⁶

Campbell noted that liquor had become a steady habit with many of the chiefs as early as 1810, but that Kamehameha's disapproval kept

3. Stewart, A Journal of a Residence, 99-100.

4. William Ellis, Polynesian Researches--Hawaii (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1974), 447. (Originally published by Peter Jackson of Fisher, Son & Co., London, 1842.)

5. Missionary Herald XIX (1822), 44.

6. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 250.

it in check in the court circle. However, when Kamehameha was absent Kaahumanu drank freely, and "seldom stopped short of intoxication."⁷ Golovin makes the same observation in 1818, noting that "many of the chiefs have become inveterate drunkards. Even the King's son and heir causing much grief to old Tameamea who, a very sober man himself, cannot restrain them."⁸

The alii seemed to have no idea how to remedy the situation. As the hereditary chief, Liholiho's behavior was tolerated albeit deplored.⁹ Liholiho's character, when sober, was described as kind, generous, and "humane in his conduct towards his subjects."¹⁰ Indeed his behavior is often described as civil, well-mannered and dignified.¹¹ But now frequently intoxicated for days at a time, Liholiho's behavior became increasingly erratic, and his sporadic attempts to assume control of his kingdom met with limited success.

Suddenly in late July, 1821 Liholiho decided to "invade" the island of Kauai and capture King Kaumualii. Kamehameha I had twice

7. Campbell, A Voyage Round the World, 155.

8. V. M. Golovin, Around the World on the Kamchatka, 1817-1819 (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Historical Society and the University Press of Hawaii, 1979), 210. (Translated by Ella Lury Wiswell.) (First published in Russia in 1822.)

9. Stewart, A Journal of a Residence, 196-7. Particularly by his mother, Keopuolani.

10. Ellis, Polynesian Researches--Hawaii, 447.

11. Ibid., 446; see also Stewart, Journal of a Residence, 169 and Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 132.

planned invasions and twice failed to carry them out, but through diplomacy had become Kaumualii's overlord.¹² No doubt Liholiho wished to enhance his own image where his illustrious father had failed. His plan utilized stealth, rather than battle strategy. While on a fishing trip with several of his usual companions, Liholiho suddenly ordered the helmsman to steer for Kauai, some one hundred miles distant. To make the crossing in a small fishing boat was foolhardy, and his men were aghast. But Liholiho insisted--he even declared that he would swim to Kauai should his men refuse to take him.¹³ Although one may question his sobriety at this point, the party did arrive safely at Kauai the following morning.

Witnesses later told Bingham that Kaumualii had greeted Liholiho on arrival and immediately offered up his homeland and possessions. But Liholiho refused, saying he intended only a friendly visit. Soon others of the royal court, including Kaahumanu and Missionaries Hiram Bingham and Samuel Whitney, followed Liholiho to Kauai in the brig Cleopatra, and the two courts embarked on a tour of the island which lasted more than forty days. Bingham and

12. In 1796, his fleet was destroyed in a storm in mid-channel, and in 1804, his army decimated by a plague which swept Honolulu. In 1810, Kaumualii voluntarily ceded his islands, with the cession to take effect at his death.

13. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 138.

Whitney trailed along making the most of their opportunity to spend time with such a large group of chiefs.¹⁴ During this time, Kaahumanu persuaded Kaumualii to accompany her on a sea journey in search of the legendary island of Nihoa, just 150 miles distant from Niihau but unvisited by Hawaiians in recent history. They found and annexed it to the Hawaiian kingdom.¹⁵

When they returned to Kaumualii's residence, however, the mood changed. Liholiho invited Kaumualii aboard the *Cleopatra*, and-- while the two kings toured below-decks--through prearrangement the brig set sail for Oahu. There Kaumualii remained as Liholiho's prisoner, retaining his title and responsibilities as the king of Kauai, but never returning to that island. (He did travel freely throughout the other islands, however.) And as a further cementing of his relationship with Liholiho's court, just four days after his arrival at Honolulu, he married Kaahumanu.¹⁶ During this same year, Kaahumanu also married Kaumualii's twenty-one-year-old son, Kealiihonui, a handsome, well-beloved chief. Needless to say, her plural marriages to one man as well as his son scandalized the missionaries.¹⁷

14. Ibid., 140.

15. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 253; but Kamakau is mistaken when he gives the year as 1822.

16. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 146-8.

17. Stewart, Journal of a Residence, 129.

Thus Liholiho succeeded where Kamehameha I never had--he united all of the islands under his single control. And he did it without a single skirmish or loss of life. But this was to be his only accomplishment.

Liholiho had moved to Honolulu in 1820, advised by his councillors that a semi-permanent residence would facilitate government and that Oahu was the logical choice. Like his father before him in 1804, he followed the foreigners to Honolulu, now firmly established as the commercial center of the Islands. At this time, Honolulu had approximately 2,500 inhabitants, most living in traditional grass shacks. The town was protected by a shore battery of fifty large caliber guns and a battery of ten cannon on nearby Puowaina Crater (now called Punchbowl and a well-known Honolulu landmark). Taro plantations edged the town. Goods of various kinds were imported by American merchants. An American consul was in residence; American traders monopolized the merchandizing and sandalwood trades, and the American dollar constituted the circulating medium.¹⁸ (See Figure 4.)

Meanwhile, as the court played, agents of the United States, Russia and Great Britain jockeyed for position in the Islands, with

18. Tyerman and Bennett, Journal of the Voyages and Travels, 105.

FIGURE 4



View of Honolulu

Lauvergne

the rich trading possibilities there as the prize. Through the maze of foreign maneuverings, the Hawaiian court threaded its uncertain way, anxious to placate all petitioners.

American traders had been in the Hawaiian Islands for many years, and had been well-treated by Kamehameha. But even as early as the War of 1812, American representatives threatened Hawaii's autonomous sovereignty. Kamehameha flew the English flag that Vancouver had left him, and an American captain told him that--since England and the U.S. were at war--he could take Kamehameha's islands away from him for flying the English flag. Kamehameha's tart reply and subsequent adoption of a flag designed for Hawaii forestalled any future such comments.

Sailing traffic to and from the Hudson Bay Colony initially accounted for the American presence in Hawaii. Jacques Arago reported in 1819 that commerce had attracted many Americans to the islands some years previously and once sperm whales were tracked to the Northern Pacific in 1820, hundreds of American whaling ships arrived in Hawaii seeking a safe, pleasant harbor for refitting and reprovisioning during the winter months. Merchant vessels quickly followed.

19. Golovin, Around the World on the Kamchatka, 197.

20. J. Arago, Narrative of a Voyage Around the World (Bibliotheca Australiana #45) (New York: De Capo Press, 1971), 125. (A facsimile reproduction as originally printed by Treuttel and Wurtz, Treuttel, Jun. and Richter, London, 1823.)

Yankee traders discovered sandalwood in Hawaii, recognized its value in the Orient, and began trading American products for sandalwood. But as Hawaiians gained sophistication, disputes arose between natives and Americans. Golovin reports that Hawaiians were prudent traders, bringing out the lowest grade of sandalwood first, and gradually working their way up. However, Americans harmed trade by selling cheap goods at prices inflated by as much as 800%, and unscrupulous deals by American traders were commonplace.²¹ Bolts of rotted, worm-infested cloth were sold the chiefs while they were intoxicated, and shiploads of sandalwood were acquired for a few hatchets, muskets, and lengths of cloth.²² Bingham's first dispute with the traders occurred almost immediately after his arrival in 1820. He reports that in order to secure their vital early support, he had to promise that the mission would not interfere with the American traders, i.e., that Liholiho would not be informed of the accurate cost of foreign merchandise, nor would he be advised of the foolhardiness of reaching bargains while intoxicated.²³

As time passed, however, the Hawaiians grew wiser and the disputes multiplied. In 1820, the United States Government appointed U.S. Commercial Agent J. C. Jones to represent the interests of

21. Golovin, Around the World in the Kamchatka, 203-4.

22. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 251 and Arago, Narrative of a Voyage Around the World, 125.

23. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 110.

24

American traders in Hawaii. It was hoped that Jones' appointment would alleviate some of these tensions.

However, Jones himself capitalized on local problems without regard for local peace. Interjecting himself into local politics, Jones twisted events for personal gain. Rumors of a revolt against Liholiho prompted Jones to write to contacts in the U.S. in December 1822 that natives feared Kaahumanu and Kaumualii intended to seize the government from Liholiho, and "I am endeavoring to make [Liholiho, Kalanimoku and Boki] believe this will be the case in order that we may sell our powder and muskets."²⁵

Missionary Ellis reported further trickery by Jones and other Americans in his correspondence to Missionaries Tyerman and Bennett. Ellis told his fellow English missionaries that Jones and others had caused the king to become intoxicated and intended to keep him in that state for a month if possible in order to conclude some bargains with him.²⁶

Jones also frustrated Kaumualii's plans in the summer of 1821 to sponsor an expedition to the Society and Tongan Islands. Kaumualii thought it would be constructive to consult with the London Mission Society members stationed there, as well as with the natives, to discover how the progress of the mission fared and what its impact

24. Sen. Ex. Docs., 52 Cong. 2 Sess. No. 77, 4.

25. Josiah Marshall Manuscripts, Haw Coll Lib letters 11/16 and 12/22.

26. Ellis letter to Tyerman and Bennett dated 2/18/22, HMCS Collection.

on native life had been. If the answers were favorable, he would then support the establishment of an American missionary station on Kauai. He invited Missionaries Hiram Bingham and Samuel Ruggles to accompany the expedition on board the brig Becket. They accepted eagerly, for they were equally anxious to consult with their counterparts. Bingham reports that the mission discussed the voyage with Liholiho, Kaahumanu and the Oahu chiefs to dispel any rivalry that might defeat the voyage, as Kaumualii still functioned as an independent chief. Having received their approval, final preparations were made and the voyage ready to commence.²⁷

But immediately prior to departure, Jones arrived on Kauai and presented to the American missionaries the objections of local American traders to the pending voyage. Appealing strongly to their sense of patriotism, Jones listed their objections. First, any speculators returning to Hawaii on the Becket from the Society Islands would interfere with the near-monopoly the Americans now enjoyed. Second, American honor would be besmirched by the implication that British help was needed for the success of the mission: "It would be said in England, we could not succeed without their help" ²⁸ Third, it would not be wise for the American missionaries to allow themselves to be placed in a position of obligation to Kaumualii. Fourth,

27. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 134-5.

28. Ibid., 137.

because of the dissimilarities between the Hawaiian and Tahitian
 29
 cultures, such an exchange would be of little use.

An examination of Jones' objections reveals his true objection: the possible ruination of American trade in Hawaii. The American traders had never been friendly towards the mission, and so certainly would not have cared whether or not British critics found them incompetent or whether or not they were indebted to the chiefs, as indeed they already were in many ways. His final objection, that such a study would be useless anyway, seems like a last-ditch argument to discredit the voyage. Certainly it was the self-interests of American traders that caused him to make this plea; but it had little effect on the missionaries. They would not be dissuaded.

Next Jones met with Kaumualii. No record of the persuasions he used in that meeting exists. It was common knowledge, however, that Kaumualii owed the American traders a considerable sum of money. Jones must have threatened Kaumualii in some way, for Kaumualii abandoned the voyage, to the great regret of all concerned, particularly Bingham and Ruggles.
 30

American traders did not stop there, however. They also disparaged other foreigners arriving in Hawaii. Golovin reports that they

29. In fact, Jones is mistaken; the two cultures are very similar.

30. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 137.

encouraged a poor regard of Russians among the natives, and--as the
Americans spoke the Hawaiian language--they possessed the advantage. 31

Russian activity in the Northern Pacific had begun early in the nineteenth century. The Russian American Trading Company, engaged in fur resources and fisheries in the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, considered establishing a Hawaiian base of operations to tie together their Northern outposts and their agricultural settlement at Fort Ross, California, north of the San Francisco area. Kamehameha had encouraged closer Russian/Hawaiian relations when he met with Alexander Baranov, governor of the Russian company in 1804, but the idea of a settlement was eventually abandoned.

From 1804 until 1815, Russian ships occasionally called at Hawaii. Then in 1815, Baranov reactivated his earlier plan to establish a Hawaiian settlement to supplement the resources of that at Fort Ross. Baranov sent a German doctor, George Anton Scheffer, as his agent to handle the preliminary arrangements. But Scheffer soon revealed himself to be a scoundrel, for he immediately set about creating his own tiny fiefdom. Next Scheffer tricked Kaumualii into executing a document which placed Kauai and Niihau under the protection of the Russian government. Kamehameha learned of the Scheffer machinations through American traders in whom Scheffer had confided. Golovin reports that the American traders informed

31. Golovin, Around the World in the Kamchatka, 201.

Kamehameha because Scheffer's plans were directed against American trade.³² Kamehameha ordered Scheffer to leave, but Scheffer refused. In 1817, he built a fort on Kauai, from whose ramparts he flew the Russian flag, boasting that reinforcements from Russia would soon be arriving. Finally, in 1819, the combined efforts of Kamehameha, Kaumualii and the American traders drove Scheffer from the island.³³

It needs to be emphasized that Scheffer acted without the support of the Russian government. However, Scheffer had been commissioned by Russia and he had used Russian troops and materials. Official Russian apologies were swiftly forthcoming, and Russian ships continued to touch at the islands. Otto von Kotzuehue confirms Hawaiian uneasiness over the situation, for when he arrived in November, 1825, he immediately noticed the change in the behavior of Hawaiians to his crew from their previous reactions in 1817, and he swiftly set about denying hostile intentions. Von Kotzuehue assured Kamehameha that Scheffer's actions had been taken without the consent of the Russian government. Von Kotzuehue claimed that England had incited the natives against Russia because of Scheffer, and that Liholiho's voyage to England had been undertaken "for the purpose of

32. Ibid., 194.

33. W. D. Alexander, "The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai, 1814-1816," Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society, No. 6.

34

imploing the assistance of England against our government."

In December 1821, Governor Reckard of Kamchatka wrote to Liholiho of his intention to acknowledge the Hawaiian flag, and Hawaiian sovereignty.³⁵ But Scheffer's actions combined with the prejudices of American traders cooled native reactions to future Russian visits.³⁶

Unlike the U.S. and Russia, England's relationship with Hawaii was of long standing. Beginning with Cook's arrival in 1778 and reinforced by Vancouver's visits between 1793 and 1794, Hawaiian-British relations were continually cordial, eventually culminating with a formal cession ceremony placing Kamehameha's lands in Hawaii under the protection of the British flag. Kamehameha had expressed to Vancouver his discontent with the conduct of foreign traders--based on the exorbitant prices, shoddy merchandise, and overbearing attitude of many of the traders. Vancouver advised Kamehameha that, were he to submit his territories to the "authority and protection of a superior power," these annoyances would abate. Vancouver reported that Kamehameha immediately acknowledged England's "incontrovertible right" as the superior power because of its position as first of the

34. Otto von Kotzuebue, A new voyage round the world, in the years 1823, 24, 25 and 26 (London: H. Colburn & R. Bentley, 1830), 215, 296-7, and 305.

35. Missionary Herald XIX (182)], 40. Letter delivered and read by Commadore Vassilieff, Otkvitic.

36. Andrew Bloxam, Diary of Andrew Bloxam (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1925), 29. (Compiled from his diary of 1825 when he served as naturalist on the H.M.S. Blonde.)

foreign powers to arrive in Hawaii. Further, Vancouver noted, Kamehameha admitted that the Hawaiians realized that they would soon be taken over by either France, America, Spain or England--and that they preferred England.³⁷ At the formal cession ceremony conducted by Vancouver on February 25, 1794, Kamehameha spoke to the assembled Hawaiians, emphasizing their mistreatment by foreigners, and the likelihood that this would increase unless Hawaiians acquired protection. He told the group that Britain had agreed not to interfere in their religion, domestic politics or economy, and that no internal alteration of their culture was intended by either party, and then acknowledged them to be "subjects of Great Britain."³⁸

Vancouver's commentary is the only one that exists concerning the cession and the reasons for it. Some disagreement later arose, however, and Golovin for one comments that Vancouver misunderstood when he described Kamehameha's ceremonial cession. Further, Golovin insisted, Kamehameha became very angry whenever he was told that he had done so. He insisted that the term "Sandwich Islands" never be used, and that each island instead be called by name and the group as a whole be referred to as the "Islands of the King of Hawaii." Instead, Golovin tells us that what Kamehameha intended was the

37. George Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World, Vol. 5 (London: John Stockdale, 1801), 50-3.

38. Ibid., 93-5.

execution of an agreement of friendship and provide free provisioning for British ships, and England would protect Hawaii against attacks by other Westerners.³⁹ But when Kotzuebue visited in 1817, he commented on Great Britain's acknowledgement of Hawaii's sovereignty and its support of Hawaii's trade and concluded that England had "taken the Sandwich Islands under her particular protection . . . considers them as her property, and will certainly take entire possession of them as soon as circumstances shall permit."⁴⁰

Vancouver had promised Kamehameha that George IV would have a schooner built for him. Made in Port Jackson, New South Wales, the schooner Prince Regent finally arrived in August 1822 and was formally presented to Kamehameha's heir by Captain J. R. Kent, of the cutter Mermaid. Its arrival gave Liholiho the opportunity to declare his own interpretation of Hawaiian-English relations. In his acceptance speech, Liholiho affirmed that Kamehameha had ceded Hawaii to Britain, and he announced his own dependence on George IV for friendly protection. In his letter of thanks to King George, Liholiho made his meaning very clear when he said he "beg[ged] leave to place [Hawaii] under the protection of your most excellent Majesty" As a further token of his gratitude, Liholiho said the schooner would always fly the British flag.⁴¹

39. Golovin, Around the World in the Kamchatka, 196-7.

40. Von Kotzuebue, A Voyage of Discovery, 324-6.

41. Tyerman and Bennett, Journal of Voyages and Travels, 113-127.

This was the first formal exchange between the two countries since Vancouver's last voyage in 1794. After the arrival of the American missionaries, those natives and island residents who identified with British interests had discussed sending for British missionaries. John Adams Kuakini (Kaahumanu's brother), John Young (an Englishman who had resided in Hawaii for many years), and several other prominent alii requested as early as April 1822 that the London Mission Society send a deputation.⁴² In fact--and probably precipitating the request--members of the London Mission Society had arrived in March 1822 from Tahiti, but planned only a brief visit. Then in May 1822, Messrs. Tyerman and Bennett, deputed by the London Mission Society to investigate its worldwide stations, visited the Hawaiian Islands. William Ellis, English missionary in Tahiti visiting Hawaii in 1822, confirmed to an associate Rev. G. Burder that the American missionaries wanted him to remain and assist their mission.⁴³

Late in September of 1823, Keopuolani died. She had been one of the very few stabilizing forces in Liholiho's life. During her final illness he abandoned liquor and received Christian instruction in an effort to please her. Shortly after her death, however, he

42. Ibid., 101.

43. Letter from William Ellis to Rev. G. Burder dated 7/9/22; HMCS Collection.

sank into another drunken state. American missionary C. S. Stewart insisted that Liholiho was tricked into taking the first drink by unscrupulous "foreigners" who "determined to achieve a triumph over the Mission . . . by the defeat of an object so desirable and so important."⁴⁴ English missionary William Ellis agreed that Liholiho's drunkenness most frequently resulted from the influence of others.⁴⁵ Perhaps this is wishful thinking on their part, but Liholiho's later sobriety while in England and free from the foreign hangers-on in Hawaii encourages belief in their opinions.

In this latest debauch, Liholiho evidently considered many possibilities concerning Hawaii's future. Marin reported in early October that there was much talk of expelling all white men. Seven days later, at a dinner at his French companion John Rives' home, Liholiho learned that several white men intended to kill him. Throughout the remainder of October, the king drank heavily. The next important word from the court on November 15 was astonishing: the king, after conference with several chiefs, would travel to London, leaving his younger brother Kauikeaouli in his place, with care of the government resting with Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku.⁴⁶ Also

44. Stewart, Journal of a Residence, 230.

45. Ellis, Polynesian Researches--Hawaii, 447-8.

46. Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journal of Marin; see journal entries dated 10/9/23, 1-16/23, 10/21 - 24/23, and 11/15/23.

attending the chiefs' meeting at their invitation were the American missionary Hiram Bingham and the English missionary William Ellis.

Much speculation surrounded Liholhio's decision to visit London, and all recorders agree on the speed with which the decision was made. First missionary word on the subject was Liholiho's confidence to Missionaries Asa and Lucy Thurston in early November that he intended to visit England to meet with George IV. General consensus was that Liholiho wanted counsel and advice from George IV and the opportunity to gain increased knowledge of the world at large. Ellis continued his assessment with the conclusion that Liholhio wished to "have a personal interview . . . for the purpose of confirming the cession of the Sandwich Islands, and placing himself and his dominions under British protection. Bingham could not resist the speculation that Liholiho intended the trip as an

47. Stewart, Journal of a Residence, 237.

48. Missionary Herald XXI (1825), 13. The Thurstons said that he intended to visit America as well, and Bingham supports this position; A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 236. No evidence corroborates this, however, and Stewart, also an American, never mentions such plans in his discussion of the proposed trip; Journal of a Residence, 237-8. More probably some of the American missionaries tried to convince Liholiho that he should visit the U.S. as well as Britain.

49. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 202; see also Ellis, Polynesian Researches--Hawaii, 448; and Ellis' letter to the Rev. G. Burder dated 4/20/23, HMCS Collection (the letter significantly predates other accounts).

50. Ellis, Polynesian Researches--Hawaii, 448.

experiment in monogamy because he traveled with just one of his five
 51
 wives.

In fact no one knows why Liholiho sailed. Probably Liholiho did not know himself. It may simply have been the quest for adventure. But he had promised his mother at her death two months earlier that he would guide the nation in the true path. He must have realized the present dangers to his autonomy posed by foreign influences, and he knew his illustrious father trusted the English. His decision to travel appears to have been the desperate act of an erratic personality.

Quickly abandoning the notion to sail his own barge, Liholiho accepted the offer of free passage made by Captain Starbuck, an American citizen who captained the English whaleship L'Aigle. With him he took Boki, Governor of Oahu and Kalanimoku's brother, Boki's wife Liliha, a son of Kamehameha's English advisor John Young to act as an interpreter, three other high-ranking chiefs, and the favorite
 52
 of his five wives, Kamamalu, his own half-sister.

On November 27, 1823, a large assembly gathered at the quay in Honolulu to bid his party farewell. On his departure, Liholiho directed his people to attend to the instructions of the American missionaries and to accept the child Kauikeaouli as his heir. With

51. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 202. Monogamy was a necessary prelude to acceptance of Christianity. However, this appears to have been wishful thinking on Bingham's part.

52. Ibid., 202-3.

great distinction, Kamamalu then addressed the crowd, giving first a parting salutation to her people and her land, and finally addressing her deceased father, Kamehameha I, in such touching prose that the assembly wept.

No notice of Liholiho's visit to England preceded his arrival, and he and his suite made their way from Portsmouth to London unnoticed. But once they arrived at Osbourne's Hotel in the Adelphi in late May, word of their presence reached George IV, and he appointed a British representative, the Honorable Frederick Byng, to act as their guardian.⁵³ The fact that a South Seas island chief had sailed all the way to England to meet King George excited the interest of London society. English dignitaries held receptions, balls and theater parties in Liholiho's honor, and the London press gave his suite great coverage.

Almost immediately, trouble struck. Manuia, one of the accompanying chiefs, had traveled with the L'Aigle from Portsmouth to London along the Thames while the remainder of the party traveled overland. On June 10, Manuia--now having rejoined the party--was stricken with measles. Three days later, Liholiho fell ill, and by June 19, every member of the party had been stricken. Most of the Hawaiians quickly recovered. Kamamalu's illness, however, had

53. _____, Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the Years 1824-1825 (London: J. Murray, 1826), 58. (Attributed to a "Mrs. Graham" by contemporary sources.)

reached her lungs. George IV sent his personal physicians to tend her, but she did not rally.

Apprised of her condition, Liholiho visited her room and dismissed their attendants. They lay together on her bed for several hours. Finally he returned to his own room, and Kamamalu died about an hour later. Liholiho had her body brought to him where he sat alone with it for some time. "From this day the king's disorder rapidly increased," onlookers noted, and "the loss of the queen decided his fate: his spirits sank, his cough increased, and he himself declared he should not long survive." In fact, when writing his will on the day before his death, Liholiho expressed his belief that "he was following his beloved wife to the grave."⁵⁴ He died on July 14, six days after Kamamalu.

Before he died, Liholiho named Boki as leader of the group and expressed his wish that their bodies be returned to the Islands. He and Kamamalu were temporarily laid to rest in the vault of⁵⁵ St. Martin's in the Fields.

54. Ibid., 66-70. Although Mrs. Graham's book was dismissed at the time as spurious gossip largely because of the anti-American and anti-American missionary stance it exhibited, this account carries conviction. The couple had always been extraordinarily close (they were brother and sister, after all) and it was still within the Hawaiian culture to encourage one's own death, as Liholiho evidently did.

55. Ibid., 70-71.

George IV paid the remaining Hawaiian suite every possible courtesy, even meeting with the party at Windsor on September 11. There he reiterated Britain's agreement as made between Vancouver and Kamehameha to protect Hawaii from all foreign encroachments.⁵⁶ He advised Boki and his wife Liliha, as the ranking members of the party,⁵⁷ to assist with the peaceful accession of Kauikeaouli.

At Foreign Affairs Secretary of State George Canning's suggestion, the British government provided an English ship of war⁵⁸ to transport the bodies of Liholiho and Kamamalu to Hawaii. George Byron, 7th Baron (and a cousin of the poet, Lord Byron) received the bodies on board the H.M.S. Blonde under his command⁵⁹ on September 28, 1824, and sailed for Hawaii immediately thereafter.

It is impossible to say what Liholiho's journey may have accomplished had it been completed. The unexpected effect it did

56. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 257.

57. Ibid.

58. Note of George Canning, Secretary of State, F.A., to King George, announcing the death of Liholiho and dated July 14, 1824. As printed in Report of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii for the period ending December 31, 1922 (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1923), 33.

59. _____, Voyage of H.M.S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, 62.

have, however, was to allow the introduction of a new policy of government. The chiefs had been united in their disapproval of his irresponsible behavior. Two years later, Kaahumanu expressed the views of the alii concerning Liholiho's reign: "The country remains. Men depart [Kamehameha] left me the charge over his son. We took charge, but he would not hear. He forsook his father's policy [of independence], and went to Britain to seek a hakuaina, a landlord You and I abode by the ancient policy until he departed."⁶⁰

Now the Hawaiian government assumed a new form. Liholiho's debaucheries had stifled the orderly growth of governmental institutions and left the country without proper guidance. The regents Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku set about at once to give new direction and purpose to the Hawaiian nation, for the task of restoring order to government was enormous. More firmly in charge than she had been in Liholiho's reign because the monarch was a child of eleven years, Kaahumanu exerted her considerable influence to the enormous task of restoring order to the government. Haughty and proud, Kaahumanu now⁶¹ "possessed the highest authority in the islands."

60. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 202-4.

61. Robert Dampier (edited by Pauline King Joerger), To the Sandwich Islands on H.M.S. Blonde (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1971), 33. (Compiled from the original journal of Monsieur Dampier, the Blonde's artist.)

CHAPTER 3
RESTORATION OF ORDER IN HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT
ACHIEVED BY ADOPTION OF FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS

At Liholiho's departure from the islands in November 1823, Hawaii's government remained unchanged from its alii system of subordination of the common people to the autocratic will of the chiefs, particularly the king. But by the time the bodies of Liholiho and Kamamalu returned aboard the H.M.S. Blonde in May 1825, social modifications had made it possible for great changes to be made in the governmental structure. Based as these changes would be on a social structure alien to the Hawaiian culture, they did not bode well for the future of the Hawaiian nation. Necessarily preceding any change in the governmental structure, however, was the recognition of the Hawaiian leaders that other forms of government existed which were perhaps better suited to the running of a complex government, which is what the government of Hawaii had become. But no such recognition was possible until the Hawaiian leaders had received sufficient educational instruction to enable them to comprehend the need for organization along more complex lines. Between 1822 and 1825, the acceptance of westernized educational standards so changed the makeup of the Hawaiian leadership that their gradual accommodation to westernized political structures occurred almost without comment.

Missionary reports of the period emphasize their teaching successes. Their journals and reports are replete with descriptions

of their translating progress and printing plans. By June 1822, the American missionaries had printed the first sixteen pages of a Hawaiian spelling book. Underway were several other Hawaiian language readings: a preface for the spelling book, an historical and doctrinal catchism, a scripture tract, a grammar, and a vocabulary. Word lists and reading lessons were printed in August 1822, and five hundred copies distributed.¹ At the same time, Liholiho invited the missionaries to teach reading and writing to him, his wives and his favorite friends. He wanted the missionaries to print one hundred copies of the first completed sheet of the spelling book for his own use and distribution. Kaahumanu shortly followed Liholiho's lead and devoted her time to schooling. In fact, once the spelling sheets were printed, the number of students increased, evidently sparked by the desire to read their own language.² Whereas in 1821 there were only fifty pupils at two locations on Oahu, now there were about 150 pupils at seven locations. These matters stood, however, throughout the remainder of 1822 and 1823. Little further progress in enrolling students occurred. Native education was almost entirely restricted to the alii.

However, a day or two after Liholiho's departure in November 1823, the chiefs who had gathered from various islands to bid him farewell met informally to discuss national affairs. At that meeting

1. Missionary Herald XIX (1823), 98-9.

2. Ibid., 101

Kaahumanu encouraged the chiefs to attend to missionary instruction, both secular and religious. (However, she still refused all religious instruction for herself.) Bingham, who was present at the meeting and who had encouraged Kaahumanu to speak, reported that not all of the chiefs agreed with her position, for some of them preferred to wait until the travelers returned from London with word of how England, a Christian nation, fared.³ But when the chiefs returned to their own islands several days later, they took with them a renewed desire to learn. At Lahaina, Maui, Missionary Stewart noted that beginning in early January 1824, there was an increasing demand for textbooks printed in Hawaiian, and the chiefs had for the first time encouraged their people to study reading and writing.⁴

Reports from the American missionaries over the period of the next two to three years concentrate on how successful their teaching efforts had become. No doubt a greater interest in learning had developed. However, the extent and seriousness of the students' efforts appears to be exaggerated by the missionaries. Were it accurate that such a preponderance of the population desired serious instruction it would be reasonable for this development to be noticed by disinterested observers. Nowhere are there references to any thirst for knowledge on the part of the Hawaiians. Local chroniclers

3. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 205.

4. Stewart, Journal of a Residence, 257-8.

Francisco de Paula Marin and Stephen Reynolds make no mention of schools being established. Visitors such as Robert Dampier and Lt. Edmond le Netrel are also silent on the subject. Even native Hawaiian reports differ in their accounts. John Papa Ii mentions education merely in passing.⁵ Samuel Kamakau, however, emphasizes the rapid-fire interest in learning and national commitment that he feels developed in the mid-1820s.⁶ Here it must be remembered that during the 1820s Ii (b. 1800; d. 1870) was already an adult, whereas Kamakau (b. 1815; d. 1876) was still a child and perhaps more easily influenced in later years by missionary claims.

Nevertheless, the missionaries' reports on the increasing interest in education are significant and should be included in a discussion of the period. Even though the reports may be exaggerated by their own desire to succeed in their undertaking and even though they may have misunderstood what to the Hawaiians may have been a "passing fad," it is certain that by the close of the decade, educational institutions were an accepted feature of Hawaiian society. What is particularly significant during this time period is the developing chiefly commitment to education as a means of improving Hawaiian society.⁷

5. Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History, 157-8.

6. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 270.

7. For this reason, I have detailed mission reports in this chapter. Source material is limited by circumstance to missionary reports.

Now that the chiefs had decided that such study was appropriate, they allowed commoners to receive instruction as well. By September 1824 sixteen hundred elementary lesson books had been distributed to eager pupils, and fifty natives assisted the missionaries as school teachers at various locations throughout the islands.⁸ In the mission printshop were twenty hymns in Hawaiian shortly to be printed. By 1825, the missionaries planned to have printed and distributed⁹ twenty thousand copies of one of the gospels.

Reports from outlying mission stations testified to the change in attitude. A letter from Levi Chamberlain to the ABCFM in Boston reported in 1824 that schools had been established at several locations on the islands of Maui, Lanai and Molokai. An edition of seven thousand elementary lesson sheets had been exhausted, and Chamberlain reported that increasing attention focused on religious instruction as well.¹⁰ Missionary Samuel Ruggles stationed at Maui wrote to the ABCFM that "some new excitement in favor of the palapala (reading and writing) appears to have been produced in the minds of the chiefs and their attendants; and we are ignorant of any particular reason for it"¹¹

8. Missionary Herald XXI (1825), 139.

9. Missionary Herald XX (1824), 183. Because of the infrequency of packet delivery of mail, letters were not always received and printed in sequence.

10. Missionary Herald XXI (1825), 320.

11. Ibid., 278.

Indeed according to the missionaries the change in the native Hawaiians in their regard for missionary education was astonishing in its rapidity: in one week, the number of schools at Lahaina jumped from one to ten, and demand was made for several more. Five hundred students enrolled in the Lahaina district alone in just one week's time.¹² Reports such as that from Miss Ely at Kawailoa, Hawaii flooded in to missionary headquarters in Honolulu: "Many and urgent calls for books. I gave the last of our hymns. Still there are many who are not supplied, and who solicit them with great earnestness."¹³

Then in April 1824 the regents, chiefs, native teachers and missionaries convened to discuss national reform. Prodded by the missionaries, the chiefs debated the pros and cons of altering the traditional form of government in favor of further westernization. Kalanimoku, as moderator, elicited agreement from the chiefs that the education of Hawaiians by the missionaries (both secular and religious) would not only continue, it would intensify. "This should have been done before," Kalanimoku informed the group, "but for the dissipation and distracting influence of [Liholiho]."¹⁴

Now efforts to teach by the missionaries bogged down because of a lack of materials and teachers, rather than because of a lack of

12. Stewart, Journal of a Residence, 260.

13. Missionary Herald XXI (1825), 319.

14. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 212-3.

students. "The great cry is for books and teachers, Those, who were once stubbornly opposed, are now soliciting instruction," the missionaries reported to the Board in Boston. By December 1824 such a demand existed in Lahaina that one thousand spelling books were distributed within a week, six hundred of them to new scholars. ¹⁵ Soon ¹⁶ many schools held all-day, all-night sessions.

Although the missionaries had preached regularly since their arrival in 1820, it was not until 1823 that they received the official blessing of the alii to preach their foreign religion. On January 9, 1823, however, Liholiho--by writing in his own hand--urged the chiefs to listen to the preachers, learn the will of Jesus Christ, and be saved by him. ¹⁷ Kaahumanu, however, still rebuffed all attempts by ¹⁸ the missionaries to persuade her to accept instruction.

William Ellis, the English missionary, comments on the religious state of the islands at this time in the same vein as do several American missionaries, and perhaps this viewpoint explains the growing Hawaiian interest in Christianity. Ellis notes that the Hawaiians

15. Missionary Herald XXI (1825), 318.

16. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 270.

17. Missionary Herald XIX (1823), 101. Liholiho himself did not receive instruction, and so his reasons for promoting it are obscure.

18. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 213.

had cast away their idols and "may truly be said to be without any religion at all Some few attempts have been made to revive the old system of idolatry but have not succeeded as it has but very few advocates among the chiefs." It is the king's lead that the natives await, Ellis concluded.

Following Liholiho's instruction, one chief after another began to follow missionary precepts. Ellis was able to report to the Secretary of the London Mission Society in June 1823 that interest in Christianity had grown significantly. In 1823, Kalanimoku gave up intoxicating liquor and used his considerable influence to further Christianity and the moral reformation urged by the missionaries. When the Lahaina station was founded in June 1823, the chiefs insisted that services be performed twice daily, and Queen Keopuolani, with her daughter Nahienaena, requested that the missionaries attend her at her home for morning and evening prayers regularly. Keopuolani fervently embraced the Christian teachings of the American missionaries, and her influence as a great, good lady was so strong that upon her death in September 1823 many of the people were

19. Letter from William Ellis to Rev. G. Burder dated 7/9/22, HMCS Collection.

20. Letter from William Ellis to the Secretary of the London Mission Society dated 6/18/23; HMCS Collection.

21. Stewart, Journal of a Residence, 106.

22. Missionary Herald XXI (1825), 103.

persuaded by her conviction of faith to accept Christianity.

In fact, her widower, Hoapili, who remarried about one month later, insisted on a Christian wedding ceremony and expressed his belief at that time that a man should limit himself to just one wife.²³

Meanwhile, at Kailua, Hawaii, "John Adams" Kuakini (a brother of Kaahumanu) attended family worship morning and evening, under the instruction of either Miss Thurston or Thomas Hoapili. This same practice was now followed by the inferior chiefs at Kailua as well.²⁴

As Liholiho's absence from the kingdom lengthened, and the missionary influence in the reestablishment of moral order in the kingdom progressed, Kaahumanu came to the gradual conclusion that Christianity would benefit her people. By June 1825, she trusted the missionaries' opinion enough to inquire of them their views as to whether or not she should continue living with Kealiiahonui, the son of her late husband, Kaumualii. (She, Kealiiahonui, and Kaumualii had all lived together as a menage a trois for two or three years before Kaumualii's death.) Not surprisingly, the missionaries disapproved of the continuing union despite Kaumualii's death, and the couple²⁵ reluctantly parted.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., 98.

25. Letters of Elisha Loomis, HMCS Library, 36.

In December 1825 Kaahumanu was received into the new church Kawaiahao, along with other members of her family, including Kealiiia-²⁶ honui and her cousin and co-regent, Kalanimoku. After her conversion, Kaahumanu became as warm and friendly to the mission cause as she had previously been cold and contemptuous.²⁷ Immediately she began exhorting her people to convert as well. She presented very spirited addresses at church assemblies and made several progresses around the island of Oahu, accompanied by Missionaries Bingham and Chamberlain. On each of the progresses she made, she displayed great humility by mixing with the humblest of her subjects, teaching prayer and confession of sin.²⁸

Kaahumanu's conversion was followed by that of chiefs on the outer islands of Maui, Hawaii and Kauai.²⁹ As a convert, Kaahumanu forbade native religious practices such as praying to death ('ana'ana),³⁰ chanting of sorcery charms ('awe aku 'ana'ana), and dancing. Runners were sent out weekly to announce the approach of the Sabbath in order that food could be prepared in advance and the

26. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 322-3.

27. Dibble, A History of the Sandwich Islands, 174.

28. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 275.

29. Ibid., 323.

30. Ibid., 307-8.

31
 Sabbath thus kept sacred. As she was the leading political figure
 in Hawaii, any resistance to Kaahumanu's religious exhortations
 32
 constituted rebellion.

Western laws were now introduced, and western political forms
 emulated. Many of Kaahumanu's efforts were necessary to restore order
 and safety to the kingdom. Liholiho's lack of leadership and inability
 to restrain the foreign population had encouraged lawlessness. Now
 Kaahumanu prohibited the cultivation of intoxicating awa as well as
 33
 the practice of ancient worship. In June 1824, while visiting
 Lahaina, she outlawed murder, infanticide (a common native practice),
 drunkenness, boxing, fighting and theft, and demanded observation of
 34
 the Sabbath and attendance at schools. In December 1824 these laws
 were extended to Oahu, and the edicts then grew to have nationwide
 applicability.

Yet much remained to be done to restore order to the government
 and establish a strong legal and governmental system. The return to
 Hawaii in May 1825 of the party that had sailed to England in 1823

31. Stewart, Journal of a Residence, 147; see also Missionary Herald XXI (1825), 276.

32. Dibble, A History of the Sandwich Islands, 179.

33. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 288.

34. Stewart, Journal of a Residence, 321. Previously these acts had not been considered of public note, but were rather treated as private matters between the participants.

gave new impetus to the modernization of Hawaii's culture and government. First word of the deaths of the king and queen and the imminent arrival of the remainder of the party came in March 1825 from American ships. Then an English ship confirmed the news in early April, followed ten days later by the English ship Active, bearing English Consul Richard Charlton, and on May 3 the H.M.S. Blonde arrived bearing the Hawaiian suite.³⁵ Charlton had met with Liholiho in London just days before his death, and Liholiho had given him letters of introduction to and presents for various Hawaiian chiefs. Now Boki's return to Hawaii in May and his attitude towards westernization continued Liholiho's style and philosophy of political alliance, which favored retaining traditional Hawaiian systems. But Boki immediately ran up against the growing pro-American persuasion of Kaahumanu and the missionary party and their advocacy of western systems based on puritanical precepts.

However, on one item both parties solidly agreed: the path to modernization lay through education. On his return, Boki exhorted all to be diligent in learning letters and religion. This theme he struck immediately upon landing in Honolulu, during the welcoming ceremonies at the mission chapel.³⁶ For out of everything he learned in England

35. Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journal of Marin, journal entries of 3/8/25, 4/5/25, 4/26/25 and 5/3/25.

36. Stewart, Journal of a Residence, 342.

Boki insisted he was most impressed with the great importance given to the word of God. It also struck him that the important people of the country were the educated ones. What he said appeared to impress the chiefs, particularly Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku, the coregents.³⁷

The Blonde party had no trouble identifying the seat of power in Hawaii: Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku shared the regency of the islands. However, their relative importance was not so apparent. Macrae, one of the Blonde's company, identifies Kalanimoku as the sole regent, but Dampier, the ship's artist, states unequivocally that Kaahumanu possessed "the highest authority in the islands."³⁸ Certainly Kaahumanu appeared to be the principal chief when she stood at the head of the reception line waiting to greet Byron with the others standing next to her in order of descending rank.³⁹

While the primary chiefs met with Byron at Kalanimoku's house on June 6, Boki spoke at length comparing Hawaiian custom as altered by missionary influence with English custom and law. Recently, the

37. Basic agreement on the necessity for modernization existed between the two parties; only their methods and styles differed.

38. James Macrae, "With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825. . . Being Abstracts from the MS Diary of James Macrae, Scottish Botanist," compiled by Wm. F. Wilson, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1922 (unpublished), 22; see also Dampier, To the Sandwich Islands, 33.

39. Bloxam, Diary of Andrew Bloxam, 31.

American missionaries had been successful in outlawing cooking fires on Sunday, but Boki pointed out that English people kept fires for cooking and bathing on Sundays. So persuasive was he in presenting an alternative Western way that the group decided to reinstate certain
40
of Kamehameha's laws.

Next the assembled chiefs questioned Byron regarding the English views concerning education and religion, particularly as they regarded Hawaii's development, and the continuance of the American mission. Bingham chronicles the meeting, noting that at this point Byron denied any right to interfere with the mission, but questioned its object and relations. Bingham responded that "the instructions from the American Board of Commissioners. . .forbade our interfering
41
with the civil and political affairs of the nation." But Bingham's statement would be disproved by later events, and his apparent duplicity much resented both by resident foreigners and Boki's political faction. Bingham had Kaahumanu's support, however, and so his policies ultimately prevailed.

On that basis, the American mission received Byron's approbation. Byron then presented a paper to the chiefs which contained certain principles of government that he wished them to study. The several points of Byron's advice capsulized the English system

40. Macrae, "With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands," 43. Unfortunately no source describes which laws were reinstated.

41. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 269.

of government: the king would be recognized as the head of the people; the chiefs would swear allegiance to the king; taxes would be paid to the king for his household use; the lands would inure to the chiefs' heirs presuming their continued good behavior; executions would not be performed without the consent of the king and twelve chiefs; the commoners would remain free to move about at will; and, lastly, port duties and provisioning would be regulated so that standardized

pricing would apply.⁴² Later Lord Byron delivered to Kalanimoku for Hawaii's use proposed regulations and rules for the port of Honolulu.⁴³

Despite Byron's rapprochement with the American mission, however, other members of his party did not flatter the missionaries in their reports. Several crew members charged that the mission exercised an inordinate amount of control over the young king and the chiefs. (It should be remembered that at this time Kauikeaouli was no more than eleven years of age.) For example, the British crew put together a "magic lantern" show for the amusement of the court. At the last minute, the king and his sister sent word that they could not attend because the performance conflicted with their religious meetings. James Macrae, the Blonde's botanist, charged that the

42. Ibid., 270. This report comes from Bingham. No other could be located.

43. Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journal of Marin, journal entry of 6/4/25.

American missionaries had prevented the king from attending "owing to their religious fanaticism," and that the missionaries "already carried their system of religion too far to be upheld." ⁴⁴ Stephen Reynolds, an American residing in Hawaii, agreed with Macrae. He reports that Bingham had persuaded Kalanimoku that the theatrical performance staged by Byron was wicked, hence the absence of the young ⁴⁵ king. Although the incident created quite a stir at the time, Bingham omits all reference to it in his journal. Dampier, artist aboard the Blonde, commented that the missionaries "are becoming daily in disrepute with the natives," and Bingham's public extemporaneous oration at one function was "bungled through in a canting, ⁴⁶ slovenly manner."

Liholiho's voyage to England had in fact achieved a great success. Byron's visit to Hawaii returning Liholiho's body had given the Hawaiians firm assurances that Britain would honor its pledge to protect Hawaii against foreign encroachments, as had originally been promised by Vancouver. The king was in full possession of his hereditary rights; and Byron's governmental principles guaranteed that the people's rights as citizens were assured. Now, with British Consul

44. Macrae, "With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands," 37.

45. Stephen Reynolds, "Journal of Stephen Reynolds," Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1909 (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, Publisher, 1909), 157.

46. Dampier, To the Sandwich Islands, 37.

Charlton remaining in Hawaii as England's representative, Byron's party could depart believing that--as Stephen Reynolds reported the foreign and native community agreed--"everything is said to be under the English."⁴⁷

Hawaiian leadership had now had the benefit of counsel from English and American representatives, and important Hawaiians had personal knowledge of western systems. It was apparent to Hawaiian leadership that change in Hawaii should be accelerated, and the nation was ready to accept major change in its social and legal structure.

In September 1825, Kaahumanu took a momentous step: she outlawed the visiting of women on board ships at anchor because of the sexual behavior such visits engendered.⁴⁸ This one action crystallized the changes being made in Hawaii and clearly demonstrated Hawaii's assumption of a foreign morality as exemplified by its legal structure. Traditional Hawaii had few sanctions for sexual misbehavior, and those were predicated on class purity rather than violation of a moral code. Kaahumanu's institution of moral judgment on the sexual behavior of her subjects thus marked a significant moment in Hawaii's changing character. Further, Kaahumanu's use of westernized legal means

47. Reynolds, "Journal of Stephen Reynolds," 156.

48. Letter from Hiram Bingham to Rev. G. Burder, 9/1/25, HMCS Collection (unpublished).

to forbid such behavior and later enforce her law emphasized her commitment to westernization.

Kaahumanu understood that the most pressing governmental problems centered around the desire of a majority of the chiefs to present to the world a picture of Hawaii as a civilized and modern state. To this end, several edicts were issued which altered behavior which had prevailed since the arrival of Captain Cook in 1778. Most paramount, of course, was the restriction of women. Curfews were decreed, and violators imprisoned. The sale of intoxicating liquor was banned at various times, and gambling was forbidden. Sailors from other nations, usually America, had grown accustomed to the licentiousness that had previously characterized Hawaii's image. They believed they could intimidate the chiefs and browbeat the American missionaries merely by banding together and refusing to comply with the laws of the land.

Native Lahaina chiefs, where the laws first took effect, supported her actions unequivocally. The behavior of visiting seamen had become increasingly rowdy as their numbers multiplied. Not only did disputes between Hawaiians and foreigners create tension; so did those simply between foreigners. Hawaiian governmental efforts to mediate such disputes met with little success. Kalanimoku had been severely criticized by members of the foreign population for his attempts to settle a dispute between two foreigners just one month before Kaahumanu's new law was invoked. Criticism against Kalanimoku

by the foreigners emphasized his lack of jurisdiction in such matters. ⁴⁹ Kaahumanu's new ruling perhaps had been motivated as much by the desire to establish jurisdiction as it had been to improve the ⁵⁰ morals of the community.

The sailors' reaction was immediate and violent. In October twenty English sailors armed with knives surrounded the mission and demanded that it lift its curfew and allow women to visit the ships. During this incident, the American seamen in port remained aloof. Personal pleas by the missionaries to the captain of the English ship to control his men went unheeded. However, supported by the missionaries, the Lahaina chiefs would not budge, and there matters stood with the mission enduring nightly sieges for some days until tempers ⁵¹ cooled. Their adamant stand set the groundwork for future problems in Hawaii. Certain of the Hawaiian chiefs, with Boki at their head, did not accept the edict because of its moral pronouncement. Nonetheless Kaahumanu's backing of the law made it mandatory to comply. And so they did--for the time being--but not from any sense of commitment. Thus this edict had the effect of polarizing Hawaiian leadership. From this point on, all division was perceived as caused by the division between missionary and heathen interests, or modernization

49. Reynolds, "Journal of Stephen Reynolds," 159.

50. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 286. At a later testing of her law, Kaahumanu insisted that it was a matter for Hawaiians to decide.

51. Ibid., 275-6; see also letter from Levi Chamberlain to William Ellis dated 11/3/25, HMCS Collection (unpublished).

and traditional values. The American missionaries naturally backed Kaahumanu, while the British Consul Charlton backed Boki. The opposing Hawaiian chiefs viewed each other as pawns used by the other side for selfish territorial interests, and positions became so solidified that accommodation between the two extremes could not be made.

CHAPTER 4
BRITISH AND AMERICAN INTERESTS CLASH
AS THEY COMPETE FOR CONTROL OF HAWAII

By 1826, the town of Honolulu had acquired a slightly more polished facade. There were a number of wooden houses with neatly fenced-in property, and the streets were laid out in intersecting squares. Public notices were posted on boards for all to read.¹ But foreign diseases continued to reduce the native population. In 1826 an influenza epidemic, lasting about ten days, killed a great many natives while affecting only a few whites.²

Trade continued to increase rapidly. As the main rendezvous for whalers in the North Pacific, Hawaii ports saw forty to fifty whalers at a time in the spring months anxious to provision with vegetables and fruit. These same ships then returned in the autumn to winter. Each ship had its share of deserters at Hawaii, who remained in town as dissolute, disaffected foreigners.³ As yet no import or export duties on goods had been imposed, but port dues were exacted depending on the purpose of the anchorage (trading or provisioning) and the location (inner or outer harbor).

1. F. W. Beechey, Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait. . . in the years 1825, 1826, 27, 28 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), 432.

2. Hiram Paulding, Lt., USN, Journal of a Cruise of the United States Schooner Dolphin (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), 230-1. (First published in New York in 1831.)

3. Beechey, Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific, 432.

To date the only successful local enterprise was sandalwood, and that crop had neared exhaustion, the forests despoiled. Coffee, tobacco, cotton, salt, flax and spices had all been introduced as crops, but had not succeeded. Sugar manufacture had recently been introduced and seemed a likely success. Kaahumanu and Boki were both eager to extend local commerce and improve the economic health of the islands. Kaahumanu quizzed visiting Captain Beechey on the prospects of marketing local goods in other countries; and Boki expressed pleasure upon learning that California sugar prices were high, assuring the young Hawaiian sugar industry of a favorable market there. In fact, in February 1827 the small Hawaiian navy contemplated hiring Americans to man their ships to trade with California and the South Pacific. The intent was to sell goods in foreign markets and buy goods there for use in Hawaii, such as horses, furniture, and household materials.⁴

As commercial interests prospered and Hawaii grew in importance as a governmental entity dealing with foreign nations, the rift between the two opposing camps intensified. Kaahumanu's fondness for Hiram Bingham and trust in the judgment of the American missionaries drew her ever more solidly into the conservative, puritanical camp which espoused the enactment of laws reflecting Hawaii's commitment to Christianity as defined by the puritanical mission group. Because

4. Ibid., 418-32.

Kaahumanu's loyalties were increasingly given to American ways and customs, many foreigners and Hawaiians grew very jealous and resentful of Bingham's influence. Boki, who had traveled to England with Liholiho, and his brother Kalanimoku favored a more liberal attitude towards change, preferring English ways and yet not excluding American customs.

After Kalanimoku's death in 1826, his brother Boki assumed the coregency position with Kaahumanu. Immediately the conflict between British and American interests for the intellectual domination of Hawaiian society assumed the position of chief concern. In part because Boki had journeyed to England and met with George IV, he had considerable influence locally. Boki was well-known outside of Hawaii⁵ and received favorable mention in British and American newspapers. As Kaahumanu became more and more deeply involved with the furtherance of learning and religion, she abrogated more and more day-to-day political duties to Boki. Boki became chief councillor to the young king and soon controlled most of the affairs of the kingdom. However, his dissolute behavior made him a great favorite with the foreign population that resented Kaahumanu's puritanical restrictions. Boki owned several grog shops and kept prostitutes. Naturally he resisted Kaahumanu's attempts to close down both types of enterprises. He and British Consul Charlton colluded to circumvent Kaahumanu's policies.

5. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 288.

Meanwhile Kaahumanu's reliance on Missionary Bingham's judgment in native affairs of state accelerated. Virtually every chronicler notes Bingham's inordinate amount of influence. Stephen Reynolds' portrait of Bingham is most unflattering when he notes that Bingham insisted on enacting laws of his own devising, supported by Kaahumanu and opposed by Boki. Reynolds calls Bingham an "impudent puppy" whose actions contradict his public assurances of non-interference in governmental affairs.⁶ Marin corroborates Reynolds' impression. On October 21, 1825 Marin's journal entry notes that "Today Mr. B delivered the laws to the Minister, so that this gentlemen makes the laws of this island."⁷

Foreign visitors as well as foreign residents noted the inordinate amount of influence exercised by the mission and Bingham over the Hawaiian population. Le Netrel emphasized the missionaries' "absolute and arbitrary power. . . .done under the pretext of religion."⁸ Dampier, who traveled with Byron, also recorded the missionaries' overwhelming influence, particularly that of Bingham,

6. Reynolds, "Journal of Stephen Reynolds," 157-8.

7. Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journal of Marin.

8. Lt. Edmond le Netrel, Voyage of the Heros Around the World with Duhaut-Cilly in the years 1826, 1827, 1828 & 1829 (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1951), 51-2. (From the unpublished original.)

and Bingham's apparent influence in matters of state. Von Kotzuebue
⁹
 added his agreement as well.
¹⁰

Yet the need for a more effective legal structure was quite real and increased in significance as Hawaii's foreign population swelled. No doubt Bingham--despite his frequent protestations to the contrary--did exercise an improper amount of influence in determining what form the legal structure of Hawaiian government would take.
¹¹
 But rioting sailors, crooked business deals and the growth of vice demanded corrective action. The culpability of British Consul Richard Charlton in illicit dealings left only the American mission as community members with the knowledge, desire and influence to suggest changes to the Hawaiian leadership.
¹²

The missionaries' American compatriots residing in the foreign community resented Bingham's influence, as did most other foreigners and some of the natives. In December 1825 Marin reported that the missionaries had proposed new laws to Kalanimoku, and that the Minister had disputed their necessity. Two days later, Marin's journal notes continue, the secular American community met with Bingham and accused him of meddling in governmental affairs but could not persuade him to

9. Dampier, To the Sandwich Islands, 37.

10. Otto von Kotzuebue, A new voyage round the world, in the years 1823, 24, 25 and 26 (London: H. Colburn & R. Bentley, 1830), 255.

11. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 269; for one such protestation.

12. Charlton would later be implicated in many unscrupulous deals.

13

withdrew his support of the proposed laws. Reynolds reported on the same date that Bingham had attempted to have adopted laws of his own devising, but that a council of chiefs had been divided in their opinion of their merits. Reynolds emphasized that Kaahumanu supported Bingham, but Boki opposed him.

14

Reynolds' commentary on the situation continues with his journal entry of 2/22/26, noting that Kaahumanu had discussed the proposed laws with Captain "Mad-Jack" Percival of the U.S. schooner Dolphin during his four-month stay in Honolulu and that she confirmed that Bingham was the motivator. This behaviour on the part of Bingham of course directly contradicts his orders from the ABCFM, Bingham's own understanding of his orders as described by him, and his personal assurances given to Lord Byron, Britain's emissary, who had been charged with determining whether or not the American mission exceeded its authority and compromised the special relationship between Hawaii and Britain.

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16

13. Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journal of Marin, journal entries of 12/10/25 and 12/12/25.

14. Reynolds, "Journal of Stephen Reynolds," 157. Entries are dated 12/25 and 12/12/25. At no point does any commentator describe the proposed laws. From the controversy they aroused, it appears reasonable that they were prompted by religious convictions rather than by political or purely social convictions.

15. Ibid., 158.

16. Note from George Canning to King George dated July 14, 1824, Report of the Historical Commission, 33.

But Bingham's December setback did not dissuade him; he appeared unconcerned with public opinion. In his own journal Bingham briefly addressed the controversy, denying that any "union of church and state" had been made. Bingham next revealed his central dogma and the belief which gave rise to his interference in state matters when he characterized the state as a religious institution and that "the ministers both of the church and of the state should. . .concur in publishing statutes. . .and in inculcating the principles of truth, equity, temperance and righteousness." ¹⁷ It is these convictions--illustrating as they do Bingham's central lack of reasoning on what determines state versus church that apparently demonstrated to the island community his lack of objectivity in state matters and resulted in a lack of support by the foreign community and Boki's political faction.

Meanwhile the Dolphin's visit in early 1826 highlighted the real need for better police control of the island by the government. When Percival's crew learned on arrival that women could no longer visit ships, they were furious. Percival demanded on their behalf that Kaahumanu remove the ban, but she refused. ¹⁸ Blaming the missionaries for the enactment of the law, Percival demanded to know who governed the young king. "I she says," Marin tells us was her

17, Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 278-9.

18. Ibid., 284.

19
 response. "It is for us to give directions respecting our
 20
 women, Kaahumanu insisted. But the sailors would not be so easily
 dissuaded. On February 26 a number of them from different vessels
 rushed Kalanimoku's house to threaten the chiefs who had gathered
 there for Sunday worship. Next the rioters stormed the mission
 enclave, surrounded Bingham and menaced him with clubs and knives.
 Seeing Bingham's distress, a crowd of natives scattered the rioters.
 Officers from the Dolphin finally arrived and returned the men to
 21
 their ships.

This incident was by far the greatest threat to Hawaii's
 ability to enforce its own laws in its own land. As the month
 passed, Percival continued to support his men's position, and Kaahu-
 manu and the local chiefs refused to alter their laws to suit
 Percival. Finally on March 29 Percival met with Hawaiian leaders to
 find a reasonable solution to the inflamed situation. One of his
 concerns was that the American crew--in being denied women--was not
 receiving the same favorable treatment as were sailors of other
 nations. The Hawaiians assured him that the new law applied to all

19. Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journal of Marin, journal
 entry of 2/22/26.

20. Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 286.

21. Ibid., 286-7.

ships of all nations. Percival made restitution for the damage, and
22
the affair seemed to be forgotten.

But the American missionaries would not let the matter rest. Percival's visit followed too closely that of Lord Byron (whose crew's behavior had been exemplary) and the contrast between the two commanders did not reflect honor on the United States. As Americans, the missionaries were thoroughly embarrassed. For years they had preached to the people of Hawaii the need to adopt laws and customs similar to those found in the United States because of their superiority in ensuring civilized behavior. Then the first official naval contingent to make port at Honolulu from the U.S. caused the worst riot in Honolulu's history and provided the greatest challenge to Hawaiian authority. Additionally, Percival's crew assaulted its own countrymen, and insulted the mission's efforts. Missionary reports to the ABCFM precipitated a formal investigation of Captain Percival's behavior. Still the incident rankled.

Riotous incidents in Lahaina continued as the struggle between the reformers of Hawaiian morals and the foreigners who wished no change continued. Again in 1827, a serious confrontation occurred between the two parties when in October several women

22. Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journal of Marin, journal entry of 3/29/26. In fact Boki then defied Kaahumanu and allowed the women to visit the ships, but her point had certainly been made.

violated kapu by boarding the John Palmer, an English whaler. As Kamakau tells the story, Hoapili (the governor at Lahaina) requested the captain observe Hawaiian law and return the women to shore. The captain refused. Several days passed; Hoapili determined to receive satisfaction, and he beached the John Palmer.

The whaler then began cannonading the town. William Richards, the missionary representative at Lahaina, supported the resistance to John Palmer's crew and encouraged the discord between the two parties. Shortly thereafter, a letter Richards had published in the New York Observer became known in Honolulu. In it, Richard charged that Captain Buckle of the Daniel had actually purchased a Hawaiian woman and sailed with her throughout the Pacific.

Buckle and Captain Clark of the John Palmer now had a common enemy. The confrontation escalated; several Hawaiians, Boki among them, supported the captains. Even John Young, Kamehameha's old friend, warned against offending England; and the British Consul Charlton emphasized the perils of so doing. At first Kaahumanu refused to become involved, and Boki agreed: "It is a foreigner against a
23
foreigner; let them have it out between them." But she shortly repented and sent for William Richards. He arrived in Honolulu from Lahaina to face an investigation by the chiefs of his conduct. The British consul, Charlton, urged imprisonment, charging a wrong against

23. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 281; see also Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 317.

a British subject within the kingdom of Hawaii. Following the chiefs' investigation, Kaahumanu declared William Richards innocent of the charges against him and released him.²⁴ Richards then returned to his ministry on Maui. In a letter to the ABCFM two months later, Richards made charges of his own, asserting that Charlton and Buckle²⁵ had conspired to create a disturbance against the mission.

These latest riots had the effect of spurring on the chiefs towards decision on codifying certain police-keeping laws. The chiefs, led by Kaahumanu, agreed on laws prohibiting murder, theft and adultery. Proposed laws prohibiting the sale of liquor, prostitution and gambling were not agreed to by Boki; however, they were signed by the king.²⁶ The people assembled on December 14 to hear the announcement of the new laws by the king.²⁷

The visiting American and English crews now recognized that their protestations would gain them nothing. The times were changing in Hawaii; law and order were forces now to be dealt with and sheer force would not prevail. They had not reckoned on the messianic spirit of both the chiefs and the missionaries. Hawaiians had always quite strictly regarded their native laws and customs. The

24. Missionary Herald XXIV (September 1828), 279-80.

25. Letter from William Richards to the ABCFM dated 12/6/27, HMCS Collection (unpublished).

26. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 288; see also Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-One Years, 323.

27. Stephen Reynolds, "Journal of Stephen Reynolds," 81.

missionaries in the first instance had been possessed with great determination and conviction by sheer fact of their presence and survival in that alien environment. What resulted was a clash of wills. At times most bloody, the violence of the mid-1820s gave way to an acceptance on the part of the sailors that the old times were gone forever. Law and order--at least as the present contrasted with the past--prevailed.

Meanwhile, British-sponsored attempts to prevent Kaahumanu from imposing American systems on Hawaii continued. Criticism concerning the missionaries by British visitors described inordinate control of the chiefs, principally Kaahumanu, by the American missionaries. Visitors such as Captain Beechey in 1826 described the islands as in the grip of the mission entirely, with one faction of chiefs led by Boki attempting to retain Hawaiian customs and systems. Upon his return to England in 1827, Beechey charged that the economic health of the nation had suffered as a result of the degree to which the missionaries pushed educational instruction on the native population. Encouraged by Kaahumanu, Beechey reported, the missionaries demanded such a rigorous schedule of learning that native crafts and labors suffered.²⁸ The chiefs, backed by Boki, rebelled even while Kaahumanu persevered. The majority of the chiefs, under the mantle of

28. In fact Beechey is quite right. This is the same period of time that ancient crafts such as kapa making and native means of fishing were lost.

the young king who was increasingly controlled by Boki, were reported by Beechey to oppose the mission's aims. According to Beechey, much chiefly opposition existed to the use of the Ten Commandments as the basis of law, and the natives increasingly desired to return to native customs and pastimes.²⁹

The events in Lahaina provided further evidence for Britain that American missionaries ruled Hawaii. Boki's appointment as Kalanimoku's successor left open new avenues for dissension among the chiefs, and British Consul Charlton spent much time winning Boki to his side. Several incidents led to a final rift.

As a traditionalist, Boki favored preservation of native Hawaiian customs and artifacts which had fallen into disfavor largely because of the advance of Christianity. Kaahumanu had begun razing native temples immediately following the destruction of the kapu in 1819. However, her actions in 1828 went beyond mere temple destruction and alienated Boki even further.³⁰ As the mausoleum of Hawaii's kings, Hale o Keawe at Hoonau on Hawaii contained Hawaii's most sacred relics--spiritual and temporal. It had fallen into disrepair,

29. Beechey, Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific, 421.

30. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 285.

but its sanctuary and contents had been for the most part untouched. While touring the area encouraging native attention to schooling and American missionary religious teachings, Kaahumanu had the sanctuary destroyed. She buried the bones of Hawaii's early kings and distributed among the missionaries some of the timber which had formed the house and the fence of the innermost sanctuary. The wood was later made into canes, contribution boxes and other curiosity items.

Not only Boki resented this. Many Hawaiians saw this act as the final insult to native Hawaiian practices. But Kaahumanu's position was quite secure; her support by the common people (never admitted to the sanctuaries of Hale of Keawe in ancient times and so without a vested interest in their contents) assured.

Then in 1828 Boki sponsored the marriage of the king Kauikea-ouli to his full sister, Nahienaena in accordance with an ancient Hawaiian practice. But the new religion would not tolerate such as incestuous union and the marriage plans were dropped. Meanwhile, a second contingent of American missionaries joined the original band in March, 1828 strengthening the group and its influence. Kaahumanu

31. Dampier, To the Sandwich Islands, 67-70. Lord Byron's men had removed several carved idols and other artifacts during their visit in 1826.

32. Laura Fish Judd, Honolulu--Sketches of the Life, Social, Political and Religious in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861 (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Company, 1880), 35 (previously unpublished).

33. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 286-7.

received the new missionaries most heartily; Boki was not so happy
 34
 to see them. In a letter to William Ellis in July 1827, Missionary
 Elisha Loomis wrote that the Hawaiians recognized the attempts to
 divide them, and that all of the chiefs--save Boki--supported the
 35
 mission.

More than simple disagreement between Kaahumanu and Boki was
 involved, of course. The American government, seriously concerned
 about the debts owed American merchants by Hawaiians, sent two
 investigative parties to settle the matter. The Dolphin's arrival
 under Percival in 1826 and subsequent rioting of its crew obscured
 the fact that one of Percival's objectives had been to secure agree-
 ment from Hawaiian leaders that the debts were owed and payment would
 be made by the Hawaiian government. This he did. 36
 These debts had
 been incurred several years earlier. When the supply of sandalwood--
 after many years of harvesting--began to run out, the American
 traders extended credit to the Hawaiian chiefs against future sandal-
 wood crops. Unfortunately, it was not a system that the chiefs under-
 stood. When the American traders' notes came due, the Hawaiian chiefs
 could not meet them. By the time the Dolphin arrived in Honolulu, the

34. Judd, Honolulu--Sketches, 12.

35. Letter from Elisha Loomis to William Ellis dated 7/21/27, HMCS Collection (unpublished).

36. Conrad, ed., The Letters and Journal of Marin, entry of 3/29/26.

debts amounted to \$200,000. The assumption by the government of Hawaii of the debts of private individuals indicated the formal acceptance by the chiefs in charge that the government was itself ultimately responsible for the conduct of its citizens. This was a major step towards modernization and would lead to the development of even more sophisticated political concepts and obligations.

An American-Hawaiian treaty alliance had been concluded in 1827 and great cordiality existed between the American residents and the native Hawaiians.³⁷ But rumors continued to circulate that Hawaii would be taken over by the United States, and it was perhaps this fear that caused Kaahumanu, Boki and the council of chiefs to recognize the great importance attached by the United States to the payment of the debts.³⁸ By October 1829 only \$48,000 remained outstanding. During that month, the U.S. sloop of war Vincennes, captained by W. B. Finch, paid a month-long visit to Honolulu. Finch brought friendly communications from the U.S. government and presented a message from the President.³⁹ American traders seized their opportunity to discuss the remaining debt with Finch, and he broached the subject with the chiefs. Again the chiefs acknowledged the debts as a national obligation.⁴⁰ Native blame for as much as twenty-five

37. Beechey, Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific, 422-429.

38. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 285.

39. Judd, Honolulu--Sketches, 30-1.

40. Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History, 157.

percent of the debts fell on Boki, with astonishing results, leading to Boki's final downfall.

Urged on by British Consul Charlton, who saw to his dismay the American influence in Hawaii strengthening with every year, Boki summoned several of his men and commanded them to go to Kaahumanu's residence in Waikiki and shoot her. Charlton in conversation with Boki said he would cut off Kaahumanu's head "and all the residents were ready to join in it." Privately Reynolds noted his doubts that many would follow Charlton's lead. Boki, however, did.⁴¹ Loyal subjects forewarned her, however, begging her to leave Waikiki before the assassins reached her residence. She refused and remained at home, calm and dignified. The would-be assassins lost their nerve, blustered around the environs of Waikiki for a time, and then⁴² dispersed.

Boki was shattered. Shamed at home both by the knowledge that he had helped significantly to place Hawaii in debt to the American traders and by his unsuccessful plot on well-beloved Kaahumanu, he desperately needed to redeem himself. In December 1829, he sailed with two ships to the New Hebrides in search of sandalwood, thinking that in that way he could liquidate the remaining debt. No one could

41. Stephen Reynolds, "Journal Extracts," Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1901 (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, Publisher, 1901), 83.

42. Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History, 154-5; see also Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 290-1.

dissuade him from making the voyage, not even Kaahumanu. The expedition failed entirely. Boki and his crew vanished in the South
⁴³
 Pacific.

With Boki gone, his political faction collapsed. Charlton's shoddy dealings had alienated him even from those who did not sympathize with the missionaries, and without Boki he exercised but little
⁴⁴
 influence. Kaahumanu now exercised unrivalled power. The king was still a minor; her coregents Kalanimoku and Boki had either died or disappeared; and she ruled Hawaii in fact if not in name. Her fondness for the American missionaries meant automatic acceptance of their suggestions on governmental policy. By the end of the decade, events had transpired which assured the dominance in Hawaii of American customs and practices.

43. Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History, 157.

44. Charlton had forged a note purportedly from Chief Manuia giving a false deadline for renewal of certain governmental permits; Reynolds, "Journal Extracts," 79. Mission printer Elisha Loomis wrote that Charlton frequently used abusive language against Kaahumanu in the presence of the king and others. Loomis tells us that Charlton threatened that the British government would accept Kaahumanu as regent only until September 1827, and then Kauikeaouli was to rule alone (at age 14). Further, if Kauikeaouli enacted laws without England's approval, George IV would send an army and take possession. Letter from Elisha Loomis to William Ellis dated 7/21/27, HMCS Collection (unpublished).

CHAPTER 5
ANALYSIS OF THE EVENTS OF THE DECADE OF THE 1820s

At the beginning of the decade, rule in Hawaii was autocratic. No formal religion existed. The Hawaiian aristocracy had little control over police matters within the nation, and what control they did exercise was capricious and sporadic. Hawaiian traditional customs and practices were declining, but no new customs or practices had yet taken their place.

While Kamehameha I ruled, Hawaii maintained its traditional ways and identity. However, following his death, Kaahumanu as kuhina nui became the leading force in determining the future path of Hawaii. Not only was the position of kuhina nui itself very powerful, but Liholiho's inattention to state matters rendered her position even more powerful than originally conceived. Nevertheless when the decade began neither governed according to a preconceived plan and while Liholiho reigned, the Hawaiian government drifted. Neither Liholiho nor Kaahumanu addressed the problems of moving Hawaii into the modern world as its growing contact with western nations demanded. The old order, destroyed with the elimination of the kapu system, continued its process of deterioration. The court fell into excesses not permitted during Kamehameha's time, and its citizenry fell prey to numerous schemes by unscrupulous foreign traders anxious to make a quick fortune.

In 1819, the U.S. dispatched Commercial Agent J. C. Jones to Hawaii to handle the increasing disputes between American traders and Hawaiians and to monitor trading activities, both of which had intensified because of the increase in whalers visiting the islands to reprovision during the winter months. During the same year, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a private religious group based in Boston, dispatched a band of missionaries to bring religion and education to the natives. The arrival of the missionaries in Hawaii in 1820 set into motion a chain of events wherein these two groups of Americans were to struggle with each other for success in leading the Hawaiians to a form of government each felt preferable. The result of this struggle by 1829 culminated in the westernization of Hawaiian institutions along American lines.

Also present in Hawaii from time to time were representatives from other nations. Russian interference in Hawaii's destiny, although minor, created some anxious moments for the Hawaiian chiefs. The English felt that they had the prior claim--as indeed they did--for the protection of Hawaii, and Liholiho himself preferred Britain to America. In 1823 he sailed to England to receive from George IV his counsel and advice on how to rule effectively. England, however, did not propose to exercise as enormous an influence within the nation as did the American missionaries. Liholiho died in London, but his trip nonetheless had far-reaching consequences. The British government sent its representatives back to Hawaii with Liholiho's body to

reaffirm their interest in and concern for the nation and at the same time posted its own trade consul to Hawaii. British Consul Richard Charlton turned out to be as great a scoundrel as was the American consul. They colluded with the American traders and a disaffected faction led by Chief Boki against Kaahumanu (now coregents for the minor king Kauikeaouli) for control of Hawaii's governmental institutions.

At the beginning of the decade, Hawaii as a nation lacked civil order, an educated, thoughtful ruling class exercising judgment in long-range planning, and the economic means to ensure that the nation could protect its prerogatives and meet its debts. Kaahumanu and Liholiho lived for their own pleasure and--as the titular rulers--exercised no direction whatsoever. But circumstance and progress changed that. With the arrival of merchants and sailing vessels demanding reprovisioning, refitting and trading privileges at Hawaii, the nation lost its own control over its destiny. The alii lacked the skill and knowledge necessary to deal with representatives from more sophisticated nations. Soon Kaahumanu and Liholiho realized that, were they to retain their power, they would have to accept the counsel and advice of representatives from some foreign power.

But which to choose? Which representatives and from which nations were not simply interested in personal self-gain?

Liholiho trusted the English, as his father had before him. He placed his country under its protection, and left for England to meet with George IV. But Liholiho died there and, although England sent its representatives to Hawaii to serve as instructors and advisors, their influence did not prove to be as powerful as that of representatives from another nation.

Kaahumanu, as the senior councillor most firmly in charge of state matters following Liholiho's death in 1824, learned to trust the judgment of the American missionaries above all others. She realized that order must be restored to government were Hawaii to maintain its autonomy. She encouraged religion, education and adoption of political systems similar to those described to her by the American missionaries. The American missionaries encouraged the adoption of systems which conformed to their notion of the ideal government, namely a state organization strongly influenced by religious precepts.

It is not contemplated within this paper that judgment be made as to the final value of the puritanical system imposed on Hawaii by the American missionaries. What is germane to this presentation is the fact that alone among all of the foreign community residing in Hawaii, the missionary group proved sufficiently interested in the welfare and guidance of the Hawaiian people to gain their trust. Alone among all the foreigners present during the decade, the mission group did not cheat, steal, or encourage vice to members of the

Hawaiian community. Instead what they presented was a system of community order which proposed to control lawlessness and selfishness; which proposed to increase the common good by adherence to a system of rules. Additionally, they strove to educate all Hawaiians and so make them self-sufficient in a modern, western world.

Kaahumanu was impressed by the mission group and used her considerable influence to persuade the other alii to accept their guidance as well. The records do not show that she had any trouble in persuading them. No doubt the missionary record stood for itself in its intent to better the Hawaiian community. It is possible to quarrel with the mission's vision of the perfect government and to deplore its interference in political and commercial matters, but the record shows that among all the foreign representatives, no other group took as selfless an interest in Hawaii as did the American missionaries.

By the close of the decade, Kaahumanu's trust in the mission was complete. Her reliance on its judgment was total. She instituted political, social and commercial regulations and institutions which solidified the American influence. So complete was her commitment and its scope of influence that by 1829, Hawaii had so adopted American ways that all other nations' influence paled in comparison. The annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898 culminated the political process the mission began in 1820--the Americanization of Hawaii.

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