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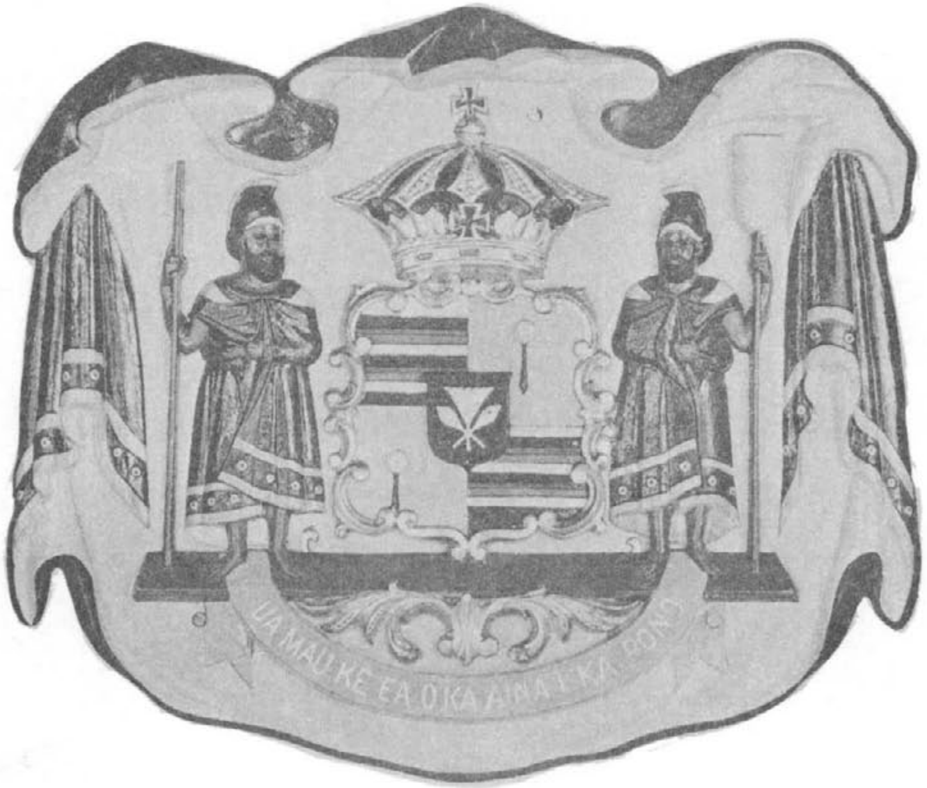
HAWAII HISTORY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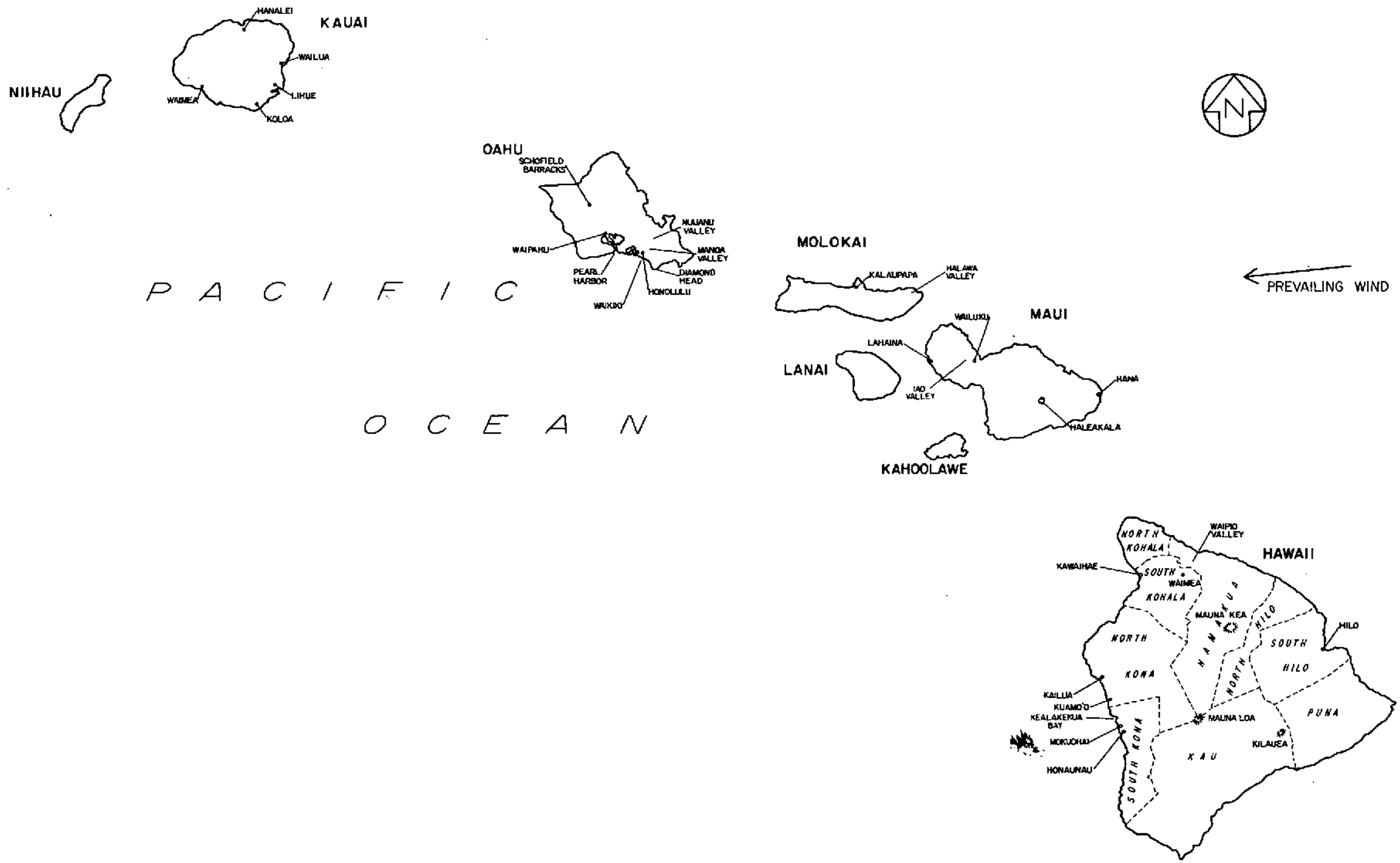
National Survey of
Historic Sites and Buildings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MANOA VALLEY
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PEARL HARBOR
HONOLULU
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OCEAN
MOLOKAI
KALAUPAPA
HALAWA VALLEY
PREVAILING WIND
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KAHOOLAWE
HAWAII
WAIPIO VALLEY
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KAWAIHAE
SOUTH KOHALA
WAIMEA
HAMAKUA
MAUNA KEA
NORTH HILO
HILO
SOUTH HILO
NORTH KONA
KAILUA
KUAMO'O
KEALAKEKUA BAY
MOKUOHAI
HONAUNAU
SOUTH KONA
MAUNA LOA
PUNA
KILAUEA
KAU

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

Theme XXI

Political and Military Affairs, 1865-1910

Special Study

HAWAII HISTORY

1778 - 1910

1962

United States Department of the Interior
Stewart L. Udall, Secretary

National Park Service
Conrad L. Wirth, Director

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Preface

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings is a resumption of the Historic Sites Survey begun in 1937, under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. During World War II, and the emergency following, it was necessary to suspend these studies. The Survey has now been resumed as part of the National Park Service MISSION 66 Program.

The purpose of the Survey, as outlined in the Historic Sites Act, is to "make a survey of historic and archeologic sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States." In carrying out this basic directive, each site and building considered in the Survey is evaluated in terms of the Criteria for Classification, which are listed in the appendix of this report.

When completed the Survey will make recommendations to the Director of the National Park Service and the Secretary of the Interior as to the sites of "exceptional value." This will assist the National Park Service in preparing the National Recreation Plan, including sites which may be administered by the National Park Service to fill in gaps in the historical and archeological representation within the National Park System. It will also recommend and encourage programs of historical and archeological preservation being carried out by state and local agencies.

This study was prepared by Dr. John A. Hussey, Regional Historian, Region Four Office, San Francisco. Assistance in guiding the report through to publication was provided by Charles W. Snell, Historian, also of the Region Four Office.

After completion, the study was presented to the Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Committee consists of Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies; Dr. S. K. Stevens, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; Dr. Louis B. Wright, Folger-Shakespearean Library; Mr. Earl H. Reed, American Institute of Architects; Dr. Richard H. Howland, Head Curator, Civil History, Smithsonian Institution; Mr. Eric Gugler, American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society; Dr. J. O. Brew, Committee for the Recovery of Archeological Remains; Mr. Frederick Johnson, Robert S. Peabody Foundation for American Archeology; Mr. Robert Garvey, Jr., Executive Director of the National Trust for Historic Preservation; and Dr. Ralph H. Gabriel, Sterling Professor of History Emeritus, Yale University, and Professor of American Studies, American University.

The over-all Survey, as well as the theme study which follows, is under the general direction of John O. Littleton, Chief, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, who works under the general supervision of Herbert E. Kahler, Chief, Division of History and Archeology, of the National Park Service.

Conrad L. Wirth
Director

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The cover was prepared by the Western Museum Laboratory, National Park Service, San Francisco; and the mapsby the Division of Recreation Resource Planning, Region Four Office, San Francisco.

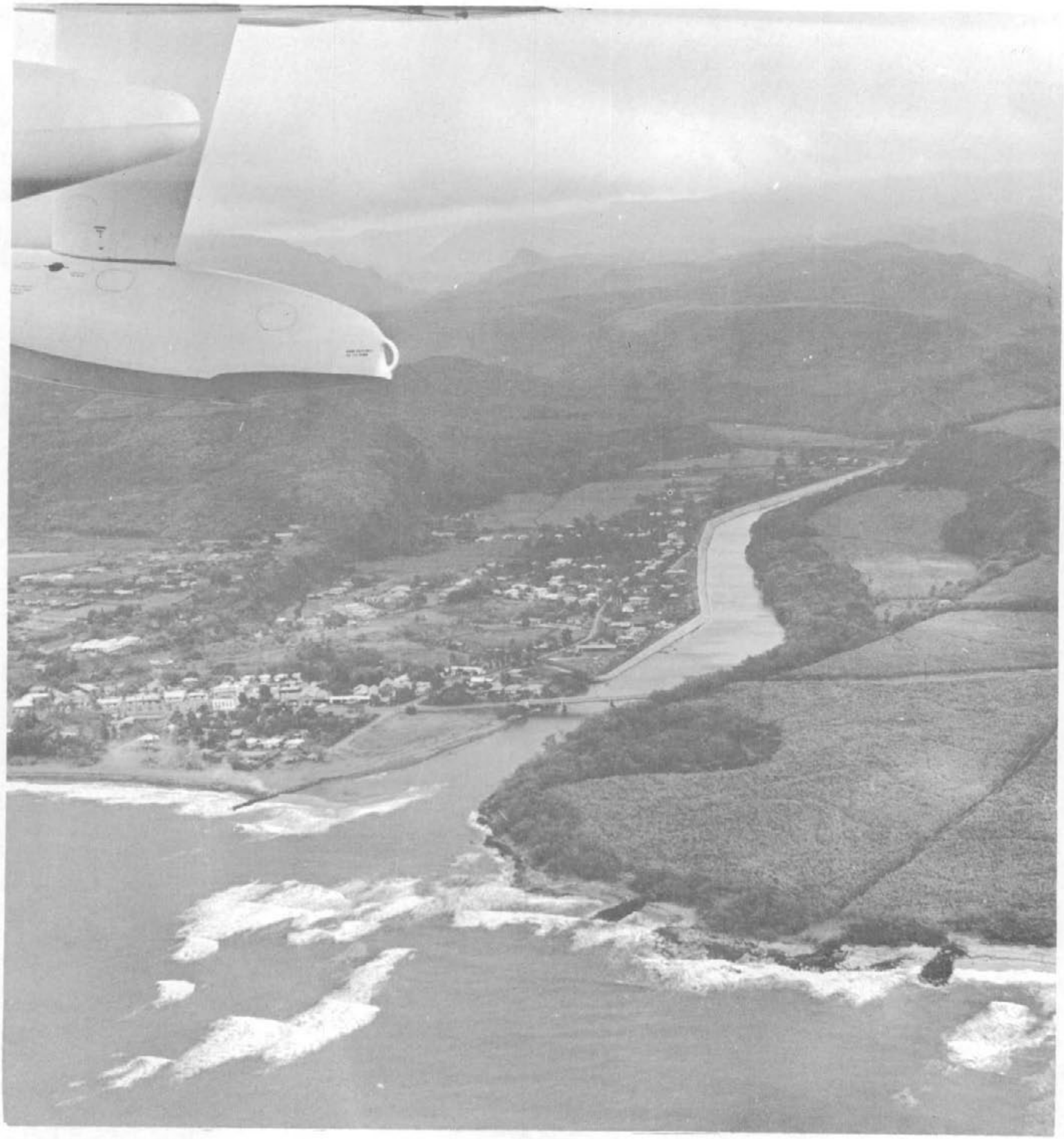
Chapter I

"An Island Made Its Appearance"

For days there had been signs of land in the vast sea where maps showed no land to be. Birds and turtles were seen with tantalizing frequency. The crews of the British exploring vessels Resolution and Discovery, ploughing their way under the command of Captain James Cook from the Society Islands toward the Northwest Coast of America, sharply watched the empty expanse ahead. Then, noted one log of the voyage, at dawn on January 18, 1778, "an island made its appearance."

The landfall later proved to be the purple-green mountains of Oahu. Soon a second island was sighted to the northward, and toward it, because of the prevailing winds, the vessels shaped their course. The next day they coasted the eastern shore of this isle, which was Kauai.

All questions about the new land being inhabited were dispelled when canoes put out from shore and closely approached the ships. Captain Cook was delighted to find that the natives spoke a language almost identical with that used in Tahiti, and soon pigs, fish, and sweet potatoes were being transferred from the canoes in trade for bits of iron, for which the natives showed a keen desire. This exchange, said Cook, demonstrated that "they had some notion of bartering." It also ended, for all time, the independent development of a Hawaiian culture.



Mouth of Waimea River, Kauai, where Captain Cook first landed on the Hawaiian Islands, 1778.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1961

On January 20 Cook found a suitable anchorage for his ships off the village of Waimea, and boats were soon sent ashore for fresh water. Cook landed at this hospitable spot, on one occasion making a short excursion up the valley to observe the houses, gardens, and temples of the inhabitants. "These people are scanty in their cloathing," he noted in his journal.[1] Other members of the crews also had their eyes on the charms of the Hawaiian women because, despite their commander's strict orders that there was to be no contact with the females, the sailors left behind them the gift of venereal disease.

The ships remained only two weeks at Kauai and the neighboring island of Niihau, and then they sailed away for the coast of North America. Cook named his discovery the Sandwich Islands after the Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty.

After Cook's departure, word of his visit spread throughout the inhabited islands of the Hawaiian chain. The circumstances of his coming corresponded roughly with ancient Hawaiian traditions about the god Lono, and the natives concluded that he was an incarnation of that deity. Thus, when the Resolution and Discovery returned to the islands during November, 1778, after their visit to the Northwest Coast, Cook was everywhere accorded the honors of a god, as, indeed, had been the case during his first visit. The vessels skirted Maui and finally, during January, 1779, came to anchor at Kealakekua Bay on the Kona Coast of Hawaii.

---

[1] James Cook, The Explorations of Captain James Cook in the Pacific as Told by Selections of His Own Journals, 1768-1779, edited by A. Grenfell Price (Melbourne, Australia, 1956), 222.

The purpose of this second visit was to explore the islands and to refit the ships for another voyage to northern latitudes. With the friendly cooperation of the natives, the vessels were ready for sea again in less than three weeks. By that time the Hawaiians were somewhat appalled at the enormous amount of provisions required by the British, and they apparently were relieved when the ships sailed northward up the Kona Coast. But a sudden storm damaged the *Resolution*, and both vessels returned to Kealakekua Bay. The Hawaiians were still hospitable, but there was increasing thievery of objects from the ships.

Finally, the *Discovery's* cutter was stolen, and on February 14, 1779, Captain Cook went ashore to take the native king hostage for its return. A sharp, brief, and alsmost accidental skirmish resulted. Cook, "the greatest explorer of his age"[1] and four marines died under the clubs, stones, daggers, and spears of the Hawaiians. As usual under such circumstances, the surviving Europeans chastised the natives in punishment. Parts of Cook's body were recovered, and the ships sailed off, never to return.

Shortly before his death, Cook recorded his judgment that his discovery of the Hawaiian Islands seemed "in many respects to be the most important . . . made by Europeans throughout . . . the Pacific area."[2] Although the perspective of time has not sustained

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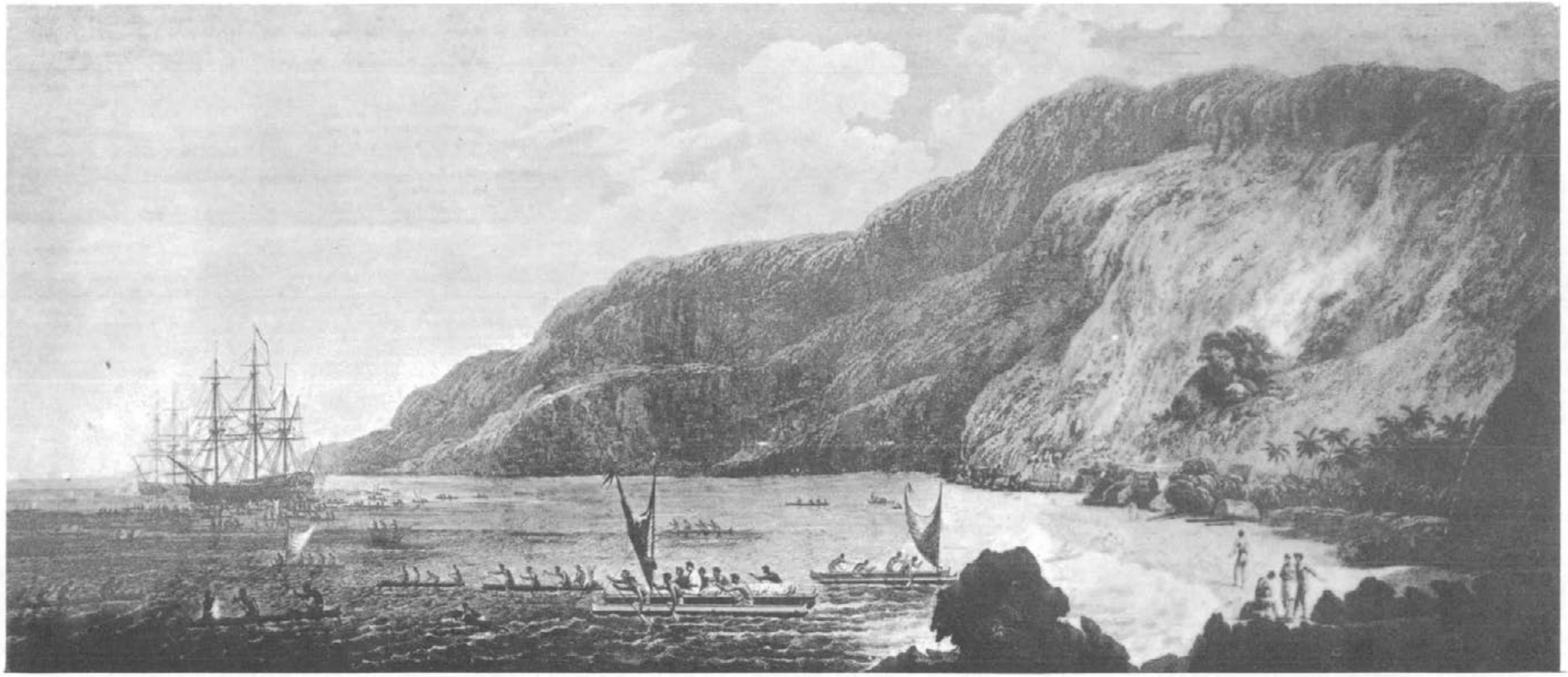
[1] Cook, *op. cit.*, xiv.

[2] *Ibid.*, 215.



H.M.S. **Resolution** and **Discovery** at Kealakekua Bay, Island of Hawaii, 1779, as drawn by a Cook Expedition artist.

Courtesy Bernice P. Bishop Museum

this opinion -- certainly the change brought to the rest of the world was relatively minor -- there is no doubt that the discovery was momentous for the Hawaiian Islands. Hitherto, during centuries of nearly complete isolation, the pattern of Hawaiian social and cultural life had evolved gradually and primarily from internal forces. Henceforth, economic and social change was rapid and was moved primarily by external forces. As one Hawaiian historian bitterly wrote: "The seeds that he planted here have sprouted, grown, and become the parents of others that have caused the decrease of the native population."[1]

Cook's last voyage had another result of great consequence for Hawaii. On the way home, sailors of his expedition found that sea otter skins gathered on the Northwest Coast of America brought temptingly high prices in the markets of China. Merchants and ship captains saw the possibilities for profits, and in due time, allowing for the wars than in progress and other difficulties, a brisk trade grew up between Canton and the American coast. The British were first in the field, but soon the newly independent Americans discovered the beauties and the fabulous returns of a triangular trade between Boston, the Northwest, Canton, and back to Boston; and they eventually obtained a virtual monopoly of the business.

The first vessel known to have visited the islands after Cook was a small British brig on its way to China with a cargo of furs in 1785. From that time the Sandwich Islands became known as a convenient place to break the long trans-Pacific voyage, to obtain supplies, or to spend the winter when the weather was too boisterous on the coasts of Oregon and Alaska. As a crewman on a later exploring expedition noted, "What a happy discovery these islands were! What would the American fur trade be, without these to winter at and get every refreshment?"[1]

---

[1] Samuel M. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (Honolulu, 1961), 104.

In a very few years ships from many different countries, not only fur traders but exploring vessels and general traders, were flocking to the sparkling waters of Hawaii and anchoring off a score of villages. Several unfortunate clashes occurred between the foreigners and the Hawaiians, but on the whole intercourse between the newcomers and the natives was friendly and profitable to both. The natives soon became more sophisticated in their trading and demanded higher prices. Firearms of all types and ammunition were much desired by the chiefs and became an important factor in increasing the slaughter during the frequent and bitter civil wars. As for the visiting sailors, it must be admitted that along with the fresh water, sweet potatoes, and pork of Hawaii they eagerly anticipated the island women. Many early visitors have testified that nowhere in the Pacific were female charms so freely offered.

With such temptations before them it was not long before some of the seafaring visitors deserted their comrades and made new homes ashore. The first known foreign resident was a roving Irish surgeon, John Mackay, who settled on the Island of Hawaii in 1787. During that same year at least two adventurous Hawaiians, one a woman, joined trading ships and sailed away for distant lands, the first of a long line of Hawaiian seamen who were to roam the world.

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[1] Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, Hawaii: A History (New York, 1948), 30.

The number of foreigners living in Hawaii grew steadily. By 1819 there probably were about 200 in the islands. Most of them were runaway sailors, mainly "vagabonds" of the lowest type. Before long there were even a few escaped prisoners from the Australian penal colony lurking in the back country. Others -- a few -- were men of education; some possessed a good store of practical knowledge and common sense; and, in all classes, there were men of character.

The useful men were in much demand by the chiefs as instructors in war, as advisors, and as managers of estates. Such men were held in high esteem, and were showered with lands, wives, and privileges. It was noted, however, that very few of the foreigners, even the best of them, made any real effort to educate the natives or to teach them to cope with the intricacies of Western culture. In fact, instances are recorded of Europeans deliberately refusing to instruct the Hawaiians in the new technology. They were afraid that to do so would reduce the need for their services and lose them their favored places.

The foreign residents at first were largely Europeans and Americans, but by 1794 there were Chinese living at Kealakekua. Hawaii's role as a melting pot of races got off to an early start. But children of mixed blood were only one of the problems which the foreign contacts brought to Hawaii, problems with which the natives were ill equipped to cope. In addition to venereal diseases, the newcomers brought such scourges as smallpox, measles, and whooping cough. Having developed no immunity to these afflictions and not knowing how to treat them, the Hawaiians succumbed by the thousands.

Most of the foreigners, whether casual visitors or permanent residents, were a rough lot, who had "hung their consciences on Cape Horn." They did not hesitate to debauch the natives for their own pleasure or profit. In particular, distilled liquor proved irresistable to the Hawaiians, and accounts of the extent of drunkenness and alcoholism among the natives almost defy belief.

Not all of the new importations were harmful. The introduction of European domestic animals began with Cook, and by 1803 the islanders possessed goats, sheep, cattle, and horses. Many new plants, particularly fruits and vegetables, were eagerly adopted by the Hawaiians, although along with the importations came such pests as fleas and mosquitoes. Many introductions, useful elsewhere in the world, ran wild in the new environment and became pests. The balance of nature was quickly upset.

Such items of European manufacture as guns, tools, cloth, and household utensils made life easier for the natives, who had lived in a stone-age culture. But trade with the foreigners was, at best, upsetting to the old ways of life. Settlements shifted from traditional locations to the harbors convenient for shipping. The common people were forced to produce not only for themselves but also for the traders. This increased burden became particularly heavy after about 1812 when the sandalwood trade -- started as early as 1790 -- began to emerge as a major industry. The trade soon became a royal monopoly and was therefore somewhat controlled, but nevertheless thousands of Hawaiians were sent to the mountains to cut the fragrant trees for the market in China, forcing neglect of the usual domestic economy.

Although visitors still continued to report that the Hawaiians were a happy, carefree, generous people, all of these changes had cumulative and deadly effects. The most obvious was a rapid decline in population. It is believed that there were 300,000 native Hawaiians at the time of Cook's discovery. By 1820 there remained only about 135,000; by 1850 there were only about 85,000; and in 1890 the number had fallen to 40,000.

This drop in population was accompanied by what has been termed "a mass psychological deterioration."[1] The natives were overwhelmed by the new culture and came to distrust their old way of life. An apathy, often extending even to loss of the desire to live, took hold of large groups of the people, further lessening the chances of adapting to the new ways. Scepticism was everywhere, paving the way for the end of the old social order. Truly, the first Hawaiian who accepted one of Captain Cook's trinkets in 1778 had opened a Pandora's Box of horrors for his people.

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[1] Gerrit P. Judd IV, Hawaii: An Informal History (New York, 1961), 38.

CHAPTER II

"Philosophers are Most Mistaken"

From time immemorial the Hawaiians had lived under a political organization which approached feudalism. There were no tribes, but there were kings and chiefs who controlled the land and parcelled it out to their followers. Many chiefs were eligible by high blood lines to be rulers of large districts, of entire islands, or even of several islands; and thus those of ambition and ability were free to attempt enlargement of their domains through agreements or force. There was a constant shifting of loyalties between chiefs and kings; and kingdoms were perpetually expanding and then being broken up.

The situation was one which led to frequent wars, often marked by large expeditions of conquest, both by land and sea. This warfare, together with such dangerous sports as sledding and high diving, often resulted in short careers for the alii or chiefs, and it imposed a cruel burden on the commoners, who had to follow their chief to battle to retain their plots of land. Hawaiian wars were not mere formalities, ending after a few token deaths. They were serious and bloody affairs in which the losers were frequently annihilated to the last man. Prisoners almost invariably were killed, and conquered lands were ravaged, with slaughter of noncombatants — men, women, and even children.

When Cook revealed the islands to the Western world in 1778-1779, they were divided into four kingdoms: Hawaii and a part of Maui; Maui and its dependent islands; Oahu; and Kauai and Niihau. As far as the future of the Hawaiian group was concerned, the most important of these was Hawaii, under the rule of a leading chief named Kalaniopuu. Even in Cook's day, while Kalaniopuu, though old, was at the height of his power, the king's nephew, a strapping young chief from Kohala named Kamehameha, was demonstrating leadership in both peace and war.

In 1782 Kalaniopuu died, and his eldest son, Kiwalao, succeeded him as ruler of all Hawaii. But Kiwalao was under the domination of the chiefs of Hilo, and when the customary land redistribution was made by the new king, the Hilo alii received the lion's share. Five dissatisfied alii of the Kona district, with Kamehameha as their leader, had banded together to protect their interests, and they were soon at war with Kiwalao. The king was defeated and killed on the field at Mokuohai. Hawaiian tradition says that Kamehameha at once realized that this victory "was but the beginning of an empire."[1]

For the time being, however, the ambitious Kamehameha had to be content with the districts of Kohala, Kona, and Hamakua, which together formed one of the three kingdoms into which the island of Hawaii was next divided. Then followed a decade of intermittent civil war during which Kamehameha fought undecisively with the rulers of the other two kingdoms on the island and harassed Maui and Oahu. In the spring of 1790 he launched a major campaign of conquest which began on Maui. His forces pushed the Maui defenders into the gorge of Iao behind Wailuku, and so great was the slaughter that the bodies of the dead blocked the stream. After this victory, he pushed on to Lanai and Molokai. Meanwhile, his chief rival on Hawaii, Keoua, who was Kamehameha's cousin and king of Kau and part of Puna, took advantage of the The Lonely One's absence to invade Kohala. Kamehameha was forced to forego his dreams of empire for the time being and returned to defend his lands on Hawaii.

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[1] Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 123.

Kamehameha had been told by a famous soothsayer of Kauai that if he wished to rule all the Island of Hawaii he must erect a new heiau, or temple, to the war god at Puukohola, near Kawaihae. This task was now undertaken at a vast expense of labor and a liberal sacrifice of human offerings. Then, by one of those strange turns of Hawaiian politics which are difficult to understand, Keoua was persuaded to go to Kawaihae to make peace with his cousin. As he stepped ashore from his canoe one day in the summer of 1791 he was basely murdered by one of Kamehameha' chiefs, and his body was carried up the hill to the new heiau. "In the smoke from the sacrificial altar vanished all opposition to the control by Kamehameha of the Big Island."[1]

Kamehameha now demonstrated the wisdom and character which were his true strengths. For the next few years he avoided war and devoted his efforts to organizing his government and building up the resources of his kingdom. Captain George Vancouver, who had met Kamehameha during Cook's voyage, visited the islands again during

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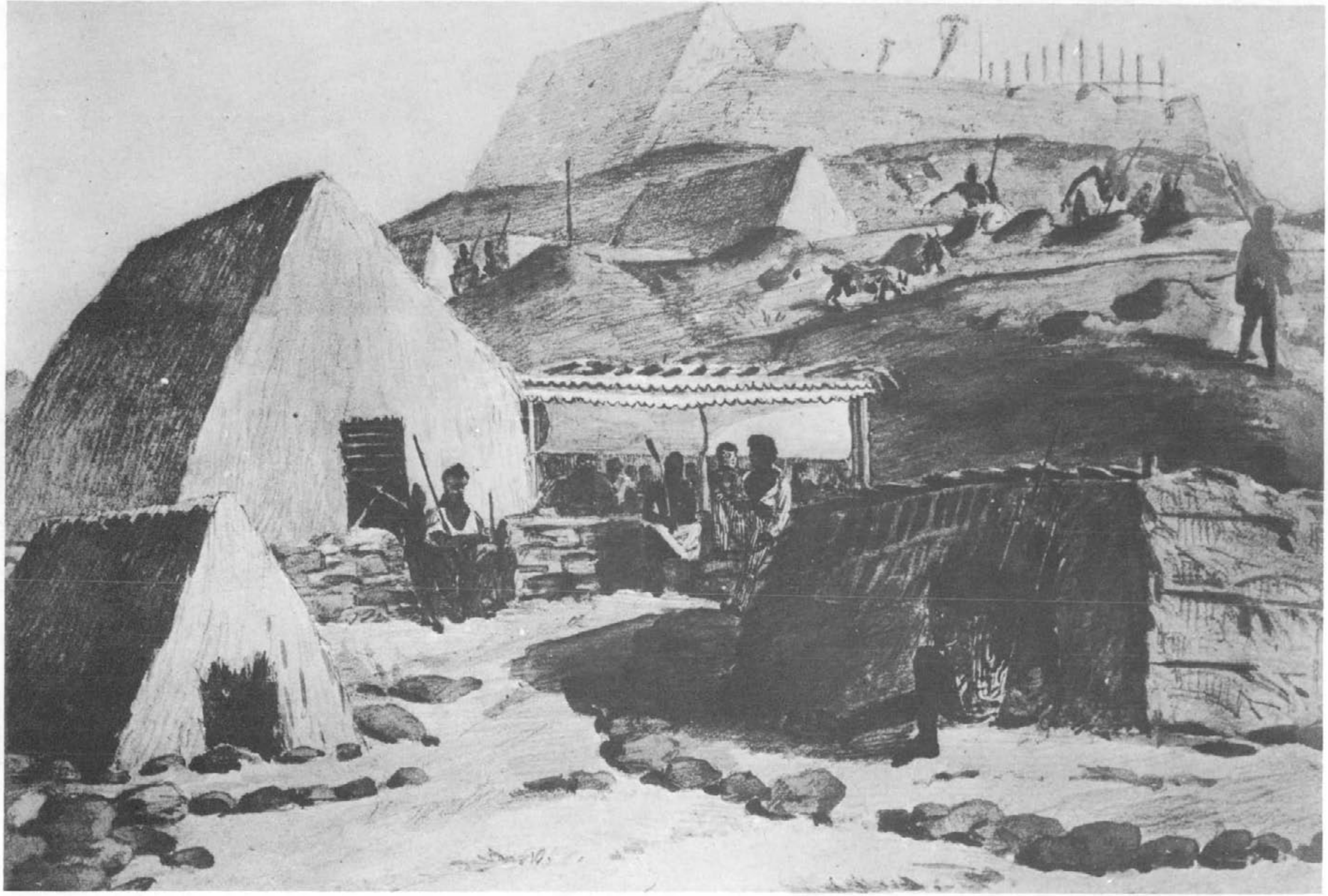
[1] Kuykendall and Day, Hawaii: A History, 25.



Puukohola Heiau, near Kawaihae, Island of Hawaii, scene of the sacrifice of Keoua, as viewed in 1819 by a member of the de Freycinet Expedition, 1819.

Courtesy Bernice P. Bishop Museum

1792, 1793, and 1794. He found the king a changed man, the "stern ferocity" of his younger days softened and modified by "great generosity, and goodness of disposition."[1] Like many other chiefs, Kamehameha had early recognized that Western technology could be useful in his rise to power. He vigorously acquired firearms, ammunition, and even ships to assist him in his campaigns, and he recruited foreigners to operate the new weapons.

Two of these advisors were of particular importance. Kamehameha had forcibly detained Isaac Cox and John Young from American vessels during 1790. Through kindly treatment he won their loyalty, and they both became influential chiefs. They were relatively uneducated, but they were men of natural ability and good character and exercised a beneficial effect upon the king. But Kamehameha did not let the foreigners rule him. He remained the master and they the servants.

By 1794 the rulers of Maui and Oahu were fighting each other, thus weakening even the victor. Kamehameha sensed that the moment had come to continue his bid for supreme power. Quickly overrunning Maui, he landed a large and well equipped force at Waikiki on Oahu during the spring or summer of 1795. The Oahu defenders chose to make their final stand in the Nuuanu Valley behind Honolulu. They could not resist the artillery of the invaders and gave way, many being ruthlessly driven over the cliff, Nuuanu Pali, at the head of the valley.

This victory in 1795 marks the traditional ascension of Kamehameha to rule over all the islands. Actually, he still did not control Kauai and Niihau; and a combination of circumstances prevented him from invading those isles, though he several times organized fleets for the purpose. Foreigners, anxious to avoid interruption of trade, were instrumental in arranging a settlement. In 1810 Kaumualii, the king of Kauai, recognized Kamehameha as his ruler, and Hawaii was at last unified into a single kingdom.

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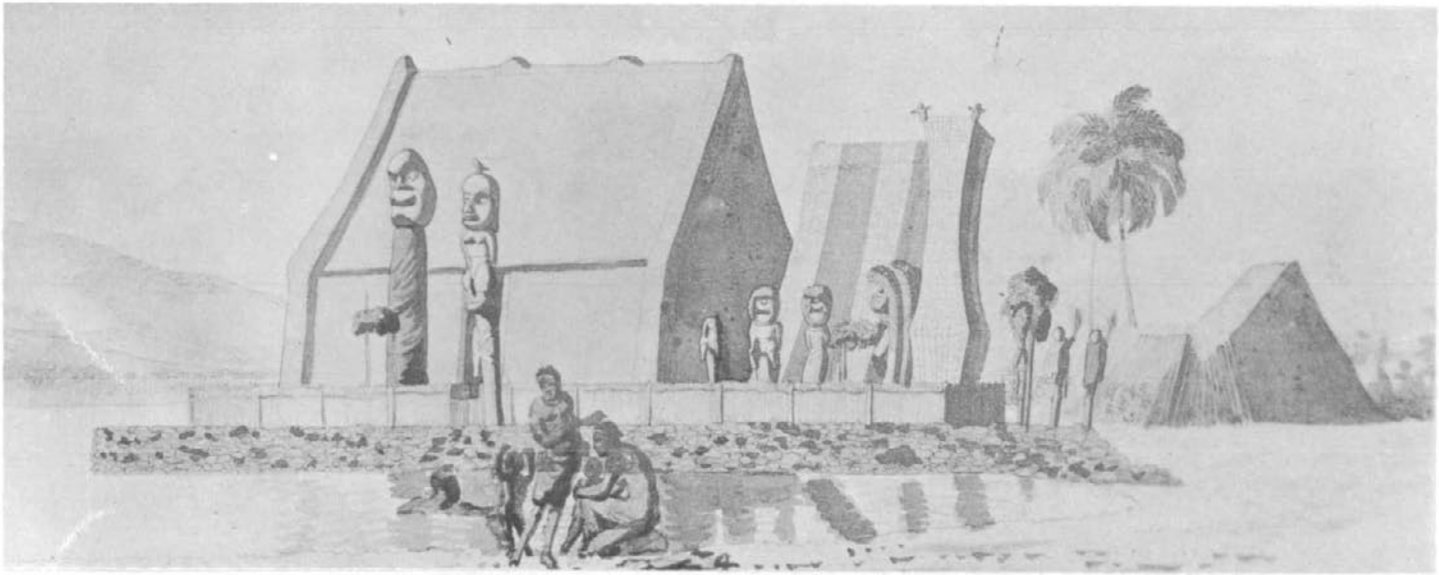
[1] Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom . . . 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1957), 39.

The rise of Kamehameha during the critical period of initial contact with Western civilization is one of the outstanding events of Hawaiian history. His skill in dealing with the foreigners and the firmness with which he organized his rule over all the islands undoubtedly were instrumental in preventing Hawaii from following so many other Pacific islands into European empires. The momentum gained during his reign helped carry his kingdom through a century of independence.

The years following 1795 were ones of peace. Kamehameha placed strong governors over the islands and devoted much of his time to repairing the frightful damage caused by the long civil wars. One of his most famous laws, that of the "splintered paddle," a name recalling an incident of cruelty on his own part during a raid on Puna, decreed: "Let the aged, men and women, and little children lie down in safety in the road." And, of necessity, he skillfully controlled his subordinate chiefs so that none of them could raise an insurrection. Such measures tended to create a "sort of national feeling" which had hitherto been lacking in Hawaiian life.

The death of Kamehameha the Great occured at Kailua, on the Kona Coast of Hawaii, on May 8, 1819. By his own stern decree, no human lives were sacrificed at his passing. This departure from tradition



Ahuena Heiau, adjoining Kamehameha the the Great's last home at Kailua, Island of Hawaii, as sketched by Louis Choris, 1816-1817.

Courtesy Bernice P. Bishop Museum

was sure evidence that the old order was crumbling. Yet, with this exception, Kamehameha had been a firm upholder of the old feudal autocracy, of the ancient gods, and of the kapu system with all its cruelties and inequities.

Despite the king's support, the Hawaiian religion had been losing its strength for some time. Undoubtedly the contacts with foreigners were chiefly responsible, although there is evidence that many Hawaiians were sickened by the insatiable demand for sacrificial victims and were tired of the arbitrary oppression by priests and chiefs which the system made possible. When foreigners were seen to violate the taboos with impunity, doubts were naturally aroused in the minds of the natives. And the foreigners did not hesitate to point out their belief that their own God, their own interpretation of natural phenomena, and their own social concepts were superior, and to deplore the kapu restrictions. "I say damn such laws," wrote a sailor on H.M.S. Racoon when he learned that taboos prevented women from eating with men and imposed other limitations and obligations upon their mating activities.[1]

The passing of Kamehameha brought the matter of religion to a head. The new king, son of Kamehameha the Great, was Liholiho, an amiable young man of "some shrewdness" but no outstanding strength of character. Almost immediately upon his accession, several of his most important advisors, including his own mother, Keopuolani; and his co-ruler, his father's favorite queen, Kaahumanu, urged him to end the kapus. He finally agreed, and early in November, 1819, he symbolically broke the most sacred taboos by eating in public with the women of his court. Immediately thereafter he ordered the destruction of all temples and idols throughout the islands.

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[1] The Voyage of the "Racoon," edited by John A. Hussey (San Francisco, 1958), 35.

The end of the _kapus_ was generally received with rejoicing by the people, but many, particularly the priests and chiefs, would not agree to the complete destruction of their ancient gods and religious system. The conservative element rallied at Kealakekua Bay under a chief named Kekuaokalani, who assumed the position of high priest and chief defender of the old gods. The rebel forces met the king's army during December, 1819, at Kuamo'o, on the coast of Kona, and were decisively defeated. The ancient gods were indeed dead. And, equally important, the Hawaiian kingdom proved that it could hold together despite the removal of Kamehameha's founding hand.

The effects of Liholiho's decree can scarcely be over-estimated. The two or three decades following the end of the _kapu_ system constituted a period of confusion and difficulty for the Hawaiians. Age-old patterns of domestic life, based on the sanctity of chiefs, on seniority, and on the separation of men and women for eating, for serious labor, and for other occasions, were suddenly disrupted. "Neither man, woman nor child any longer knew order, status or authority in the household."[1] It was years before a new pattern of life, based upon Christian mores, was firmly established.

The chiefs were stripped of their god-like status, but they still owned and controlled the land. The commoners still looked to them for leadership and guidance, but the chiefs had less reason to be concerned in the welfare of their people. With the end of the power struggles between chieftains, the alii no longer needed to exercise restraint in order to keep retinues of loyal warriors. Thus, paradoxically, peace brought increased suffering to the commoners.

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[1] E. S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, _The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawaii_ (Wellington, N.Z., 1958), 233-235.

Even at the height of the old system, the chiefs often treated the common people with great arrogance and cruelty. One early foreign visitor was horrified to see the manner in which one petty chief ran down the canoes of commoners who were in his way and how he maimed with stones those who were tardy in obeying his commands. "Philosophers are most mistaken who build systems of natural liberty," the observer concluded. "Rousseau's savages exist nowhere but in his writings."[1]

The situation was made worse by another action of Liholiho. The sandalwood trade, hitherto a royal prerogative, was opened to a number of the chiefs. With all the products of the Western world and the Orient suddenly brought within their economic reach, these alii went on a mad buying spree. Suddenly pâté de foie gras and the most expensive champagnes were scarcely good enough for chiefs who had hitherto been perfectly content with baked dog and live fish. Grass-covered huts blossomed with all sorts of European furniture and "foreign mechanics" whose uses were ill understood by the Hawaiians. "Huge state-beds to look at, and piles of fine cool mats to sleep upon," epitomized the situation in the eyes of one observer.[2]

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[1] Theodore Morgan, Hawaii, A Century of Economic Change (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), 9.

[2] Francis Steegmuller, The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves (New Haven, 1951), 19.

To pay the resulting debts, more and more commoners were forced into the mountains to log sandalwood. As men, women, and children were driven to this generally unhealthful task, the ordinary economy was neglected. In many areas planting and fishing practically ceased. The combination of forced labor and famine contributed greatly to the decline in the Hawaiian population.

Clearly, despite their strong central government, the Hawaiians were destroying themselves, and they were being destroyed by outside influence. The foreigners already in the islands, even those of the caliber of John Young, were doing little to stop the decline. If anything of the Hawaiian people and culture was to survive, a new force was required.

Chapter III

"Open Your Hearts Wide"

The use of the Hawaiian islands as a supply station for the China and Northwest trades had far-reaching results. One was making the islands known to the rest of the world. Many native Hawaiians, superb sailors and untiring workers, joined the crews of European and American ships and traveled to distant lands.

By 1816 there were several Hawaiian youths in New England. The best known of them, Henry Opukahaia, so the story goes, was found one morning in 1809 by a New Haven divinity graduate on the steps of a building on the Yale campus, weeping because he yearned for a Christian education. A group of students befriended him, and he was later enrolled at a mission training school and became a convert. Death prevented his return to his native land to preach the Gospel, but the well publicized story of his frustrated ambition was widely circulated in missionary circles.

Through such islanders and the reports of traders, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, an interdenominational body chiefly supported by the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, became interested in the Hawaiian Islands. The first band of missionaries, a group of seventeen persons under the guidance of the Reverend Hiram Bingham and the Reverend Asa Thurston, sailed from Boston on the brig Thaddeus on October 23, 1819. On April 4 of the next year these "Hawaiian Pilgrims" went ashore at Kailua on the Island of Hawaii and requested Liholiho's permission to live in the country and bring Christianity to its people.

After some hesitation, perhaps occasioned by the national jealousies of his English and French advisors, the king gave his consent for a year's trial. The missionaries then divided. The main party went on to Honolulu, but some remained at Kailua and, later, two sailed to Kauai. On April 23, 1820, the first Christian sermon in the islands was preached at Honolulu by the Reverend Hiram Bingham. His text was "Fear not, for I bring you glad tidings of great joy."

The missionaries had been surprised and pleased to learn upon their arrival that the old native religion of nature worship had been abandoned. Indeed, they regarded the circumstance as nothing short of miraculous. The spiritual upheaval made the new soil more fertile than they had dreamed possible, and they set to work with a will to cultivate it.

Liholiho insisted that the missionaries confine their first efforts to the chiefs, who would determine if the new teachings were suitable for the general populace. There have been observers unkind enough, however, to attribute the king's concern for the commoners to the need to keep them chopping sandalwood. At any rate, the restriction coincided with the inclination of the missionaries, who believed that the conversion of the nobility would lead to the more rapid proselyting of the lower classes.

A first step in spreading the Gospel was for the missionaries to learn Hawaiian and to communicate with the natives through both the spoken and written word. This objective required them to reduce the Hawaiian language, hitherto only a spoken tongue, to writing and to teach the natives to read and write. An alphabet for transcribing

Hawaiian was devised, and on January 7, 1822, the first page of a small spelling book in the native tongue was printed on the mission press in Honolulu. From that time a flood of works in Hawaiian -- textbooks, translations of the Bible, religious tracts, and many other types of books -- poured from the press at Honolulu and from another established at Lahainaluna on Maui in 1834. By 1830 nearly 400,000 copies of 28 different books and tracts had been produced.

Hand in hand with this work went the establishment of schools. The teaching program was launched immediately after the arrival of the missionaries. Mrs. Bingham guided the first instruction, and after a few months there were about 100 pupils, mostly adults of the chiefly class, enrolled in several mission schools. Instruction was slow until the newcomers learned Hawaiian; then it went ahead with a rush. During 1824 the regent, Queen Kaahumanu, authorized the schools to be opened to all classes of the population, and during that year an attendance of about 2,000 was reported.

The Hawaiians embraced the new learning with enthusiasm. They were eager to acquire knowledge of the culture from the outer world. Many of the first pupils became teachers. By the fall of 1831 about 52,000 natives, or about 40 per cent of the population, attended 1,100 schools scattered throughout the islands. A year or two later the fad for learning slackened, and school attendance dropped off to a more realistic level. Yet, by 1830 it was estimated that more than half of the adult population could read, and by 1846 another estimate, perhaps a bit optimistic, stated that 80 per cent of the people could read and write. The wife of one missionary claimed that in Hawaii the proportion of natives who could read and write was "greater than in any other country in the world except Scotland and New England."

This missionary achievement is even more impressive when the character of the curriculum is examined. The earliest schools taught only reading and spelling, but gradually arithmetic, composition, geography, "moral sciences," and other subjects were added. Technical subjects were also taught at a number of schools. "Industrial training" was part of the instruction given at the new school for natives established at Lahainaluna in 1831, and several "female seminaries" instructed girls in household duties.

The missionaries and their immediate descendants believed that education would result in better Christians and better citizens, and thus they promoted schooling for all classes of the population. Upon their advice public school laws were passed in 1840 which made attendance compulsory through the age of fourteen; and schools were later placed upon a tax-supported basis. This early and continued insistence upon universal education was in later years a significant factor in the social, economic, and political development of the islands. But the missionaries sent their own children to separate schools to keep them from being contaminated by the "lewdness" of the natives, a policy which also had important results in the development of Hawaii.

The new "Pilgrims" were also remarkably successful in converting the Hawaiians to Christianity. As was the case with education, the work of spreading the new faith went slowly at first and was carried on principally among the chiefs. There was an emotional quality about Christianity which helped fill the void left by the abolition of the old nature worship; and debauchery among the natives had progressed so far that many alii "rather welcomed" the missionaries and their novel ethical concepts. Key milestones were passed when the queen mother, Keopuolani, and the co-ruler, Kaahumanu, were converted; and the action of another high chiefess, Kapiolani, in publicly defying the volcano goddess Pele helped weaken the lingering belief in the old gods.

Soon the new religion became the rage among the natives of all classes. They flocked by the thousands to worship, perhaps missing the finer points of doctrine but highly enjoying the preaching and singing. Recognizing that the conversions were in many cases only skindeep, the missionaries for a while followed a conservative policy in admitting church members; and there were periods, as during the mid-1830's, when native interest waned. But progress was nevertheless substantial. Reinforced by new companies from Boston, the missionaries established churches in all parts of the islands. A "Great Awakening" from about 1837 to 1841 swept the natives into the new religion on a mass-production basis. One exuberant preacher on the Big Island admitted 5,244 new members in a single year, anointing the converts with drops from a whiskbroom dipped in water. By 1844 there were 25 independent native churches, and more than one-fifth of the entire population was composed of church members.[1] The

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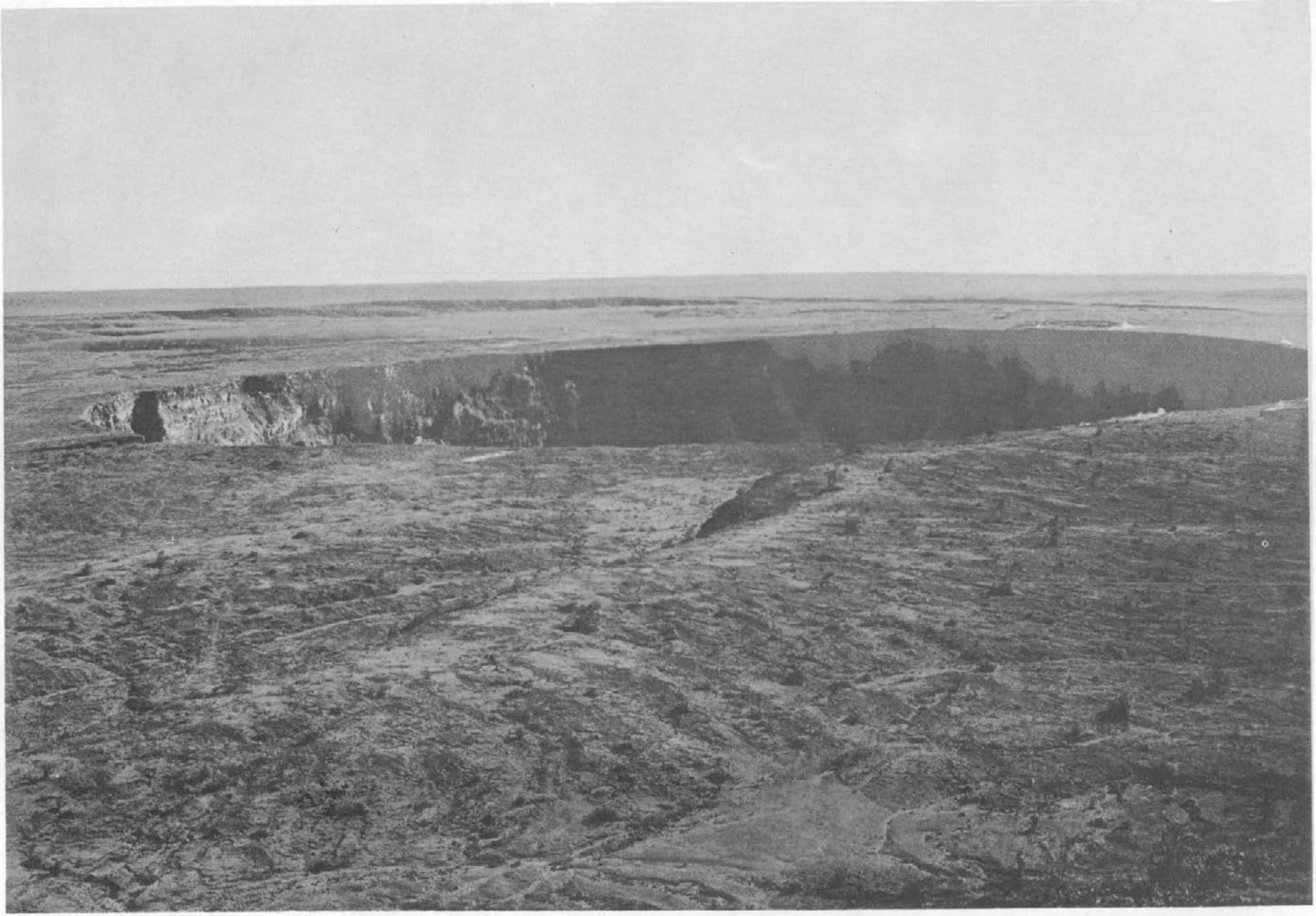
[1] Henry T. Cheever, Life in the Sandwich Islands (New York, 1856), 287-288.



Site of Kapiolani's Defiance of Pele, Halemaumau Fire Pit, Kilauea Crater, in Hawaii Volcanoes National Park.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962

conclusion is inescapable that the missionary message, though perhaps not fully comprehended, eventually gave the Hawaiians a new body of doctrine around which they could orient themselves and helped check disintegration of native morale.

The missionaries did not confine their efforts to spreading the Gospel and to education. Their aim from the very beginning was to raise the entire Hawaiian population "to an elevated state of Christian civilization." Their instructions from the American Board reveal the breadth of the missionary purpose. "Your views are not to be limited to a low or a narrow scale," they were told; "but you are to open your hearts wide, and set your mark high. You are to aim at nothing short of covering those islands with fruitful fields and pleasant dwellings, and schools and churches."[1]

Thus, the missionaries quickly set about making Hawaii as much like New England as possible. They were particularly shocked by the free and easy native morals, and more than one missionary wife turned her head in shame from the nudity visible on every hand. Their efforts were at first directed toward trying to annihilate the native culture because they considered it part of the "besotted idolatry" they were hoping to replace. They imposed modesty of dress upon the churchgoers. The ancient dances, games, and festivals were outlawed. The "Cold Water Army" launched a war on liquor; even smoking was declared a sin; and Sundays were devoted strictly to prayer. "The poor native," said one writer, "was to labor to attain to the sanctity of men and women who rarely smiled and dared not joke.[2]

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[1] Judd, Hawaii, 41.

[2] Steegmuller, The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves, 19.

At least one preacher, however, had the grace to feel remorse when the "Pilgrims" placed a ban upon the wearing of flower leis by churchgoers. "It is a pity a custom so innocent in itself should ever have to be discountinenced," he admitted, but he found the prohibition necessary because some of the flock used leis for "vanity" and for "meretricious allurement and display."[1]

Such radical social changes and strict regimentation were not accepted without some protest and much backsliding. Yet so great was the interest in the new religion that the common people quite generally gave up their old ways and sustained their chiefs in their spread of the new ideas. Externally, at least, the reform was almost complete, though underneath the unquenchable Hawaiian love of life remained. "Me missionary here," the natives would say, pointing to the head; "no missionary here," they added, designating the rest of the body.[2]

So great was the influence of the missionaries, in fact, that they often replaced the chiefs in commanding the loyalty of the commoners. Great crowds of natives worked for years to build the substantial stone churches which still grace the islands, and the people freely gave their labor to support their preachers. The missionaries became the advisors of the Hawaiians, helping them to adjust to the new technology, improving their lot with medicine, hospitals, and by instruction in trades and agriculture. While contributing to the disintegration of the native culture by accelerating the rate of social change, they at the same time made possible the rescue of what was left by shaping the dying way of life to the Western mold.

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[1] Cheever, op. cit., 198.

[2] Steegmuller, op. cit., 23.

Since the missionaries did not distinguish religious faith from other values or customs, it was only natural that they soon began to participate in political affairs. Their view of government was decidedly theocratic. The Rev. Hiram Bingham once said that the state "ought to be, and in an important sense is, a religious institution."[1] In their general attack on the native culture, the "Pilgrims" did not at once challenge the authority of the king and high chiefs. Rather, they encouraged the rulers to feel secure in their authority and to lean upon the foreigners for advice. So influential did the missionaries become that for two decades the Hawaiian government was in essence a theocracy.

Toward the end of 1823 King Liholiho, who had assumed the name of Kamehameha II, departed for a visit to Great Britain. Kaahumanu, the great friend of the missionaires, was left behind as regent; and through her influence the religious principles taught by the New Englanders began to be written into law. In 1824 edicts were issued against murder, theft, fighting and breaking the Sabbath. Three years later gambling, rum selling, and sexual immorality, especially aboard visiting ships, were added to the list of prohibited activities.

Liholiho died of the measles in London during 1824 and was succeeded by his younger brother, Kamehameha III. When the stern, guiding hand of Kaahumanu was removed by death in 1832, the young monarch for a while threw off missionary restraint and repealed most of the blue laws. But he was brought back to the straight and narrow path, and the restrictive laws were not only re-instituted but were made to apply to foreigners as well as natives. In 1838 the anti-liquor laws were strengthened; and in 1840 the first Hawaiian constitution declared that "no law shall be enacted which is at variance with the word of the Lord Jehovah." Hawaii had officially become a Christian state.

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[1] Ben Adams, Hawaii, the Aloha State (New York, 1959), 42.

From the establishment of the kingdom by Kamehameha the Great, there had been no formal organization of the government; and the commoners were completely at the mercy of the alii, with no rights except that of removing to the lands of another chief. Troubles with foreign residents convinced the nobles that a more regular form of government would be desirable. In 1838 they persuaded one of the missionaries, the Reverend William Richards, to leave the mission and become an advisor to the king. Constitutional changes followed rapidly. A code of laws issued in 1839, often called the Hawaiian Magna Carta, conceded certain rights to the people. The constitution of 1840 repeated these declarations and created a legislature elected by popular vote. "For the first time, the common man had a share of political power."[1]

From this time forward, Hawaii was governed by law and not by royal whim. The hand of the missionaries in bringing about this signal achievement is abundantly evident, giving substance to the statement by one historian that "the single most important fact about the internal history of Hawaii /from 1819/ . . . to about 1840, was the gradual domination of the government in these years by the American missionaries."[2]

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[1] Kuykendall and Day, Hawaii, 54.

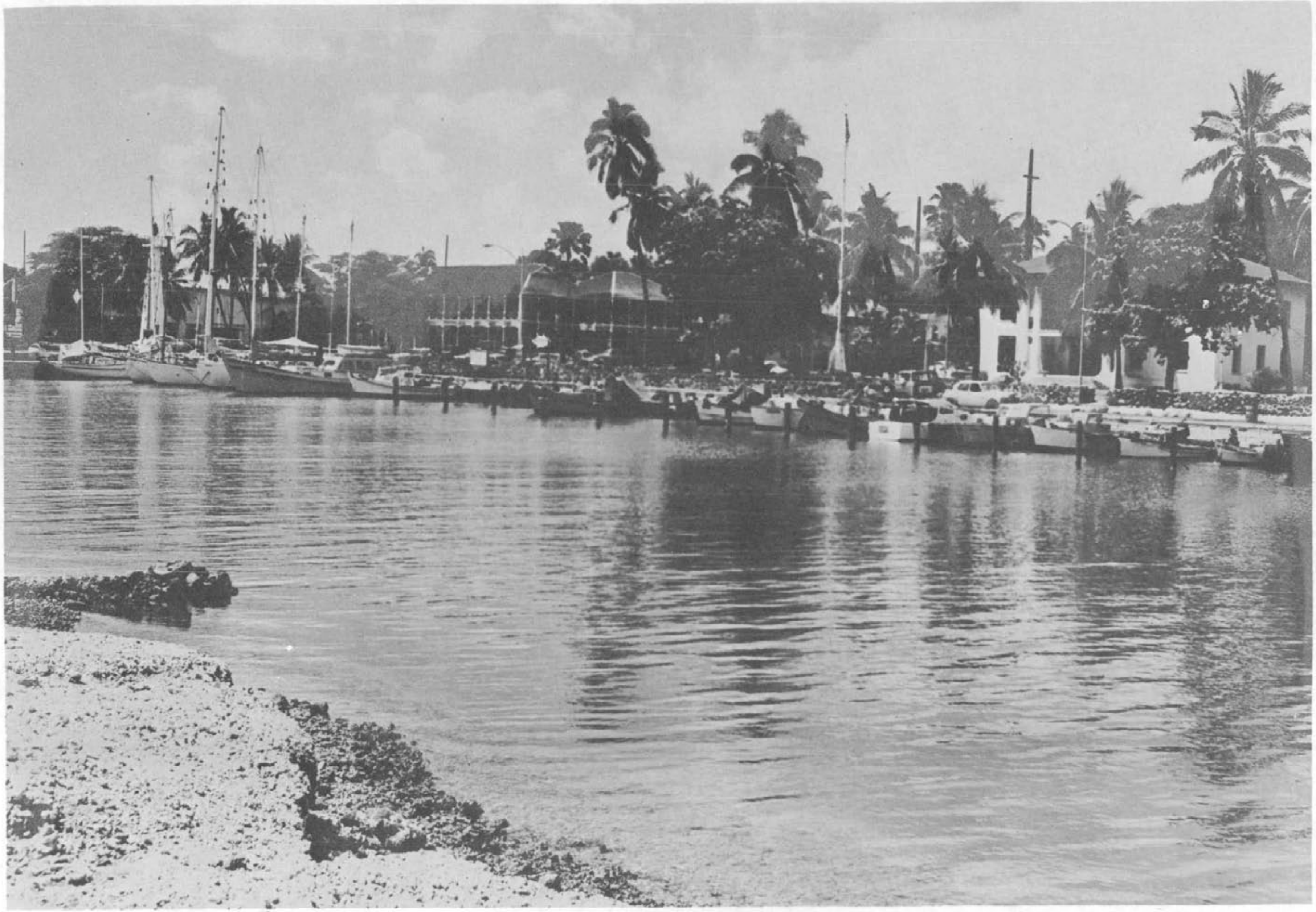
[2] Judd, op. cit., 49.

The influence of the missionaries was not exerted without opposition. By 1820 several foreign mercantile houses had been established in the islands to supply both the natives and the trading vessels which plied the Pacific. The sandalwood traffic was then in the last decade of its importance, but whaling was coming to the fore as the mainstay of the Hawaiian economy.

The first American whaleships visited the islands in 1819, and the discovery of the rich sperm whale grounds off Japan about 1820 soon brought a host of whalers to Hawaiian ports. During the 1840's and 1850's six-sevenths of the world's whaling fleet operated in the Pacific, and Hawaii was the most convenient place to refit and obtain supplies. By 1822 about 60 whaling vessels touched at Honolulu, Lahaina, and other Hawaiian ports; by 1830 the number averaged about 150 annually; and in 1846 there were at least 596 arrivals.

The repairing and supplying of these vessels were a great stimulus to Hawaiian agriculture, industry, and trade. The crews swarmed ashore seeking liquor and women; and their activities in these spheres also had a great impact upon the island economy as well as upon the morals and physical well-being of the inhabitants.

As can be imagined, the resident and visiting traders were soon in conflict wibh the missionaries, who preached temperance and urged the natives not to throw away money on Yankee knicknacks and folderols, all of which hurt business. And the pleasure-bent seamen from the whalers and other ships blamed the missionaries for the laws against license, drunkenness, and other forms of disorder. More than once in Lahaina and Honolulu the frustrated sailors stormed ashore and rioted against



The Town of Lahaina, Maui, viewed from the sea. Although the buildings are recent, the general scene preserves the atmosphere of the village known to the American whaling fleet from the 1820's to the 1860's.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962

the civil authorities and the "Pilgrims." Traders as well as missionaries became advisors to the Hawaiian government, and they won occasional relaxations of the restrictive legislation. But the missionaries steadily gained ground and eventually prevailed.

There was also opposition to the missionaries on political grounds, particularly by Europeans who believed that the New Englanders were pushing the islands into the orbit of the United States and by residents who felt that the "Pilgrims" exercised entirely too much influence over the government. Richard Charlton, the British consul and an arch foe of American interests, claimed that Kinau, the king's half sister and prime minister during part of the 1830's, was "entirely governed by the American Missionaries who through her govern the Islands with unlimited sway."[1]

Such opposition contributed toward involving the Protestant missionaries in an unfortunate religious controversy. Anxious to counterbalance the influence of the New Englanders, certain French and English nationals encouraged missionaries of other faiths to come to Hawaii. The first Catholic priests arrived in 1827, but "with the connivance of the Protestant mission" they were expelled by the Hawaiian government four years later. Native Catholics were persecuted for "idolatry" until the protests of foreigners, including the more moderate among the Protestant missionaries, caused the chiefs to desist. The priests returned several years later, and in 1839 the commander of a French frigate forced the Hawaiians to accept toleration. From that time the rigid Puritanism taught by the American Board missionaries faced competition from the Catholics, Mormons, and representatives of other faiths who, more flexible in their attitudes towards native customs, made rapid headway in winning converts.

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[1] Judd, op. cit., 54.

Despite bitter opposition and periodic setbacks, the New England missionaries continued to hold a prominent role in the Hawaiian government until the death of Kamehameha III in 1854. Following William Richards, other missionaries resigned to become important advisors to the monarchy. Most influential was Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, who served in a number of high offices between 1842 and 1853. In fact, he was virtually the prime minister and influenced the king in carrying forward constitutional reforms.

One measure which had the support of both traders and missionaries was a revision of the land system. From time immemorial, all lands had belonged to the king, and the nobles and commoners were given only rights of use. Foreigners were granted lands under the same conditions, and the uncertainties of tenure caused great dissatisfaction. Merchants and planters hesitated to improve lands which they did not "own," and thus the investment of capital was hampered.

The missionaries, on their part, wished to see land made available to the commoners on a permanent basis. Desiring to encourage "habits of industry," they envisioned the Hawaiians as small farmers on the New England pattern; but progress was impossible as long as hard work and thrift only resulted in the confiscation of improvements and savings by the chiefs. They noted that the old Hawaiians never planted treees because they would be appropriated by the landlords. "The planting of trees anywhere," stated one American, "indicates the possession of a freehold, and the beginning of a prosperous and sound state."[1]

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[1] Cheever, op. cit., 69-70.

The culmination of a series of steps toward land reform came with the Great Mahele of 1848. This action -- literally "the divide" -- resulted in a partition of the land among the king, the government, the nobles, and the commoners. The feudal land system was ended, and with supplementary legislation passed in 1850, henceforth real property could be bought and sold by private persons, both native and foreign. The percentage of land which went to the commoners was relatively small, but their allotments included much of the kingdom's best agricultural property.

Unfortunately, the Hawaiians were not used to the concept of private property, and the Mahele opened the way for the alienation of the natives from their land. Yet the Great Mahele "remains a major landmark in Hawaiian history," and it has been said that "probably no single event so drastically changed the social system of Hawaii."[1] It made possible the investment of capital with security. From it stemmed the rise of the sugar industry which soon dominated the course of Hawaiian economy, politics, and foreign relations.

The death of Kamehameha III in 1854 closed the period of Hawaii's transition from the feudal autocracy of the old culture to a Christian nation governed by a constitutional monarchy, with rights of suffrage and land ownership extended to all classes of people. In the transition, the socio-religious character of the ancient culture was swept away; and most of its material aspects had begun to disappear.[2]

It is true that some of the missionaries and their families profited from the reforms they had advocated. In 1849 the American

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[1] Morgan, Hawaii, 139; Lawrence H. Fuchs, Hawaii Pono: A Social History (New York, 1961), 14.

[2] Dorothy B. Barrère, Summary of Hawaiian History and Culture (typewritten, Honolu, 1961), 85.

Board proposed that the Hawaiian Mission should become independent of the home treasury, and many missionaries became concerned over their security in old age. Others had long resented the necessity of being dependent upon donations for support. "We think it would be better for American missionaries everywhere to be allowed to hold property, and honorably help themselves," said one expression of missionary opinion.[1]

Thus the missionaries and their children and other relatives were among the foreigners who began to acquire property by gift from the chiefs or by purchase at low prices. As early as 1850 the Honolulu Times, an anti-missionary weekly, advised persons wishing to obtain land in the islands to "Go to Boston and be appointed a missionary."[2] In 1852 there were 20 missionaries who owned no land and 16 others who among them had acquired 7,886 acres.

This entrance of certain "Pilgrims" into land speculation and the interest shown by many, particularly the younger generation, in business and agriculture were not unaccompanied by complaints back home and in the islands about "worldliness," but on the whole even the missionaries themselves saw no wrongdoing in these activities. "The disposition to accumulate is human, it is American and more; properly guarded and for right ends it is Bible," wrote Dr. Judd in 1852.[3]

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[1] Cheever, *op. cit.*, 79.

[2] Adams, *op. cit.*, 43

[3] Gerrit P. Judd, *The Letters of Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, 1827-1872 (Fragments II, Honolulu, 1911)*, 193.

Thrift and enterprise were what the missionaries preached to the natives, and they believed they were setting a good example. By improving their lands and experimenting in agriculture, they hoped to show the Hawaiians how to progress.

In summing up the net effect of the missionary effort, it is difficult not to agree with Robert Louis Stevenson, who wrote that "with all their deficiency of candour, humour,and common sense, the missionaries are the best and most useful white's in the Pacific." And after reviewing the results of missionary activity in bringing order to the Hawaiian government, there seems to be much justice in the recent statement of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association that the missionaries pointed the way "down the path that has ultimately led us to Statehood."[1]

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[1] Adams, op. cit., 44.

Chapter IV

"Sugar Engrosses Everything"

The funeral procession of Kamehameha III wound through the streets of Honolulu with an impressive display of the ancient Hawaiian pomp and ceremony. But the hearts of the people were not in the spectacle. By 1854 even the carefree natives could see that their days of power were done, that the show of former glory was only a sham.

The population of the islands was at a new low. The census of 1853 revealed a total of 73,138 -- a drop of more than 35,000 since the previous count in 1835. The prophecyof a native priest that "the hibiscus shall grow, the coral shall spread and stretch forth its branches, but man shall cease," was repeated mournfully through the kingdom.[1]

Although the foreigners numbered only about one fortieth of the population, they already held most of the political power. Dr. Judd had been eminently successful in his attempt to give stability to the government by introducing foreigners into the key offices, so much so that native Hawaiians were practically eliminated from the cabinet. But Judd had hoped that the natives could gradually be trained to govern themselves; most of his successors in high office had little desire to be ruled by Hawaiians. Alert and intelligent, the natives were guick to detect this prejudice, and they resented it.

Even before the Great Mahele, large tracts of land had been transferred to foreigners under long lease. With few exceptions, the Hawaiians did not follow the lead of the whitesin developing plantations, but they were deeply concerned at the passage of land to foreign control. An old Hawaiian saw an American sighting distances from the mountains to the sea in 1847 and complained, "They are measuring our lands and even our mountains; they are all slipping from us -- and where are the Kanakas going to live."[1] After the land legislation of 1848 and 1850 the proportion of land owned by foreigners progressively increased. Sixty-four per cent of the government lands sold before 1886 went to foreigners; and by 1896 they owned 57 per cent of all taxed lands. An additional large percentage was controlled by lease.

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[1] Morgan, Hawaii, 120.

Such factors caused a growing native resentment against foreigners in general and against the missionaries in particular. This antipathy against the puritans from New England was shared by the young and handsomely bearded Kamehameha IV, who formally acceeded to the throne on January 11, 1855. Raised under strict missionary control, he was intelligent and well educated -- and thoroughly bored with sermons and temperance lectures. "Having been compelled to be good when a boy," sadly commented his mentor Dr. Judd in 1861, "he is determined not to be good when a man."[2]

During a trip abroad while still a youth, the new king had developed a strong admiration for the forms of British government and church. He dreamed of recreating in Honolulu the aristocratic glitter of the Court of St. James. On the other hand, his dislike of Americans had been sharpened when a conductor on a New York railroad had mistaken him for a Negro and ordered him out of the car.

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[1] Stella Jones, "Economic History of Hanalei" (Typewritten, for Community Studies of Kauai, 1945).

[2] Judd, Hawaii, 83.

Thus the reign of Kamehameha IV marked the end of American missionary predominance in the Hawaiian government. While several of his chief advisors were Americans, he gradually drifted away from their influence, and at his death in 1863 there was not a single American in the cabinet. His closest advisors were British, and his reign resulted in a revival of British ascendency in island politics.

Kamehameha IV's rule started auspiciously enough. In 1856, at a joyful ceremony in Kawaiahao Church, he married Emma Rooke, amiable granddaughter of John Young and a descendant of the Kamehameha line. The early death of their child and other domestic tragedies, however, soon ended their happiness and turned their minds more deeply toward religion, resulting in the introduction of the Episcopal Church and its rise to a position of prominence.

Upon the premature death of Kamehameha IV in 1863 he was succeeded by his brother, who took the name Kamehameha V. A "portly and positive bachelor," the new ruler was to be the last monarch to bear the name of the founder of the kingdom. Experienced in the ways of government, energetic, and capable, he brought to the throne the same pro-British and anti-missionary prejudice which had marked his brother's reign. More important, he believed he should revive the benevolent despotism of his grandfather, Kamehameha the Great, and rule as an autocrat for the good of his people.

At his accession he refused to swear to uphold the liberal Constitution of 1852, which, among other things, provided for universal manhood suffrage. He feared that the vote in the hands of the landless would lead to demagoguery, then to a republic, and then to annexation by the United States. "Hawaii has scarcely emerged from a feudal state," he declared, "and already the American influence pushes us toward a republic."[1]

When a constitutional convention in 1864 failed to produce a document to his liking, he dissolved it. "I will give you a Constitution," he told the members; and a week later he signed a new instrument of government. It strengthened the royal power and provided property and educational qualifications for legislators and voters. The missionaries, their noses already out of joint at being replaced in influence by the Anglicans, were dismayed at this setback for the American democratic principles they had sponsored. They pointed out with heat that if the king could give a new constitution he could also take it away at his whim. Dr. Judd, reflecting the attitude of the foreigners who realized that they could not win influence in the government unless the power of the king were confined, predicted disorders, but in reality the new constitution proved to be a stabilizing factor and remained in force for 23 years.

Two actions demonstrate the king's sincere desire to rule well. In 1865 he refused to approve a proposed bill which would have removed the penalties for supplying liquor to natives. "I will never sign the death warrant of my people," he announced. During the same year he signed the law which resulted in the establishment of a leper colony on Molokai to cope with the scourge which had appeared some years earlier.

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[1] A. Grove Day, Hawaii and Its People (New York, 1955), 150.

Kamehameha V, "the last great chief of the olden type," died in 1872 without a designated heir to succeed him. It was left for the legislature to select a new king from the nobility, but the people were given a chance to express their preference at a plebiscite held on January 1, 1873. The popular favorite was Prince W. C. Lunalilo, the large, affable, but also frail and sensitive, high chief familiarily known to all as "Prince Bill." His election was almost a foregone conclusion, since the natives responded to the new responsibility in the traditional manner by giving their support to the highest ranking chief. Mourners returning home from Kamehameha V's funeral, "hugging their unfinished gin bottles," were heard to state that "of course" Lunalilo would be the next king. Nevertheless another chief, David Kalakaua, conducted a spirited campaign, urging the people "not to be led by foreigners" and promising to put native Hawaiians into governmental offices. Understanably, the foreign residents breathed easier when Lunalilo, "the People's King," was swept into office by a unanimous vote.

The new reign opened propitiously as far as the foreign interests were concerned. Lunalilo was friendly to Americans, and they composed the majority of his cabinet. He proposed to abolish property qualifications for voting and took steps toward restoring many provisions of the liberal constitution of 1852. Yet there was an uneasy realization that the precedent of electing the king inaugurated a potential threat, since the numerically superior native population, showing ever-increasing signs of nationalism, might on another occasion vote in an anti-foreign candidate.

One of the most significant facts of Hawaiian history is the paradoxical one that during the very years 1854-1872 when American influence was practically eliminated from the government, the Americanization of Hawaii went on more rapidly than ever before. This Americanization was partly cultural. The missionaries, the traders, the sailors had introduced American books, American songs, American customs, and even American holidays. A visitor from the United States noted that "Honolulu is as much an American town as any town in this country."[1]

But even more, Americanization was economic. As the influence of the missionaries faded, that of the trader and the planter came to the fore. The two influences combined to forge the Hawaiian society which existed until World War II.

From the 1830's until the outbreak of the American Civil War, the principal stimulus to the Hawaiian economy and the greatest source of wealth was whaling, an industry almost completely dominated by Americans. The peak period of this trade came between 1843 and 1860. The whalers demanded vast quantities of firewood and prodigious amounts of vegetables, fruit, and meat. Diversified agriculture was stimulated; and farms flourished on the temperate flanks of Haleakala and other mountains.

Then, with the opening shots of the Great Rebellion, this golden age suddenly ended. The price of beef and other farm products plummeted, and soon several business houses closed and left the islands. Although there was a partial recovery of the whaling trade after the war, the business soon went into a permanent decline due to rising costs, depletion of the whaling grounds, competition from petroleum products, and a combination of other causes. With the removal of this last effective spur to general farming, agriculture went through an uncertain state of transition. After experiments in sheep, rice,and other products, attention was concentrated on sugar. This latter crop quickly became Hawaii's new chief source of wealth, and its domination of the economy led directly to ever closer ties with the United States and, eventually, to annexation.

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[1] William Adam Russ, Jr., The Hawaiian Revolution (1893-94) (Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania, 1959), 5.

The discovery of the crop best suited to Hawaii's climate, labor supply, and market was a long and painful process which brought disaster to many enterprising and hopeful planters. Repeated attempts to develop cotton as a crop and manufacturing industry were made from 1812 until after the Civil War, but despite promising yields Hawaiian cotton could not compete in price with that raised in the southern United States. Coffee was first planted on Oahu about 1817, then on the Kona Coast of Hawaii, and then, from about 1835 to 1845, on a large scale on Kauai; but again production proved difficult and uneconomical. The California Gold Rush provided a ready market for white potatoes and other vegetables, but the boom soon collapsed. Wheat, silk, rice, tobacco, and even pineapples were other crops which were tried but which failed to provide a solid basis for the island economy.

Only cattle raising proved able to compete with sugar as a long-range, large-scale agricultural enterprise. Livestock introduced by Vancouver and other mariners increased rapidly in the Hawaiian environment until they actually became a hazard to agriculture. Ranching was one form of labor which the Hawaiians entered into with joy; and before 1830 they had absorbed the techniques of the cowboy from vaqueros brought in from Mexico and California. Between 1850 and 1870, particularly, the industry developed rapidly, both on ranches owned by whites and native chiefs and on government lands where cattle ran wild. The roughness of the mountain slopes used by the cattlemen prevented the ranges from being absorbed by the expanding sugar industry, but at the same time the capacity of the ranges was comparatively fixed. Thus the cattle industry reached maturity by the early 1870's, and production was relatively stable during the remainder of the century.

Meanwhile, sugar had been coming to the fore. Cook had found sugar cane growing wild and being cultivated by the natives on a small scale in 1778, and from that time many foreign residents and visitors dreamed of becoming rich through sugar cultivation. A Chinese visitor on Lanai is said to have produced a little sugar as early as 1802; and there are records of sugar manufacture by crude methods on Oahu in 1819 and through the 1820's on both that island and on Maui. An enterprising but tubercular English agriculturist named John Wilkinson set out 100 acres of cane in Manoa Valley in 1825 under the patronage of the local governor, but he soon died; and his successors, making rum from the product, ran afoul of the missionary influence and saw their fields forcibly planted to sweet potatoes.

Such early ventures were of little commercial importance. The real beginning of the sugar industry came in 1835 when Peter Allan Brinsmade, William Ladd, and William Hooper -- all New Englanders with missionary connections who had come to Honolulu in 1833 to establish a "mercantile trading house" -- decided that the greatest commercial opportunities in the islands lay in agriculture. Under the name of Ladd & Co. they leased 980 acres of land at Koloa, on the island of Kauai, and established "Hawaii's first large-scale sugar plantation."

After overcoming many obstacles, the young manager, William Hooper, got his fields and the accompanying mill in successful production, only to see the whole enterprise lost when the firm overextended itself financially. But in 1848 the Koloa Plantation came into the ownership of Dr. Robert W. Wood, who amply demonstrated that sugar production could be profitable. Ladd & Co. inaugurated the Hawaiian practice of operating and financing plantations by central agencies in Honolulu; and the methods devised by Hooper for housing and caring for laborers set a pattern which was followed by the entire industry for more than a century.

The Koloa Plantation stimulated other ventures in sugar throughout the islands. With land ownership made possible by the Great Mahele, there soon followed the period in which "hard-driving missionaries and sons of missionaries, Yankee sea captains and whalers," and enterprising German, Irish, British, and Norwegian immigrants started plantations and the mercantile houses which went with them. Sugar production increased rapidly, with exports rising from a reported 2 tons in 1837 to 288 tons in 1840 and 722 in 1860. These quantities were in addition to those consumed locally and to the very substantial amounts of molasses exported. By 1861 there were 22 plantations in operation, and production, stimulated by high prices during the Civil War, boomed. By 1865 exports were up tenfold, to 7,659 tons. In 1875 they amounted to 12,540 tons.

This expansion was made possible only by a number of technical improvements which enabled Hawaiian sugar to compete with that grown in the Philippines and in other countries where labor or transportation costs were lower. The first major irrigation ditch was placed in operation at Lihue, Kauai, in 1856; better varieties of cane stocks were imported; and a deep plow, centrifugal machines, steam power, large-scale fertilization, the vacuum pan, and a number of other innovations were introduced during the 1850's and 1860's.

It quickly became apparent that sugar was a big business, requiring large quantities of capital for large-scale operations and improvements. There was no chance for the small farmer in sugar. Producing sugar was also an integrated operation, requiring mills close to the fields. Thus a trend toward centralized control and toward larger and fewer plantations eventually developed.

In the early days of the industry individual planters generally attempted to market their sugar through sea captains; and they ordered their supplies, machinery, and equipment directly from the sources, often from the United States or Europe. But plantation managers had little time for such commercial matters, and gradually they entrusted these functions to the Honolulu mercantile houses with which they did business. The traders, left at loose ends by the decline of whaling, were glad to find new occupations; and those with capital soon began to finance the continuously expanding plantations. In this manner developed the agency system which became such a characteristic feature of Hawaiian economy.

One of the first factors was Hackfeld & Company, a German-financed firm which was reorganized as American Factors, Ltd., during the first World War. Another old firm, C. Brewer & Company, Ltd., became the agent for 3 plantations in 1863 and quickly found sugar "more profitable than whaleships." Other prominent agencies which have survived were Theo. H. Davies & Company, Ltd.; and Castle & Cooke, Ltd., which originated in 1851. These four firms, together with Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd., which began informally in the 1870's, later comprised the "Big Five" sugar agencies which came to dominate the industry.

Another important outgrowth of the expansion in sugar production was the mass importation of foreign laborers to work the plantations. This movement eventually resulted in the Hawaiians becoming a minority group in their own land, and it vitally affected the social, political, and economic life of the islands.

The difficulty of obtaining an adequate supply of efficient -- which to the plantation managers often meant cheap and servile -- labor was a major handicap to the industry from the outset. The native Hawaiians, as their services as sailors and cowboys demonstrated, could be superb workers when they chose to be, but they displayed little enthusiasm for the steady, backbreaking toil required for successful cane raising and harvesting. The declining population contributed to the problem, and some persons feared that a severe labor shortage was in the offing. One foreigner stated in 1863, "Unless we get more population, we are a doomed nation."

The British-born Hawaiian foreign minister expressed doubt that the native race could "withstand the shock which the overwhelming wave of Anglo-Saxon energy, enterprise, and cupidity has given it." Laws against the emigration of natives and providing for contract labor demonstrate that the situation was taken seriously.

The earliest Chinese contract laborers were members of a group of about 300 coolies imported during 1852. Their reception by the planters was at first enthusiastic. They were "quite, able, and willing men," it was reported, and by the end of 1865, 1,306 of them had been brought to the islands. Soon, however, there began to be complaints. In addition to a "considerable disposition to hang themselves," the newcomers tended to drift off the plantations when their contracts expired, entering into "distressful competition with the whites and Hawaiians as merchants, storekeepers, mechanics, and artisans."[1] They also displayed "cunning" by beginning to press for "advantages."

Disenchanted, the planters and the Hawaiian government began to seek more docile workers. Agents probed the distant corners of the earth, with far-reaching results. South Sea islanders were tried, unsuccessfully. In 1868 a group of 148 Japanese was recruited by the Hawaiian consul in Japan. The importation of Portuguese began in 1878; and large-scale recruitment of Japanese started about 1885. Between 1877 and 1890 about 55,000 laborers were brought into the islands. By the latter year the total population of 90,000 included 15,000 Chinese, 12,000 Japanese, and 9,000 Portuguese. As the workers in each nationality group became aclimated, they showed more independence; and thus the Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese successively fell into disfavor, and the planters sought new sources of labor. The employers gradually developed an interest in recruiting workers of mixed races who "could less readily unite over issues of wages or work conditions."[1]

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[1] Morgan, op. cit., 190.

This burgeoning mercantile and agricultural economy was snugly in American hands. In 1844, four of the six general or commission merchants in Honolulu were American; and of 15 other shops, 11 were operated by Americans. Not even the powerful Hudson's Bay Company -- whose Honolulu agency, opened in 1834, was called _Aienui_, "the big debt," by the natives who ran up large bills there -- could restore the old British ascendancy, although its operations were aggressively competetive. The whaling business of the 1840's to 1860's was largely American, and in 1863 the American Minister in Honolulu reported that at least 80 per cent of Hawaii's foreign commerce was under American control.

The same condition came to prevail in the dominant sugar industry. In 1893 the capitalization of all the incorporated sugar interests in the islands amounted to $28,274,000. Of this total value, $21,554,975, or more than two-thirds, was controlled by Americans and Hawaiian-born Americans. British interests, amonnting to only $4,303,218, were a poor second. Equally significant was the fact that the United States was the chief market for Hawaiian sugar. By 1875 Hawaii was annually exporting about 24,000,000 pounds of sugar to the United States and only about 1,000,000 pounds to all other nations. Such economic facts shaped the course of Hawaiian political and social history from the 1860's until the annexation of the islands to the United States.

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[1] Morgan, _op. cit._, 191.

This economic situation explains why the foreigners, chiefly Americans, were determined to exert a stronger influence in the Hawaiian government after the death of the autocratic Kamehameha V in 1872. The chief bar to their greater prosperity was the American tariff on sugar; and as early as 1848 they began a long campaign to persuade Washington to sign a reciptocity treaty which would admit Hawaiian-grown sugar and other articles without duty. Such a treaty could not be obtained without the cooperation of the Hawaiian government. Also, the approval of the royal government was required for the continued importation of contract labor; and further, the merchants and planters wanted a stable, responsible, and economical government to assure preservation of property rights.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many American residents came to feel the annexation to the United States was the only sound solution to their problem. In February, 1873, a Honolulu newspaper reported that there was "unquestionably" a large party, "respectable in point of wealth and position, that is now openly and earnestly advocating . . . annexation."[1] But the time was not yet ripe for such a measure.

The foreigners were somewhat reassured by the pro-American leanings and liberal tendencies displayed by King Lunalilo upon his accession in 1873; but after only a year and 25 days in office he died early in 1874. Like his predecessor, he had refused to name an heir; and the throne was again to be filled by vote of the legislature. Many foreigners were dismayed by the instability of the situation. In later years some of them fancied that after the extinction of the Kamehameha line, they had permitted Hawaii "to continue the monarchical form of government as a matter of courtesy rather than right."[1] But in fact they were still too weak to end the monarchy and had to settle for supporting the candidate who seemed least dangerous to their interests.

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[1] Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, 20.

There were two contenders: Prince Kalakaua, the nationalistic chief who had been defeated by Lunalilo in 1873; and Queen Dowager Emma, widow of Kamehameha IV. Though loved and respected by both natives and foreigners, Queen Emma was believed by many to be favorable to England; and it was feared that her accession would reduce chances for a reciprocity treaty with the United States. Thus the Americans, in the cabinet and out, interefered to assure the election of Kalakaua. Sanford B. Dole later said that the little steamer, the Kilauea, owned by an American, was sent around the island's to collect the legislators before popular support could crystallize behind Queen Emma; and at an election held only 9 days after Lunalilo's death, Kalakaua was duly chosen as king.[2]

When the results were announced to the crowd outside the courthouse in Honolulu, an angry roar, "as though a stick had been twisted in a giant beehive," rose from Queen Emma's supporters; and a riot of joyful ferocity ensued. Order was restored by marines landed from American and British warships in the harbor, but the fundamental weakness of the monarchy had been exposed for all to see, and a precedent of armed interference to protect foreign interests had been established.

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[1] Honolulu Commercial Advertiser as quoted in Russ, op. cit., 18.

[2] Sanford B. Dole, Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution (Honolulu, 1936), 34-37.

Kalakaua at first cooperated with the Americans who had assisted him to power. His initial cabinet was formed of honest and able men acceptable to the foreign community. And when in June, 1874, he received a petition from nearly every important factor, merchant, and planter in the kingdom requesting him to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the United States, he responded favorably. In fact, he went to Washington himself "to throw his ample bulk and jolly nature" behind the official Hawaiian envoys charged with negotiating the treaty.

The Grant administration and Congress proved not particularly receptive to the proposal despite a barrage of Hawaiian propoganda. The Hawaiians pointed to indications that Great Britain might be building up her interests in the islands. Having sent about a third of their sugar to Australia, New Zealand, and British Columbia in 1873, they threatened to send their entire crop to the British colonies in 1875-1876. But the Hawaiian market was too small to tempt the United States into a reciprocity treaty; and Louisiana sugar planters and New Englanders trading in West Indian sugar fought the measure with tooth and nail.

In the end it apparently was the political arguments which prevailed. Senator George Sewell Boutwell of Massachusetts pleaded, "If we reject this treaty we transfer these islands either to France or Great Britain, and we diminish our markets, we diminish our political power, we limit the influence of our institutions, we circumscribe American ideas."[1] And, as finally approved, the treaty contained a clause which gave the United States ultimate control over Hawaii's foreign policy by providing that, as long as the agreement should remain in effect, the kingdom should not lease or otherwise dispose of any port or territory, or grant any special rights or privileges therein, to any other nation.

This reciprocity treaty, which went into effect on September 9, 1876, has been termed "the most important event in the last twenty years of the Hawaiian Kingdom."[2] Perhaps these words are an understatement. The treaty was certainly the first firm and positive step toward annexation. It placed Hawaii firmly in the political and economic orbit of the United States, removing the possibility of foreign control and so inextricably binding the kingdom's economy with that of the United States that union was virtually inevitable.

And the treaty had another significant effect. It resulted in a tremendous and sudden boom in the sugar industry. Now sugar became "as profitable as gold mines were only hoped to be."[3]

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[1] Judd, Hawaii, 95.

[2] Ibid., 93

[3] Morgan, op. cit., 214.

About 20,000 acres of additional land were put in production within 6 years. Sugar output more than doubled in 4 years. Fresh capital flowed into the islands, and vast improvements, such as the Hamakua Ditch on Maui, were undertaken to swell production still further. Within 15 years tonnage had increased tenfold, and thereafter it doubled every 10 years. In 1891 the kingdom sent 274,983,295 pounds of sugar to the United States and only 285 pounds to the rest of the world.

By 1898 nearly two-thirds of all labor in Hawaii was employed on sugar plantations. All other enterprises took second place to sugar. Sugar was king. Taro patches, small home plots, coffee plantations, rice fields -- all were swallowed up before advancing sugar, with widespread social and economic effects. Observing these conditions, one contemporary historian could only say, "Sugar engrosses everything."[1] The social and economic leadership which once had belonged to the chiefs and then to the missionaries had passed to the planters.

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[1] Russ, op. cit., 33.

Chapter V

"This Party-spirited Settlement"

The Hawaiian ship of state did not reach the safe harbor of United States protection, assured by the reciprocity treaty of 1876, without passing through many squalls and narrowly escaping capture by European powers. Yet, a review of her progress through the stormy seas of foreign relations reveals that for nearly a century she had been steering a general course in the direction of the American Republic.

The first Europeans to touch the Hawaiian Islands were struck by the apparent happiness of the natives and sensed that Western civilization and rule would introduce a blight into this idyllic Eden. Captain Cook expressed the hope that foreign governments would not be established over the Pacific isles, and he made no attempt to take possession of the Hawaiian chain for Great Britain.

The French explorer, the Count de La Perouse, was even more emphatic in voicing his views. Anchoring his two frigates off southern Maui, this great navigator who had aided the Americans during their war for independence, sent a force ashore on May 30, 1786. Evidently his men were the first Europeans to set foot on Maui, but La Perouse none the less refused to take possession in the name of the king of France. "The customs of Europeans on such occasions are completely ridiculous," he commented in his journal; he preferred to leave to the sovereignty of its own people an island "fertilized by the painful exertions of its inhabitants, and for many ages the tomb of their ancestors."[1]

But such humanitarian reflections of the Age of Enlightenment did not long prevail. When the English explorer George Vancouver touched the islands during 1792-1794 he gave Kanahameha some sound advice and even assisted the king in effecting a reconciliation with his favorite wife. The native ruler was so impressed with English wisdom and rectitude that, with the consent of his chiefs, he offered to place the island of Hawaii under British protection. Vancouver promptly accepted the "cession" and hoisted the British flag. Probably the king had merely intended to obtain a British protectorate in order to strengthen his hand against his enemies; and, in any event, the British government never confirmed the action. The only long-range result was to create a somewhat hazy tradition of British pre-eminence in the islands.

A more serious attempt to bring the islands under European rule was made two decades later when the Russian bear stretched out a paw from Alaska and nearly snatched up Hawaii. Seeking foodstuffs for its northern settlements, the Russian American Company began to send trading ships to the islands about 1807; and there is evidence that at least as early as 1809 the Russians were thinking about making a settlement there. The idea of a protectorate apparently was in the minds of at least some Russian merchants and officials.

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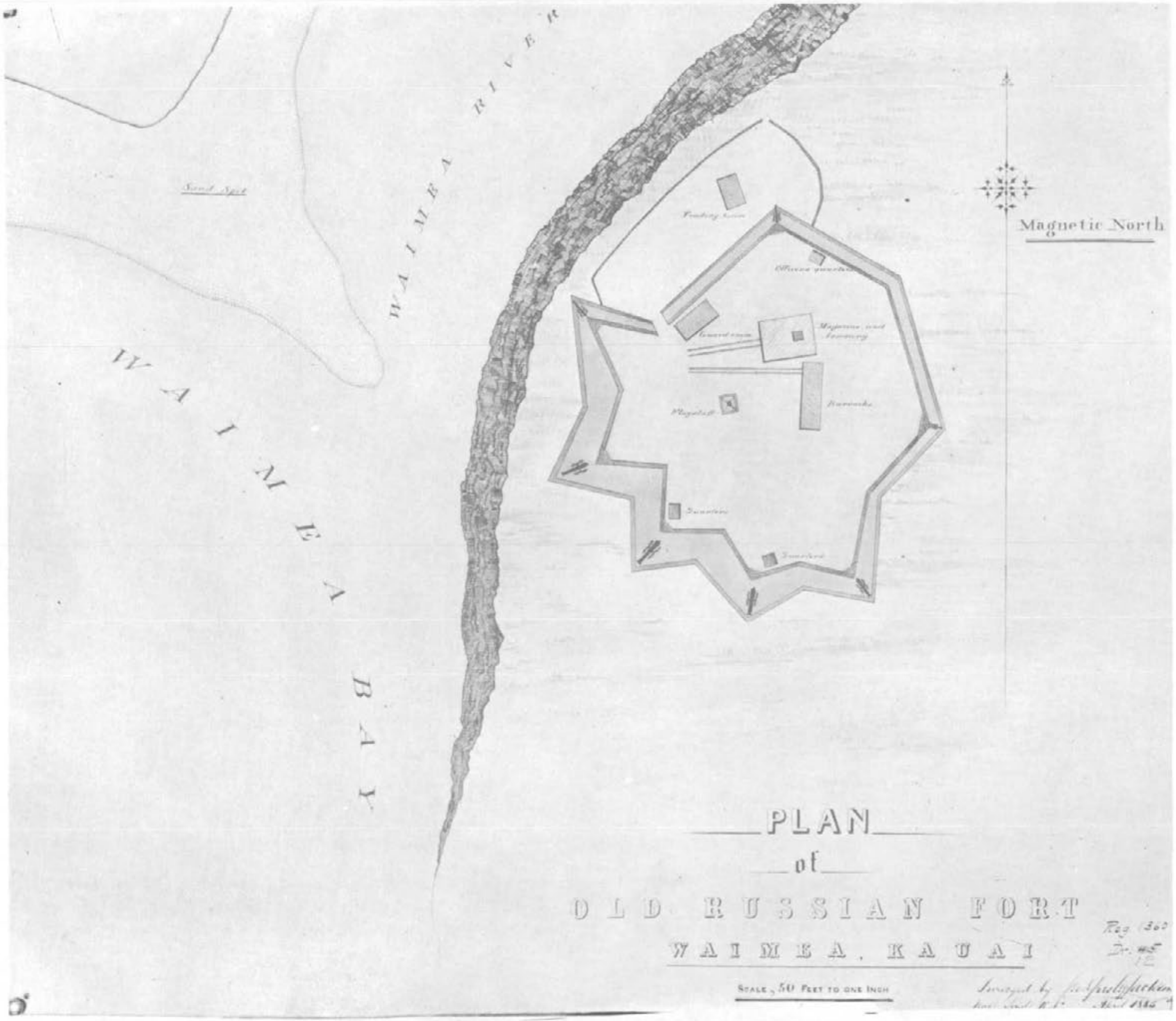
[1] Mathurin Dondo, La Perouse in Maui (Wailuku, Maui, 1959), 45.

At any rate, Dr. Georg Anton Scheffer, an overambitious and overbearing company agent, persuaded the king of Kauai in 1816 to grant extensive privileges on that island and on Oahu to the Russians; and soon the Russian flag was waving over two forts on Kauai. Alarmed by Scheffer's activities and encouraged to take action by American traders, Kamehameha had Scheffer expelled in 1817. Scheffer's bungling caused the Russians to disavow his actions. The government policy apparently became one of waiting for a more propitious moment; but the intervention of American interests to counteract the company's move was an indication that a chance for effective Russian action would never again appear.

The arrival of the first American whalers in 1819 and the coming of the missionaries during the next year were to lead quickly to American pre-eminence in island affairs. The first official United States representative was dispatched to Hawaii in 1820. One result was the negotiation of a treaty of navigation and friendship in 1826, but the agreement was not ratified by the United States. However, the convention was notable as being the first international compact signed by Hawaii, and the kingdom long continued to abide by its terms.

British and French interests did not intend to let the American bid for power go unchallenged. Great Britain strengthened the old tradition of alliance by showering attentions on the Hawaiian monarchs. In 1822 a six-gun schooner was donated to the kingdom; and


Sand Spit
WAIMEA RIVER
WAIMEA BAY
Trading house
Officers quarters
Guard room
Magazine and Armory
Flagstaff
Barracks
Magnetic North
PLAN
of
OLD RUSSIAN FORT
WAIMEA, KAUAI
Scale, 50 Feet to one Inch
Reg 1360
Surveyed by
April 1885

Plan of Old Russian Fort built in 1817 at Waimea, Kauai, as drawn in 1885.

Hawaii State Archives Photograph

and in 1824 King Liholilo and his consort were feted in London. After the unfortunate deaths of the royal couple, their bodies were returned in state aboard a British frigate.

France found an opportunity to interfere when the Hawaiian kingdom banned Catholic priests. The French government considered itself the protector of Catholic missionaries in the Pacific and chose to believe that the Hawaiians had committed a national affront. Captain C. P. T. Laplace was dispatched in the 60-gun frigate Artēmise with orders to use force, if necessary, to demonstrate "the wrath of France." Arriving off Honolulu in 1839, he trained his guns on the town and compelled the authorities to sign a treaty recognizing Catholicism, permitting importation of French merchandise, including liquors, and giving French lawbreakers the right of trial by juries of foreigners. Laplace duly noted the increasing American influence and reported to his superiors that "the Sandwich Islands will belong some day to the masters of California."[1]

Following this incident, continued blusterings and intrigues by French civilians and officials convinced many Hawaiian residents, both native and foreign, that France would "take the first reasonable opportunity, to reduce the islands to subjection."[2]

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[1] Foster Rhea Dulles, America in the Pacific (Boston, 1932), 149.

[2] Gustavus Hines, Life on the Plains of the Pacific (Buffalo, 1851),84.

Richard Charlton, the British Consul, seemed determined to bring Hawaii under the rule of his government, and he stirred up a dispute over a land claim with the object, it seemed to many, of inducing Great Britain to intervene in Hawaiian affairs. These maneuverings, as well as the continued contests among the citizens of several nations for control of the royal government, gave an unusual bitterness to the rivalries of trade. Business and policies in Honolulu were conducted in an atmosphere of "short-tempered bickering," recrimination, and white-hot argument.

The officials of the Hudson's Bay Company advised their representatives in the islands to avoid entanglements in these political squabbles but admitted that detachment probably was impossible. During a visit to Honolulu in 1842 Sir George Simpson, the Company's American governor, assessed the situation. "I am not quite clear," he wrote to his traveling companion, "that during the fortnight we have been here, we have escaped being contaminated by the political atmosphere of this party-spirited Settlement."[1]

Thoroughly alarmed by the foreign threat and torn by the resultant internal dissension, the royal government dispatched a mission to the United States, France, and Great Britain to negotiate treaties recognizing Hawaiian independence. Sailing in mid-1842, the commissioners first visited Washington. There they found that the United

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[1] E. E. Rich (ed.), The Letters of John McLoughlin . . . Second Series, 1839-44 (Hudson's Bay Record Society Publications, VI; London, 1943), 280.

States was already alert to the importance of the islands to American whaling and trading operations. Although there was yet no disposition to annex such a distant land, the country was determined to protect its growing interests in the islands and would not restrict its freedom of action by joining other nations in a convention guaranteeing Hawaiian independence. Secretary of State Webster announced that the United States was more interested in the islands than any other country could be, and he declared that Hawaii should not be brought under the exclusive control of any foreign power.

President Tyler later amplified this statement by announcing that while the United States did not intend to acquire the islands, it would view with dissatisfaction any attempt by another nation to take possession. This bold stand, taken at a time when the United States had not yet expanded its boundaries to the Pacific, was the "first official indication" that "we considered American relations with the islands in a somewhat different category from the relations between Hawaii and the rest of the world."[1]

The wisdom of the Hawaiian mission was soon evident. In August, 1842, a French warship arrived, and her commander, Captain S. Mallet, made demands which would virtually have given French residents a controlling influence in the government. The king refused to yield, stating that a new treaty with France was to be negotiated. Captain Mallet apparently hesitated to act under these circumstances, and he soon departed.

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[1] Dulles, op. cit., 150.

Another and more serious test quickly occurred. British consul Charlton had complained that British subjects in Honolulu, including himself, had been treated unfairly by the Hawaiian government; and during February, 1843, Captain Lord George Paulet in H.M.S. Carysfort arrived to force satisfaction. The demands made by this condescending young man with "short chestnut hair curling all over his head" were so drastic that no sovereign power could have accepted them. He refused to be put off by pleas that a treaty was even then under negotiation in London; and it appeared to all that he was determined to force annexation.

Powerless to fight back against the Carysfort's threatened broadsides, the Hawaiian monarch made a shrewd move. Undoubtedly upon the advice of the former missionary, Dr. Gerrit Judd, he offered to cede his kingdom to Great Britain temporarily until the affair could be referred to London. Paulet fell into the trap and accepted the cession. The Hawaiian flag was replaced by the standard of Great Britain, and British forces marched into the fort in Honolulu. Their band loudly played the air, "Isle of Beauty, fare thee well," a "refinement of cruelty" which, said Mrs. Judd, "could only emanate from a woman."[1]

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[1] Judd, Hawaii, 64.

For five months Paulet ruled the islands in a high-handed fashion. Meanwhile, Hawaiian appeals for aid went both to the United States and Great Britain. The American government shot off a protest to London, the American minister there being told that the United States might feel justified "in interfering by force" to prevent the islands from "falling into the hands of one of the great powers of Europe."[1] Early in July the U. S. S. Constellation appeared in Honolulu, and Commander Lawrence Kearney protested Paulet's action and saluted the Hawaiian flag.

Meanwhile Rear Admiral Richard Thomas, commander of the British Pacific squadron, had ascertained that Great Britain had no desire to interfere in the Hawaiian government, and he hastened to Honolulu to take corrective measures. He repudiated Paulet's action, and at a colorful ceremony on July 31 the Hawaiian flag was once more raised to the breeze. The king and the chiefs celebrated the restoration of sovereignty by repairing to Kawaiahao Church for prayer; and the commoners went on a ten-day spree which, reported a seaman named Herman Melville, "beggars description."

During the same year, France and Great Britain concluded agreements to recognize Hawaiian independence; and the United States sent a full-fledged diplomatic agent to the islands, at the same time reaffirming America's vital interest in an independent Hawaii. In 1849 a treaty of friendship and commerce between Hawaii and the United States was signed and, this time, ratified.

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[1] Dulles, op. cit., 153.

This "complete recognition" of Hawaiian independence came almost as another French assault was being made on island sovereignty. After a series of troubles between the chauvinistic French consul and Hawaiian authorities, Rear Admiral L. de Tromelin landed troops in Honolulu and extensively damaged government buildings to demonstrate that France intended to enforce its demands. He sailed away, but another French warship arrived in 1851 and repeated the demands. This time Kamehameha III gave the American commissioner a sealed, provisional deed of session to be opened and acted upon should the French flag be raised; and the U. S.S. Vandalia prepared to defend the American banner should it be hoisted. The French found it convenient to modify their demands and withdraw.

This event marked the end of French attempts to dominate the islands by cannonballs. By 1850 it was becoming apparent to European observers that if Hawaii were to lose its independence it would be to the United States. Lord Palmerston is said to have told a Hawaiian delegation in that year that annexation to the United States was "the destiny of the Hawaiian Islands, arising from their proximity to the State of California and Oregon and natural dependence on those markets."[1]

The American State Department protested both of France's last demonstrations of force at Honolulu, but the Whig administration under President Fillmore was not expansionist in temperament and hastened to hand back the 1851 deed of session. The return of the Democrats to power in 1853, however, brought a change in policy. The United States at this time was showing an intensified interest in the Pacific, and Commodore Perry was recommending naval bases in the distant reaches of that sea. Public opinion on the Pacific Coast openly agitated for annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, and for a while there were rumors that California residents might take matters into their own hands through filibustering expeditions. Secretary of State William L. Marcy, determined to keep the eagle soaring after the expansion to Texas, Oregon, and California, instructed the minister in Paris to sound out the sentiment of the French government toward an American annexation of Hawaii; and early in 1854 he directed the American commissioner in Honolulu "to treat" for the transfer of the islands to the United States.

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[1] Dulles, op. cit., 157.

Meanwhile, sentiment for annexation was being fanned in Honolulu. Ever since the "fine hand" of the king's pro-American advisors had been made evident by the sealed cession document of 1851, the American party had pressed annexation on Kanmehameha III. Disturbed by the declining population, fears of European domination, threats of filibusters, and other discouraging circumstances which seemed to press him on every hand, the king expressed a willingness to abdicate and ordered his foreign minister to open negotiations with the American commissioner.

A treaty of annexation was actually prepared, but action was delayed by Hawaiian insistence on being admitted to the Union as a state and on payment of an annual pension of $300,000 by the United States to the king and principal chiefs. It was believed that the statehood provision was inserted by pro-English advisors who were determined to defeat annexation. At any rate, all immediate hope of ratification ended on December 15, 1854 when Kamehameha III died. His anti-American successor, Crown Prince Alexander, was known to be entirely unreceptive to the idea of bargaining away his right to rule.

Although this "first rehearsal" for annexation came to naught, Secretary Marcy tried to salvage something by negotiating a reciprocity treaty for trade in 1855. The Senate refused to approve it, largely due to the die-hard opposition of Louisiana sugar growers.

Following the Civil War the State Department was again in the hands of an expansionist, William H. Seward. In 1867 he cautiously advised the American minister in Honolulu that he might "receive overtures" looking toward annexation, but there was no popular support for such a move. A frustrated Seward was left to rail at the public's absorption with domestic matters to the exclusion "of the higher but more remote questions of national extension and aggrandizement."[1] Another reciprocity treaty was defeated during the same year because the Senate was too busy with Reconstruction, and, it seems, because certain senators feared that reciprocity might block ultimate annexation.

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[1] Dulles, op. cit., 162.

Although the American public appeared to have lost interest in "Manifest Destiny" during the 1860's and 1870's, there was a hard core of expansionists who looked forward to advancing the frontier into the Pacific. Even President Johnson advocated reciprocity as a guaranty of American interests "until the people of the islands shall of themselves, at one distant day, voluntarily apply for admission into the Union." In 1873 Generals John M. Schofield and B. S. Alexander recommended the acquisition of Pearl Harbor for both commercial and strategic reasons.

As a matter of fact, it was expansionists who provided much of the opposition to the reciprocity treaty which was submitted in 1875. It was largely to mollify these people who feared ratification would block annexation that the clause giving the United States control of Hawaiian foreign policy was inserted. Only then was the opposition placated; and the treaty was ratified in 1876 in the belief that it paved the way for future annexation.

Another step in American expansion toward Hawaii was made when the reciprocity treaty came up for renewal in 1884. Senate approval was not obtained until 1887 and then only after Hawaii agreed to give the United States exclusive right to use invaluable Pearl Harbor as a naval base.

Both England and France protested the Pearl Harbor cession and proposed a joint declaration guaranteeing Hawaiian neutrality and independence. This suggestion came during the very year in which the United States had proposed a similar tripartite arrangement for control of Samoa, yet Washington refused to consider it. Secretary of

State Bayard "made it clear that we could admit of no foreign restraint upon our Hawaiian policy whatever course we chose to adopt."[1]

As James G. Blaine had declared in 1881, Hawaii had become "an integral part of the American system, we could never consent to share what responsibility we had, and our position in the islands had to be maintained both because of our duty to the Hawaiians and because the islands represented the key to dominion of the Pacific. Benevolent neutrality rather than annexation or a protectorate was our policy, he concluded, but should this be found impracticable 'this Government would then unhesitatingly meet the altered situation by seeking an avowedly American solution.'"[2] Although many Hawaiians did not yet recognize it, their homeland was no longer an independent nation.

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[1] Dulles, op. cit., 164.

[2] Dulles, op. cit., 164.

Chapter VI

"Annexation . . . is Consummation"

An aura of good feeling surrounded the Hawaiian throne early in 1875 when gracious, imposing King Kalakaua returned from his gala visit to Washington, where his presence had done so much to create a favorable atmosphere for the reciprocity negotiations. But the "Merry Monarch's" honeymoon with his foreign subjects quickly ended. Soon he beganto act as if he did not realize that American influence was predominant in the islands and as if he had forgotten that American support had given him his crown.

A legislative act of 1874 had restored universal suffrage, with the result that the native Hawaiians found themselves possessed of an overwhelming majority of the votes. Although personally democratic as well as kingly, Kalakaua saw in this situation an opportunity to revive the old chiefly tradition of personal rule. He also hoped to restore the dominant position of the Hawaiian race and to reduce the influence of the foreigners whom, as a class, he heartily disliked. For more than a decade he skillfully appealed to the mass of voters and through his personal prestige, patronage, and catchwords was able to wield universal suffrage to great effect as a weapon of political control.

In 1876 Kalakaua took a step which foreshadowed one of the chief evils of his reign. As was his constitutional right, he dismissed his cabinet and replaced it by a new set of ministers. These men were capable, but the action set a precedent which was subject to abuse, as was proved two years later when the cabinet was again dismissed because it had refused to grant water rights on Maui to sugar magnate Claus Spreckels, who had won Kalakaua's good will through a personal loan. In 1880 the king once more overturned the ministry to place an Italian adventurer, Celso Caesar Moreno, at its head. Public outcry at this betrayal of "the principles of constitutional monarchy" was so great that Moreno was constrained to resign; but Kalakaua continued his habit of frequenty seeking ministers ever more amenable to his will, and whims.

The sugar boom which followed reciprocity brought revenues pouring into the royal treasury in quantities "almost sufficient" to meet the king's natural extravagence. One result of this prosperity was the decision to build a "proper" palace in Honolulu, and the cornerstone of the elaborate, "Polynesian baroque" Iolani Palace was laid in 1879. Another splurge made possible by reciprocity was Kalakaua's gala trip around the world in 1881.

The thrifty puritans of the "Missionary Party," as the leading foreign clique in Hawaii was known despite the fact that few of its members had been missionaries, were shocked by Kalakaua's wild expenditures. Yet even the Americans were at first inclined to look on tolerantly as the monarch ordered two jeweled crowns reputed to cost $10,000 apiece or purchased a battery of Austrian field guns for a reported $21,000. The tendency was to excuse such extravagences as merely expressions of the king's naturally high spirits, for it was difficult to dislike this ebullient monarch who could discuss archeaology and arts with Henry Adams "as well as though he had been a professor," and who could carry his liquor, according to his friend Robert Louis Stevenson, "like a mountain with a sparrow on its shoulders."

But after the king returned from his royal progress through the courts of the world, his actions became increasingly irresponsible and were no longer viewed with tolerant amusement. Expenditures such as the $30,000 appropriation for Kalakaua's elaborate coronation ceremony in 1883 seemed less harmless as time went on and as the national debt pushed up to beyond $2,000,000. The king fell under the influence of adventurers and opportunists who used their positions as royal drinking companions and poker game opponents to wangle favors, concessions, and government offices. One "rare and slick rascal" named Walter Murray Gibson actually controlled the Hawaiian government for five years.

Encouraged by Gibson's selfish flattery, Kalakaua began to dream of becoming Emperor of Polynesia. To make a show of force in the South Pacific he wasted $50,000 outfitting a warship for a disastrous voyage to Samoa. This rash venture was an outgrowth of Kalakaua's increasing racism. Such slogans as "Hawaii for the Hawaiians" were employed by Gibson and the king to rally native support behind the throne and to thwart foreign residents who wished to reform the government.

Viewed in the most charitable light, Kalakaua was an imprudent ruler. As scandals and corruption continued to mark his reign, he took no effective measures to correct the situation. Such "trivial" abuses as illegal land leases and the sale of public offices were even extended to include the marketing of exemptions which permitted lepers to escape exile to Molokai. The larger scandals included the repeal of the liquor laws and the sale of an opium monopoly. Several of the questionable transactions touched the ruling sugar interests to the quick. In 1882 the legislature permitted Claus Spreckels, an "outsider," to acquire 24,000 acres of crown land on Maui in settlement of a claim for a mere $10,000. The government also granted a subsidy to a Spreckels steamship line. By making loans to the King, Spreckels, who had moved into Hawaii with the hope of becoming the largest sugar producer, acquired additional influence.

As early as 1884 the foreigners organized a minority opposition, but they could not halt the king's wayward course by legislative means. About the beginning of 1887 a secret society called the Hawaiian League was formed, and its members, who included many native Hawaiians, acquired arms. An alliance was formed with the all-white militia unit, the Honolulu Rifles; and several rifle clubs were organized. The foreigners now controlled the most efficient military force in the kingdom, and they were ready for effective action.

The crisis came when it was learned that Kalakaua had profited personally from the sale of an opium monopoly. One faction of the Hawaiian League wished to march on the palace at once, overthrow the monarchy, and annex Hawaii to the United States; but the conservative wing insisted that the king should be given another chance providing he would agree to a limitation on his powers. A mass meeting of more than 2,500 persons, mostly foreigners, on June 30, 1887, unanimously demanded that Kalakaua dismiss his cabinet and agree to specified reforms. The king recognized that the ultimatum was backed by bayonets, and he capitulated. A new ministry was appointed at once, and a hurriedly drawn constitution was signed on July 6, 1887.

The Constitution of 1887 was a liberal document in one sense, in that the king could no longer dismiss his cabinet without the consent of the legislature, and the king's veto could be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the lawmakers. But thirteen years of experience under Kalakaua had disenchanted the foreigners with the old American ideal of universal suffrage, so vigorously supported by the missionaries. Under the new constitution the dominant part of the legislature, the House of Nobles, was elected by voters who possessed specified incomes or amounts of property. Foreigners who could meet these qualifications were allowed to vote even though they retained their foreign citizenships. Chinese and Japanese, however, were barred from the polls. In short, the reigns of government were placed firmly in the hands of the propertied foreigners.

The native Hawaiians deeply resented the aubordinate role forced on them by the "bayonet constitution," and they were humiliated by the circumstances under which their king had been shorn of his powers. Their attitude was summed up by Kalakaua's sister, Liliuokalani, who had been away attending Queen Victoria's Jubilee at the time of the 1887 reform action. When she returned to Honolulu, she said of the new constitution and of the Pearl Harbor amendment to the renewed reciprocity treaty, "It should not have been done."[1]

With "the desperate floundering of a people who feared extinction," the Hawaiians renewed their alliance with the king and sought some way to revive the royal powers. On July 30, 1889, a group of about 150 armed men under the command of a part-Hawaiian named Robert W. Wilcox seized the palace grounds, evidently with a view to restoring the Constitution of 1864. The cabinet called out the volunteer military companies, composed largely of foreigners, and soon rifle fire and dynamite bombs forced the rebels to surrender. When Wilcox was tried for treason, he was acquitted because of his claim that Kalakaua had sanctioned the uprising and "the king could do no wrong."

Unfortunately for the Reform Party, as the small but dominant foreign political group was called, its ranks were soon torn by dissension, and a number of foreign workers, opposed to the coolie labor policy of the planters, allied with the Hawaiians. Royalists dominated the legislature elected in 1890, and the Reform ministry was replaced by a compromise cabinet. The propertied foreigners had to admit political failure.

To "burst the bubble of Hawaiian content" still further, the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890, passed to reduce the surplus in the American Treasury, placed all sugar on the free list and gave a bounty of two cents a pound to American growers. Within a year the price of Hawaiian sugar was cut in half, and a severe depression gripped the island plantations. The growers, most of whom had previously resisted the thought of annexation because of possible adverse effects on the mass importation of contract labor, now agreed that their continued prosperity could only be assured by a union with the United States. Both the merchant and professional group in Honolulu and many of the planters were soon united in the belief that the future stability and well-being of the islands depended upon the overthrow of the monarchy and annexation. A secret Annexation Club was formed in 1892 to work toward this end.

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[1] Judd, Hawaii, 101.

The matter came to a head with the death of Kalakaua in 1891 and the succession of the dignified and strong-willed Queen Liliuokalani. The new ruler was even more of a nativist than her brother had been. She was unalterably opposed to the Constitution of 1887 and was determined to restore royal authority. Her goal was the patriotic one of continuing Hawaiian independence, but she failed to see that she was opposing a trend which had gone too far to stop.

After a long series of bickerings between the rival political groups for control of the cabinet, the queen, early in 1893, signed two controversial bills licensing opium and opening the door to the Louisiana lottery; and she appointed a ministry of her own supporters. These acts were offensive enough to the propertied white groups, but on January 14, 1893, Liliuokalani called a meeting of notables at the palace and announced her intention of promulgating a new constitution modeled after that of 1864. Her own ministers refused to support this authoritarian measure, and the foreigners decided that the time for decisive action had arrived.

A Committee of Safety, dominated by Honolulu lawyer, publisher, and missionary descendant Lorrin A. Thurston and other members of the

Annexation Club, was organized to guide affairs. A mass meeting of citizens on January 16 denounced the queen's actinn and authorized the Committee to protect "life, liberty, and property in Hawaii."

The committee added to the stature of their movement by selecting the soft-spoken but athletic Sanford Ballard Dole, a much-respected associate justice of the Hawaiian Supreme Court, to head a new government. Dole at first suggested deposing the queen and replacing her with Princess Kaiulani, the heir apparent, but he found the Committee determined to have no more dealings with the Kalakaua family. The members said they were looking forward to annexation to the United States "and so an end to our difficulties."

The next step was to consult with American Minister John L. Stevens, already known as an outspoken annexationist. He quickly arranged to land a force from the cruiser *Boston*, ostensibly to protect American lives and property; and when shown a draft of the committee's intended proclamation, he said "I think you have a great opportunity."[1]

With the green light thus flashed on for revolution, the committee seized the government office building on the afternoon of January 17, 1893, and issued a proclamation ending the monarchy and setting up a Provisional Government "to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon."

American sailors and marines from the *Boston* "leaned on a picket fence" across the street from the Aliiolani Hale and watched these proceedings but took no part in them. Then, when Minister Stevens almost at once accorded *de facto* recognition to the régime, the queen not illogically concluded that the official hand of the United States was behind the revolution. She therefore yielded under protest to the demands of the Provisional Government and surrendered her power "until such time as the Government of the United States shall upon the facts being presented to it undo the action of its representative." The monarchy founded by Kamaehameha the Great was dead.

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[1] Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution* (Honolulu, 1936), 76-77.

The very next day the Provisional Government appointed five commissioners to negotiate a treaty of annexation, and they left immediately for Washington. They received a friendly welcome from the Harrison administration. A treaty was signed on February 14, 1893, and at once submitted to the Senate with the President's warning that it was "essential that none of the other great powers shall secure the islands." But the Senate refused to be rushed, and no action was taken before Harrison's term of office expired on March 4 and President Grover Cleveland returned in triumph to Washington. This event had a sudden and catastrophic effect upon the annexation proceedings.

Meanwhile, the Provisional Government found its position somewhat precarious and requested Minister Stevens to place the islands under the protection of the United States. The enthusiastic envoy agreed at once and raised the American flag over the government building in Honolulu on February 1. "The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it," he told Washington by way of explanation. This step, taken without the approval of the State Department, went too far even for the Harrison administration, and it was disavowed. Oddly enough, however, the American flag continued to fly over Honolulu as long as Stevens remained in office.

The submission of the annexation treaty to the Senate plunged the American public into "its first major debate on the portentous issue of imperialism."[1] Many newspapers already favored national expansion and a big navy, and they shrilly cried, "Hawaii is welcome." But there was an opposition press, largely Democratic, which urged caution. Was all the haste, these papers asked due to a "sugar conspiracy"? Should America depart from its tradition of isolation to embark on an imperialistic course? "Warily Brothers," urged a widely printed jingle.

President Cleveland came into office suspecting that Queen Liliuokalani had been wronged. A man of honor who believed that it was not the mission of the United States to go around "annexing islands," he withdrew the treaty from the Senate and sent former Congressman James H. Blount to Honolulu with "paramount" authority to investigate the revolution. "Paramount" Blount, as he came to be called, quickly ordered the lowering of the American flag and, although wined and dined by the propertied foreigners, soon made it clear that he did not subscribe to the theory that the natives did not know what was good for them. He found that most of the Hawaiian people favored the monarchy and were opposed to annexation.

After a thorough but perhaps not impartial investigation, Blount reported to President Cleveland that the revolution would not have succeeded without American assistance and without the "collusion" of Stevens. He concluded that the new government could only remain in power through force, and he advised Cleveland not to continue annexation proproceedings. Although he did not reveal his recommendations while still in the islands, his "royalist" leanings were apparent to all. Probably not even Blunnt, a resident of Macon, Georgia, and a former Confederate officer, was surprised when the Hawaiian Band lustily serenaded him at his departure with the strains of "Marching Through Georgia."

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[1] Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (3rd ed., New York, 1947), 471.

Blount's report dampened annexation ardor in the United States, and it caused President Cleveland to decide that American honor required the restoration of Queen Liliuokalani to her throne. But the new minister he appointed to broach the matter in Honolulu at first found the deposed monarch regally determined to have the heads of the principal revolutionists; and the Provisional Government "respectfully and unhesitatingly" declined to surrender to the queen. It was apparent that the pear could not be put back on the tree without the spilling of American blood. Cleveland recognized that public opinion in the United States would not tolerate such a price on behalf of a Polynesian queen, and he diplomatically turned the problem over to Congress, which, after acrimonious debate, voted not to interfere in Hawaiian affairs.

Although political action on Hawaii was shelved until the advent of a new administration, the public debate continued. The heady wine of imperialism, already quickening the national pulses of European and Asiatic nations, was beginning to titilate the American people. A "big navy" group spearheaded the proponents of annexation, raising fears of British power in the Pacific and urging "Let the Monroe doctrine stay not its hand until it holds Hawaii securely in its grasp."[1]

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[1] Dulles, America in the Pacific, 187.

The much respected exponent of sea power, Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, urged the acquisition of Hawaii on strategic grounds; and Henry Cabot Lodge said it was "the plain duty" of the nation to annex the islands. Such views were reflected in the Republican platform of 1896 which declared, "the Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by United States and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them."

When it became evident that there would be no annexation as long as President Cleveland remained in office, the leaders of the Hawaiian Provisional Government acted to form a more permanent régime. Despite protests of a mass meeting of royalists, a carefully screened convention, on July 3, 1894, approved a new constitution drafted largely by Dole and Thurston. There was no popular referendum, and the next day Dole assumed office as President of the Republic of Hawaii.

Although republican in form, the new government was by no means a democracy. Property and income qualifications assured that relatively few Hawaiians could vote or hold legislative office.[1] Orientals and other recently arrived laborers were excluded from politics. Frankly and openly, the Republic was established by force, maintained by force, and designed to keep control of the state in the hands of a small group of propertied whites, particularly those favorable to annexation. The sentiments of the ruling "oligarchy" had been well expressed by

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[1] There were no property qualifications required to vote for members of the House of Representatives, but there were loyalty and other tests which made the Hawaiians reluctant to register.

Miss Mary H. Krout: "Shall what now exists -- society, wealth, comfort, in which even the poorest shares -- be dissipated by hands incapable of administering law and order; or shall it be transferred to those who created it, and who, in saving their own, must save with it that which yet remains to the natives?"[1]

The political control was not entirely in the hands of the sugar interests. Many of the planters had been glad to see annexation delayed, since the gates for contract labor were thus kept open. The economic crisis on the plantations was ended in 1894 when the United States Congress removed the domestic sugar bounty and in effect restored reciprocity. The growers were largely content to leave matters as they were.

The dominant faction in the new government, rather, was a group representing the merchant and professional leaders of Honolulu. These men had different ideas. While as anxious as the planters to maintain control, many of them were disturbed by the growing tide of Oriental labor. They desired to "Americanize" the islands, and they attempted to persuade the growers to find European and American sources of labor. They eased the restrictive conditions of labor contracts, attempted to place limits on grants and leases of public lands to encourage small farms, and made school attendance compulsory for all children between 6 and 15 years of age. And they continued to work for annexation. In these programs they reflected the missionary heritage which was strongly represented in the officialdom of the Republic.

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[1] Day, Hawaii, 217.

Despite these inner contradictions, the Hawaiian Republic survived. Followers of Liliuokalani attempted a counterrevolution early in 1895, but after two weeks of minor skirmishing the rebellion was crushed and its leaders, including the former queen and Robert W. Wilcox, were placed under arrest. Hoping to win clemency for the captured insurrectionists, Liliuokalani renounced her throne and urged support of the Republic. The ultimate effect of the movement was to strengthen the position of the new government, although all during the life of the Republic there were die-hard royalists, both native and foreign, who hoped against hope that by some miracle the monarchy could be restored. The Right Reverend Alfred Willis, the Anglican bishop in Honolulu, continued to pray in public for Queen Liliuokalani; and Hawaiian women patiently stitched Hawaiian flags and composed songs of bitterness and rebellion.

As the result of its attempt to reduce the inflowing stream of Orientals, the Republic soon found itself involved in a diplomatic dispute with Japan. The Empire of the Rising Sun, swaggering somewhat after its recent victory over China, sent a warship to the islands during May, 1897; but if its intention was to overawe the Hawaiians thereby, the operation boomeranged. Sentiment for annexation both in Hawaii and the United States was sharpened by the resultant wild rumors and renewed cries against the "Japanese bogey." The United States ordered its minister in Honolulu to land naval forces and take protective custody of the islands should Japan attempt to enforce its claims by armed threat.

The officials of the Hawaiian Republic had never ceased to press for annexation, but they worked without any real hope of success until the election of William McKinley in 1896 brought an abrupt change in the picture. Even before the inauguration, Hawaiian emissaries met with the president-elect and reported him as taking "a lively interest in possible annexation." Spurred on by this "first sound basis for encouragement," the commissioners negotiated an annexation treaty on June 16, 1897, and McKinley forwarded it to the Senate on that same day. President Dole visited Washington to stimulate enthusiasm for treaty, but despite the popular interest aroused by this unusual picture of a ruler offering to lay down his office in order that his country might join another, the measure languished in the Senate.

Opposition to the treaty came from several sources. Japan entered a formal protest; but her arguments were countered by the secretary of state, and the opposition was in due course withdrawn. As usual, American sugar interests did everything possible to block annexation. But principally the debate was between the "Little Americans" and the "Big Americans." Colonialism had not yet been universally accepted in the United States, particularly by the Democrats; and there were still enough reluctant Democratic senators to prevent the required two-thirds vote for ratification. The New York Nation exultingly declared that annexation was "dead beyond the hope of resurrection."

All during the latter half of 1897 the matter hung fire; but as the new year turned and the threatened war with Spain became a virtual certainty, President McKinley "made up his mind he would wait no longer on Democratic pleasure. Hawaii had to be annexed."[1]

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[1] Dulles, *op. cit.*, 192.

Seizing upon the precedent which had served so well in the case of Texas, the proponents of annexation determined to force the issue by a joint resolution, which would require only a simple majority of Congressional votes. The new measure was introduced in the Senate on March 16, 1898.

The debates opened with arguments already familiar from long repetition, but the outbreak of the Spanish-American War on April 25 injected a new note. The issue, contested in the exciting atmosphere of patriotic fervor, was no longer merely the fate of Hawaii; it was the national destiny itself: should the United States take this first step in overseas expansion? The acquisition of the Spanish colonies was already more than a possibility; the road to imperialism and world power lay ahead. Should the nation, as the "Little America" proponents urged, renounce the "unconquerable Anglo-Saxon lust for land" and confine itself to the American mainland; or should it move toward complete control of the Pacific and toward even more distant territorial acquisitions?

Actions in Hawaii helped settle the issue. Immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities, the Hawaiian Republic determined to break the laws of neutrality and assist the United States. The American Navy was allowed to continue its coal piles ashore and to use Hawaiian ports. The Spanish government lodged a protest which, said President Dole, "we ignored."[1] American troops passing through Honolulu on their way to the Philippines were given a hearty welcome. Proponents of annexation, both in Congress and out, agreed that such friendship deserved reward and that the strategic importance of the islands had been demonstrated.

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[1] Ethel M. Damon, Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii (Palo Alto, California, 1957), 330.

But it was the war enthusiasm which carried the day. The public wanted to follow up Dewey's breathtaking victory at Manila with some sort of action. "Bridge the Pacific," urged the Philadelphia Press. The President grew increasingly impatient, and it seemed that he might annex the islands by executive order as a war measure. "Obedient to the voice of the people, I shall cast my vote to take them in," stated Representative Henry R. Gibson.

The pressure could no longer be opposed. Both houses passed the resolution; and on July 7, 1898, President McKinley affixed his signature, saying, with a remarkable grasp of the historical realities, "Annexation is not change; it is consummation." Still out of tempo with the times, former President Cleveland could only mutter glumly, "I am ashamed of the whole affair."

As in 1848, "Manifest Destiny" was in the saddle. Imperialism's first fruit, "even though it was only little Hawaii," and even though its acquisition was only the logical culmination of a long and gradual movement, started the United States on a new path of expansion. The debates on Hawaii were the rehearsal for those on the Philippines.

Chapter VII

"Our Cup Is Bitter"

On the morning of July 13, 1898, President Dole paced the shore at his cottage near Diamond Head. Instead of his usual Indian clubs he carried a telescope, which he kept trained on the steamer Coptic as she approached Honolulu harbor. Suddenly the ship blossomed with lines of signal flags. Dole rushed to town to hear the news thus heralded: annexation was a reality. A spontaneous celebration erupted throughout the city; but the official ceremony of transfer was delayed until August 12, after the arrival of the U.S.S. Philadelphia with a United States flag made at the Mare Island Navy Yard especially for the purpose of being raised over the Hawaiian capitol.

The hoisting of this banner over Iolani Palace was not the joyous occasion many had anticipated. Wounds from the revolution and the bitter annexation controversy were still raw; and even men who had worked for years toward American rule found it difficult to watch an independent nation die. The "tension of an execution" gripped the crowd as the Hawaiian flag descended for the last time. When a double 21-gun salute broke the spell there were few dry eyes among the observers.

But during the ensuing weeks and months residents of the islands had a difficult time realizing that any change of sovereignty had taken place. The annexation resolution stated that until Congress provided a new government, Hawaii would be ruled as the President of the United States should direct. President McKinley continued Dole and his associates in authority; and for two years Hawaiian consuls functioned throughout the world, and Hawaii even went on collecting duties on imports from the United States. But in at least one major respect things were different: Congress had extended the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 to cover Hawaii; and the sugar growers accordingly placed even more reliance upon Japan as a source of plantation labor.

In December, 1898, five commissioners appointed by the President recommended a proposed territorial constitution to Congress; but the national legislature considered the matter with due deliberation, and the Organic Act which established the Territory of Hawaii was not signed until April 30, 1900. The government established by this legislation was uch like those of the four other territories then in the United States, with a governor appointed by the President and an elected bicameral legislature. A unique feature, however, gave Hawaii control of its own public lands and the revenues therefrom.

The new government went into effect on June 14, 1900; and on that day President McKinley's appointee as Hawaii's first territorial governor, the respected Sanford B. Dole, was inaugurated. In his initial address, the new governor expressed his hope for eventual statehood and urged all Hawaiian citizens to measure up to their new American heritage.

There was reason for Governor Dole's hidden warning. The Organic Act contained two provisions which were to have a major impact upon Hawaiian life. One prohibited the further importation of contract labor and ended the contract system; the other restored universal manhood suffrage. During the Congressional debates over the Organic Act, the leading foreigners in the islands had pleaded for retention of restricted suffrage. The native Hawaiians, they said, were like children and were not yet prepared for the responsibility of voting. But Congress would not listen to any abridgement of the American tradition of universal suffrage: in any part of the United States the vote would remain open to all citizens. It was not long before this decision had its repercussions in Hawaiian politics.

One immediate result of annexation was the rapid development of Hawaii as a United States military stronghold in the Pacific. The first army garrison landed four days after the ceremony of transfer; and by World War I a series of coast artillery forts protected the Honolulu region. Schofield Barracks, named for one of the most enthusiastic advocates of American rule, was established in 1909 and grew into the nation's largest garrison.

The United States had never taken advantage of its rights under the reciprocity extension of 1887 to occupy Pearl Harbor, but in 1900 Congress authorized improvement of the channel, and in 1908 development of the harbor as a major naval base was approved. Work on a large drydock was started in 1909; and two years later, when the first large ship entered the new base, an enthusiastic local celebration attested that a significant new element had entered island life.

Hawaii's peculiar importance as the strategic control point for Pacific defense was later to form the basis of pleas for special types of administrative control.

The volatile political and ethnic situation which would give rise to such pleas became evident soon after the Organic Act became effective. By a stroke of President McKinley's pen the natives were once more effectively enfranchised; and they held more than two-thirds of the votes, since the more numerous alien Orientals were not eligible for citizenship. Still smarting from their treatment since the bayonet constitution of 1887, the Hawaiians sprang forward to take control of the government. A Home Rule party was formed with the blessing of deposed Queen Liliuokalani; and the slogan "Hawaii for the Hawaiians" was soon heard again through the land. At the election held in 1900 the natives chose Robert W. Wilcox, royalist and leader of the insurrections of 1889 and 1895, as Hawaii's first territorial delegate to Congress; and they overwhelmingly captured the territorial legislature.

As if to taunt the foreign residents, the legislature spent the 129 days of its first session pointlessly wrangling over such petty measures as a poll tax and a general jail delivery, and devoted so much time to the repeal of a tax on female dogs that it was called the "Lady Dog Legislature." Contrary to law, it conducted many of its sessions in Hawaiian; it failed to vote necessary appropriations; and it sent a joint resolution to

Washington charging Governor Dole with incompetence. The firm but tolerant support given the Dole administration by President Theodore Roosevelt, who succeeded the assassinated McKinley during September, 1901, eased the situation somewhat and gave a ray of hope to the white residents.

It is often said that the irresponsibility shown by the Hawaiians during the first two years after the Organic Act discredited the Home Rule party; and it is clear that many natives did experience a change of heart. Yet it undoubtedly was the superb political skill of a small group of white merchants, professional men, and missionary descendants which ended the Hawaiians' short, sweet taste of power. Realizing that they could not hope to outvote the natives, leaders of the Republican party persuaded one of the highest ranking alii, Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole, that it would be to the ultimate benefit of the Hawaiian people if he would be the Republican candidate for Congressional delegate and would urge native support for the Grand Old Party.

The results seemed magical. In the 1902 election Prince Kuhio was victorious over Wilcox, the Republicans won firm control of the legislature, and the Home Rule party was hopelessly smashed. Thereafter the Hawaiians voted for the candidates not party, enabling the Republicans to retain a legislative majority until 1946. The popular Kuhio was repeatedly reelected until his death in 1922.

As Hawaii's voteless representative to Congress, Prince Kuhio worked devotedly on behalf of the natives, and he also faithfully pressed measures favorable to Hawaii's economic interests. Although the planters and Honolulu merchants were pleased to have the jovial, hospitable chieftain representing them in Washington, they did not hesitate to bypass him when they felt that direct contacts with Congress and the administration would be more effective. It was plain to everyone, including Kuhio, that the "Missionary Party" was firmly back in the political saddle. And, almost incredibly, this small group of ruling haoles -- whites of northern European origin -- constituted only about five percent of the total population. Even when linked with the Portuguese,whom many of the old-time foreign residents long counted as a separate race, the Caucasions were outnumbered by Hawaiians and Orientals by a ratio of four to one.

In the years following annexation it was not only political power which was concentrated in the hands of the few. This period was also marked by a growing concentration of economic power. The vast expansion of the sugar industry which followed the reciprocity treaty required large amounts of capital, much of which was advanced by the plantation factors in Honolulu. Poorly managed plantations, or even efficient ones during temporary periods of depression such as that which struck the industry in 1890, were sometimes forced to turn over stock to the agents in return for advances. Thus the agencies gradually assumed management and ownership functions in addition to the older ones of handling purchasing, marketing, labor recruiting, accounting, shipping, financing, insurance, and many other services.

Entire groups of plantations eventually came under common direction. By 1931 five of the largest agents, known as the "Big Five," controlled 95.6 percent of Hawaii's sugar production. These firms were tied together through family connections, personal friendships, and interlocking directorates; and they took common action through a highly effective industry association established as the Planters' Labor and Supply Company in 1882 and, after 1895, through the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. This unified control of the Territory's largest industry gave support to the statement of one student that "co-operation, not competition, is the keynote of Hawaii's economy."[1]

The same central control was rapidly extended to other phases of island business. The major factors invested sugar profits in transportation companies, banks, cattle ranches, pineapple plantations, hotels, retail and wholesale stores, public utilities, insurance agencies, trust companies, and many other types of concerns. The same sugar interests in 1909 financed the expansion of the Matson Navigation Company so that it was later able to obtain a near monopoly of shipping between the islands and the mainland. Inter-island navigation was already controlled by the Big Five. "It has been estimated," wrote one historian, "that some eighty corporation directors all but dominated the economic life of the Islands."[2] Noting that by 1915 the Japanese had foot-holds in fishing, contracting, quarrying, and other minor enterprises, a sociologist later remarked that while there "were tiny loopholes in the oligarchy's financial web, "it frequently took perserverence and ingenuity to find them."[1]

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[1] Fuchs, Hawaii Pono, 242.

[2] Judd, Hawaii, 148.

In large part, the tight group which controlled the island economy was composed of the same persons who dominated territorial politics. These "elite," said one recent student, "constituted an oligarchy which ruled in the broadest sense,"controlling"not only the formal points of the political process, but labor and wealth in the Islands as well."[2] So complete was this dominion, so little was it influenced by outside forces, that its existence must be considered the outstanding feature of Hawaiian history during the forty years following annexation.

From the point of view of the ruling group, this control was for the most part exercised in the best interests of Hawaii and all its people. A strong missionary tradition still continued among its leading families, and there was an active sense of obligation to the native Hawaiians and the imported laborers. Rectitude, dedication, and benevolence were commonly met attributes among the white kamaaina elite; but there was little intention of raising the mass of natives and Orientals to share in the political and economic power. The good of Hawaii, they believed, required continued control -- and a continued supply of cheap plantation labor. Thus paternalism, particularly toward the Hawaiians, was a companion of wealth and influence. "I have rarely visited any place where there was as much charity and as little democracy," wrote the journalist Ray Stannard Baker.[1] Not without reason have the years from 1900 to 1940 sometimes been called the period of "benevolent paternalism" or of "semi-feudalism."

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[1] Fuchs, op. cit., 240.

[2] Fuchs, op. cit., 152.

One result of integrated control was another rapid expansion of the plantation economy in the decade and a half following annexation. Sugar production nearly doubled between 1901 and 1915; and by the latter year sugar accounted for about 90 percent of the value of the Territory's total annual agricultural production. Of Hawaii's approximately 300,000 acres of arable land, 127,000 were planted to cane in 1900. Thirty-five years later 235,000 acres were devoted to sugar.

Still more land went into large plantations with the rise of the pineapple industry. The first satisfactory commercial pineapples were grown during the 1880's, but difficulties with canning processes kept operations on a relatively small scale. In 1901, James Dole, a cousin of Governor Dole, founded the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, and two years later the canning of his first crop marked the beginning of the modern industry. By 1909 about 3,900 acres had been laid out in pineapples, and the raising of this golden fruit rapidly became Hawaii's "second most important industry."

This expansion of agriculture, combined with certain political effects of annexation, had marked influence upon the racial composition of the population. With Chinese immigration finally ended by the union with the United States in 1898, the planters were almost entirely dependent on Japan for additional labor. But then, in 1907 the "Gentleman's Agreement" cut off this source of supply. The influential group of whites in the islands who feared a rising "yellow menace" continued to urge the planters to seek laborers from Europe. The growers, barred from the abundant Oriental sources, were now inclined to see the "yellow peril" more clearly than in the past, and they did recruit about 6,000 Portuguese, nearly 8,000 Spaniards, about 2,100 Russians, and a scattering of nationals from other European countries between 1906 and 1913.

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[1] Adams, Hawaii, 56.

But Europe could not supply neither the numbers nor the types of workers to meet the ever-mounting plantation demands; and the growers turned more and more to the Philippine Islands, by then under American control. In 1900 there were practically no Filipinos in Hawaii, by 1910 there were 2,361; and ten years later there were 21,000. An important new racial group had been added to Hawaii's "melting pot."

With most of the arable land devoted to sugar or pineapple growing, the plantation system became a dominant factor in the lives of a large segment of Hawaii's population. Nearly all plantations were isolated, self-contained worlds, tightly controlled by owners and managers. At the turn of the century the majority of the laborers were employed under the contract system which, though greatly ameliorated since its inauguration in 1850, provided for punishment of workers who left their plantations or did not abide by the terms of their agreements.

Although stern labor discipline was maintained on the plantations, many managers felt a sense of responsibility toward their employees; and firm control was often combined with paternalism. By 1898, however, paternalistic guidance was seldom carried as far as it was under the set of rules posted at Kohala Plantation in 1862, which "requested" laborers to attend church every Sunday and, among other things, prohibited leaving the plantation by day or night without permission, playing cards, quarreling with or whipping wives, and "tittle tattling." There was almost no way in which the workers, individually or collectively, could protest effectively against such conditions as poor food, poor housing, or harsh treatment. And managers were more than reluctant to increase wages or to encourage workers to raise their economic or social status.

That conditions on the plantations were not always ideal is demonstrated by the reception given the news that the Organic Act of 1900 had ended the contract system. The laborers believed that, suddenly, they were to have more freedom. Japanese plantation workers staged celebrations, and several hundred on Oahu triumphantly marched to Honolulu. Improvements in wages and conditions did result, inspired by the fact that workers could now move elsewhere if they could find a more agreeable employer.

Other advances were slow in coming, but the decade after 1900 saw the beginnings of an organized labor movement among the agricultural laborers. Starting about 1890 or earlier there had been sporadic and minor disturbances on the plantations, mostly among the Japanese, protesting unsatisfactory working conditions, but they generally had been spontaneous and unorganized. About 1905, however, educated leaders began to appear among the Japanese laborers, asking such questions as, "Why is a Japanese worker paid less than others for the same kind and amount of work?" A strike at Waipahu during 1906 demonstrated increased worker organization and resulted in the granting of minor demands.

In 1908 a Japanese newspaper publisher named Yasutaro Soga founded in Honolulu the Higher Wages Association, "the first plantation trade-union movement organized in Hawaii."[1] A strike of about 7,000 Japanese on Oahu plantations followed in 1909, but it failed. After this disturbance, however, the planters made noticeable concessions, and paternalistic services and facilities such as family hospital and medical care for workers, and plantation schools, churches, and playgrounds were expanded. Brutality of overseers was reduced, and bonuses and profit-sharing were instituted. To many persons it appeared that the Japanese and other plantation laborers were beginning to make progress in improving their lot.

Perhaps even more significant advances toward the same general end were simultaneously occurring in the Territory's schools. At the time of annexation Hawaii already had a well-established system of 140 public schools, and under the Republic a progressive educational administration had emphasized "democracy in the classrooms, the development of student initiative, and the need for more higher education."[2]

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[1] Fuchs, op. cit., 118.

[2] Ibid., 265.

Secondary grade instruction in the public schools has started with the opening of Honolulu High School in 1895; and another major step forward, the establishment of the Honolulu Normal and Training School in 1896, had helped ease the demand for more professionally trained teachers.

Even in 1898 there were growers and industrialists who recognized that an extension of the American system of education in Hawaii would make impossible the perpetuation of a docile labor force on the plantations; but the missionary tradition prevailed among the island rulers, and the educational policies of the Republic were continued and expanded during the two decades after 1900. In eleven years public and private school enrollment increased from 15,537 to 26,122. Most of these new pupils were Chinese and Japanese, for the Orientals quickly recognized the benefits of education and, as the planters feared, saw in it a means to improve their status. Beginning in 1905 high schools were opened on the outer islands; and a public College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, organized in 1907, was later to develop into the University of Hawaii.

Most of the textbooks and many of the teachers employed in Hawaiian schools were imported from the mainland. Inevitably the Oriental pupils absorbed the dynamic political and social ideals of the American republic, ideals derived from the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. The concepts that all men are created equal and are entitled to equal opportunity to pursue happiness were alien to Oriental thought, and their impact on the

Japanese and Chinese youths of Hawaiian birth was explosive. They began to dream of being accepted, not only in politics, economic life, and government employment, but in the ranks of the white wielders of power and social influence. Both on and off the plantations a revolution was under way.

But this promise for the future was largely a promise for the Orientals. The native Hawaiians could find little comfort in the view ahead. On the one hand, the land and economy seemed to be gripped ever more firmly by the white planters. On the other, the Japanese and other Asiatic peoples steadily grew in numbers and influence. From 1900 to 1910 the Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian population remained almost static at about 38,500, while the Japanese increased from 61,000 to nearly 80,000. It was plain that when the native-born children of the newcomers reached voting age, the political power of the Hawaiians would be greatly diminished.

The Hawaiians were keen enough to recognize the situation and to realize that they were being used to maintain a relatively small group of whites in a position of dominance. Yet, under the leadership of Prince Kuhio, many of them continued to cooperate as the best means of obtaining any political benefits at all and in the hope that they could eventually control Hawaii's political parties. Their immediate efforts were directed largely towards increasing their share of the patronage and towards obtaining a greater portion of the land.

Thus the native Hawaiians strongly supported a move to create county governments. After a four-year struggle a county act was passed in 1905. The principal responsibilities of government continued to be centralized in Honolulu, but many new county offices were created and were largely filled by Hawaiians. In fact, for many years natives continued to occupy a high percentage of governmental offices, both county and territorial.

With the explosive land problem the natives were less successful. A Land Act passed under the Republic in 1895 provided means by which small tracts or homesteads could be acquired by private individuals from the public lands. By 1910 about 90,000 acres had been transferred under the homestead provision, "but so far as real homesteading was concerned, 'a large portion of that might as well have been cast into the ocean.'"[1] Most Hawaiians found it difficult to operate their homesteads as small farms, and for one reason or another a large percentage of the homesteads was soon leased to sugar or pineapple growers. Also, many Hawaiians claimed that the law was administered so as to reserve the best lands for the sugar planters.

Prince Kuhio shared the prevailing native feeling that the lands of the Hawaiians had been stolen from them, and much of his effort in Washington was devoted to an attempt to have the land laws administered more liberally and in favor of the original inhabitants. This struggle was largely in vain, and not until the beginning of the 1920's was the Prince able to push through Congress his "Hawaiian Rehabilitation Bill," which in theory encouraged homesteading by Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians but which in actuality had for many years only meager results.

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[1] Fuchs, op. cit., 253.

A little more than a century after Cook's momentous landfall, the remnant of the Hawaiian people felt like strangers in their own land. Everywhere around them they saw Europeans and Asiatics pushing ahead, making the soil yield as never before and building Hawaii into a bulwark of power in the Pacific. These newcomers seemed to be the people of the future. The Hawaiians, their own culture gone and still unable to adjust completely to the new standards and new values, often took refuge in dreams of the "old days" or lost themselves in desperate yearnings for some way to halt the advance of intruders. "Our cup is bitter," wrote one part-Hawaiian legislator in 1910,"but let's fight it to the bitter end."[1]

The time was still a half century away when a minister of Chinese-Hawaiian ancestry would stand before his congregation in the old Stone Church in Honolulu and say with sincerity and gratitude that with the arrival of the first missionaries, "a new Hawaii was born," a Hawaii in which the spirit of aloha "is the power that can reunite where quarrel has brought separation."[2]

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[1] Fuchs, op. cit., 168.

[2] Abraham K. Akaka, "Statehood Service at Kawaiahao Church, March 13, 1959." Congress passed the enabling act for Hawaiian statehood on March 12, 1959, but the Territory did not officially become the fiftieth state until August 21, 1959.

Chapter VIII

"The Loveliest Fleet of Islands"

The sweeping panorama of Hawaiian history from Cook's first landfall to physical and spiritual enfoldment in the American union was well recorded by the written word and the artist's brush. The color, the strangeness, and the haunting beauty of the islands, and the vital, vibrant humanity of the island peoples, have had their minor effect upon world literature. But, except for recorders of ancient legends and ways, Hawaii was slow to develop her own writers and artists of recognized stature. The story of creative literature and art in Hawaii is, in the main, a narrative set in the twentieth century, but behind it lay more than 100 years of tradition and experiment.

The native Hawaiian culture was rich in legends and myths. Much of this vast bulk of stories was not folklore in the sense of stemming from unlearned popular tradition. It was literature, unwritten but highly formalized and transferred orally from generation to generation by a special class of bards or storytellers. Although many of these stories were localized by being placed in Hawaiian settings, they were a part of the broader Polynesian spoken literature; and not a few of the same tales are found in such widely separated places as Hawaii and New Zealand with almost no variation, even in name.

After the mission schools were established and Hawaiian was "virtually created" into a written tongue, a small but active band of native scholars developed. They strove to record and preserve the traditions and stories of their people. One of them, S. N. Haleole, even attempted to found a new native literature with his narrative of the ancient romance Laieikawai, published during the 1860's.

But it was a foreigner, Abraham Fornander, who most successfully stimulated the Hawaiian scholars to record, or to assist in recording, the old stories; and his vast collection, now in the Bishop Museum, is an unrivalled storehouse of Polynesian literature. Other writers and students of Hawaiian culture, including such diverse personalities as King Kalakaua and Thomas G. Thrum, also recorded the ancient legends before the twentieth century had passed its first decade, and as a result there exists today a considerable body of native literature derived from informants who knew the old culture before it disintegrated. Particularly valuable is Nathaniel B. Emerson, Unwritten Literature of Hawaii (1909). Much, however, was forever lost.

Unfortunately, the effort of Haleole to develop a school of native Hawaiian writers has not been vigorously continued. Thus, since the discovery of the islands by Cook, most of Hawaii's literature has been the product of foreigners.

The earliest writings about Hawaii consisted largely of the accounts of sailors and other travelers who touched the islands. This long succession of logs, journals, and narratives began with Captain James Cook himself and has continued to the present day. Many of these works have the grace of style and the depth of perceptinn to entitle them to be classed as "literature," but being about Hawaii and not by Hawaiian residents, they perhaps do not fall in the category of "Hawaiian literature." At any rate, there is much good reading and a vast amount of information to be found in such entrancing narratives as James Hunnewell's *Journal of the Voyage of the "Missionary Packet"* (1880), William Ellis's *A Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii* (1826), and Isabella Bird Bishop's *The Hawaiian Archipelago* (1875).

Another class of Hawaiian books consists of the reminiscences, autobiographies, journals, narratives, and biographies of early island residents, particularly the missionaries and their families. Among these works, whose number is legion, the cornerstone is Hiram Bingham's *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwihh Islands* (1849). Though ponderous and often unfelicitous in phrase and organization, it conveys as does no other account the unbending zeal of those fishers of men who made Hawaii what it is today. As an antidote, Laura Fish Judd's *Honolulu: Sketches of the Life, Social, Political, and Religious, in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861* (1880) fairly sings with its humanity and flashes of vivid description.

The penchant of island residents for narrative writing was also reflected in the early development of an active school of historians. After their first attempts to stifle the "heathen" culture of old Hawaii, the missionaries began to become interested in it and believed it could be used to serve "higher" ends. Sheldon Dibble, a teacher at the mission seminary at Lahainaluna, was one of the first to recognize the need to preserve knowledge of the native culture. Beginning in 1836 he systematically began to collect facts about Hawaiian history and customs, using his pupils to gather information from qualified informants. The result was Ka Moolelo Hawaii, a history of the islands written by the high school students and printed in the Hawaiian language.

During 1838 and 1839 the Reverend Mr. Dibble visited the United States and gave a series of lectures on Hawaii. Before returning to the islands he published his talks under the title, History and General Views of the Sandwich Islands' Mission. Apparently it was the first separate comprehensive sketch of Hawaiian history to appear in English.

In 1841 Hawaii's first historical society was formed at Lahaina to collect the historical and ethnographic knowledge which was then fast being forgotten. Although the organization survived only three years, it served a valuable purpose. Through participatinn in its activities, Samuel M. Kamakau determined to record the story and traditions of his people. Kamakau's valuable manuscript, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, was finally translated and was published in 1961. Other native historians who were active during this early period were John Papa I'i and David Malo. Their important works, I'i's Fragments of Hawaiian History and Malo's Hawaiian Antiquities have also been translated and printed in recent years.

Encouraged by his fellow missionaries, Sheldon Dibble prepared a more ambitious work after his return to the islands in 1840. His A History of the Sandwich Islands was printed at Lahainaluna in 1843. As might be expected, this useful book expresses the missionary viewpoint and is largely devoted to a detailed account of the development of the Hawaiian Mission.

The same promissionary bias marked another history which was published in Boston during the same year. James Jackson Jarves's History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands was based upon materials collected during a stay of nearly four years in Hawaii and upon extensive research and interviews with early traders. Thus, despite its author's missionary sympathies, this lively, well balanced work has maintained its reputation for reliability and is with some justice called the "first history of the islands."[1]

Other ably written general histories appeared during the remainder of the nineteenth century. Still valuable are W. D. Alexander's A Brief History of the Hawaiian People (1891) and his History of the Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy (1896). Many important historical articles also appeared, particularly in the publications of the Hawaiian Historical Society and in Thomas G. Thrum's The Hawaiian Almanac and Annual. But, in general, the preparation of detailed, impartial histories by trained historians working from source materials gathered from the far-flung archives of the world, had bo await the coming of the next century.

In contrast to the early blossoming of narrative writing, the development of creative literature in the islands was a slow process. James Jackson Jarves, journalist, historian, and scion of the family which manufactured Sandwich glass, wrote a "kind of novel" about legendary Spanish castaways in the Hawaiian chain. Recognized as "the first novel with a Hawaiian setting," it appeared serially in the Honolulu Polynesian during 1841 and was published in book form in 1857 under the title, Kiana: A Tradition of Hawaii.

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[1] Steegmuller, The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves, 63.

It was such a feeble effort, however, that not even King Kamehameha IV, to whom it was dedicated, ventured to comment upon its literary merits. Jarves also produced a partly fintionalized autobiography, Why and What Am I? (1857), which describes "the extraordinary intermixture of civilization and barbarism" which existed in Honolulu during the late 1830's and early 1840's. Other Hawaiian novels and stories appeared, but fiction in Hawaii did not reach its stride until after the turn of the century.

While Hawaii lagged in developing its own creative writers, the islands made an impression upon the literature of the United States and, to a lesser degree, of the world. The first important American novelist to visit Hawaii was Herman Melville, who spent a few months of 1843 at Lahaina and as a clerk and part-time pin boy in a Honolulu bowling alley before shipping out as a seaman on the frigate United States. Melville's unfavorable impression of the Honolulu missionaries, as expressed in his novel, Typee (1846), caused parts of his book to be branded as "traducers of missions" by the Christian Parlor Magazine of New York; but otherwise his brief and unrewarding stay in the islands had few discernable major results in his writing.

The case with Mark Twain was entirely different. He arrived in Honolulu in 1866 as a fledgling correspondent of the Sacramento Union. The series of letters, sometimes humorous, sometimes serious, which he sent back to California describing his leisurely rambles on Oahu, Maui, and Hawaii were widely copied, and their favorable reception encouraged him to believe that he could earn his living by his pen. They formed his "first sustained writing of any kind" and provided a sizable block of material for Roughing It (1872). The Sandwich Island tour led directly to the travels which resulted in Innocents Abroad and consequent fame.

Perhaps of more immediate importance, the lectures on Hawaii which Twain gave upon his return to San Francisco were a decided financial success and launched him on a platform career which was long his chief source of income. As one contemporary reporter wrote, "Mark Twain has put the tiny, remote monarchy on the map -- in fair exchange, the Islands have put Mark Twain on the map, too -- the map of literary America."[1] His phrase, "The loveliest fleet of islands that lies anchored in any ocean," has become the classic description of Hawaii.

Charles Warren Stoddard, once a popular American writer, painted glowing pictures of Hawaii in his delicately written series of sketches, South-Sea Idyls (1873) and in other works. His powerful and moving The Lepers of Molokai (1885) was the "first book on the Hawaiian leper colony, and the first to bring the life and accomplishments of Father Damien to general notice."[2]

Stoddard influenced Robert Louis Stevenson to visit the Pacific Islands, and the Scotch author spent the period from January to June, 1889, in Hawaii. There he completed The Master of Ballantrae, finished reworking The Wrong Box, got the idea for The Wrecker, started or perhaps even completed "The Bottle Imp," a story largely inspired by a visit to the Kona Coast of Hawaii, and wrote several short stories. As a result of a visit to the leper colony at Kalaupapa he later issued a spirited defense of Father Damien. The vivid impressions of cultural conflict which Stevenson observed in Hawaii and on other Pacific islands were to find expression in many of his writings. At Molokai, "he abandoned once and for all the theory of the noble savage and began instead to take spiritual soundings in the depths of his soul."[1]

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[1] Genie Pitchford, "Mark Twain in Hawaii," in Paradise of the Pacific, vol. 73, no. 8 (holiday edition, 1962), 35-36.

[2] Charles Warren Stoddard, Diary of a Visit to Molokai in 1884, with . . . introduction by Oscar Lewis (San Francisco, 1933), vi.

Stevenson made a second visit to Hawaii during 1893, but then his remaining months of life were few. Beyond two or three short poems and a note of recommendation in the Sans Souci Hotel register, this brief sojourn in the Honolulu of the Republic brought little addition to the corpus of his work and had no major influence upon his literary stature.

In 1907 Jack London and his wife Charmian reached Honolulu in their ketch the *Snark*. The four months they spent at Waikiki and in strenuously hiking or riding donkeys over much of the islands were to have important literary results. While in Honolulu London wrote a good portion of *Martin Eden*, the autobiographical novel which, by some, is considered one of the finest ever produced in America. A visit to Kalaupapa led him to write "The Lepers of Molokai," a factual article which went far to counteract the popular impression that the leper colony was a place of horror. Several short stories, including the famous "Koolau the Leper," preserve vivid pictures of island life.

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[1] Martha Mary McGaw, *Stevenson in Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1950), 136.

A longer visit to Honolulu during 1915 was less important from a literary standpoint. London's fascination with Hawaii is reflected in his books, The Cruise of the "Snark," The House of Pride, and On the Makaloa Mat.

The Hawaiian Islands were the scene of several notable landmarks in the history of printing and journalism. The battered, second-hand Ramage press set up on Honolulu by the pioneer band of missionaries began operation on January 7, 1822, producing "the first sheet ever printed in the North Pacific region."[1] About a decade later the press at the mission seminary at Lahainaluna, on Maui, began to issue "diminutive pious sheets" in the native language called newspapers. Thus the appearance of the first of these productions, Ka Lama Hawaii, or Hawaiian Luminary, on February 14, 1834, is sometimes heralded as the birth of the first American newspaper printed west of the Rockies.

But the first secular newspaper and the first worthy of the name was the weekly Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce, "crudely issued by a local American merchant and his printer assistant."[2] First appearing during July, 1836, this "first newspaper printed in English west of the Rocky Mountains," expired three years later, to be followed by a series of papers, the Polynesian and the Friend among others, now indispensible to historians writing of the Pacific area.

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[1] Day, Hawaii, 97.

[2] Steegmuller, op. cit., 46.

In January, 1838, the Sandwich Island Institute, a cultural organization devoted to "the intellectual improvement of its members" and to gathering information concerning the Pacific, began publication of the Hawaiian Spectator, "the first quarterly review published in the Pacific Ocean."[1] Unfortunately, this valuable periodical set another precedent by printing an intemperate article which caused the withdrawal of its financial support, and it was discontinued during its second year.

The native arts of ancient Hawaii quickly succumbed under the impact of Western ways, and it was long before the islands saw a reawakening of art within the new culture. Many early travelers and visitors were skillful artists, and the islands thus have a rich heritage of drawings, paintings, and sketches dating back to the first landing of Captain Cook. The portraits and views made by John Webber of the Cook expedition and by Louis Choris of the von Kotzebue expedition (1816-17) are outstanding works of art by any standards. And a few early Hawaiian residents were reasonably competent amateur artists. The early oil paintings of Edward Bailey, for instance, have the charm of folk art and at the same time preserve remarkabley informative views of Maui during missionary times. Students at the Lahainaluna Seminary produced a number of creditable copper engravings, mostly based on drawings by missionaries and members of their families.

But it was not until a century after the discovery that the first professional artist opened a studio in Honolulu. He was William Cogswell, a portrait painter. Although scarcely ranking as a first rate artist, he preserved the likenesses of prominent personages during the last decades of the monarchy.

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[1] Steegmuller, op. cit., 37

Cogswell and several other artists who worked at about the same time were responsible for a revival of art in the islands, and during the 1880's "quite a miniature art renaissance" began to flower. Joseph D. Strong arrived from San Francisco with a commission to paint Hawaiian scenes for the Spreckels interests. King Kalakaua became interested in his work, and he remained to do both portraits and landscapes. He was followed in 1880 by the Boston artist, Charles Furneaux, a landscapist who won local approbation for his views of the Mauna Loa eruption of 1880-1881. He maintained a studio for painting and teaching in the Aliiolani Hale and there exhibited his volcano pictures during August, 1881.

Three years later the French landscape painter, Jules Tavernier, arrived from San Francisco. He has been described as "the first painter of real caliber to come to Hawaii." He became famous for his scenes of Kilauea Crater and founded a school of volcano painting. Among his numerous pupils was island-born D. Howard Hitchcock. After additional instruction in Europe, Hitchcock returned to become "Hawaii's dean of landscape painters."[1] Another contributor to the "little Renaissance" was the young English sculptor, Allen Hutchinson. He won attention in 1889 with his bust of King Kalakaua, and his later works included likenesses of President Dole and Robert Louis Stevenson, the latter being the only known bust of the Scottish author to be modeled from life.

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[1] Kenneth Kingrey, "Art in Hawaii," in Paradise of the Pacific, vol. 73, no. 8 (holiday edition, 1962), 59-60.

SUGGESTED READING

For the person wishing a concise, overall view of Hawaiian history there are several excellent one-volume works available. Among them the following are all accurate, readable, and, in varying degrees, up-to-date: A. Grove Day, *Hawaii and Its People* (New York, 1955); Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, *Hawaii: A History from Polynesian Kingdom to American Commonwealth* (New York, 1948); and Gerrit P. Judd IV, *Hawaii, An Informal History* (New York, 1961). Older, but still useful, is W. D. Alexander, *A Brief Sketch of the Hawaiian People* (New York, 1891).

For an understanding of the history of the Hawaiian people before Cook's discovery in 1778 and for about a half century thereafter, the following classic works, written by Hawaiians from the Hawaiian viewpoint, are indispensable: John Papa Ii, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, tr. by Mary Kawena Pukui; ed. by Dorothy B. Barrère (Honolulu) 1959); Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1961); and David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (2nd ed., 1951).

The definitive history of the Hawaiian kingdom, which will be supplemented but probably never supplanted, is under preparation by Dr. Ralph S. Kuykendall. It is based upon a mountain of source materials drawn from the archives of the world.

Two volumes, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu, 1938, 1957) and *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1857-1874: Twenty Critical years* (Honolulu, 1953), have been published; the third and last is in process. Filling the gap until the latter volume appears and of permanent value because of the important first-hand material it contains, is W. D. Alexander, *History of Later years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893* (Honolulu, 1896).

There is as yet no detailed scholarly survey of Hawaiian history from the end of the monarchy to about the beginning of the first World War, but there are several volumes which make overall studies of segments of this period. William Adam Russ, Jr., *The Hawaiian Revolution (1893-94)* (Selinsgrove, Pa., 1959), is largely a political history of the overthrow of the kingdom and covers much ground explored by earlier writers; his *The Hawaiian Republic (1894-98) and Its Struggle to Win Annexation* (Selinsgrove, Pa., 1961) deals with many topics not previously treated in detail by scholarly writers; both are important studies. Although mainly constitutional and institutional in scope, Robert M. C. Littler, *The Governance of Hawaii*: *A Study of Territorial Administration* (Stanford University, 1929), contains historical material.

What is perhaps the dominant theme in Hawaiian History since at least 1820 -- the growth of American influence and the increasing closeness of relations between the islands and the United States -- has been well treated by a number of excellent books. The outstanding surveys are Harold W. Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii: The Pioneers, 1789-1843* (Stanford University, 1942); and Sylvester K. Stevens, *American Expansion in Hawaii, 1842-1898* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1945). Another well-written and informative summary is found in chapters IX-XI of Foster Rhea Dulles, *America in the Pacific, A Century of Expansion* (Boston, 1932). Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898: The Acquisition of Hawaii and the Spanish Islands* (Baltimore, 1936); C. C. Tansill, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Hawaii* (Fordham University Historical Series, No. 1, New York, 1940); and Jean Ingram Brookes, *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1800-1875* (Berkeley, 1941) cover special phases of the topic. Francis John Halford, *9 Doctors & God* (Honolulu, 1954), is an illuminating study of the work of the missionary physicians.

Of the many autobiographical works which picture the founding and growth of the American missions, Hiram Bingham's often "awkward and unlovely" *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands ...* (New York, 1847) is basic. Memoirs also illuminate the stories of the revolution of 1893 and annexation to the United States. Useful in this regard, if read with caution are Sanford B. Dole, Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution (Honolulu, 1936); Lorrin A. Thurston, Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution (Honolulu, 1936); and Liliuokalani's reportedly ghost-written Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen (Boston, 1898).

Particular phases of Hawaiian development have received intensive treatment. Theodore Morgan, Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change, 1778-1876 (Cambridge, Mass. 1948), is an able summary of early island economic history, while special aspects of the subject are covered by A. C. Alexander, Koloa Plantation, 1835-1935 (Honolulu, 1937); J. W. Vandercook, King Cane, The Story of Sugar in Hawaii (New York, 1939; Jean Hobbs, Hawaii, A Pageant of the Soil (Stanford University, 1935); L. A. Henke, A Survey of Livestock in Hawaii (Honolulu, 1929); and Perry F. Philipp, Diversified Agriculture of Hawaii (Honolulu, 1953). Jon J. Chinen, The Great Mahele (Honolulu, 1958), covers an important subject briefly and clearly.

The sociological history of Hawaii has received considerable attention. The most recent study, Lawrence H. Fuchs, Hawaii Pono; A Social History (New York, 1961), is a hard-hitting, readable analysis of the sociological and political development of Hawaii, with emphasis on the period after annexation; although it has been criticized as containing errors of fact and interpretation, it must be considered as an important and suggestive antidote to the conventional interpretations. Other useful studies are Romanzo Adams, *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1933); W. F. Blackman, *The Making of Hawaii: A Study in Social Evolution (New York, 1899)*; Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Frontier in Hawaii, 1868-1898* (Berkeley, 1953); E. G. Burrows, *Hawaiian Americans, An Account of the Mingling of . . . Cultures* (New Haven, Conn., 1947); A. W. Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago, 1938); Kathleen Dickerson Mellen, *In a Hawaiian Valley* (New York, 1947); Edward Norbeck, *Pineapple Town: Hawaii* (Berkeley, 1959); E. K. Wakukawa, *A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1938). In the important field of education, B. O. Wist, *A Century of Education in Hawaii, 1840-1940* (Honolulu, 1940), is the best survey.

No adequate feeling for Hawaiian history can be gained without reading a selection of the many travel narratives, biographies, and autobiographies of island visitors and residents. Among the numerous informative and intriguing travel accounts are William Ellis, *A Journal of a Tour Around Hawaii* (Boston, 1825); and Henry T. Cheever, *Life in the Sandwich Islands* (New York, 1856). Alfons L. Korn (ed.), *The Victorian Visitors: An Account of the Hawaiian Kingdom, 1861-1866,* contains letters and diaries which refreshingly illuminate the mid-century monarchy. A vivid picture of life on one of the outer islands early in the twentieth century is given in Armine von Tempski, *Born in Paradise* (New York, 1940).

Among many good biographies and autobiographies are Ethel M. Damon, Father Bond of Kohala (Honolulu, 1927); Ethel M. Damon, Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii (Palo Alto, Calif. 1957); Gerrit P. Judd IV, Dr. Judd, Hawaii's Friend (Honolulu, 1960); and Lucy G. Thurston, Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston (3rd ed., Honolulu, 1934).

Part II

SURVEY OF SITES AND BUILDINGS

General Discussion

Viewed from an overall standpoint, the historical preservation picture in Hawaii is encouraging. For many years, under the Territorial Government, Hawaii has been aware of the values, both educational and economic, of historic sites and has endeavored to protect and call attention to them by protective legislation, by a program of identifying and marking sites, and by actual public ownership and restoration. These measures are being continued and implemented under the State Government. Through the combined efforts of the Federal Government, the State, the counties, and private organizations and individuals, a large number of the principal historic sites in the islands are being preserved and are accessible to the public.

As far as historic sites legislation is concerned, Hawaii is as advanced as most other states of the Union. An Antiquities Act protects historic and prehistoric remains, objects, and monuments on State-owned lands, and there is provision for limiting excavations and archeological investigations upon such lands to qualified institutions. The Governor is authorized, with the approval of the Senate, to establish historical landmarks and historic sites upon State-owned lands, and he may accept gifts of land for such purposes. The authority to locate, identify, preserve, and administer State-owned historic sites is vested in the State Department of Land and Natural Resources.

No public construction--whether by State, county, city, or any government agency--which would damage recognized historic or prehistoric sites can be commenced without the approval of the State Department of Land and Natural Resources or of the Governor. Zoning ordnances for the protection of historic districts have been recognized in at least one county.

In a report issued in January, 1962, an Advisory Committee on Marking Historical Sites, established to assist the State Department of Economic Development to prepare a program for a State-wide system of marking historic sites, recommended that such a program be established under the Division of State Parks. This program is now in the process of establishment, and in operating it the Director of Land and Natural Resources will be assisted by a permanent Advisory Committee on Marking Historical Sites.

The actual preservation and administration of historic sites on State-owned lands is somewhat more complicated, however, than is indicated by the existing legislation. The State Division of Parks, an agency within the Department of Land and Natural Resources, actually administers only one State Historic Site, as such. It is the Ulu Po Heiau, at Kailua, Island of Oahu. But the Governor has recently issued executive orders to establish other official State Historic Sites so as to permit the Parks Division to manage certain existing historic remains and sites on State-owned lands hitherto administered by other divisions of the State Government. Also, there are a number of historic sites and structures within existing State parks which are not officially designated and operated as State Historic Sites.

Several very important historic sites are located on what are termed "unappropriated State lands," tracts owned by the State but not specifically set aside for park, forest reserve, or other specific uses. Such sites are managed by the Division of Land Management, another agency of the Department of Land and Natural Resources. The significant Hikiau Heiau at Napoopoo and a small part of the Kamakahonu site at Kailua, both on the Island of Hawaii, are located on such unappropriated lands.

Another agency which administers State-owned historic sites is the Department of Accounting and General Services. The Division of Central Services within this department has immediate management of several highly important sites which come under the classification of public buildings. The Iolani Palace, the Royal Mausoleum, the Royal Barracks, and Hulihee Palace are examples of such sites. In the case of the Iolani Palace and the Royal Mausoleum, the curators and interpretive services are supervised by the State Archives, another agency of the Department of Accounting and General Services. At the Hulihee Palace, the curatorial and interpretive services are under the charge of the Daughters of Hawaii, a patrotic and cultural organization.

State appropriations for historic preservation have provided positive evidence of the StateGovernment's recognition of historical values. Generally such funds have been made available to the Division of State Parks for expenditure, even at sites which it does not directly administer, such as the Hikiau Heiau. The Legislature has not been consistent in such appropriations, however. During the current year, for instance, the Division of Parks received $40,000 for historic sites purposes, while $100,000 was appropriated directly to the County of Maui for restoration work at Lahaina.

Another group of historic sites is being preserved by the individual counties of Hawaii. Such sites and structures--largely heiaus--are generally located in county parks. The land on which Queen Emma's home, Hanaiakamalama, stands, is owned by the State, and controlled by the City and County of Honolulu, though the structure is administered by the Daughters of Hawaii.

Perhaps even more important than the counties as agencies of preservation are the combined efforts of private organizations, trusts, and individuals throughout the State. A number of the most significant sites in Hawaii are on privately owned land and are being preserved by their owners. A number of such sites and structures are not open to the general public, but at others public access is purposely provided. Among the highly significant sites thus available are the Old Russian Fort at Waimea, owned by the Robinson Family, and the Puukohola Heiau near Kawaihae. The Hawaiian Mission Children's Society owns and administers a group of highly significant early mission structures in downtown Honolulu; and descendants of individual missionary families preserve other sites and sometimes maintain them as public museums. The Lyman House Memorial Museum in Hilo is a fine example of this latter type of historical project. Another large and important group of sites, including the Kawaiahao Church in Honolulu, continue to operate as active churches. Local historical societies operate, although they seldom own, other sites, such as the Edward Bailey home at Wailuku.

Historical preservation in Hawaii, both from the standpoints of obtaining adequate legislation and of actual maintenance, restoration, and interpretation, has been greatly assisted by a number of civic and historical organizations. The Conservation Council of Hawaii, a private group, maintains a Sites Committee which was influential in obtaining legislation for the identifying, marking, and preserving of historical sites under the Territorial Government. There are active historical societies on the islands of Oahu, Hawaii, Maui, and Kauai. Several of these, particularly that on Maui, have been highly effective in site preservation work. The sources of Hawaiian history, though scattered throughout the world, are, generally speaking, well-known and well-preserved. The Archives of Hawaii is one of the outstanding institutions in this regard, preserving the records of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the governments since that time. The University of Hawaii Library contains a vast number of microfilm records from repositories all over the world. The Bernice P. Bishop Museum, although its interests largely are concerned with the culture and ethnology of the Hawaiian people, possesses a number of historical documents and many objects relating to the period of the monarchy. It maintains a fine library of Hawaiian books and documents. The Hawaiian Historical Society and the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society both maintain collections of books and manuscripts relating to Hawaii, as does the Library of Hawaii. Probably the largest collection of Hawaiian books is found at the University of Hawaii, which also maintains a union catalog of holdings in Hawaii.

SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

COOK LANDING SITE (WAIMEA BEACH)

LOCATION: On the southwestern shore of the Island of Kauai immediately west of the mouth of the Waimea River; the most probable exact site is on the waterfront at the eastern fringe of the town of Waimea.

OWNERSHIP: About 1 acre is owned by the County of Kauai and is maintained as a recreational park; the remainder of the site, about 3 acres of beach and breakwater, is owned by the State of Hawaii.

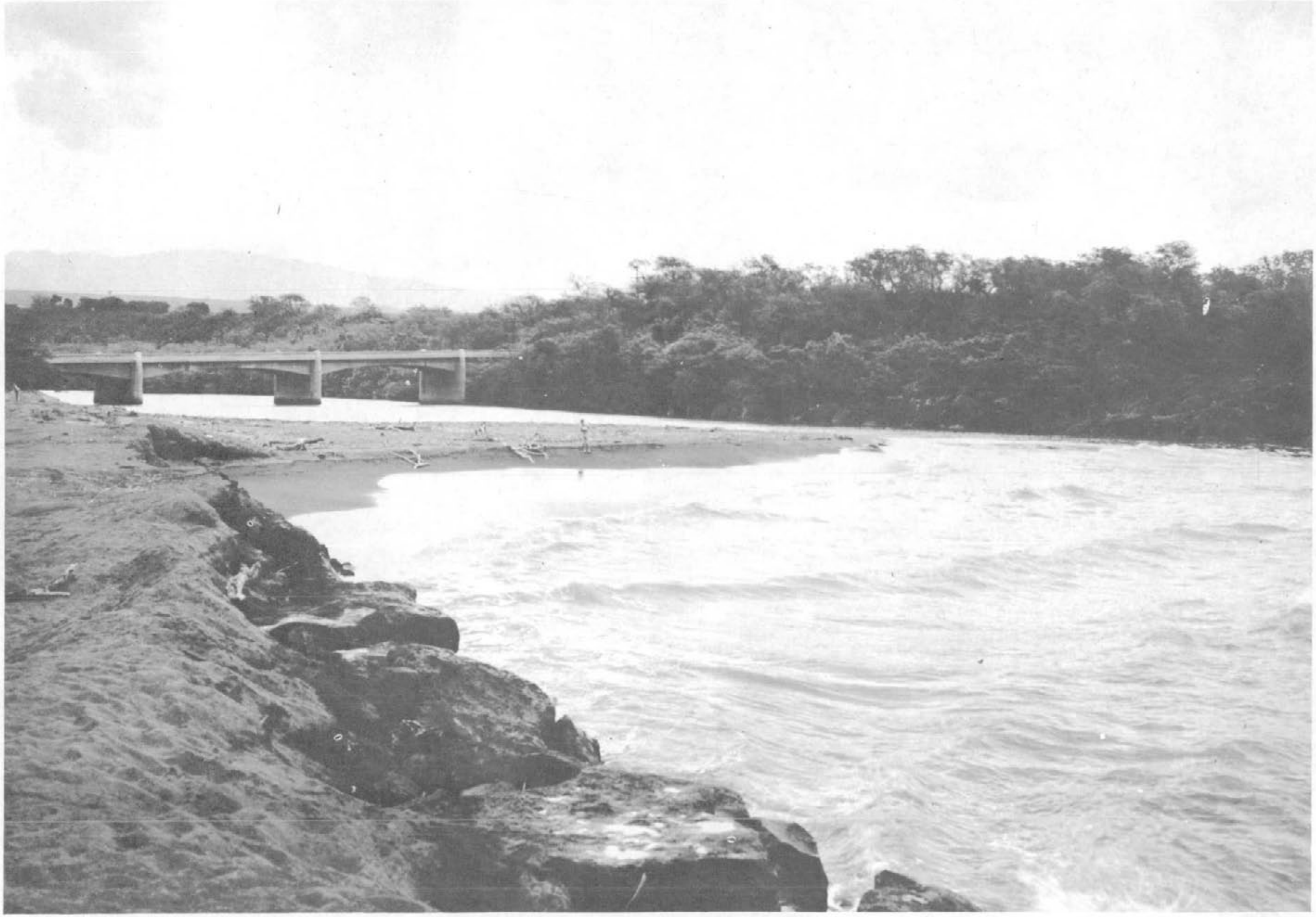
Significance

According to the best evidence currently available, the beach at Waimea was the spot where Captain James Cook, the first European known to have sighted the Hawaiian Islands, made his initial landing upon island soil on January 20, 1778. In Cook's own judgment, this discovery of the Hawaiian Islands seemed "in many respects to be the most important ... made by Europeans throughout ... the Pacific area"; but the perspective of time has not sustained this opinion since the effect upon the rest of the world was relatively minor. For the Hawaiian Islands, however, the discovery was momentous. Hitherto, during centuries of nearly complete isolation, the pattern of Hawaiian social and cultural life had evolved gradually and primarily from internal forces. Henceforth, economic and social change was rapid and was moved primarily by external forces. In a sense, it is true that, as has been claimed, the American occupation of Hawaii was a result of this discovery.

While on his way from the Society Islands to the Northwest Coast of America during his third great voyage of Pacific exploration, as he "leaped" ashore, the natives prostrated themselves as they did for their own highest chiefs. Friendly relations being established, he visited the lagoon, determined that the water was good, and returned to his ship. The next morning he went ashore again, this time making an "excursion" up the valley. He noted the village, native temples, crops, cultivated trees, and other aspects of Hawaiian culture, He made one more landing during his stay, but he soon sailed in the *Resolution* for Niihau, leaving Captain Clerke, of the *Discovery*, to complete the watering operation. After about two weeks at Waimea and Niihau, the ships sailed for America. Waimea was briefly visited again by the ships, after Cook's death, during their second and final stay in the island group.

In addition to marking the effective discovery of the Hawaiian Islands, the landing at Waimea was important in other ways. Cook's observations of the natives and their customs, the first ever recorded, are of ethnological importance, as are the drawings made by other members of the expedition. And it may have been at Waimea, although it probably was on Niihau, that Cook's sailors, despite every precaution taken by their commander, introduced venereal disease into the islands. Thus, from nearly the first day of discovery, contact with Western civilization began its work of disintegrating the native culture and decimating the native population.

Condition of the Site: A nearby highway bridge, a group of nearby private homes, and a breakwater along the west riverbank have altered the historic scene; yet the total effect of the site, if viewe viewed from the town, is that of a tropical beach. In short, the site



Cook Landing Site, approximate location at mouth of Waimea River, Kauai.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962

still has historical impact and appears somewhat as it must have looked in 1778. About an acre of the site on the riverbank immediately south of the highway is occupied by a sodded playing field; the remainder is a sand beach, somewhat disturbed by the stone breakwater along the river and by excavations resulting from sand removal operations. (See also photographs following pages 1 and 3.)

References. James Cook and James King, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean; Undertaken . . . in the Years, 1776, 7, 8, 9, and 80 (4 vols., Perth, Australia, 1785), II, 99-159; James Cook, The Explorations of Captain James Cook in the Pacific as Told by Selections of His Own Journals, 1768-1779 (Melbourne, Australia, 1958), 215-225; Samuel M. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (Honolulu, 1961), 92-104; Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1957), 12-15, Interview with Mr. Edward K. Robinson, Waimea, April 27, 1962; Arthur Kitson, Captain James Cook (London, 1907), 417-421.

PUUKOHOLA HEIAU

(Heiau of Pu'u Kohola)

Location: This stone temple is located on the top of a prominent hill, 0.9 mile southeast of Kawaihae, in the South Kohala District, Island of Hawaii. More precisely, it is directly south and east of the Puako road, 0.15 mile west of its junction with the Kawaihae-Waimea Road.

Ownership: The land is owned by the Queen's Hospital, Honolulu.

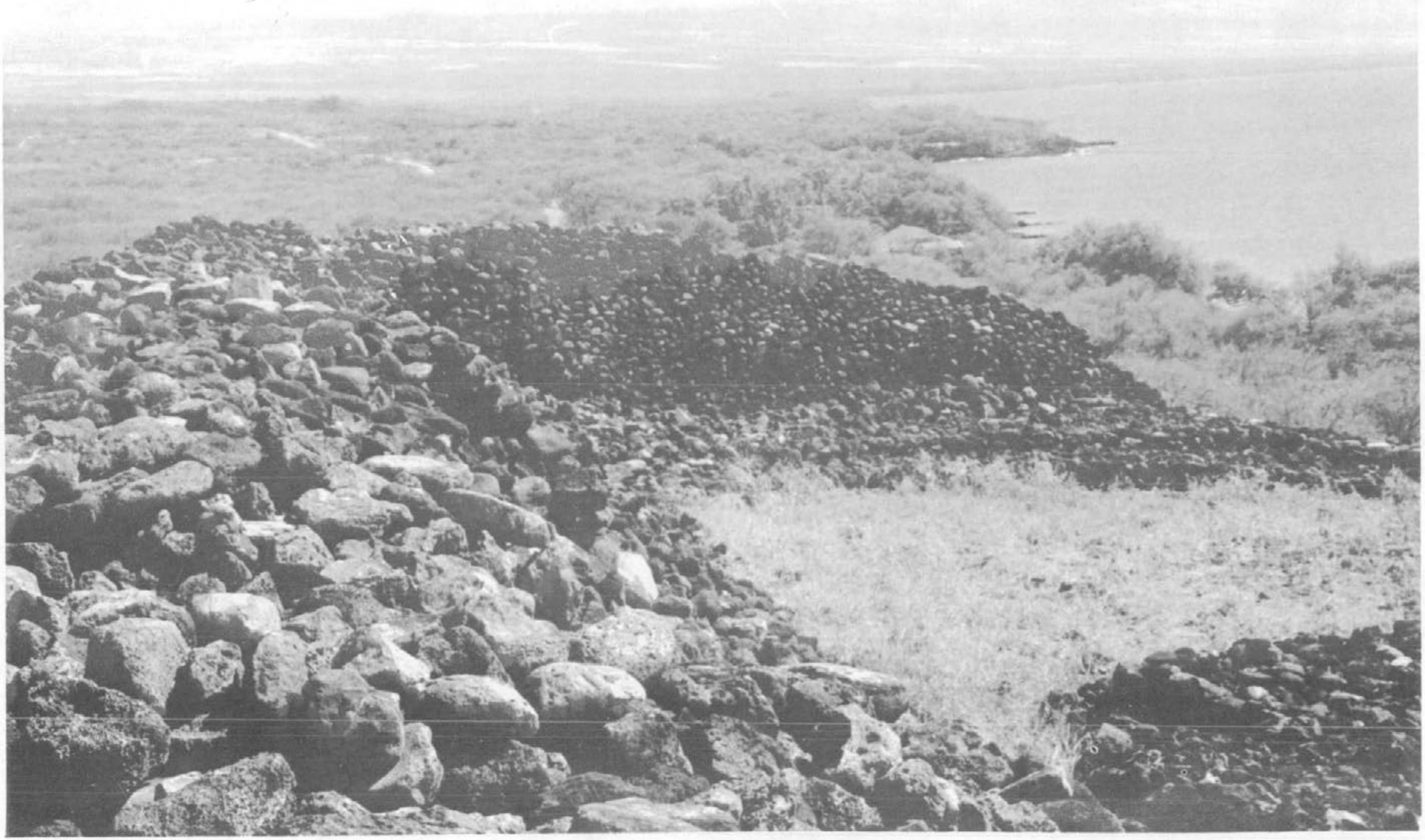
Significance

This ancient temple is perhaps the most famous heiau in all the islands. It was built, or rebuilt, by Kamehameha the Great and is closely associated with one of the key incidents in his rise to power as supreme ruler of all the Hawaiian group. This event, the sacrifice of a rival king, gave Kamehameha control over the entire island of Hawaii; it also superbly illustrates the fact that Kamehameha, despite more than a decade of contact with foreigners, remained true to the ancient Hawaiian social, political, and religious system. His treatment of his rival was typical of the ruthlessness by which Hawaiian chiefs sometimes gained power. The impressive appearance of the temple and the knowledge of the grisly events which occurred there give this site a high degree of historical "impact" and make it a highly suitable spot at which to interpret the formation of the Hawaiian kingdom, an event of outstanding national significance.

The earliest temple known on this site was in existence as early as the time of Lonoikamakahiki(about 1550) and was even then a place of human sacrifice. In 1790 Kamehameha, king of the Kohala, Kona, and Hamakua districts on Hawaii, successfully invaded Maui, Lanai, and Molokai. During long years of earlier struggle, he had not been able to conquer the other two kingdoms on Hawaii. While on Molokai he sent an emissary to the famous soothsayer of Kauai, Kapoukahi, to determine how he could conquer all of the island of Hawaii. He was told that he must erect a large new heiau at Puukohola, near Kawaihae.

Called back to Hawaii by an invasion of Kohala by his cousin, Keoua, ruler of Kau and part of Puna, Kamehameha fought more battles without gaining a decisive victory. Meanwhile, he remembered the words of the soothsayer and started to erect the heiau near Kawaihae. So great was the undertaking that workers by the thousands were called in; even chiefs and Kamehameha himself joined the labor. This "pious enterprise" was interrupted by an invasion from Maui and Oahu, but Kamehameha defeated the attackers in a famous naval battle off Waipio in the spring of 1791. The heiau was then finished during the summer of that year. On account says 11 men were sarrificed upon its completion.

Kamehameha then invited his great rival, Keoua, to come to Kawaihae to make peace. Despite a fear of treachery, Keoua, for some unknown reason, accepted. As he was about to step ashore from his canoe he was attacked by one of Kamehameha's chiefs and killed, along with a number of his companions. His body was taken up the hill to the new heiau and sacrificed. His death, in the summer of 1791, ended all opposition to Kamehameha on Hawaii, and all the island fell to "The Lonely One." With this accomplishment behind him, he was free, a few years later, to proceed with the conquest of all the islands and to found the Hawaiian Kingdom.



Puukohola Heiau, near Kawaihae, Island of Hawaii, where in 1791 Kamehameha I sacrificed his chief rival and thereby won control over the entire island.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962

The incident was a crucial and decisive step in Kamehameha's rise to supreme power. His treatment of Keoua has never been fully explained; but, cruel though it was, it led eventually to the founding of the Hawaiian Kingdom, an event which, in turn, was largely responsible for keeping the islands independent until they were annexed to the United States.

Condition of the Site

This native Hawaiian temple, sitting atop a hill about 150 yards from the Puako road, is an impressive structure. Built of piled stones and measuring about 224 by 100 feet, it is walled on the ends and on the landward side, the seaward side being open and terraced. It commands a superb view of the west coast of Hawaii and overlooks Mailekini Heiau, another large temple down the slope a short distance to the northwest.

The heiau, which has been restored, is in excellent condition and is open to the public, with walks and steps to provide easy access. It is marked by a bronze tablet erected by the Territorial Superintendent of Public Works in 1928. (See also photo following p. 11.)

References: William Ellis, Narrative of a Tour Through Hawaii (3rd ed., London, 1827), 81-83; Samuel M. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (Honolulu, 1961), 154-158; Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1938), 36-38; Thomas G. Thrum, "Tales from the Temples - Part II," in The Hawaiian Annual for 1908 (Honolulu, 1907), 64-69.

KAMAKAHONU (RESIDENCE OF KAMEHAMEHA I, INCLUDING AHUENA HEIAU)

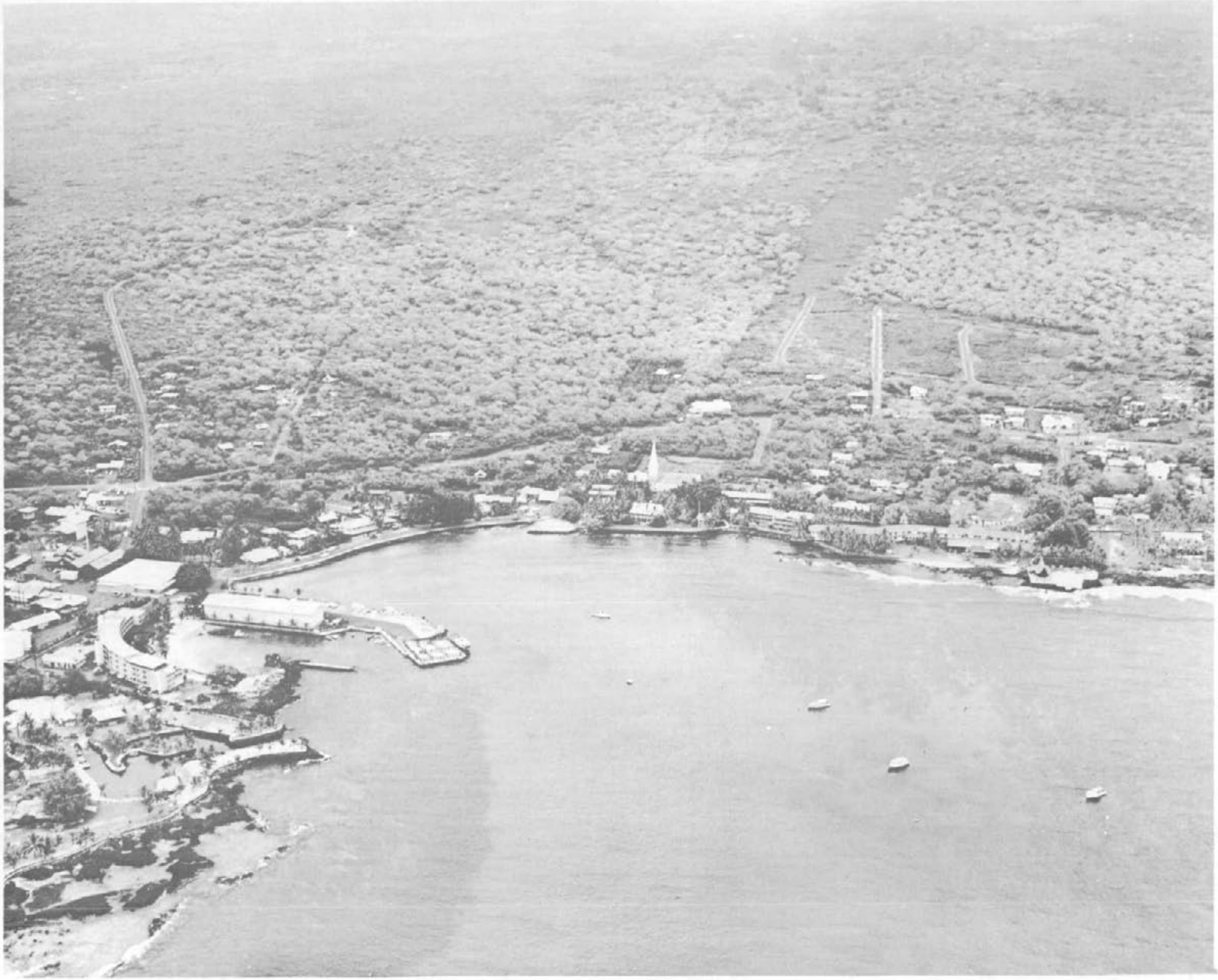
Location: On the northwestern edge of Kaila Bay, directly north and west of the Kaila wharf, in Kailua, North Kona District, Island of Hawaii.

Ownership: Of the approximately 3.5 acres which can now be said to embrace this site, about 0.7 acre (0.35-acre tract at end of wharf and about 0.35 acre of beach) belongs to the State of Hawaii; another tract of 0.804 acre is owned by American Factors, Ltd., but is available for donation to the State under certain conditions; the remaining approximately 2 acres are owned by American Factors and are leased to Island Holidays Resorts for hotel purposes, although certain pedestrain and vehicular rights of way easements would be available to the State.

Significance

The area known as Kamakahonu, surrounding Kamakahonu Cove, is beyond dispute one of the most important historic sites in all the islands. Here Kamehameha the Great spent his last years and instituted some of the most constructive measures of his reign; and here he died. Here the kapu system and the ancient Hawaiian religion were officially terminated; and here the first missionaries to reach the islands made their initial official landing. All of these events were momentous in Hawaiian history, and all of them had their effect in eventually bringing Hawaii into the United States. The scene of these occurrences, though now greatly altered in appearance, is of such absolute importance that recognition would appear mandatory. And, there still remain opportunities to restore a reasonable part of the historic scene.

The most ancient part of the site recorded by tradition is the Ahuena Heiau, located on a point at the southwestern edge of the cove. This temple is attributed to the period of King Liloa, about the beginning of the 16th century. It was visited and described by



Kamakahonu, Kailua, Island of Hawaii; what remains of the site of Kamehameha's last home is to the right and at both ends of the curved hotel building in the left center of the aerial photograph.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962

Vancouver, at which time it was a heiau of the human sacrifice class.

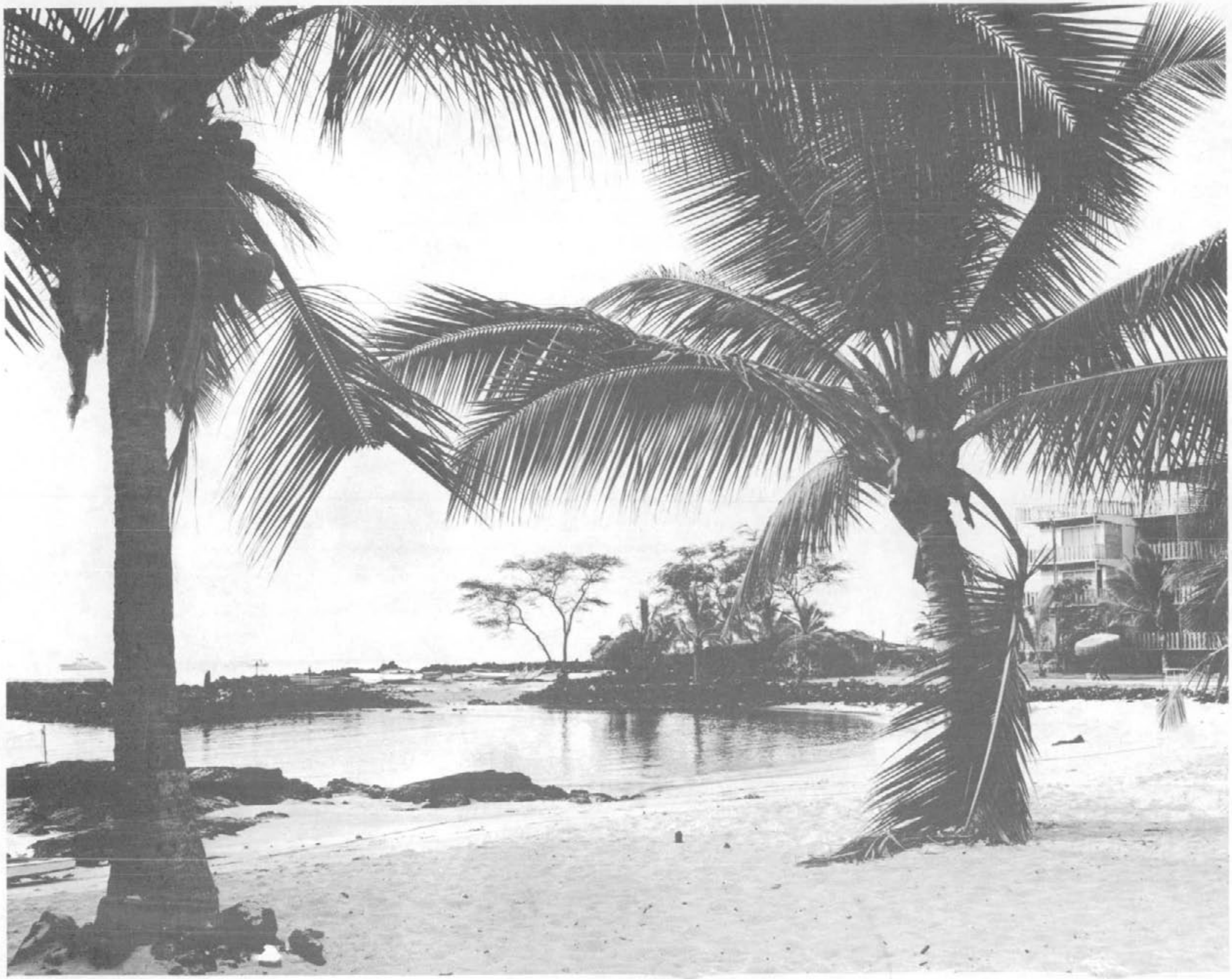
The area did not enter recorded history in an important way, however, until King Kamehameha I, having united all the islands, moved his residence from Honolulu to Kailua in 1812. Evidently after living nearby for a while, he moved to Kamakahonu, where he built a house a short distance northwest of Ahuena Heiau. Here, it is said, he liked to look upward to the farms on the uplands. The stone platform and walls of this house, as it was altered later in Kamehameha's time, still stand. The king preferred living in a thatched house, however, so his main residence consisted of several grass-covered houses elsewhere in the area. There were a number of other structures, some of stone and some of thatch, within the wall which stretched in a great crescent from the present wharf northwest, then southwest, to beyond the king's stone-walled house. Among them were substantial storehouses.

The king's next step was to restore Ahuena Heiau as his personal temple. After reconstruction it measured 150 by 120 feet. It is said that the king held a secret council of his highest advisers here nightly, and here his son and successor received his training in statecraft. According to one Hawaiian historian, the king's "usual occupation in his old age was fishing," but he also did much constructive work, including promoting agriculture and trade. His big planting field above Kailua can still be identified. His death occurred on May 8, 1819, in the stone house near the heiau.

The demise of Kamehameha produced a crisis, since it was not known if the kingdom could hold together with the passing of its founder. At a formal ceremony held at Kailua a short time after Kamehameha's death, his son, Liholiho, was given the title of Kamehameha II, and most of the chiefs assented to an arrangement for land division. The unity of the kingdom was again confirmed later in the year when a rebellion was crushed. The next crisis came in late October or early November, 1819, when Liholiho officially ended the ancient kapu system by eating with the women of his court at a public feast. This event occurred at Kamakahonu. The abolition of the ancient Hawaiian religion and the destruction of the temples followed immediately. The significance of this event in Hawaiian history cannot be overestimated. The old social order collapsed, leaving a state of confusion which was not overcome until the general acceptance of Christianity a decade or two later. The event paved the way for the influential role assumed by the missionaries in Hawaiian affairs.

The first missionaries to reach Hawaii came ashore to begin their work (a few had briefly touched land at Kawaihae a few days before) on April 4, 1820, at a rocky point now covered by the Kailua wharf. Receiving permission from the king to remain, they soon separated and established stations at Kailua, Honolulu, and on Kauai. The missionaries quickly became a dominant force in Hawaiian religion, social, economic, and political life. Their influence was important in eventually bringing the islands under United States rule, and the ideals of education they began were a large factor in the growth of democracy many years later.

When the royal residence was moved to Lahaina in 1820, Kamakahonu became the residence of the governor of the Island of Hawaii, the famous Kuakini. He converted Ahuena Heiau into a fort.



Ruins of Ahuena Heiau, adjoining Kamakahonu, Kailua, Island of Hawaii.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1961

Condition of the Site

The present condition of the site, from the standpoint of the preservation of historical values, can only be described as deplorable. The eastern end of the cove, where the missionaries landed, is occupied by the large and conspicuous Kailua wharf, with its metal storage shed. North of this wharf, where several important royal structures, including possibly that in which the kapu was broken, once stood are a parking area, hotel driveway, and other buildings. Except for a strip about 100 feet wide along the still attractive beach, all the north center of the site is covered by the large Hotel King Kamehameha. At the southwestern end of the site, the Ahuena Heiau has been badly damaged, but the remains of Kamehameha's stone-walled house where he died still stand, though in poor condition.

However, the situation is not hopeless. The State of Hawaii already owns a part of the site and hopes to acquire more. If this plan can be accomplished, a proper restoration could bring back much of the historic scene. (See also photo following page 13.)

References: Kenneth P. Emory, "Notes and Photographs Relating to Kamakahonu" (MS folder in Bishop Museum); John Papa Ii, Fragments of Hawaiian History (Honolulu, 1959), 110, 117-125, 129; Kalakaua, The Legends and Myths of Hawaii (New York, 1888), 431-438; Samuel M. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (Honolulu, 1961), 210-225; Henry E. P. Kekahuna and Theodore Kelsey, "Kamehameha in Kailua," in Hilo Tribune, Feb. 28-April 5, 1954; Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1938), 51; Thomas G. Thrum, "Tales from the Temples - Part II, " in The Hawaiian Annual for 1908 (Honolulu, 1907), 69-70; State of Hawaii, Division of State Parks, "Ahuena Heiau Monument Development Plan" (drawing, January, 1960).

RUSSIAN FORT NEAR WAIMEA

Location: The old Russian Fort near Waimea is situated on the southwestern shore of the Island of Kauai, on the left bank of the Waimea River at its mouth. The structure is about 20 to 30 feet above the river and about 200 yards southwest of the highway bridge.

Ownership: The fort is on privately owned land (Sinclair Robinson, et al, and Mrs. Alice Robinson), but is open to the public and is sporadically maintained by the County of Kauai as a historic site.

Significance

This large stone structure is the most impressive relic of the keen international rivalry which existed during most of the 19th century between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Russia for control of the Hawaiian Islands. It was this rivalry which was largely responsible for the fact that Hawaii remained an independent nation until 1898, long after most other Pacific Islands had fallen under foreign domination. It was this independence, in turn, which made possible the annexation of the islands by the United States in 1898.

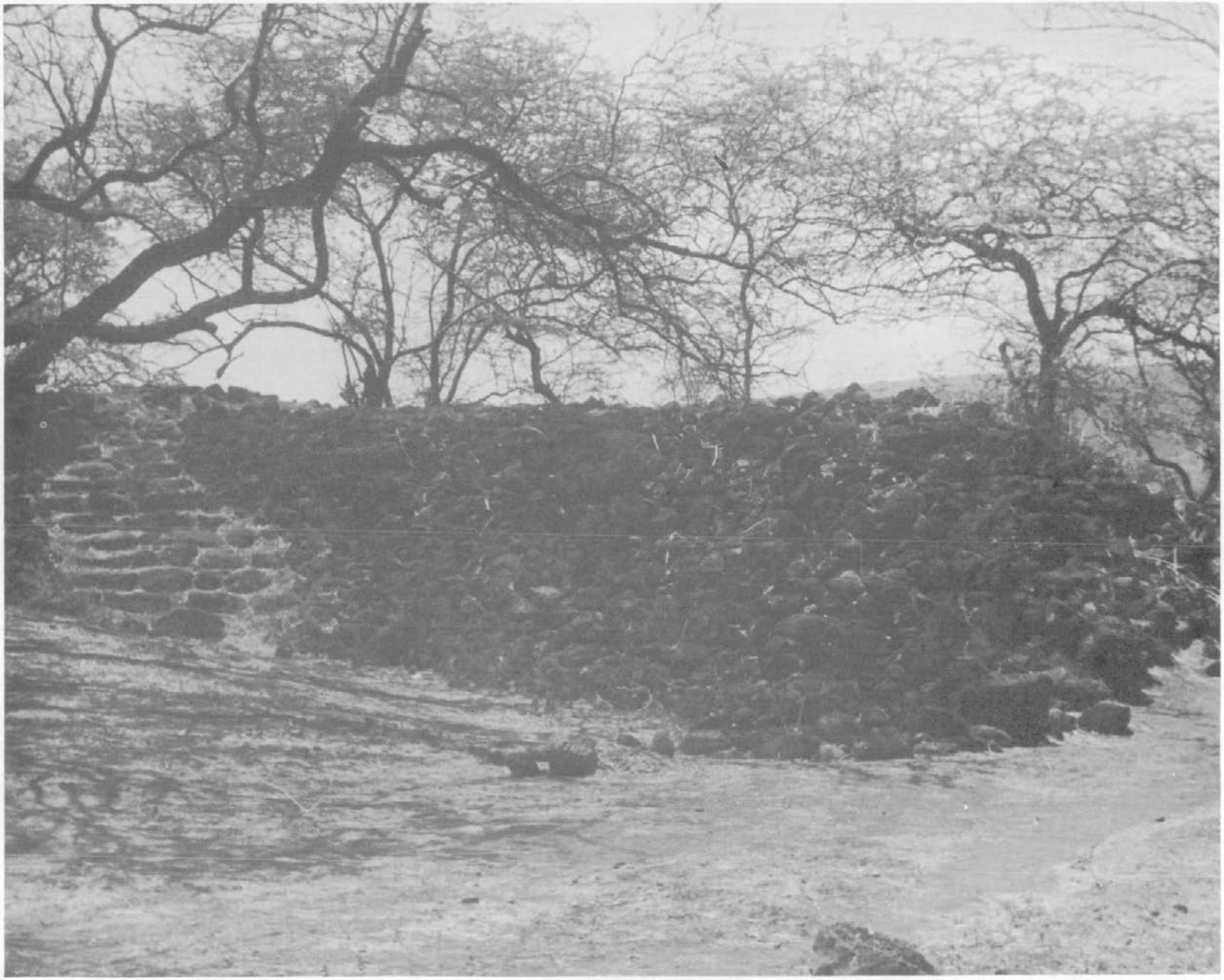
Alexander Baranov, governor of the Russian American Company at Sitka, wished to open trade with the Hawaiian Islands to obtain food for the Alaska settlements. Beginning in 1807 several Russian ships were sent to test the possibilities of commerce with the natives. One of these vessels was wrecked at Waimea, Kauai, in 1815; and Baranov sent Dr. Georg Anton Scheffer to recover the cargo and, probably, to open a permanent Russian trading post or to gain a political foothold. According to one account, the Russian merchants stated, "the highway to Canton leads through the Hawaiian Islands," and thus they hoped to gain a predominant position there as a step in controlling the commerce of the north Pacific.

Little is known about Scheffer's early activities in the islands. According to one authority, he first attempted to open a trading establishment and a series of plantations on Oahu, but King Kamehameha soon expelled him from the island. Scheffer reported that American merchants, alarmed by the prospect of Russian competition, had poisoned the king's mind against him. He moved to Kauai, where he quickly gained an influence over King Kaumualii. During the summer of 1816 he induced the ruler of Kauai to sign agreements giving the Russians extensive trading, economic, and land rights on both Kauai and Oahu. Most historians believed that his unsuccessful attempt to establish himself on Oahu followed his understanding with Kaumualii.

At any rate, Scheffer soon concentrated on consolidating his position with Kaumualii. His aim, evidently, was to induce the king to declare his independence of Kamehameha and enter under Russian protection. He first built an earthwork at Hanalei, on the north shore of Kauai; and, sometime between April and late summer, 1817, he constructed a strong stone fort at Waimea, over which the Russian flag was flown. The manpower to construct the fort was supplied by the retainers of King Kaumualii.

The Waimea establishment was extensive. Besides the fort, which was equipped with guns and quarters for troops, Scheffer had a factory or trading house, with gardens and houses for a staff of about 30 families. His plans included the establishment of large cotton plantations in the islands. Evidently the fort was not entirely finished by the late summer of 1817, by which time Scheffer's high-handed conduct had alienated the Hawaiians. Also, the American merchants, determined to resist his entry into the profitable sandalwood trade, actively worked against him. Thus, when the Russian reportedly began preparations to invade Oahu, Kamehameha ordered Kaumualii to expel him; and by September, 1817, Scheffer was on his way back to St. Petersburg. By that time the Russian government, due to a turn in world politics, no longer favored a seizure of the Hawaiian Islands, if indeed, it had ever sanctioned such a move. The Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that "the reports received...from Dr. Scheffer indicate that his rash conduct has already led to some unfortunate results." The official policy seems to have been one of waiting for a more propitious moment. The Russian American Company continued to send ships to Hawaii for a number of years, but their chance for effective action had been lost.

After Scheffer's departure, the fort was occupied by Hawaiian troops. Here, during 1820, a 21-gun salute was fired when the brig Thaddeus arrived with the son of Kaumualii, who had been attending school in the United States. The first Protestant mission settlement on Kauai was established on the riverbank near the fort in 1820. Upon the death of Kaumualii in Honolulu in 1824, his son and a few disaffected Kauai chiefs attempted to seize power by a surprise attack upon the Waimea fort, but they were repulsed after a bloody fight by loyalist forces under the great chief, Kalanimoku.



Russian Fort near Waimea, Kauai; view inside walls, 1958.

N.P.S. Photograph, 1958

The fort was garrisoned until about 1853, and some accounts state that a few soldiers continued to occupy it for ceremonial occasions until about 1860. The fort was dismantled and the guns sold in 1864.

Condition of the Site

The fort is in the form of "an irregular octagon," about 350 to 400 feet across. Its outer walls, still in good condition, are of piled stones. They are from 15 to 30 feet thick and about 20 feet high. Inside the walls are the foundations of the magazine, barracks, and other structures. On the bank of the river are the remains of a stone wharf. (See plan of Fort, following page 53.)

At the present time (April, 1962) the site is covered by a dense growth of underbrush; but it is occasionally cleared off by the County of Kauai, and at such times the impressive nature of the ruins is clearly apparent. The immediate fort grounds are attractively shaded by Keawe trees. The fort is closely surrounded by sugar cane fields on the south and east. To the north and west the structure overlooks the attractive beach and harbor of Waimea.

References: W. D. Alexander, *The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai, 1814-1816* (Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society, No. 6) (Honolulu, 1894); Ethel M. Damon, *Koamalu, A Story of Pioneers on Kauai* (2 vols., Honolulu, 1931), I, 255-256; A. Grove Day, "Russian Flags Over Hawaii," in *The Hawaii Book* (Chicago 1961), 85-94; Thelma H. Hadley and Margaret S. Williams, *Kauai, The Garden Island of Hawaii* (4th ed., Lihue, Kauai, 1956), 79-80 (maps); Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854* (Honolulu, 1957), 55-60; S. B. Okun, *The Russian-American Company* (American Council of Learned Societies, No. 9; Cambridge, Mass., 1951) 153-167; A. P. Taylor, "Russia's Monument to Intrigue in Hawaii," in *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 28, 1923.

KAWAIAHAO CHURCH

Location: 957 Punchbowl Street (corner of South King and Punchbowl Streets) in downtown Honolulu
Ownership: This active Congregational church belongs to its own congregation, organized as the Kawaiahao Church.

Significance

The historical significance of Kawaiahao Church is indicated by the fact that it is often called "the Westminister Abbey of Hawaii." Outgrowth of the original Mission Church founded in Boston in 1819 and of the first foreign church on Oahu, it symbolizes the work of the Protestant missionaries, "one of the motivating forces in the life of Honolulu and the Islands." As the state church, it was the scene of many celebrated events--inaugurations, funerals, weddings, thanksgiving ceremonies--associated with the Hawaiian kingdom. Although not the oldest surviving religious structure in the islands, it, as the church founded and designed by the Rev. Hiram Bingham, seems to be the most important and representative church of the Protestant missionary period. The Kawaiahao Church, the old adobe schoolhouse on its grounds, and the three nearby "Mission Houses," form a group of structures which seems best to illustrate the influence of the American Board missionaries upon Hawaii.

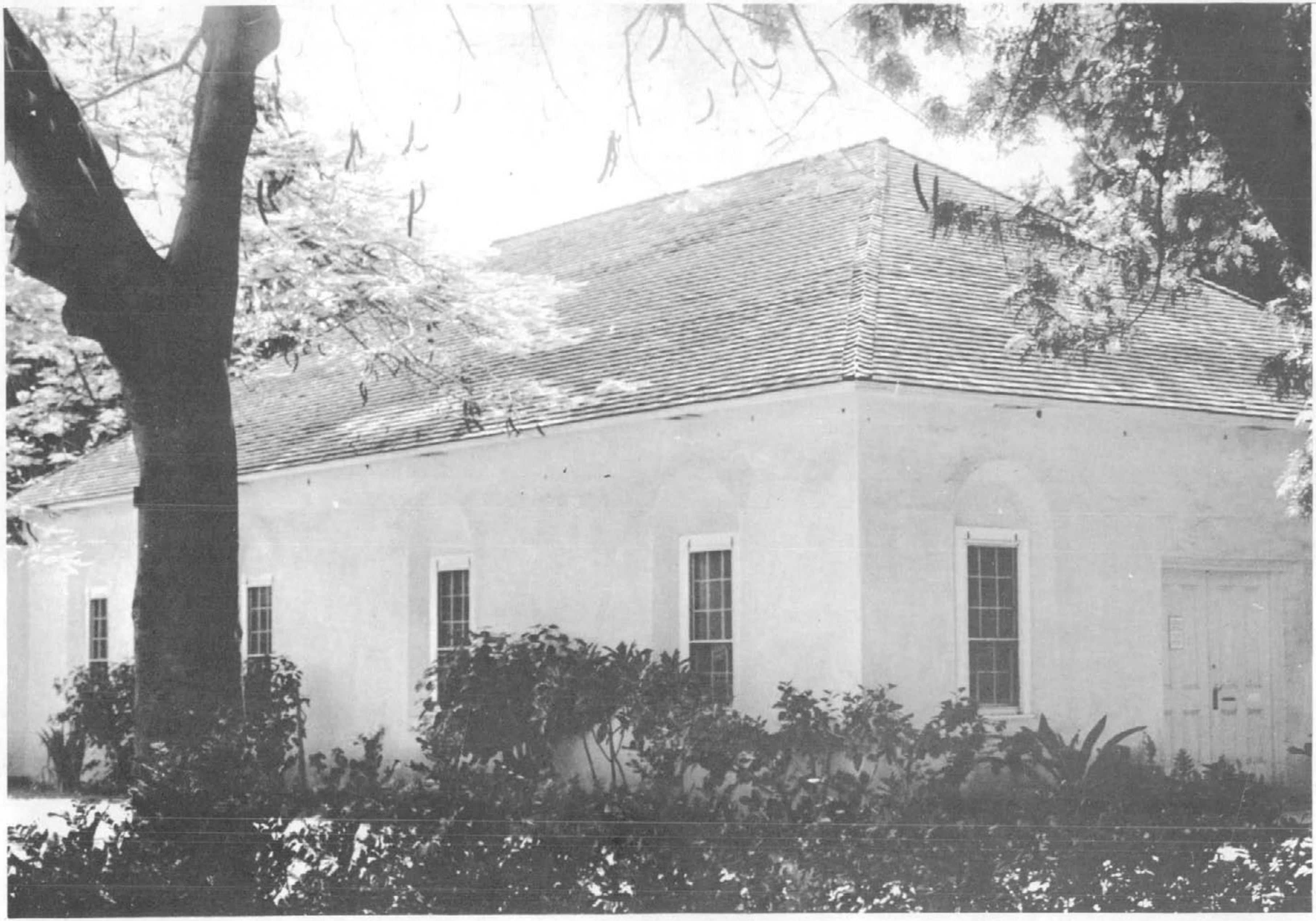
Its interest in Hawaii aroused by accounts of New England mariners and by Hawaiian youths who had reached the United States and been converted to Christianity, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions decided in 1819 to expand their work to the islands. A Hawaiian Mission Church was organized in Boston during October, 1819, and almost immediately thereafter a missionary party of 17 members under the direction of the Rev. Hiram Bingham and the Rev. Asa Thurston, set sail in the brig *Thaddeus*. The group, less a contingent dropped off at Kailua, landed at Honolulu on April 19, 1820. Four days later Mr. Bingham preached the first formal Protestant sermon in the island. The missionaries on Oahu were first assigned land near the Nuuanu Valley, but the king suddenly allotted them instead a tract on the dusty plain near Honolulu near a spring known as Kawaiahao. The "Hawaiian Pilgrims" took up residence there in thatched houses, a part of one dwelling serving as "the first foreign church on Oahu." This meeting room also served as a school on week days, and here was begun the educational work which was to make 80 per cent of the Hawaiian population literate within four decades--a remarkable achievement with far-reaching effects upon the development of the islands.

The congregation soon outgrew the first room, and in 1821 a thatch-roofed, wooden church, 54 by 22 feet in size, was built a short distance toward the sea from the site of the present church. This structure was "the first house consecrated for the worship of God in the Sandwich Islands." It burned in 1824, and Chief Kalanimoku, the prime minister of the Hawaiian kingdom, ordered another built at public expense. It stood near the site of the first and was built of wood, measuring 70 by 25 feet. Upon his return to Honolulu after surpressing a rebellion on Kauai, Kalanimoku early in 1825 ordered a public ceremony of thanksgiving held in this chapel. Apparently this was the first of a long series of public meetings held at Kawaiahao Church. Funeral services for King Liholiho and Queen Kamamalu, who had died in England, were also held in the chapel. To accommodate increasingly large congregations, which sometimes numbered 3,000, a large temporary chapel was built in 1825, but it was soon destroyed by a storm. It was followed by a third meetinghouse, built in 1827, and by a fourth, erecting in 1828-1829, the last being a high thatched building, 196 by 63 feet.

In 1833 services in English only began to be held at a building nearby, and Kawaiahao "became more distinctly a Hawaiian congregation." A permanent white congregation was formed in 1837, and the next year a second native church was formed.

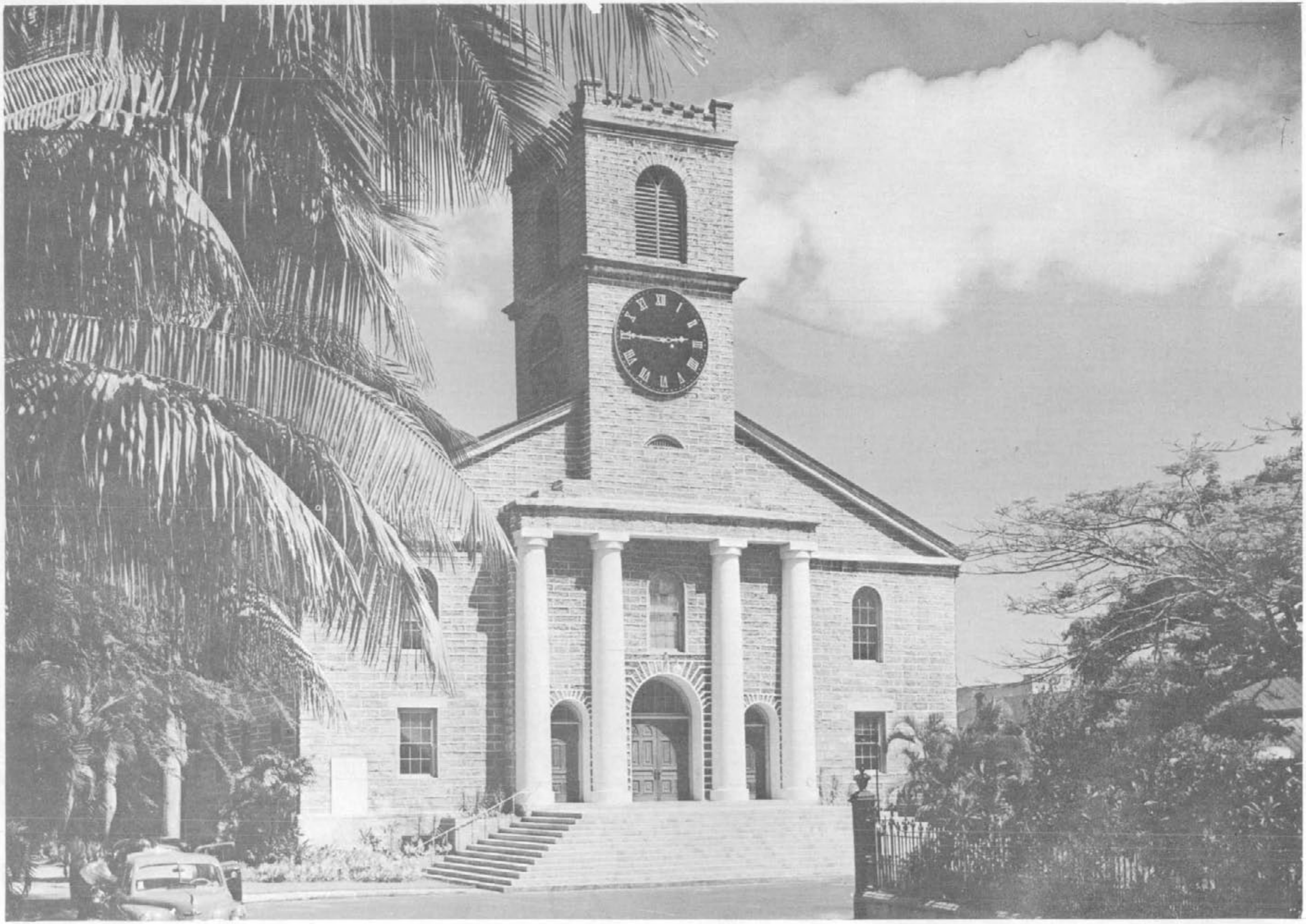
At the instance of King Kamehameha III, a long-planned stone church was begun in 1836. The task of constructing a stone building 144 feet long and 78 feet wide was a huge one for the time and place; and the funds to purchase needed lumber and materials from Boston were raised by public subscription. During 1837 the work of gathering local materials--almost 14,000 coral rocks, timber, and lime--was started. The corner-stone was laid on June 8, 1839; but Hiram Bingham, pastor and architect of the new church, was forced by ill health to leave before the building was completed. It remained for the Rev. Richard Armstrong to preside over the dedication on July 21, 1842. King Kamehameha III participated in the ceremony and gave the church lands to the membership. From its dedication until the present day Kawaiahao has remained an active church, and it is still considered "the center of worship for the Hawaiian race."

The structure also served as the scene for a number of important



American Protestant Mission School House, Honolulu; built of adobe about 1835.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962



Kawaiahao Church, Honolulu; called the "Westminster Abbey of Hawaii."

Courtesy Hawaii Visitors Bureau

The structure also served as the scene for a number of important state events, and it was for a number of years the place of the annual meetings of the American Mission. Here in 1843 King Kamehameha III held a thanksgiving ceremony after the restoration of Hawaiian rule by Admiral Thomas, on which occasion he is said to have spoken the words which became Hawaii's motto. The legislative assembly of 1848 was convened in the church. Here Kamehameha IV and King Lunalilo were formally "inaugurated"; and here met the unfortunate constitutional convention of 1864. In this building Kamehameha IV married Emma Rooke in 1856; and here lay in state the bodies of Kamehameha III, Queen Emma, Princess Kaiulani, Queen Liliuokalani, and many other notables of the Hawaiian kingdom.

The building has had several changes in name. At first called Stone Church, Honolulu First Church, or the King's Chapel, the name Kawaiahao church came into formal usage in 1862. The church has been remodeled somewhat since 1842. About 1885 a legacy from Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop was used to remove the small steeple and add coral stone to give the square tower its present height. In 1894 the ceiling was found to be unsafe due to termite damage; and most of the woodwork was replaced, with some architectural alterations. Termites again forced a restoration in 1926, and this time the original galleries were restored, but in steel and concrete instead of wood.

On the church property is the old American Protestant Mission School House (q.v.) built of adobes about 1835. It was renovated about 1920 and leased to the Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid Association. This handsome but simple structure, with its deeply recessed windows, is is said to house "one of the most beautiful rooms in Honolulu." It has recently been relinquished by the Free Kindergarten and is under church control but presently unused.

The grounds also contain the tomb of King Lunalilo, who preferred to be buried here rather than in the Royal Mausoleum in Nuuanu Valley.

Condition of the Site:

The Kawaiahao Church, "neoclassical" in style and set in several acres of garden and cemetery, is one of the handsomest architectural adornments of downtown Honolulu. Designed by Hiram Bingham, "it took the shape of the plain, dignified churches he had known in his homeland, with nothing but the four columns in front and the wooden steeple (later altered to stone) to relieve its foursquare boxiness." With its gray coral walls and white trim, it is a church straight out of New England.

The church as it now stands after restoration is sound and fireproof. The south side of the building was altered in 1929 by the addition of an office wing. A large parish house and kitchen of modern design were added to the office in 1940. These additions, being confined to the side of the building not observed by most visitors, do not greatly detract from the historic scene. The church is still very active and continues to carry out its historic functions as a religious center for the Hawaiian people. Services are conducted in both English and Hawaiian.

References: Ethel M. Damon, The Stone Church at Kawaiahao, 1820-1944 (Honolulu, 1945); Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1938), 220, 338, 342, 354, 413; Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874 (Honolulu, 1953), 33, 83, 106, 239, 245; Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, Hawaii: A History (New York, 1948), 250.

MISSION HOUSES (THE THREE OLD MISSION HOUSES: OLDEST FRAME HOUSE, FIRST PRINTING HOUSE, CHAMBERLAIN HOUSE).

Location: 553 South King Street (corner of King and Kawaiahao Streets), in downtown Honolulu

Ownership: The three houses and their spacious grounds are owned by the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society. The Society's office and library are in an adjacent building on the property.

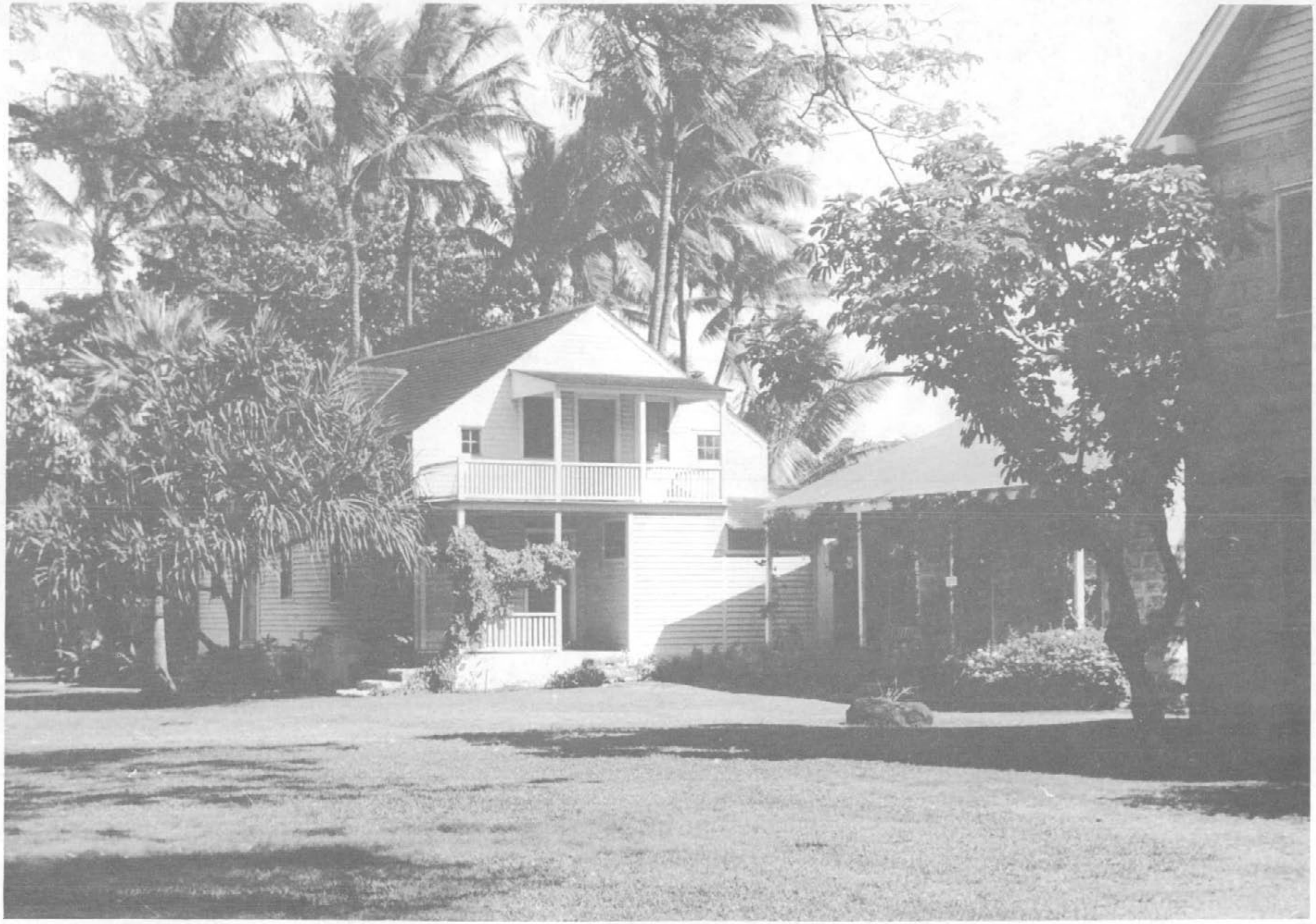
Significance

These three buildings, together with the nearby Kawaiahao Church, form the most important and impressive single physical monument to the work of the Hawaiian Mission, sent to Hawaii by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, a Protestant organization supported by the Congregational, Presbyterian, and several other churches. For about 40 years after 1820 the Protestant missionaries probably were the most important force in Hawaiian politics, economics, religion, education, and social customs. The missionaries found the native Hawaiian culture disintegrating after the abolition of the old kapus and under the impact of European technology. They provided a new set of ideals and standards around which the natives could orient their lives. They found the native population decimated by European diseases and vices. They introduced medicine and attempted to regulate morals. They became advisers to royalty and brought law and demoracy into the government to replace feudal autocracy and royal whim, helped keep the islands free of European entanglements, and strengthened economic and political ties with the United States. They found the Hawaiians illiterate and taught most of the population to read and write; they introduced ideals of universal education which still persist. They attempted to teach the natives the mechanical techniques of Western culture and introduced new agricultural methods and crops in the hope of creating a population of independent freeholders. The total impact of these efforts was tremendous, and the effects are apparent to this day. Even after the power of the missionaries was reduced, they and their families were an important factor in the group of foreigners who came to dominate the economic and political life of the islands.

The center of all this effort was in the Mission Houses in Honolulu, which in effect were the island headquarters of the Hawaiian Mission. Here was the source of that driving zeal and idealism which have helped mold the modern Hawaii. The significance of these structures has been well stated by Bradford Smith, who wrote in 1956: "In the heart of Honolulu, surrounded by a coral wall, the old mission houses still stand--the old white clapboard house where Bingham lived, the little coral print shop, the thick-walled coral house Levi Chamberlain built. Past them streams the modern traffic of a busy city. But they are still there in the heart of it all. And so are Bingham and Richards, and Judd and Armstrong, and all the rest--forevermore."

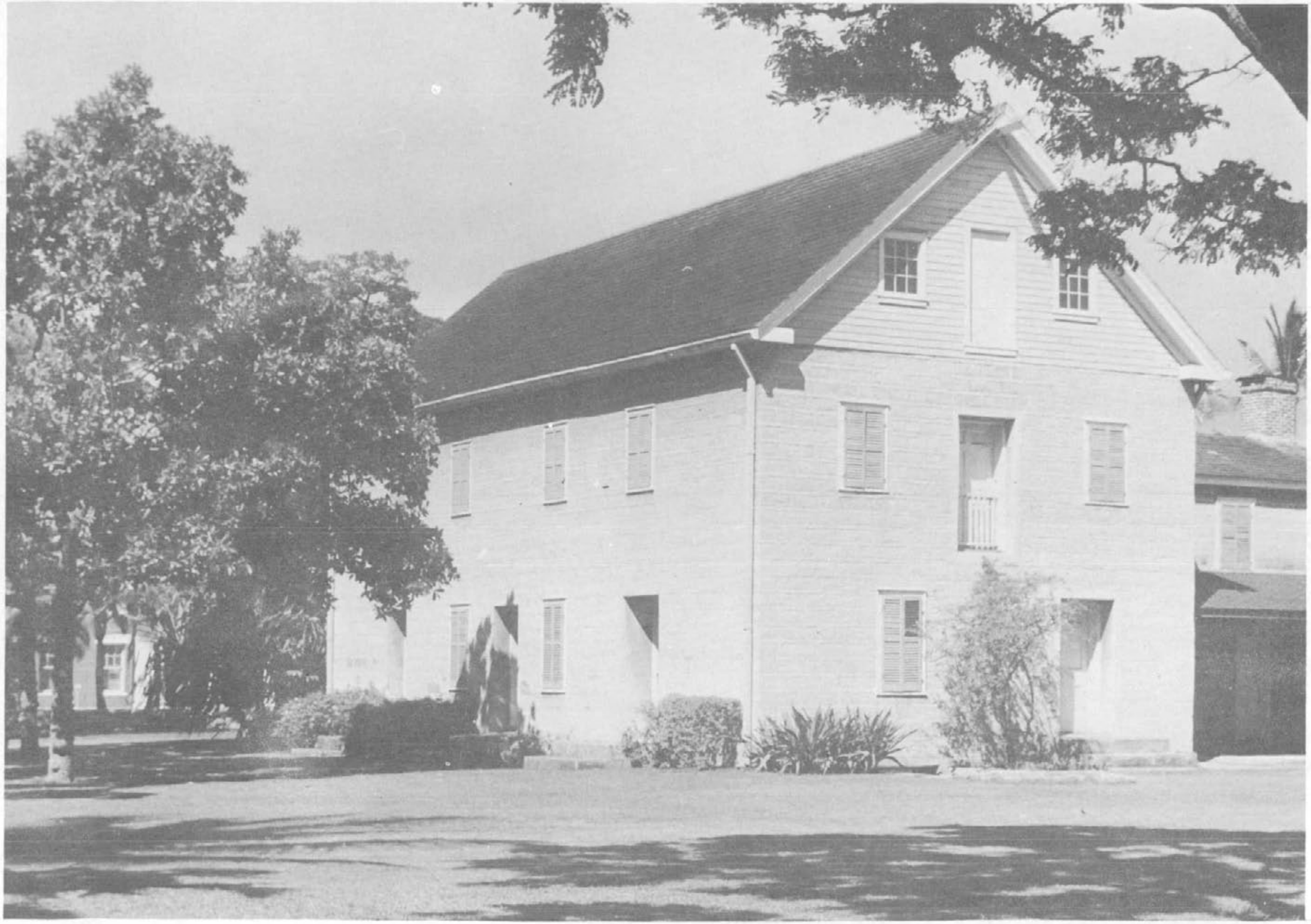
The stories of the individual buildings are as follows:

Oldest Frame House. When the first company of missionaries prepared to leave New England for Hawaii in 1819, a Boston shipping firm donated an entire frame house, disassembled, to be erected in the islands "for the comfort of the ladies." There being no room on the first vessel, the *Thaddeus*, the house did not reach Honolulu until Christmas day, 1820, by which time the missionaries at that place had spent nearly 8 uncomfortable months in thatched houses. Unloaded from the *Tartar*, the house was erected only after some delay, occasioned by the need for



Missionary Houses, Honolulu: The Oldest Frame House (left), the First Printing House (center), and the Chamberlain House (right).

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962



Chamberlain House, Honolulu; erected 1830-1831 as the storehouse for the Hawaiian Mission property. N. P. S. Photograph, 1962 obtaining royal permission to erect a house larger than the king's. The carpenter work was performed by the missionaries themselves. During August, 1821, the Levi Chamberlain family moved into the one room then completed. The attached kitchen was not built until 1823, and the exterior clapboarding was also a later improvement.

This building was not, as is frequently stated, the first frame house to be erected in the islands, since several chiefs had bought similar dwellings from traders, but at the time "it was the most impressive." The house sheltered a number of mission families, including, until 1840, that of Hiram Bingham, the firm and stubborn, but able, leading spirit of the mission during its first 2 decades. "Through him," it has been said, "the New England mind pressed its qualities so strongly upon Hawaii that other possibilities came to seem alien."

Lucy Thurston, a missionary wife who was among the first residents in the house, has left a record of her joy at being able to move into a structure which had doors that could be shut against the ever-present curious natives. The cheerful wallpaper--pink, with vines of tinsel--was the gift of a sea captain and was stuck on with poi.

The house was sold by the mission to the Cooke family in 1851, and in 1925 it was deeded to the Mission Children's Society. The latest of several restorations was carried out in 1935, at which time the framework was replaced.

First Printing House. Even before the first missionaries left Boston, they realized that the success of their work would be largely dependent upon their being able to spread their religious message through the printed word. They brought with them on the Thaddeus a battered, second-hand Ramage press and a young printer, Elisha Loomis. Since Loomis was kept busy with carpentry and other duties, it was January 7, 1822, before the first printing was done in a grass house in Honolulu. This earliest printing in the "North Pacific region" was a vast impetus to the spread of education among the Hawaiian people.

In December, 1822, Daniel Chamberlain began construction of a more permanent print shop. The walls were of coral blocks cut nearby and cemented with common soil. The small shop, 28 by 17 feet, was completed in December, 1823, and saw "the genesis of the important printing industry" of present-day Hawaii. An early product was a 60-page hymnal; and before the end of 1823 Loomis produced the first commercial printing product--some blank bills of lading. By about 1828 the printing work of the mission had increased so enormously that the press was moved to larger quarters across the street. The coral shop was thereafter used as an adjunct of the frame house and changed ownership with it.

This Printing House is the oldest surviving structure to be associated with the Hawaiian Mission press, which exerted such an important influence upon island history. Largely due to its products, the Hawaiian people in a remarkably short time came to possess one of the highest rates of literacy in the world.

The Chamberlain House. Levi Chamberlain, described as a man who "never demanded as much of others as he asked of himself," came to Honolulu in 1823 as business agent for the mission. It was his task to store the food, clothing, furniture, and other supplies needed by all the island stations and to distribute them as required. Grass houses proved inefficient and costly for warehouse use, and in 1830 he started to build a two-story, coral-stone structure, with cellar and attic. When the building was completed in December, 1831, he moved his family into 3 rooms on the lower floor. The rest of the house was used to store the mission property. The pulley and door used to raise the boxes and barrels to the second story are still in place.

Long in ill health, Chamberlain called his family about his bed one day in 1849 and said to his wife, "Farewell. Very pleasantly have we lived together for twenty-one years. Now we must separate. I commit you to the Lord." Then this man, who more than any one other had kept the fiscal affairs of the mission in good order, fell asleep and died with "not a wrinkle in his forehead." The Chamberlain family continued to live in the house and, later, acquired ownership. It became the property of the Mission Children's Society in 1910.

Condition of the Site

The 3 old structures and the approximately one acre of landscaped grounds upon which they stand are in excellent condition. The First House has been largely reconstructed of new materials, and concrete and steel foundations have been provided; but the structure preserves its original appearance, and many of the "clapboards, doors, windows, floor and siding boards, cupboards, and shutters" are original. The First Printing House, except for its metal roof, retains its early appearance. The Chamberlain House was "completely renovated" in

1919, but apparently it was little altered. Thus, except for the beautifully landscaped grounds which bear little resemblance to the dusty plain of early mission days, the site maintains its essential historical integrity.

The structures are open to the public as house museums and as museums for artifacts associated with the mission history. Outstanding items on display include the old mission press which printed "some 30,000,000" pages of English and Hawaiian religious and educational materials; drip stones used by the missionaries to filter salt from the brackish drinking water; and toys and dolls associated with missionary families. A recent (1950) concrete building on the grounds houses the valuable libraries of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society and the Hawaiian Historical Society.

References: A Grove Day, Hawaii and Its People (New York, 1955), 72, 78, 97-101; (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society), The Three Old Mission Houses (folder, rev. ed., Honolulu, 1958; Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu, 1938), passim; "Mission Houses, Honolulu" (Typewritten, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society); Bradford Smith, Yankee in Paradise (Philadelphia, 1956), 71-75, 294-295; Lucy G. Thurston, Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston (Honolulu, 1934), 63-64, 240.

LAHAINA

Location: Lahaina is a town on the west coast of the Island of Maui; it can be reached by automobile from the Kahului Airport

Ownership: Most of the remaining historic structures and sites are privately owned (see discussions of individual sites below); but the town square, the streets, the waterfront, and certain other key segments of the scene are publicly owned, largely by the State of Hawaii and the County of Maui. An interim county zoning ordnance, adopted August 18, 1961, has established an area of approximately four square blocks as the Lahaina Historic District.

Significance

Perhaps no island town so well preserves the atmosphere of a mid-19th century Hawaiian seaport as does Lahaina; and thus it seems to be the key site for illustrating and commemorating one of the broad factors which resulted in the Americanization of Hawaii and which helped lead eventually to the annexation of the islands by the United States--the whaling industry. From about 1830 to about 1860 the semi-annual visits of the American whaling fleet to Lahaina and other Hawaiian ports constituted the dominant force in island economy, stimulating a diversified agriculture and a general trade which helped spread Western technology among the Hawaiian people. Also, the thirsting of thousands of seamen for liquor and women resulted in annual struggles with the authorities attempting to enforce the missionary induced "blue laws," a long campaign which the forces of law and order eventually won, with important effects upon the social and political conditions in the islands. The vital and long-continued need of the whalers for bases in the islands was one of the primary factors bringing Hawaii to the attention of the United States Government. In addition, Lahaina was the royal residence and capital during much of the critical period when Hawaii was changing from a feudal autocracy to a constitutional monarchy, and it was associated with many of the key events of that transition.

According to tradition, Lahaina was from time immemorial a favorite residence of Maui kings and chiefs and a convenient port for inter-island travelers. The powerful Kahekili, ruler of all the islands except Hawaii, lived here until his death in 1794; and Kamehameha the Great landed here to begin his final conquest of Maui. By that time the port had become a well-known point of call for trading and exploring vessels, whose captains found the open roadstead a safe and convenient anchorage. For a couple of decades after 1812 it was an important shipping point for the sandalwood trade.

A new era of prominence and activity for Lahaina began in December, 1819, when Kamehameha II moved his residence here for several months. From then until 1843 Lahaina was a frequent, though not continuous, royal residence and capital. In 1819, also, the first American whaling ships reached the islands, and by 1822 there were 34 whalers making Hawaii a base of refreshment. From that time the number increased rapidly. Although Honolulu was originally the port most favored by the whalers, Lahaina often surpassed it in the number of recorded visits, particularly from about 1840 to 1855. Another event which was to have much effect upon the growth and social structure of Lahaina was the arrival of the first missionaries in the islands during 1820. The first missionaries to become established at Lahaina, the Rev. C. S. Stewart and the Rev. William Richards, arrived in 1823 accompanied by Queen Mother Keopuolani. These three factors--political prominence, visits of whaling ships, and the development of a particularly influential mission under the protection of some of the most powerful chiefs of the land, resulted, as one writer has somewhat exuberantly said, in starting Lahaina "off to a historical romp that probably will never be equalled."

The great event of 1823 was the death of Keopuolani at Lahaina. Within an hour before "joining the Great Majority" she had been baptized as a Christian, an occurrence which proved a great stimulus to increasing the influence of the missionaries. King Kaumualii of Kaui was, at his special request, buried beside Keopuolani in 1824. The bodies of Kamehameha II and his queen were brought back from London in 1825 and interred at Lahaina until they were later moved to the royal tomb in Honolulu. When Kamehameha III ascended the throne, he settled upon Lahaina as his home and seat of government.

Meanwhile, the missionaries were making rapid advances, drawing thousands of Hawaiians to worship and persuading the chiefs, especially the able governor of Maui, Chief Hoapili, to institute regulations against the sale of liquor and against visits to ships by island women. These restrictions were considered too rigorous by the "sea-bittered" sailors who swarmed ashore seeking pleasure, and in 1825 the crew of the English whaler Daniel rioted through the town for three days, twice threatening the lives of the Rev. Richards and his wife. Two years later the crew of another English whaler, the John Palmer, actually fired their cannons at the Richards house to force the release of their American captain who had been detained by the authorities in an effort to obtain the return of four "base women" who had been illegally enticed aboard the vessel. These difficulties with unruly seamen lasted as long as Lahaina remained a whaling port, but the Hawaiians, by controlling liquor and enforcing curfews, maintained the upper hand, and Lahaina was known as a more orderly port than Honolulu. Even so, one minister in the later 1840's described the town as "one of the breathing-holes of hell."

Lahaina, as the island capital, was associated with many of the most important political developments in the kingdom during the reigns of Kamehameha II and Kamehameha III. Here Kaahumanu, Queen Regent, promulgated the famous laws based on the Ten Commandments. Here the first Hawaiian Legislature met in 1840, and the first written constitution was promulgated at Lahaina during the same year. Since much of this evolution from feudalism was undertaken upon the advice of the Rev. Mr. Richards, it perhaps is not too much of an exaggeration to say that Lahaina at this time was "the cradle of Hawaiian democracy." But after the seizure of the islands by the British during 1843, it was decided that the capital should be at Honolulu, and Lahaina was relegated to the position of an occasional royal residence.

Lahaina was at the height of its prosperity as a whaling port about 1846, at which time about 400 ships a year visited the town to replenish their water and supplies. In that year the population at Lehaina numbered 3,557 persons, of whom 212 were foreigners. There were 1096 houses, mostly strung out along the kukui-shaded main street, 10 schools, a seamen's chapel, 1 main church with 5 or 6 district churches, and a number of public buildings. "About 500 native families," it was reported, "eat at the table in the style of civilization."

By 1862 the whaling industry was in a definite and permanent decline. The effect on Lahaina was marked. Prosperity ended, prices fell, cattle and crops were a drug on the market, and ship chandleries and retail stores began to wither. The town subsided to a lower level of economic importance, and life revolved around the sugar mill, later known as the Pioneer Mill Company, which was established about 1860-1861, and around several other mills and plantations which sprang up from time to time in the vicinity. By 1885, when Charles Warren Stoddard visited Lahaina, the town was "a charming, drowsy and dreamy village." (For a general view of Lahaina see photograph following p. 27.)

The principal historic structures and sites still visible include the following:

1. Baldwin House. This handsome two-story home, built of coral blocks, with a two-story wing, is located on Front Street at Dickenson Street; it and the 42360-square-foot lot on which it stands are owned by the H. P. Baldwin Estate.

The missionaries at Lahaina were given a tract of land for residence purposes by the local nobility in 1823, and the Rev. William Richards moved into a two-story stone dwelling (since destroyed) there in 1827. In 1832 Ephriam and Julia Spaulding arrived in Lahaina to join the mission staff, and in 1834 Spaulding started construction of the main section and "cook house" of the present Baldwin House adjoining the Richards dwelling. Completed early in 1835, the house was occupied by the Spauldings until 1836, when they left Lahaina due to poor health. Dr. Dwight Baldwin and his family moved into the house when the Spauldings left and occupied it until Dr. Baldwin was transferred to Honolulu in

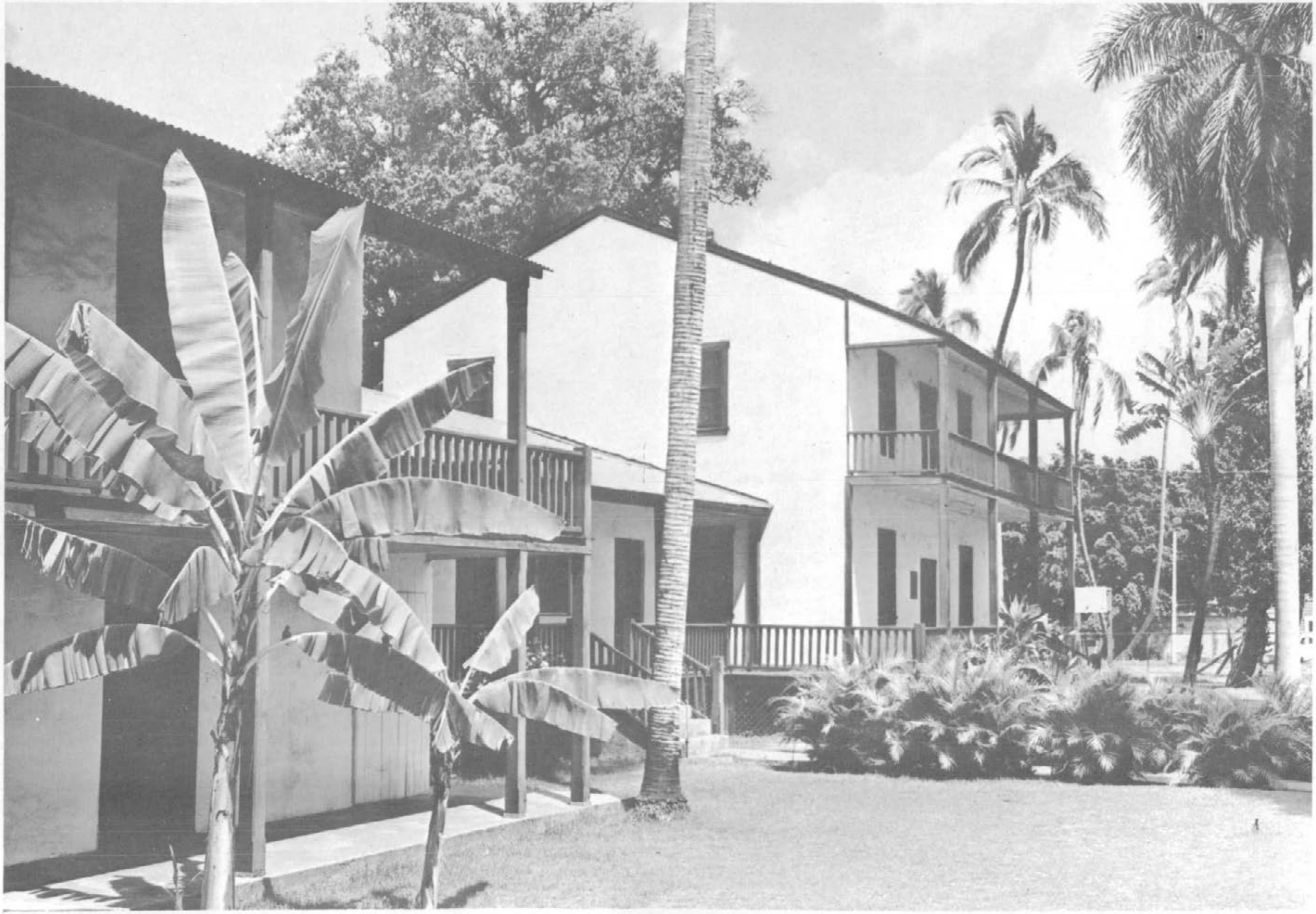
1868 (some sources say the Baldwins lived in the house until 1871). During this long occupancy the structure becamse known as the "Baldwin House."

Dr. Baldwin, in addition to serving as pastor of the Hawaiian church àt Lahaina and, for a time, as seamen's chaplain, was a medical doctor; and he was government physician for the islands of Maui, Molokai, and Lanai. It was his duty to greet visitors to the Lahaina mission and the nearby Lahainaluna Seminary; and guests were thus frequent. He renovated the structure extensively in 1847-1849 and added the right wing as a dispensary and office.

Dr. Baldwin's son, Henry P. Baldwin, was born in this house and later acquired extensive interests on the Island of Maui. The house has remained in the Baldwin family to the present time. It served an important part in Hawaiian social and cultural development when Mrs. Henry P. Baldwin sponsored a community center there which included a kindergarten, night-school, circulating library, language school, and high school. Used until lately as a community center, clinic, and Girl Scout headquarters, it now (April, 1962) appears to be closed but is kept in excellent condition. It is one of the oldest and best-preserved missionary dwellings.

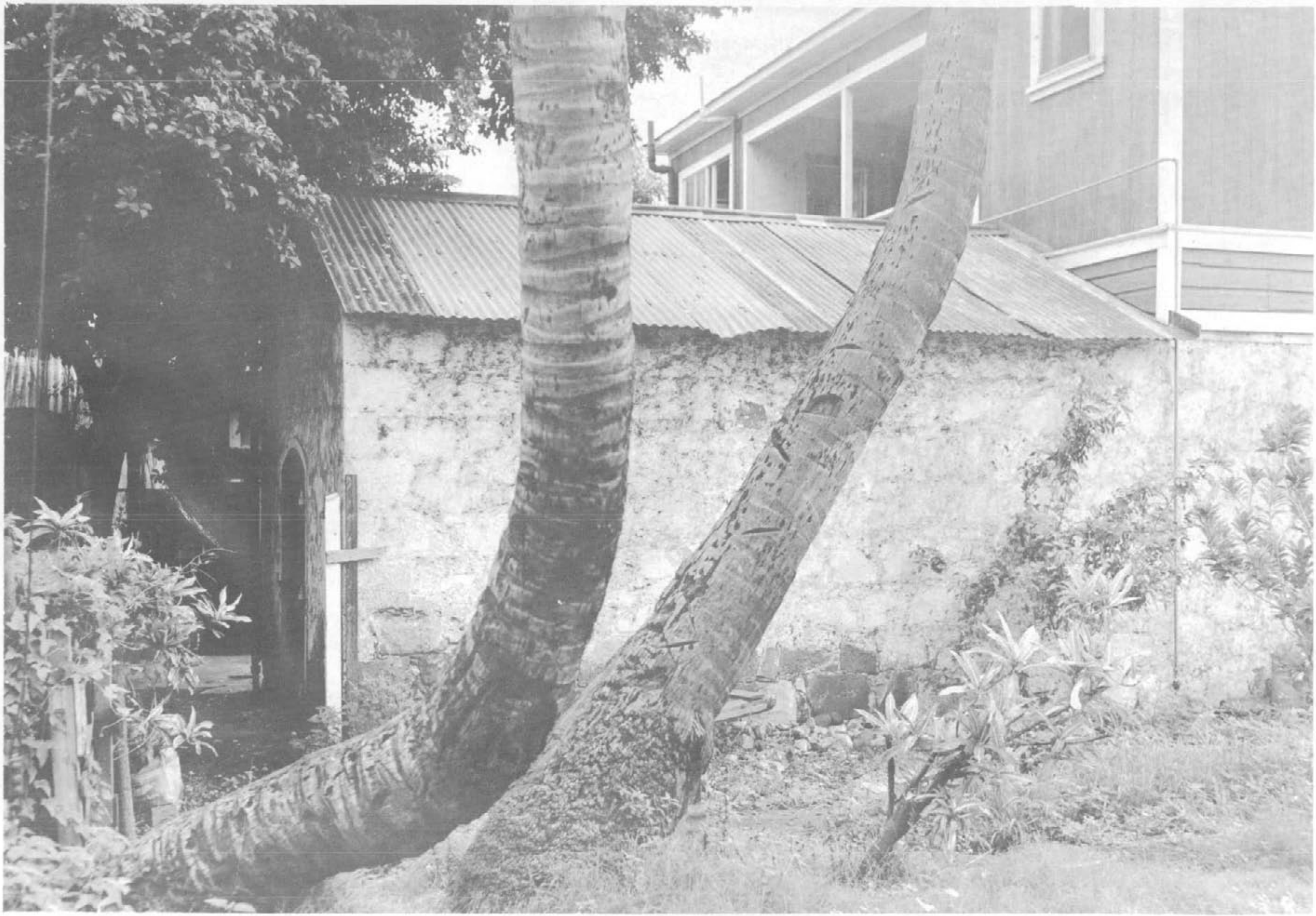
2. Old Spring House. Located 200 feet south of the Baldwin House and set well back from Front Street at the rear of a later frame structure, this small stone building is privately owned.

It is said to have been built by the Rev. William Richards in 1823 to enclose a spring to supply water not only for his own dwelling nearby but for the entire community and for ships anchored off the town. According to local tradition, a hand pump here was visited by



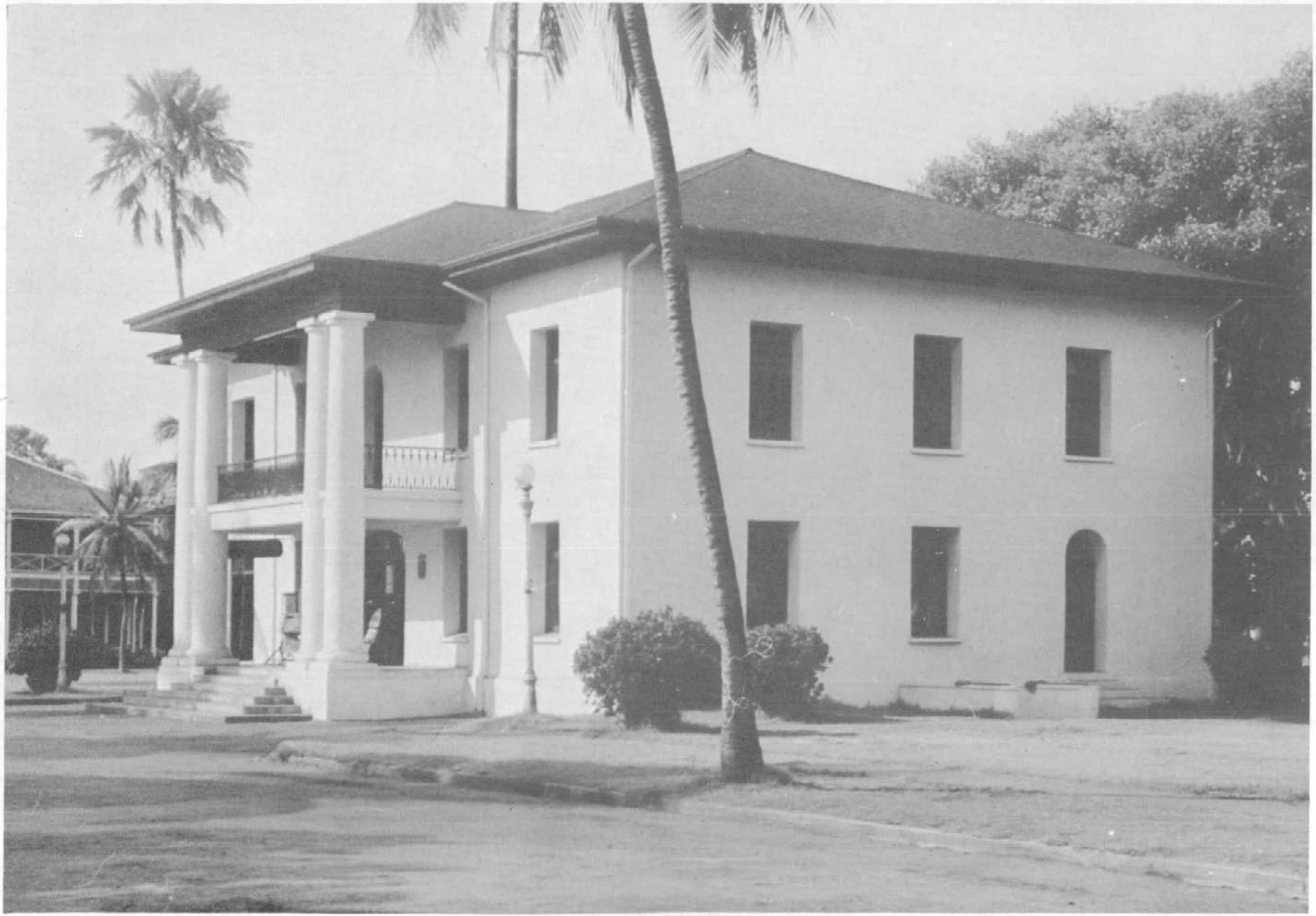
Baldwin House, Lahaina; the main house (right) was completed in 1835; wing (left) was added by Dr. Dwight Baldwin as a dispensary about 1847-9.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962



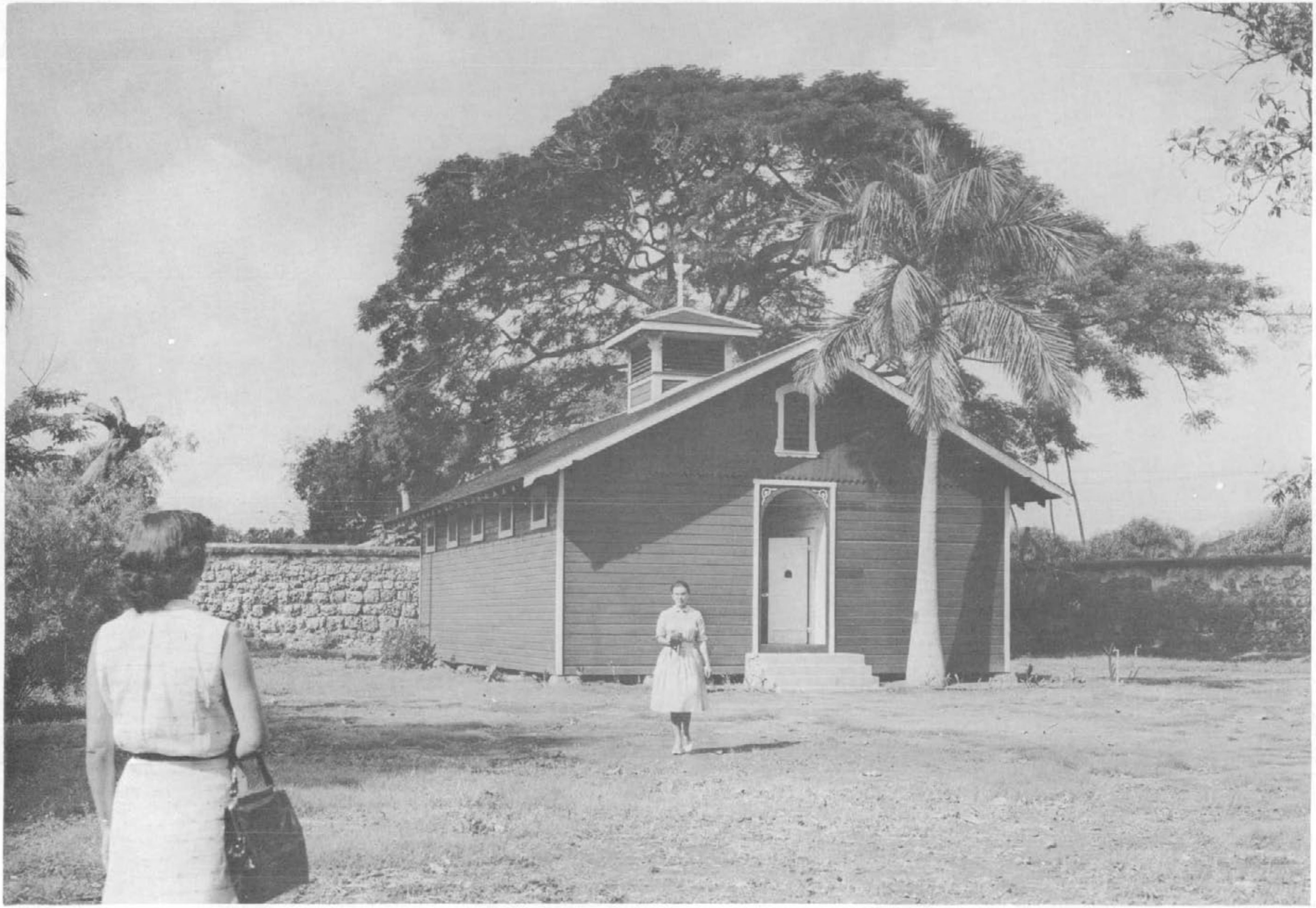
Old Spring House, Lahaina, Maui; built during the 1820's to enclose a spring from which Lahaina families and visiting ships obtained water.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1961



Custom House and Court House, Lahaina, Maui, constructed in 1859.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962



Cell Block of Old Prison, Lahaina, Maui, 1961.

Courtesy Hawaii Visitors Bureau

crews of sailors who "constantly rolled huge casks for water." The Spring House apparently is thus one of the few remaining physical links with the whaling era.

3. Court House. This solid, two-story stone building stands on Wharf Street, in the 1.94-acre square bounded by Wharf, Hotel, Front, and Canal Streets; it is owned by the State of Hawaii.

In 1858 a violent windstorm damaged the governor's house and the Hale Piula, the former palace which housed the government offices. A survey early in that year resulted in a recommendation that a new building to house the customs offices and courts should be built on the site of the old stone fort. Funds were appropriated for the "Lahaina Court and Custom House and Government Offices," and the new building was reported as nearly complete by December, 1859. In addition to the offices mentioned above, it contained the governor's office, post office, and "a room in which to starve the jury into unanimity." The building was extensively rebuilt in 1925, with a considerable change in its appearance. The basic structure remains, however. Still housing about the same types of offices as when it was first erected, it serves as a link with the days of the kingdom. The Court House Square is famed today for its banyan tree, planted by the sheriff of Lahaina in 1873 and proclaimed today as "Hawaii's largest."

4. Old Prison (Hale Paahao). The one-story jailhouse, built of heavy planks, stands at the corner of Wainee Street and Prison Road in grounds 0.82 acre in extent surrounded by a high wall of coral blocks. It is owned by the County of Maui.

In addition to ordinary criminals, the authorities at Lahaina gene generally had on their hands a number of boisterous seamen who had run afoul of the law in one way or another during their periods of "refreshment" ashore. During the 1830's and 1840's prisoners usually were confined in the fort which stood on the seaward side of the present square. The most common cause of incarceration was failure to obey the sundown curfew. Liberty expired with the setting of the sun when, said one vi visitor during the 1840's, the sailors, drunk or sober, "must be off to their ships, or into the fort," and he painted a vivid picture of the reeling seamen hustling along to the shore "caressed and hung upon by native girls, who flock here in the ship season, from other parts, to get the ready wages of sin."

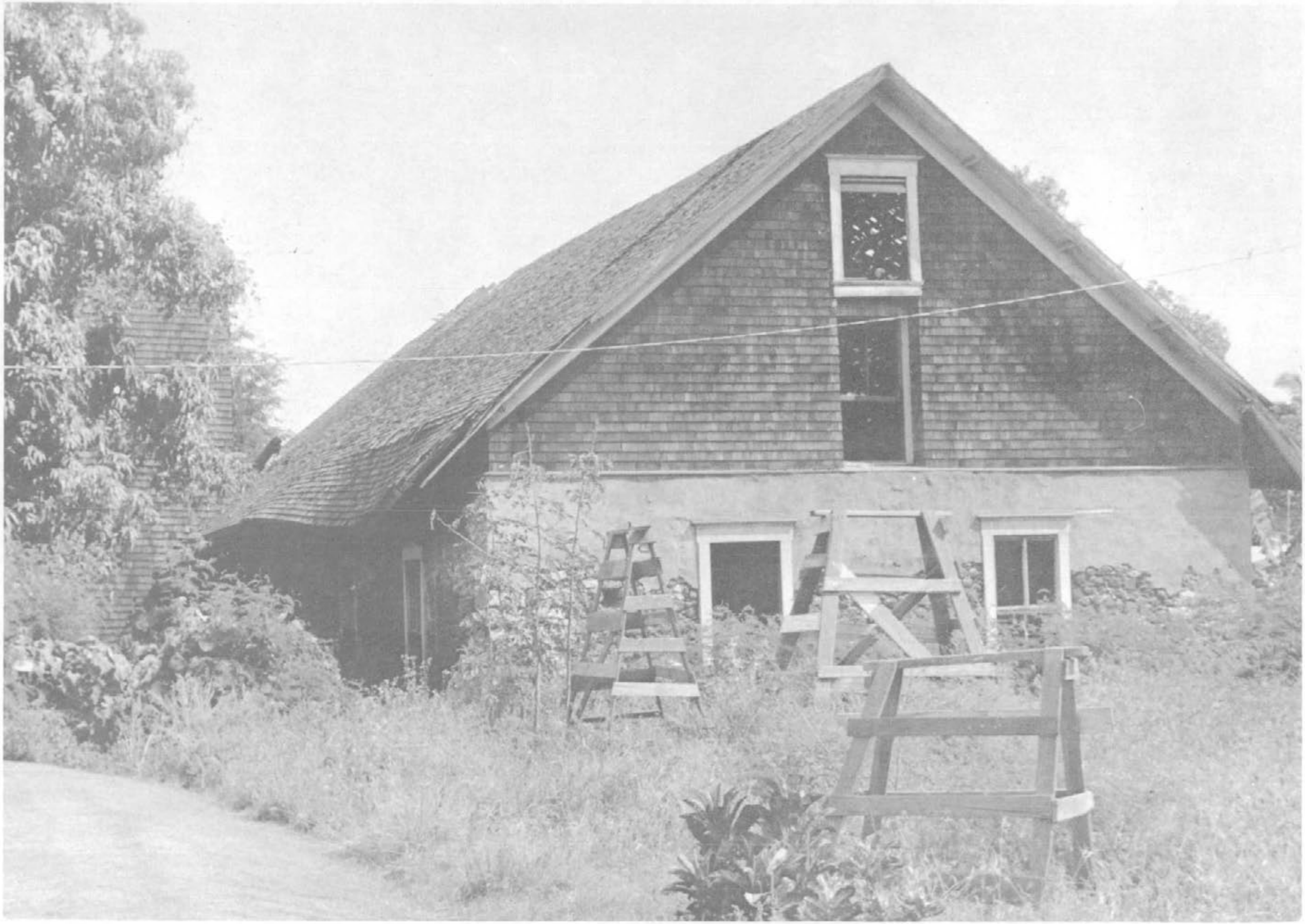
In 1851 the fort physician complained that conditions for prisoners were unhealthful, and evidently as a result construction of a new prison was started in 1852. The main cell block, built of planks, was constructed in that year, but the wall around the grounds, built of coral blocks from the old fort, was not erected until about 1854. Prisoners performed much of the labor. The original cell house burned in 1958; and it and the wooden gate house were reconstructed in 1959 and now present a fine appearance. The prison is open to the public as an historical exhibit.

5. *Wainee Church and Cemetery (Waiola Cemetery and Church)*. The present church structure (1953) and the old cemetery occupy a tract of 2.45 acres on Wainee Street, between Chapel and Shaw Streets. The property is owned by the Waiola Protestant Church.

For several years after the American Board missionaries reached Lahaina in 1823, services were held in temporary structures. In 1828 the chiefs, led by Hoapili, proposed to build a new stone church, and the present site was selected. The cornerstone was laid on September 14, 1828, for this "first stone meeting-house built at the Islands." Dedicated on March 4, 1832, this large, two-story, galleried Wainee Church was twice destroyed by Kauaula winds and once, in 1894, by a fire of incendiary origin. The present church structure was dedicated in 1953, at which time the name was changed to Waiola.

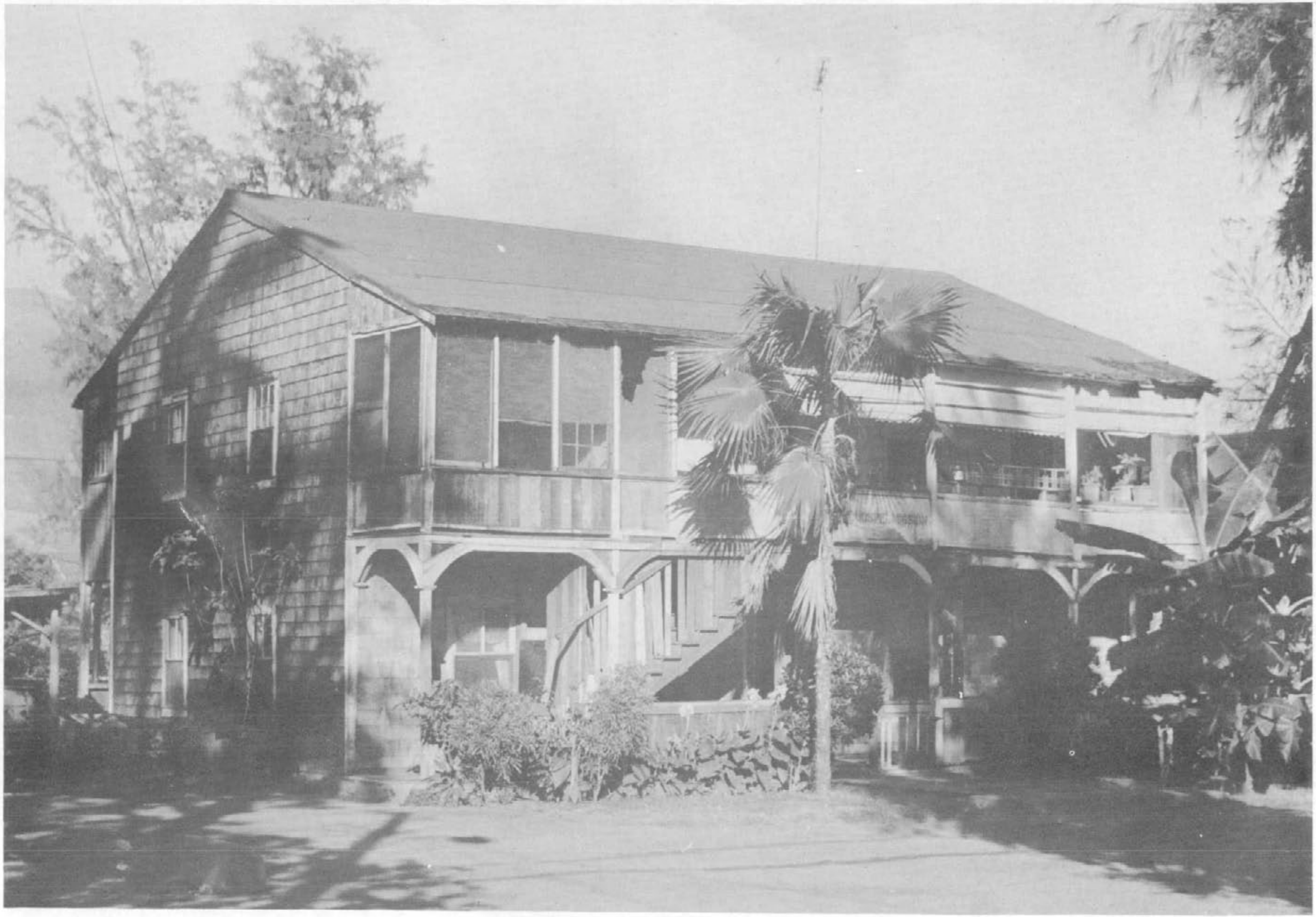
The adjoining cemetery is said to date from 1823. It contains the body of Keopuolani, wife of Kamehameha the Great and mother of Kamehameha II and Kamehameha III. She was largely responsible for the overthrow of the kapu system, and her early interest in Christianity was of much assistance in the founding of the Protestant missions. She is said to have been the first convert of the missionaries in the islands. Other prominent Hawaiian nobles interred here include Governor Hoapili, King Kaumualii, Princess Nahienaena, Queen Kalakua, and Governess Liliha. Here, too, is buried the Rev. William Richards, the pioneer missionary and advisor to the Hawaiian monarchy. Seeing his grave near that of the nobles, a visitor late in the 1840's was constrained to write, "There they lie in the burying-ground, hard by together, the missionary teacher and the converted heathen."

6. Hale Aloha. This dilapidated stone building stands behind the Episcopal Cemetery in about the center of the large block bounded by Wainee, Hale, and Chapel Streets and Prison Road. It is best reached from Wainee Street. It stands on a 15900-square-foot tract owned by



Hale Aloha Church, Lahaina, completed in 1858.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962



United States Marine Hospital, Lahaina, Maui; erected in 1843, this stone building is a relic of whaling days.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962

Waiola Protestant Church.

The predecessor of this building, known as the Hale Halewai, or Hale Lai, is sometimes said to have been built as early as 1823; and it, instead of the Wainee Church, is occasionally claimed as the first stone church in the islands. At any rate, this "sectional" meetinghouse was in bad condition by 1855, and the church voted to rebuild completely, the walls being "too old fashioned to be tolerated in these go-ahead days." The present building, called "Hale Aloha," was completed in 1858 and was "the largest sectional meetinghouse of its time." In 1860 the government fitted it out for use as an English school. In 1908 it became the parish house for the Wainee Church. The building is now in ruinous condition.

7. United States Marine Hospital. On the landward side of Front Street, between Kenui and Baker Streets, about 0.6 mile north of the Baldwin House (Dickenson St.). It is owned by the Bernice P. Bishop Estate.

In 1842 Captain John Stetson was appointed first American vice consular agent in Lahaina. Probably it was shortly thereafter that a marine hospital was established for sick and injured American merchant seamen. At any rate, Herman Melville noted that one of his shipmates was discharged from the Achusnet at Lahaina on May 29, 1843, and died in the United States Marine Hospital of a "disreputable disease." The hospital could accommodate about 60 men. In 1865 the structure was sold to the Episcopal Church and became a school for girls, and during the 1870's it was turned into a vicarage and served as such for more than 30 years.

The exterior walls of the two-story stone structure have been covered with shingles, but the front verandahs running the length of both stories still remain, and the building retains its historical integrity. It is used as a residence and is in fair condition. It is an important link with the days of Lahaina's maritime glory.

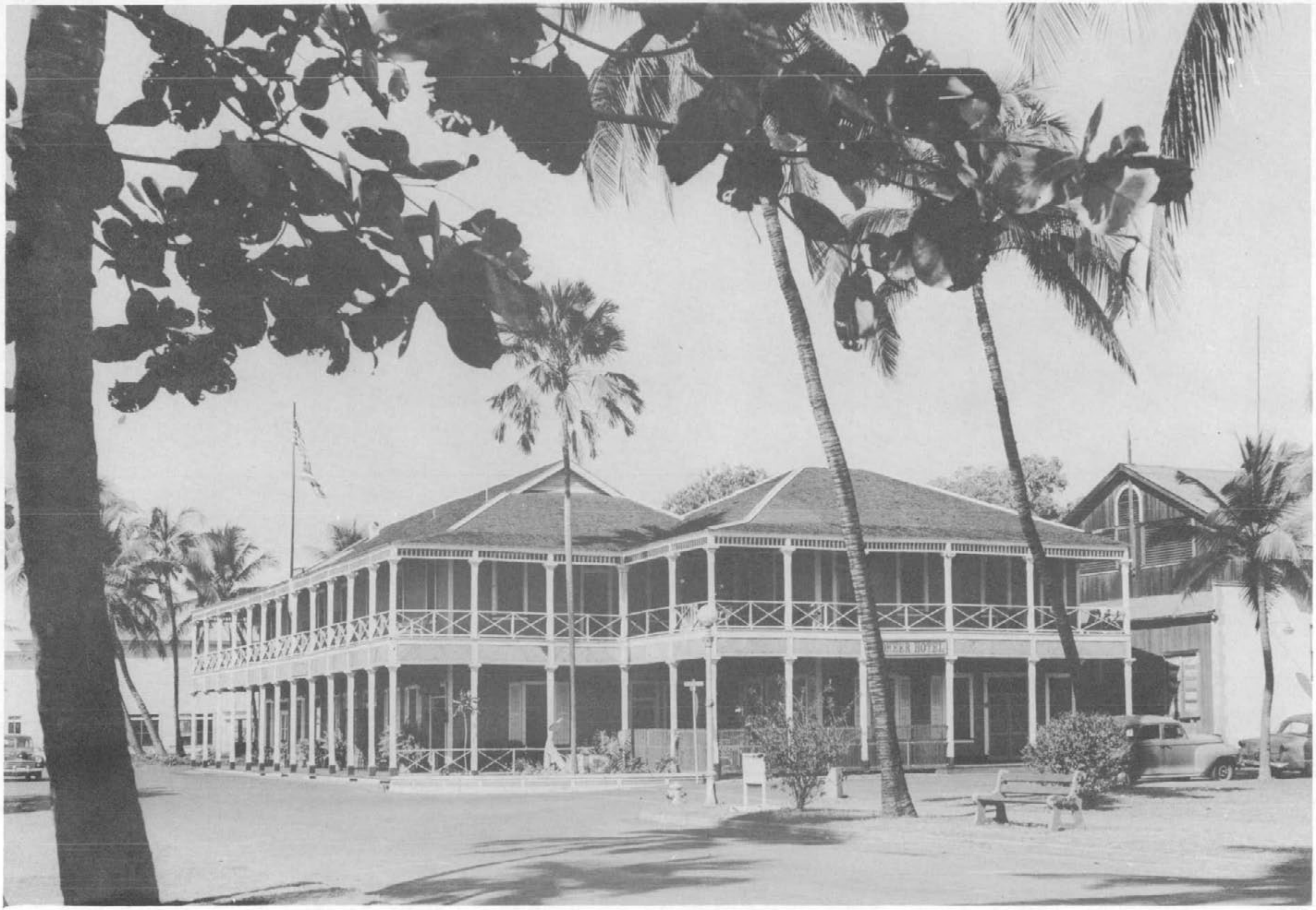
8. Roman Catholic Church (Maria Lanakila First Catholic Church.) At Wainee and Dickenson Streets, this building is still an active Catholic Church. It and the adjoining cemetery occupy a tract of 3.091 acres.

The first resident Roman Catholic priests arrived at Lahaina on April 21, 1846. A church was built on the present site that same year, but it was replaced by a new structure in 1858. The present concrete church, erected in 1927-1928, was built on the same foundation and is almost a replica of the older frame structure; it is said that the original ceiling was retained in the new building.

9. Pioneer Hotel. This picturesque frame structure stands on the corner of Wharf and Hotel Streets; it is (1958) owned by Mr. Alan Freeland and is under lease to the Lahaina Hotel Incorporation.

Built in 1901 and therefore not strictly connected with Lehaina's most significant era, this well-known hotel is nevertheless a key part of the Lehaina scene. The description of the hotel in one guide book--"a large box of a building. . . with a wide balcony and decorative wooden railing"--may be accurate, but it fails to convey the tropical atmosphere of Lahaina's first hotel.

Condition of the Site: Lahaina today is a quiet plantation town which is beginning to stir with new life as recent harbor developments bring additional recreational and commercial boating activity and as nearby newly built resorts increase tourist visits. Despite the fact


PIONEER HOTEL

Pioneer Hotel, Lahaina, constructed in 1901.

Courtesy Hawaii Visitors Bureau

that surviving historic structures are relatively few, the town preserves much of the atmosphere of a Hawaiian native village and of a mid-19th century island port. The magnificant natural setting, with its backdrop of purple mountains and foreground of blue sea, remains unspoiled; and palms and other trees shade the streets and homes as they did in missionary days. However, paved streets, curbs, new buildings in contemporary architectural styles, and other developments are cumulatively making their effects felt and causing the historic scene to fade.

Recognizing the economic and cultural benefits of the town's historic heritage, the County of Maui and a cooperating organization, the Lahaina Restoration Committee, have obtained by contract from a planning firm a study of the historical values and a program for restoration. The proposal, presented early in 1961, called for a restoration district which covers 31.79 acres, including all of the principal historic sites except the Marine Hospital. On August 18, 1961, the county adopted an interim zoning ordinance which set aside about 8 1/4 acres as the Lahaina Historic District. Within this area are the Court House, Pioneer Hotel, Baldwin House, and the Spring House.

References: Mary Charlotte Alexander, Dr. Baldwin of Lahaina (Berkeley, Calif., 1953); Community Planning, Inc., Proposal for the Historical Restoration and Preservation of Lahaina . . . (Honolulu, May, 1961); Maui Historical Society, "Historical Sites of West Maui" (mimeographed, (n.p.), May 20, 1958); Maui Historical Society, Lahaina Historical Guide (Honolulu, (n.d.); State of Hawaii, Commission on Historical Sites, Mrs. Beatrice Savage, compiler, "Historical Sites on Maui Which Should Be Preserved" (typewritten, February 1, 1960); Albert Pierce Taylor, "Lahaina: the Versailles of Old Hawaii," in Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society . . . 1928 (Honolulu, 1929), 34-68.

OLD SUGAR MILL (KOLOA SUGAR PLANTATION, LADD & COMPANY'S MILL)

Location: About 60 yards west of Maluhia Road, at the northern entrance to the town of Koloa, Island of Kauai.

Ownership: Grove Farm Company Ltd., Puhi, Kauai.

Significance:

The Ladd & Company sugar plantation, established at Koloa in 1835, was "the first successful Hawaiian sugar plantation." Its creation and its subsequent success marked the "real foundation" of what is now Hawaii's largest industry. Since sugar long played a major role in Hawaiian economics and politics and perhaps was the dominant force in bringing about the annexation of the islands to the United States, this site is of major national significance.

The origins of the sugar industry in the Hawaiian Islands are shrouded in uncertainty. Captain Cook found sugar cane being grown by the natives when he discovered the islands in 1778, although there were no plantations as presently understood. Foreigners quickly realized that the climate and soil were well suited for the growing of sugar, and small-scale planting began at an early date. According to tradition, an unidentified Chinese brought a crude stone mill and boilers to Lanai about 1802 and ground one small crop before returning to China the next year. He may have been the first to manufacture sugar in Hawaii. In 1811 there is a record that Kamehameha I had a cane mill and boiler, and it is known that the early Spanish resident, Don Francisco de Paula Marin was engaged in making sugar in 1819. Several other early sugar manufacturers are named during the early 1820's, but all of these efforts were on a small scale and were more or less experimental.

In 1825 a tubercular Englishman named John Wilkinson planted sugar in Manoa Valley behind Honolulu, and before his death 2 years later he had about 100 acres under cultivation. This effort is generally considered to be the first sugar plantation in the islands, but it was not a commercial success. The mature crop was made into rum after Wilkinson's death, a fact which so angered Dowager Queen Kaahumanu that she ordered the cane plowed under and the land planted with sweet potatoes.

The real beginning of the sugar industry, however, came in 1835, when Peter Allan Brinsmade, William Ladd, and William Hooper--all New Englanders with missionary connections who had come to Honolulu in 1833 to establish a "mercantile trading house"---decided that the greatest commercial opportunities in the islands lay in agriculture. Under the name of Ladd & Co. they leased 980 acres of land at Koloa, on the Island of Kauai, from King Kamehameha III at an annual rent of $300. The lease included a mill site and a waterfall for power at Maulili pool, about a mile from the Koloa landing.

Hooper, a young man of energy, moved to the leased land as manager. Though "well nigh starved into a retreat" by taboos placed on the enterprise by jealous chiefs, he laid out 12 acres on September 12, 1835, and gradually made headway. A mill was completed at Maulili pool in 1836, but only molasses was produced the first year. The wooden rollers of the mill wore out under the grinding. The next year iron rollers were imported and a new mill built--the first iron sugar mill in Hawaii. Hooper proudly told his partners, "our work at Maulili will forever remain a monument and an honor to the house of Ladd & Co."

Well might he congratulated himself, since the 4,286 pounds of sugar and 2,700 gallons of molasses produced in 1837 marked the first real production of sugar on a commercial scale in Hawaii. This very success, however, was not without its bitterness, since Hooper feared the molasses would be shippedto distillers for the making of liquor.

The second mill proved unsuccessful, so in 1839 a new mill site on Waihohonu Stream--the site of the present Koloa--was leased from the king. Completed in 1841 at a cost of about $15,950, the remains of this structure still stand. The great square smokestack is said to bear the date "1842."

Due to financial difficulties, Ladd & Co. lost its interest in Koloa plantation in 1845. But its influence on the Hawaiian economy had been great. As one authority has said, the firm was the first to institute agricultural operations in the islands on an extensive scale "and to demonstrate to others the profits that might be obtained from the production of sugar. They inaugurated the Hawaiian system of plantations conducted and financed by central agencies in Honolulu, and the methods of housing and caring for the labor adopted by Mr. Hooper have been continued and are still (1935) followed by the Hawaiian sugar planters."

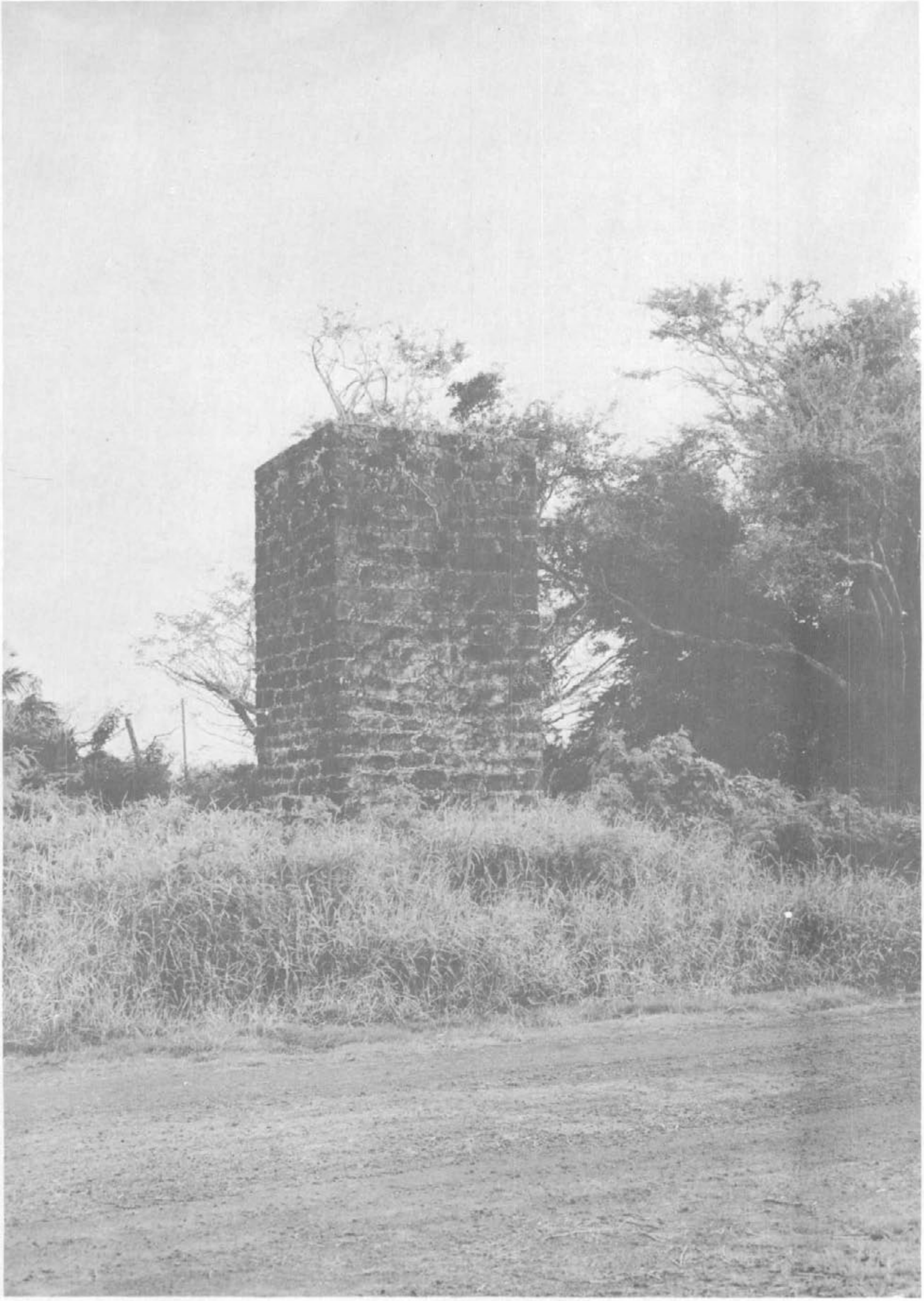
Later owners continued to expand the plantation, and it became highly profitable under the ownership of Dr. R. W. Wood after 1848. It is still in operation, although its last independent owner, the Koloa Sugar Company, merged with the Grove Farm Company in 1948.

In addition to its pioneering role in sugar production, the plantation has had other important associations with the development of the modern sugar industry. In 1841, for example, there occurred what may have been the first general strike by native laborers on the islands. Their demands for higher wages--"an evidence that they were getting civilized"--met failure. Here Samuel Burbank developed a deep plow which greatly improved production; also, the first, or one of the first, steam engines used in island milling was introduced here in 1853. Also, the plantation was one of the earliest to inaugurate the contract system of cultivating and cutting cane to give laborers an interest in the crop and to reduce their tendency to migrate. The effort proved successful and was "universally" adopted by other Hawaiian sugar planters.

Condition of the Site

The massive square stone foundation of the 1841 mill chimney and the foundations of the mill still stand. They are at present covered with a dense grove of trees and brush, but the intent of the owners is to preserve them as part of a museum of the sugar industry. The ruins stand at the very edge of the extensive sugar fields which surround Koloa.

References: Arthur C. Alexander, Koloa Plantation, 1835-1935: A History of the Oldest Hawaiian Sugar Plantation (Honolulu, 1937); Ethel M. Damon, Koamalu, A Story of Pioneers on Kauai (2 vols., Honolulu, 1931), I, 176-200; Ethel M. Damon, Sanford Ballard Dole and his Hawaii (Palo Alto, Calif., 1957), 36; Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, Sugar in Hawaii (Honolulu, 1949), 12-15; Hawaii's Sugar News, September, 1953; January, 1935; John W. Vandercook, King Cane: The Story of Sugar in Hawaii (New York, 1939), 22-25.



Old Sugar Mill, Koloa, Kauai; ruins of the 1841 mill on Hawaii's first large-scale sugar plantation.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962

IOLANI PALACE (STATE CAPITOL)

Location: The palace is at 364 S. King Street in downtown Honolulu, Island of Oahu. It stands in the center of "Palace Square," a 3-acre city block bounded by King, Richards, Hotel, and Likelike Streets.

Ownership: Owned by the State of Hawaii, administered by the Department of Accounting and General Services.

Significance

Iolani Palace was the royal residence of the last two rulers of the Kingdom of Hawaii, King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani. As such it is perhaps the most important surviving symbol of the period of Hawaiian independence. It has been termed "the only true royal palace under the American flag." Exotic in architecture, it illustrates the tastes, cultural aspirations, and the cosmopolitanism of the Hawaiian ruling classes under the monarchy. Since 1893--under the Provisional Government, the Republic of Hawaii, the Territory of Hawaii, and the State of Hawaii--it has been the seat of governmental authority. As the scene of the formal ceremony of transfer of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, it is intimately associated with one of the principal events which marked the rise of the United States as a world power.

The site of the palace was once a section of the important heiau (temple), Kaahaimauli, which was destroyed in the early 1800's. A coral block and wood house later erected on the site was selected by King Kamehameha III as his palace when he finally moved the royal residence from Maui to Honolulu in 1843.

In 1845 Kamehameha III erected a new palace, later called the "Old Iolani Palace," on this spot. Five Hawaiian kings reigned in this coral-block structure. It housed offices mainly, since smaller buildings on the grounds served as residences for the rulers and the court. In 1878-79 the old palace was torn down, and it was decided to build a "proper palace" on the same site.

The cornerstone of the present Iolani Palace was laid on December 31, 1879, and the structure was completed in 1882. The cost was $343,595. Early in the next year King Kalakaua and Queen Kapiolani were formally crowned at a ceremony held in front of the palace. This event, the only formal coronation in Hawaiian history, took place nine years after Kalakaua's election to the throne.

In the "Blue Room" of the palace in 1893, Queen Liliuokolani demanded that her ministers sign a new constitution increasing the royal powers. They refused, an event which led to the overthrow of the monarchy on January 17, 1893. A few months later the Provisional Government transferred the governmental offices to the former royal residence, where they have remained to the present day. After the unsuccessful conspiracy to restore the Queen to power in 1895, the trial of the former monarch and her fellow conspirators took place in the throne room. The queen was imprisoned on the upper floor for nine months after the insurrection.

The King Street steps of the palace were the scene of the formal ceremony transferring the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. Over the building on August 12, 1898, the Hawaiian flag, as the emblem of an independent nation, flew for the last time. After appropriate salutes, it descended "like a wounded bird," and the United States flag was raised in its place.

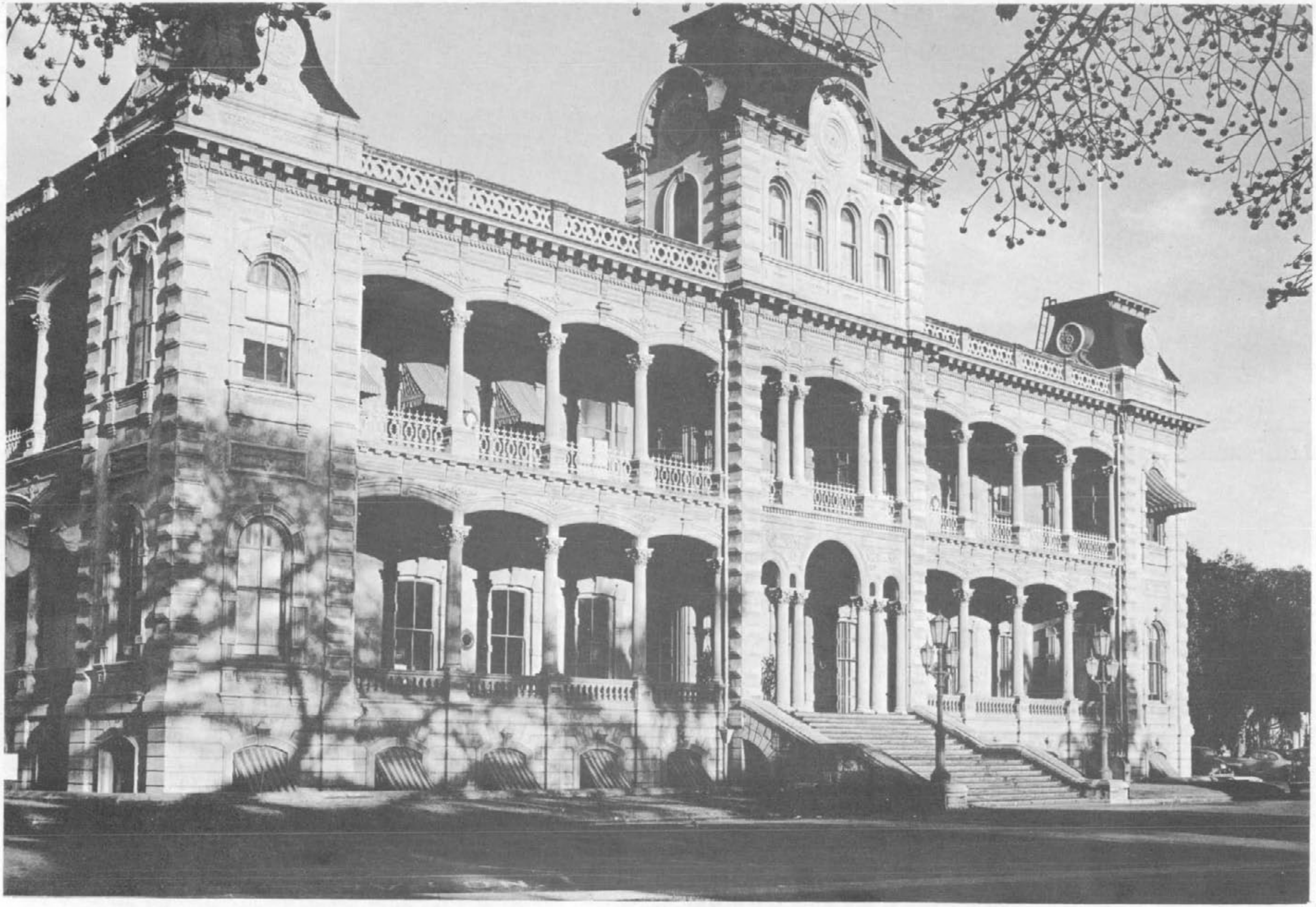
Since 1898 the palace has housed the office of the Territorial and State governors, both houses of the Legislature, and several other important governmental offices.

Condition of the Site

Iolani Palace is an ornate structure of eclectic style. It is built of brick, faced with cement, and measures 140 feet by 100 feet, with the long dimension facing King Street. It is 2 stories high above a partially raised basement. It is ornamented by 6 towers, the central towers rising to a height of 76 feet. In 1930 the interior was extensively remodeled; steel and reinforced concrete framing replaced the old wooden framing; and a roof of concrete slabs was installed; but the interior and exterior design was scrupulously preserved. An unusual exterior feature is formed by the double lanais or porticos on the four sides.

The interior finish is extremely ornate, marked by elaborate ornamental plaster cornices and ceilings. From a large central hall on the main floor, a fine staircase of koa wood leads to the upper story. Throughout, doors and paneling are of rare woods--koa, kamani, kau, and ohia, as well as the more usual walnut and white cedar. Many outstanding portraits hang on the walls.

The southeast corner of the main floor is occupied by the former throne room. This room is used for the sessions of the State House of Representatives, but when the Legislature is not in session the desks are removed, and the room is restored to an approximation of it appearance as a royal throne room. Replicas of the original thrones are on display on the dias. Across the hall is the former state dining room, now used as the Senate Chamber. Upstairs, the former private apartment of Kalakaua and, later, Liliuokalaui, is now the Governor's



Iolani Palace, Capitol of the State of Hawaii and former royal residence; scene of United States flag raising, 1898.

Courtesy Hawaii Visitors Bureau

office. The handsome building seems to be fundamentally sound, but repairs are necessary. It has been temporarily defaced by the construction of offices on the *lanais*. The adopted State Capitol plan calls for the preservation of Iolani Palace, although the building may be overshadowed by the new Capitol.

The palace grounds, a square block in extent, are attractively landscaped and contain several notable features. One of these is the delightfully elegant little bandstand, built for the coronation in 1883. Another is the site of the royal tomb, where most of Hawaii's monarchs were buried until 1865, when all the royal coffins were removed to the Royal Mausoleum in Nuuanu Valley.

References: Andrew Farrell, *The Story of Iolani Palace* (Honolulu, 1936); Hawaii Visitors Bureau, *Iolani Palace* (Informational folder, Honolulu, [1958?]; Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, *Hawaii: A History* (New York, 1948), pp. 165-190.

PEARL HARBOR NAVAL BASE (NAVAL BASE, PEARL HARBOR: U.S.S. "ARIZONA" MEMORIAL)

Location: The main base is on the southeastern shore of Pearl Harbor, on the south coast of Oahu about 6 miles west of Honolulu; but the base and related installations nearly surround Pearl Harbor.

Ownership: United States Government, Department of the Navy.

Significance

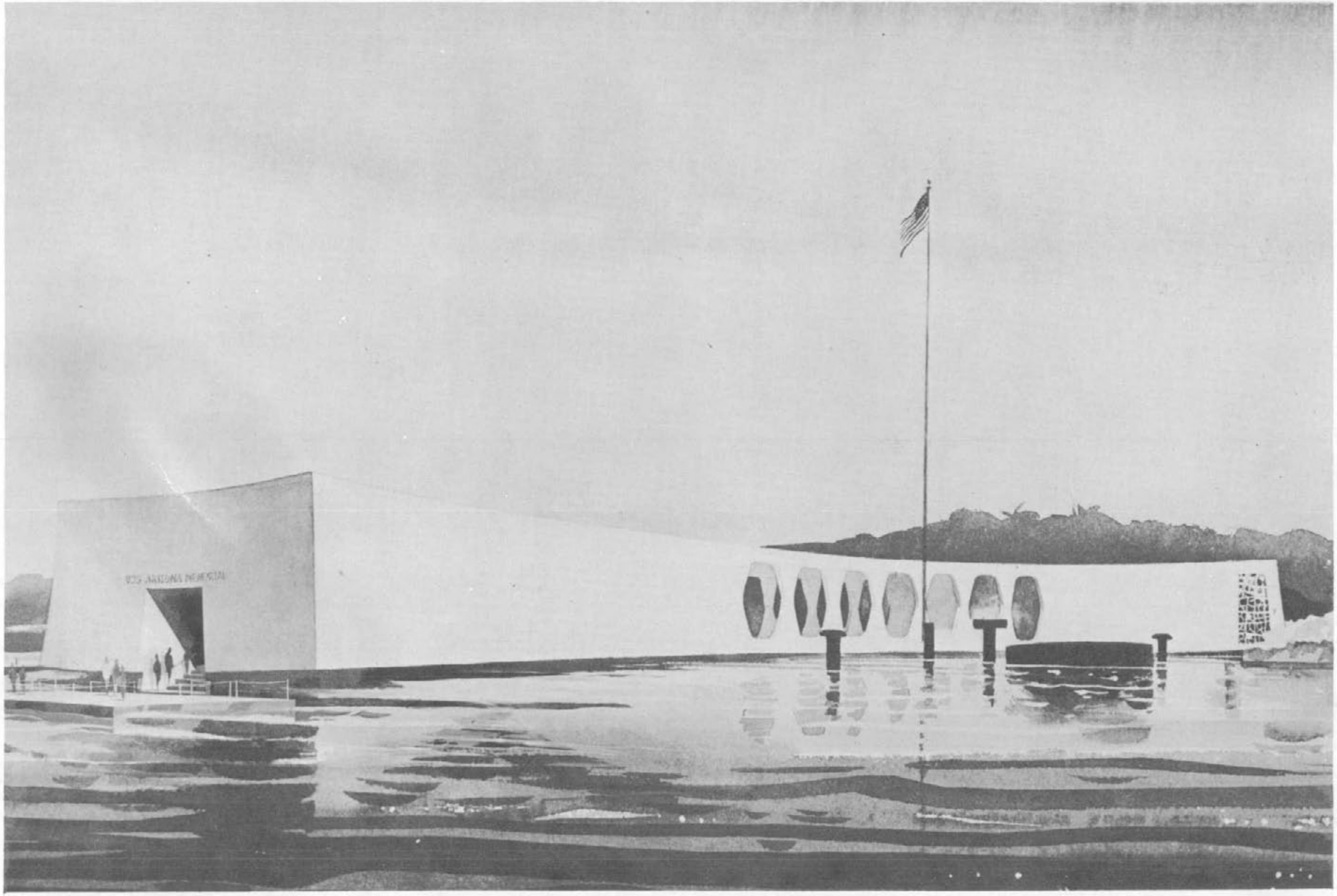
The splendid, landlocked anchorage at Pearl Harbor was one of the principal reasons for early United States interest in Hawaii, and undoubtedly the strategic importance of this bay was a factor leading to annexation. The possession of the harbor and the development of a naval base and headquarters there after 1898 were important factors in the rise of United States naval power in the Pacific. The disputing of this power by Japan, in turn, eventually contributed to the precipitation of war between the United States and Japan, the significant opening shots of which occurred at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The site, then, appears intimately associated with the rise of the United States as a world power.

Pearl Harbor is a double estuary formed by the "drowning" of the valley of the Pearl River, so named because pearl oysters once abounded there. The ancient Hawaiians believed it was the home of the shark goddess, Kaahupahua. This fine harbor was known to early traders, but almost no use was made of it because a coral reef across the entrance blocked access by vessels drawing more than 10 feet of water. Yet its potential value was early recognized. Members of the Wilkes expedition examined it; and in 1845 Lieut. I. W. Curtis, "an American marine officer," pointed out the importance of the harbor for defense of the islands.

As early as 1864 American Minister James McBride suggested that the cession to the United States of land at Honolulu for naval depot purposes should be made a condition of granting Hawaii a reciprocity treaty, a recommendation considered by historians as "one of the early antecedents of the Pearl Harbor Question." The real beginning of American governmental interest came in 1873 when Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield and Bvt. Brig. Gen. B. S. Alexander were sent to Hawaii to examine defensive and commercial capabilities of various ports. Their report emphasized the value of Pearl Harbor. At that time Hawaii was anxious to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the United States, and it was suggested that Pearl Harbor be leased to the United States as an inducement to sign the treaty. The Hawaiian government actually made such an offer in 1873 but later withdrew it, and such a measure was not included in the treaty which went into effect in 1876.

When that treaty was renewed in 1887, however, it did give the United States the exclusive right to maintain a coaling and repair station at Pearl Harbor. But the United States did not exercise this right until after annexation in 1898, although surveys were made earlier during the 1890's. The need for an island base during the Spanish American War had been one of the arguments used by annexationists.

Funds for improving the harbor entrance were voted by Congress in 1900, and that same year negotiations were started for the acquisition of adjoining land for a naval station. The bar at the entrance was dredged to a depth of 35 feet in 1902 after interesting ceremonies to placate Hawaiian gods for the destruction of a fishpond and fish god shrine. Not until 1908, however, did Congress authorize and vote funds


USS ARIZONA MEMORIAL

Artist's sketch of U.S.S. **Arizona** Memorial, Pearl Harbor Naval Base, Honolulu.

Navy Department Photograph, 1962

for the development of a major base. A huge drydock was started in 1909 but it collapsed and was not completed until 1919. The Hawaiians attributed the failure to the construction of the drydock over the traditional home of the shark queen's son. Shops, docks, and other structures were started with the 1908 appropriation, and in 1911 the U.S.S. California entered the harbor, officially opening the base and being the first large ship to enter the bay. An administration building was completed in 1915, and the next year Pearl Harbor became the headquarters of a Naval District; and it was well on its way to becoming the command center for naval operations in the Pacific.

In order to knock out of action the Pacific Fleet based there, the Japanese staged a surprise air attack on Pearl Harbor on the morning of December 7, 1941, sinking or damaging 18 ships out of the 97 in Pearl Harbor. This action precipitated United States participation in World War II. The U.S.S. Arizona, with more than 1,100 men entombed within, still rests where she settled during the attack and, spanned by an enclosed memorial bridge, has been dedicated as a shrine to those killed on December 7, 1941.

Condition of the Site

Pearl Harbor is still an active naval base, and general public visitation, except to the U.S.S. Arizona Memorial as part of boat cruises of the harbor, is not permitted. However, public visits to the U.S.S. Arizona Memorial as part of privately sponsored boat tours or of Government-sponsored boat tours would permit the viewing of a plaque recognizing the significance of the entire base.

References: W. F. Dillingham, "Pearl Harbor," in *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, May, 1930; J. K. Goodrich, *The Coming Hawaii*; *Report of the Secretary of the Navy* (1922); *Hawaii, A Guide to All the Islands* (Menlo Park, Calif., 1961), 29; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874* (Honolulu, 1953), 200, 248-257; Walter Lord, *Day of Infamy* (1957); Walter Millis, *This is Pearl! The United States and Japan, 1941* (1947); Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Rising Sun in the Pacific (History of United States Naval Operations in World War II,* vol III, 1948); *Your Visit to Pearl Harbor* (folder, Fourteenth Naval District, Honolulu, [n.d.].

AREAS IN THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM RELATED TO THEME

1. City of Refuge National Historical Park. Located at Honaunau on the coast of Kona, about 20 miles south of Kailua, on the Island of Hawaii, this park of 180 acres preserves a complex of ruins representating almost all phases of the ancient Hawaiian culture. The most important and impressive feature is the vast *pu'uhonua*, or place of refuge, enclosed on two sides by a massive stone wall, in places 17 feet wide and 12 feet high. It was established by the kings and chiefs who lived at Honaunau Bay as a sanctuary for non-combatants and defeated soldiers in time of war, for criminals, and for taboo-breakers.

Associated with the *pu-uhonua* are the stone remains of several heiaus or temples, including the platform of the Hale-o-Keawe, a highly sacred house which contained the deified bones of at least 24 Hawaiian kings and chiefs. Near the enclosure are remains of royal house platforms, fish ponds, and sledding tracks. Throughout the park there are remains of Hawaiian homes, several temple or shrine platforms, walls, ancient and recent trails and roads, canoe landings, and many other cultural features.

Although the principal values preserved by the park relate to the ancient Hawaiian culture and are thus ethnographic in character, there are also a number of important historical associations. The Hale-o-Keawe was built as a place of deposit for the bones of Keawe, a historical personage who ruled the island in the middle 1600's and who was great-grandfather of Kamehameha I. Several fairly significant events associated with Kamehameha's rise to power as ruler of all the islands occurred at Honaunau, including the deposition there in 1782 of the bones of King Kalaniopuu, uncle and a predecessor of Kamehameha as ruler of the island, and the subsequent declaration "on the west side of the Hale-o-Keawe" by the new king, Kiwalao, that he was to control the land. The Kona chiefs under Kamehameha were dissatisfied with the resultant land division. In the battle at nearby Ke'ei, which soon followed, Kiwalao was killed, and Hawaii was split into three kingdoms, of which Kamehameha ruled one. After the abolition of the ancient Hawaiian religion and the destruction of the old temples in 1819, the Hale-o-Keawe was considered so sacred that it and its contents of bones remained relatively undisturbed until 1829, when the regent, Kaahumanu, removed the remains and buried or burned them. The ruins of the village of Kiilae at the south end of the park and the relatively well-preserved road of 1871 graphically illustrate the evolution of Hawaiian life under the impact of Western civilization.

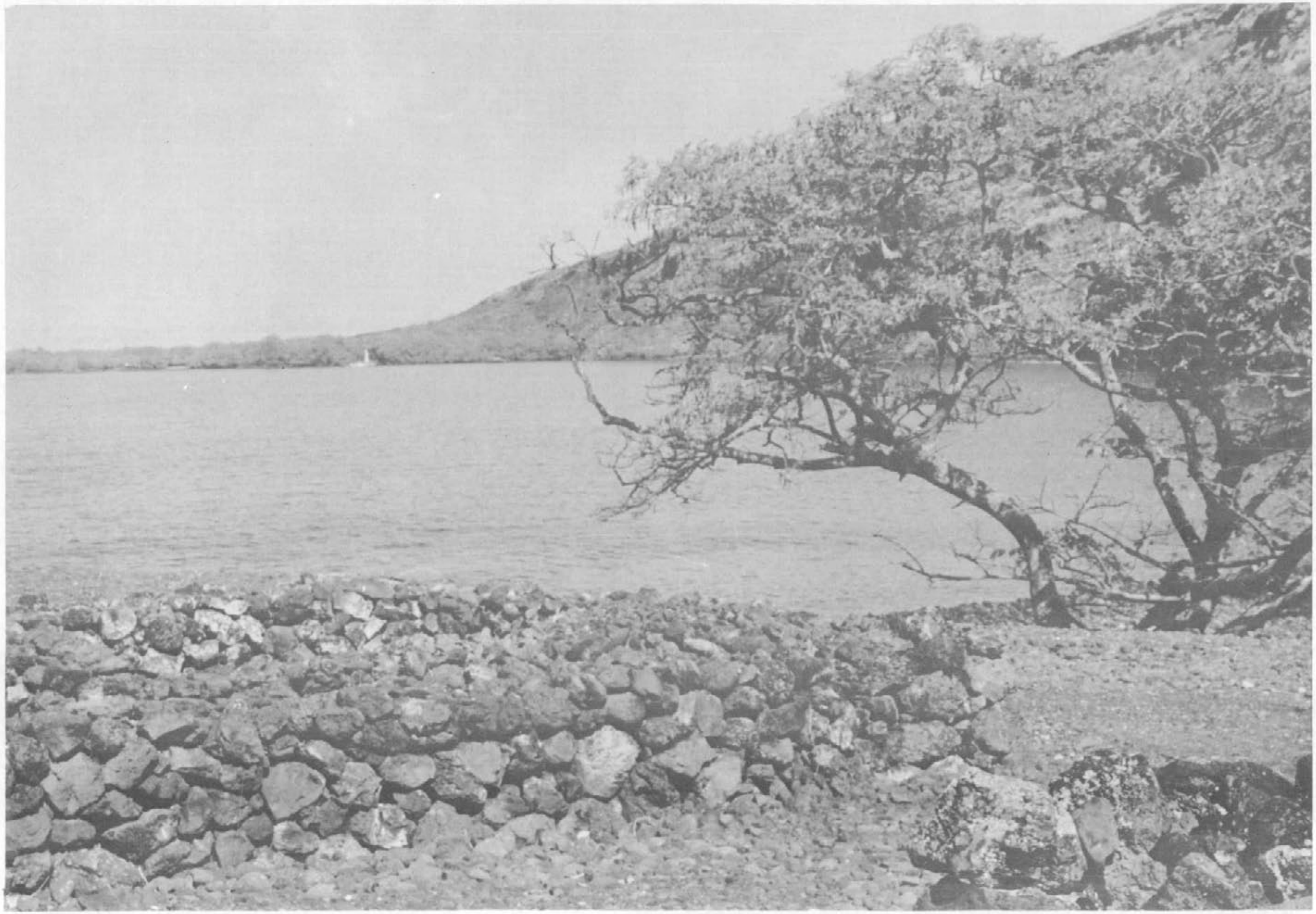
2. Hawaii Volcanoes National Park. Covering an area of about 344 square miles on the Island of Hawaii, this park includes the craters of the only two Hawaiian volcanoes still considered to be active--Kilauea and Mauna Loa. It also encompasses a long stretch of the island's southwestern coast, and its lands rise from sea level to an elevation of 13,680 feet at the summit of Mauna Loa.

The values of this park are chiefly geologic, scientific, and scenic in nature, but it has several sites with important historical association.. The native Hawaiians lived principally on the seashore and the uplands of moderate elevation, and they generally entered the mountain regions only for special purposes, such as the harvesting of certain forest products and trees, the catching of birds, the use of shorter routes of travel, and the worship of the volcano goddess, Pele.

According to ancient tradition, Pele lived in whichever Hawaiian volcano was currently active. Thus in recent centuries her home was believed to be in Halemaumau, the principal vent of Kilauea Volcano. After the official abolition of the ancient Hawaiian religion in 1819, the people on the Island of Hawaii found it difficult to renounce entirely their belief in the old gods, particularly Pele who was so much feared. In 1824 Kapiolani, a high chiefess of Kona, entered the Halemaumau fire pit and defied Pele, thus doing much to shatter the last remnants of belief in the old gods and paving the way for a wider acceptance of Christianity (see discussion of "Site of Kapiolani's Defiance of Pele" in section Other Sites Evaluated;" page 176).

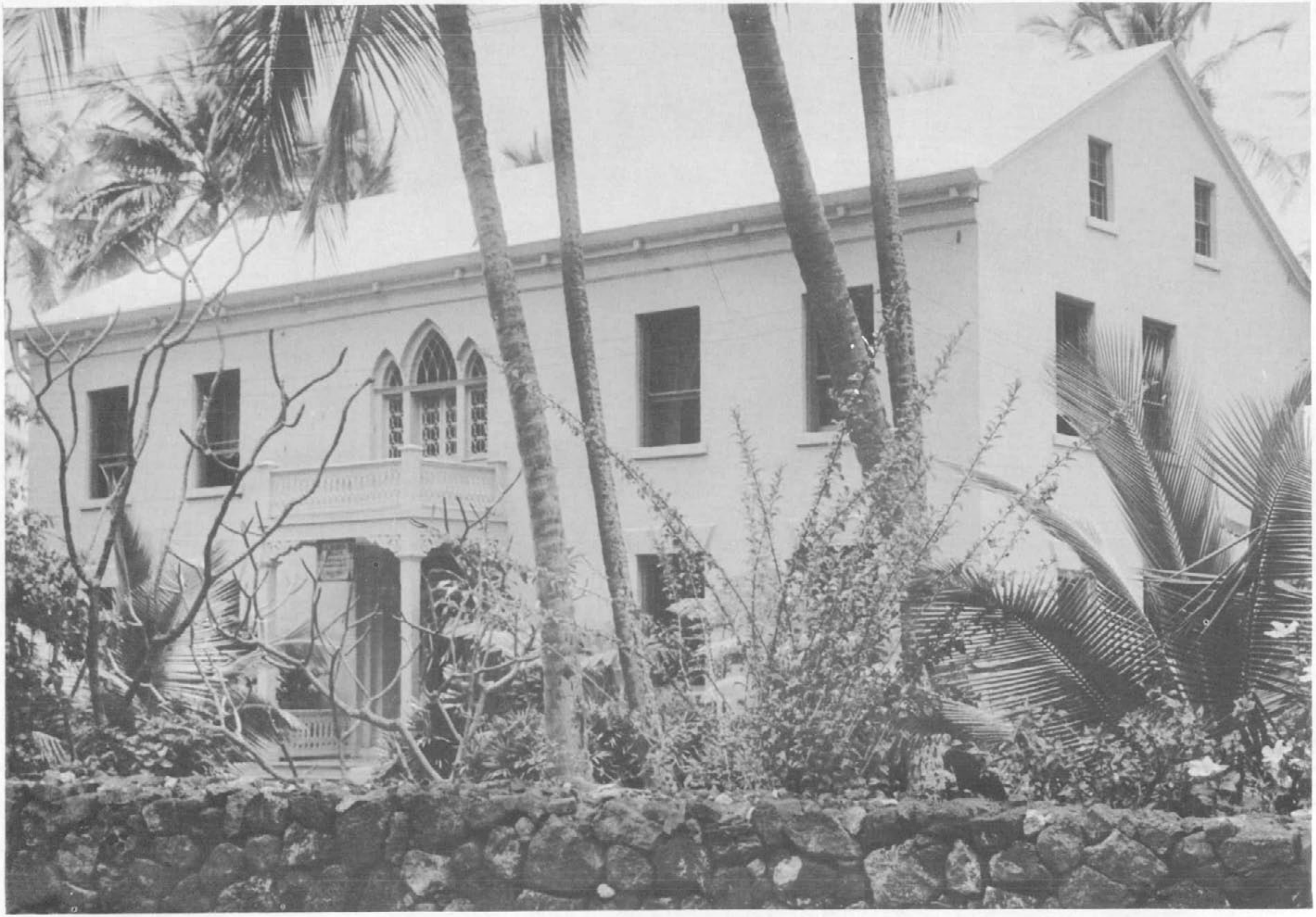
The sections of the Puna and Kau coasts lying within the park were favorite residences of the ancient Hawaiians. This region of the park is rich in remains of villages, temples, canoe landings, petroglyphs, and other evidences of native life. For the most part, these sites and remains are chiefly valuable from an archeologic and ethnographic viewpoint, but they also have historical associations. In particular the dramatic ruin of the Wahaula Heiau, in the Kalopana Extension section of the park, is thought to be the "last heiau in which worship was publicly offered to the Hawaiian gods" (see discussion of "Wahaula Heiau" in section "Sites Also Noted," page 194).

3. Haleakala National Park. Located on the summit and slopes of Haleakala Volcano on the Island of Maui, this park's nearly 27 square miles are largely occupied by the huge and magnificent Haleakala Crater. Remains of rock shelter walls, trails, and a temple platform, as well as a number of legends and traditional stories, attest to the use of the park area by the ancient Hawaiians; but apparently the crater and its surrounding slopes were not the scene of any historical events of major importance.



Kealakekua Bay, Island of Hawaii, 1962, from the top of Hikiau Heiau, showing approximately the same scene as the 1779 view; Cook Monument in distance.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962



Hulihee Palace, Kailua, Island of Hawaii; front view.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962

OTHER SITES CONSIDERED

A. Island of Hawaii

1. Cook Monument. On the northwest shore of Kealakekua Bay at Kaawaloa, South Kona District, Island of Hawaii; 1/7 acre; excellent condition but accessible only by trail or boat; owned, for tax purposes, by a trust, but is private property.

This white concrete shaft, and a nearby plaque close to the actual death site, commemorate the killing of the great English explorer and discoverer of the Hawaiian Islands, Captain James Cook, by the Hawaiian natives on February 14, 1779. During his second visit to the islands Cook anchored in Kealakekua Bay to refit his two ships. The natives, who believed Cook was an incarnation of their god Lono, were friendly and helpful, but they increasingly stole articles from the ships. Finally, the *Discovery's* cutter was taken, and Cook went ashore to obtain the king as hostage. In the short, almost accidental, fight which followed, Cook and four marines were killed.

The death of Cook was an important loss to the world of science and to the British Empire, but probably it was not a matter of major significance in the history of Hawaii. His major contribution to Hawaii was his discovery of the islands in 1778, an event which probably can best be commemorated at the place he first landed, on Kauai.

2. Hikiau Heiau. On the eastern shore of Kealakekua Bay, in Napoopoo, South Kona District, Island of Hawaii; about 5 acres; recently "restored" and makes an excellent and exceedingly impressive appearance; owned by the State of Hawaii.

This piled rock temple platform is a "truncated pyramid" which in 1908 measured 190 by 105 feet, with a seaward face 15 feet high. At that time it was reported to be well paved, with two divisions. It has since been twice "restored," but not under the supervision of archeologists. It was a heiau of the highest class, a place of human sacrifice.

Hikiau Heiau has an unusually large number of associations with important events in Hawaiian history. On Captain James Cook's second visit to the islands his two ships anchored and refitted at Kealakekua Bay during parts of January and February, 1779. The Hawaiians had decided that Cook was an incarnation of their god Lono, and they determined to worship him as such. Thus the high priest of Hikiau Heiau, an old man named Koa, visited Cook aboard ship, accompanied him ashore, and led him to the heiau where ceremonies of veneration were performed. The description of the rites by Captain James King is of importance to ethnologists. One of Cook's seamen, William Whatman, died on board ship, and on January 28, 1779, his body was brought ashore and, it is said, interred in the heiau with the permission of the native priests. It is said that the observances at his grave constituted "the first recorded Christian services in the Hawaiian Islands." Cook also used the heiau area for making astronomical observations.

According to tradition, Kiwalao, the king of Hawaii who was defeated by Kamehameha and killed in the battle of Mokuohai in 1782, was buried in the temple of Hikiau. The heiau also figures in the annals of Vancouver's voyages and is well described therein. It is reported that the native, Henry Opukahaia, said to have been born at Punaluu, Kau, about 1792, was being trained by his uncle for the Hawaiian priesthood at Hikiau Heiau when, saddened by the memory of the cruel deaths of his parents in war and wishing to leave the country, he joined an American vessel in Kealakekua Bay, reaching New York in 1809. His desire for an education and his conversion to Christianity aroused widespread interest in New England and were significantly responsible for the organization of the Hawaiian Mission. His story "is a classic in the history of modern Christian missions."

Despite the associations with the Whatman burial and with the departure of Opukahaia for the United States, both of which events are commemorated by plaques at the site, the Christianization of the islands can perhaps be more dramatically and significantly illustrated elsewhere. Also, not all archeologists are convinced that the present form of the heiau truly represents its appearance when it was an active place of Hawaiian worship.

3. Hulihee Palace. On the ocean side of Alii Drive, in Kailua, North Kona, Island of Hawaii; one acre; excellent condition; owned by State of Hawaii and administered by Daughters of Hawaii as a house museum.

This handsome, two-story structure, built of plastered lava rock with walls three feet thick, stands on a traditional homesite of Hawaiian royalty and nobility. It was built in 1837-1838 by Kuakini, governor of the Island of Hawaii, and served as the residence of the governors for many years. In 1884 it was acquired by King Kalakaua, who remodelled it and used it as his "Summer Palace." In 1925 the property was acquired by the Territory of Hawaii through the efforts of the Daughters of Hawaii, who have furnished it approximately as it was during Kalakaua's time and administer it as a house museum.

Hulihee, with its beautiful grounds bordering the sea, is significant as perhaps the oldest surviving example of a chief's residence built at a time when the Hawaiian nobility and royalty were attempting to adjust to the ways of Western civilization. As now refurnished, it reflects the tastes and elegance of the Hawaiian royal family during the 1880's. However, several other structures also illustrate this latter phase of Hawaiian history; and one in particular, Iolani Palace in Honolulu, undoubtedly possesses more general historical importance.

4. Site of Kapiolani's Defiance of Pele (Halemaumau). The chief vent of the Kilauea Crater, in Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, Island of Hawaii; 250 acres; undisturbed condition; administered by the National Park Service, Department of the Interior. (See photo following page 22.)

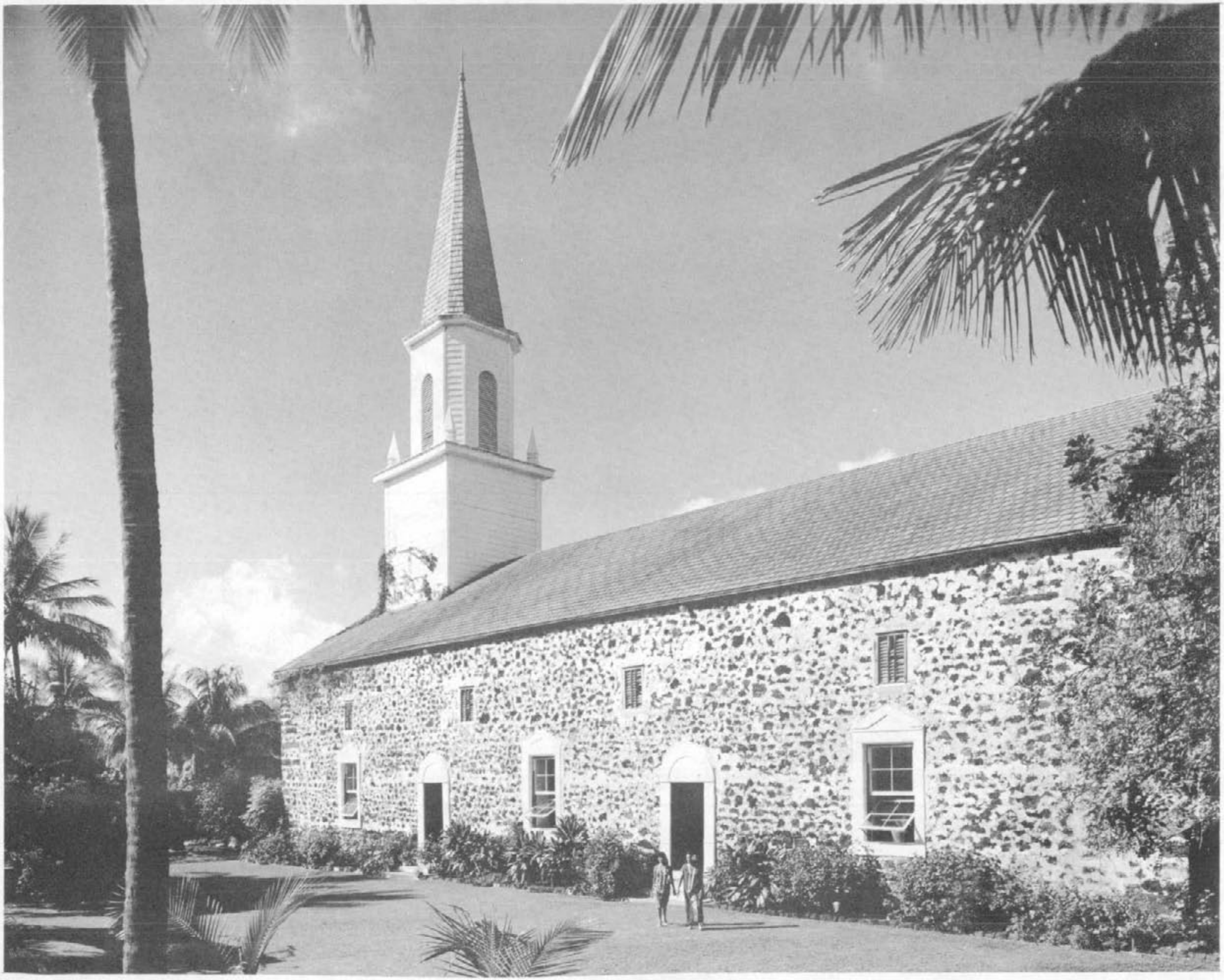
After the official abolition of the old Hawaiian religion and kapu system by King Liholiho in 1819, many Hawaiians secretly continued to believe in the old gods. On the Island of Hawaii, particularly, this belief centered about Pele, the volcano goddess, whose home was thought to be in the fire pit of Halemaumau. Kapiolani, a chiefess of the highest rank whose home was at Kaawaloa, in Kona, had come under the influence of the missionaries and had been instructed in Christianity. Determined to prove to herself and her people that the old Hawaiian gods were not real, she went to Halemaumau and, on or about December 21, 1824, descended part way into the fire pit without making conciliatory offerings to Pele. No dire consequence followed, and this act of moral courage was instrumental in breaking down the last remnants of the old religion and opening the way for Christianity among the Hawaiian people.

Although this site is importantly connected with a major event in Hawaiian history, the story of the end of the kapu system probably can best be told at Kailua, where the official termination of the old religion was first proclaimed.

5. Kuamo'o Battlefield. On coast 0.8 mile south of Keauhou, North Kona District, Island of Hawaii, about 200 acres; relatively undisturbed condition but difficult of access; privately owned.

The abolition of the kapu system and the destruction of the ancient Hawaiian gods by King Liholiho during October and November, 1819, was an event of great significance in Hawaiian history, since it disrupted the old social organization and thus paved the way for the acceptance of Christianity. Not all chiefs and priests approved this measure, however, and a formidable revolt was raised on Hawaii against the royal government by the sincere and pious chief and new high priest, Kekuaokalani. The defenders of the old gods met the royal army at Kuamo'o, probably late in December, 1819, and were defeated. The brave Kekuaokalani and his wife, Manono, were killed and buried on the field of battle. With their deaths, effective opposition to the abolition of the kapus came to an end.

Although the site is of undoubted historical importance, the significant broad topic with which it is associated -- the abolition of the tabus -- can be as effectively commemorated at Kailua. The rather indefinite location and extent of the battlefield and its presently isolated situation -- it can be reached only by jeep trail -- seem to render this site somewhat unsuitable for landmark status, although the graves of the defeated warriors are still impressive and there are long-range plans for opening a road along this section of the coast.



Mokuaikaua Church, Kailua, Island of Hawaii, erected in 1836.

Courtesy Hawaii Visitors Bureau

6. Mokuaikaua Church. On the landward side of Alii Drive, in Kailua, North Kona District, Island of Hawaii; about one acre; excellent condition; an active Congregational church.

This large and substantial stone church, topped by a graceful steeple, stands today essentially as it was when first built in 1836. The walls and most of the wooden beams and pillars are original. Architecturally it perhaps is the most typical and at the same time the most impressive of the American Board mission churches, reflecting in every line the New England origin of the pioneer Protestant missionaries.

The original band of American Board "pilgrims" first landed officially in the islands at Kailua on April 4, 1820. Most of them went on to Oahu and Kauai, but the Rev. Asa Thurston and his wife remained at Kailua to establish a mission. In October, 1820, they followed the royal family to Honolulu but returned in October, 1823, to continue the work. They found that the local governor, Kuakini, had already started to build a thatched church. This first Mokuaikaua Church, which also served as a school, soon proved too small for the large congregations, and in 1826 Governor Kuakini had a new structure built which, it is said, could hold 4,800 people. This second frame church was burned by an incendiary in 1835.

Kuakini again lent his assistance, and on January 1, 1836, the cornerstone of the present church was laid. This time the walls were built of stone, large hewn blocks from old heiaus being used for "tie" stones at the corners. The great wooden pillars and beams were made from hewn ohia logs, cut in the high forests. The Rev. Mr. Thurston made the design and supervised construction. The building was completed during 1836 and dedicated on February 4, 1837. Although the population of Kona has greatly declined during the last century, the church has continued to be active. Mokuaikaua has been called the "pioneer mission station of all" and "the oldest church in the Hawaiian Islands," evidently because the missionaries first landed there. In view of the break in the Thurstons' residence, however, this honor probably belongs to the church in Honolulu. Perhaps it is not, as is sometimes claimed, "the oldest church building now left us" (see Kaluaaha Church under the section "Sites Also Noted"); but its early establishment, its impressive construction; and its architectural merit give it significance as a highly representative Hawaiian Mission church.

7. Parker Ranch. On and adjoining the Waimea Plateau from Mauna Kea to the hills of Kohala in the northern part of the Island of Hawaii, with headquarters at Kamuela; about 262,000 acres; an active cattle ranch with well-preserved old headquarters buildings; owned by Richard Palmer Smart.

This vast and long-established cattle ranch, said to be largest in the United States under single ownership and second in area only to the

King Ranch of Texas, is eloquent testimony to the little-known fact that cattle ranching was a major industry in the Hawaiian Islands long before the development of the long drives and the flourishing ranches of the Anglo-American West. In 1793 the explorer, Captain George Vancouver, brought some rangy longhorn cattle from California and presented them to Kamehameha, who turned them loose to breed. The king realized that these new animals could be a great benefit to his people, and he placed them under a rigid kapu, and for 20 years it was forbidden to kill them. Upon the lifting of the taboo, the Hawaiians, knowing nothing about the techniques of the roundup, hunted and shot the steers like game. Rights to hunt cattle were often leased by the king or chiefs, and the salted meat was sold to ships. A flourishing cattle-hunting industry developed and continued for many years, but sometime before 1830 vaqueros were brought in from Mexico and California to teach the Hawaiians how to handle horses and cattle. The natives quickly mastered the trade, and Hawaiian paniolos -- cowboys -- became known as among the best in the world. Chiefs and foreigners soon developed ranches on the islands, and from 1850 to 1870 the industry grew quickly, being the only one successfully to rival sugar. By 1870 the capacity of the ranges, under the techniques then employed, was about reached, and the industry remained stable, but still an important factor in the economy for many years; it still is one of Hawaii's major sources of agricultural income.

One of the early cattle hunters was John Palmer Parker, of Newton, Massachusetts, a sailor who settled at Kawaihae about 1816 and was engaged by Kamehameha to harvest his cattle in the Waimea plateau area. Parker became a trusted adviser and friend to the monarch and under Kamehameha III was rewarded by the grant of a two-acre tract of land at Mana. Under Kamehameha III he received a franchise to reduce the wild herds and chose to do so by domesticating large numbers of them. He married a Hawaiian chiefess and founded a family which has continued to add to its holdings of land and cattle, thereby developing one of the great ranches of the world.

As the principal ranch on the islands, the Parker Ranch is the most suitable place to commemorate an industry which holds an important place in the Hawaiian economy. From the national viewpoint, however, ranching in Hawaii was never as significant as the sugar industry in bringing the islands into the economic and political orbit of the United States.

The John Palmer Parker home at Mana, seven miles from Waimea, has been restored as a museum. The ranch headquarters village of Kamuela (Waimea) is also being refurbished and "restored" to its appearance during the monarchy. Upon the death of the present owner, the ranch will be held in trust for the benefit of its employees and the State of Hawaii.

B. Island of Kauai

8. Gulick-Rowell House (Rowell House). On the north side of Huakai Road at the western outskirts of Waimea, Island of Kauai; about one acre; good condition; owned by Waimea Sugar Mille Co., Ltd. (a subsidiary of American Factors Associates, Ltd.) and used as a residence.

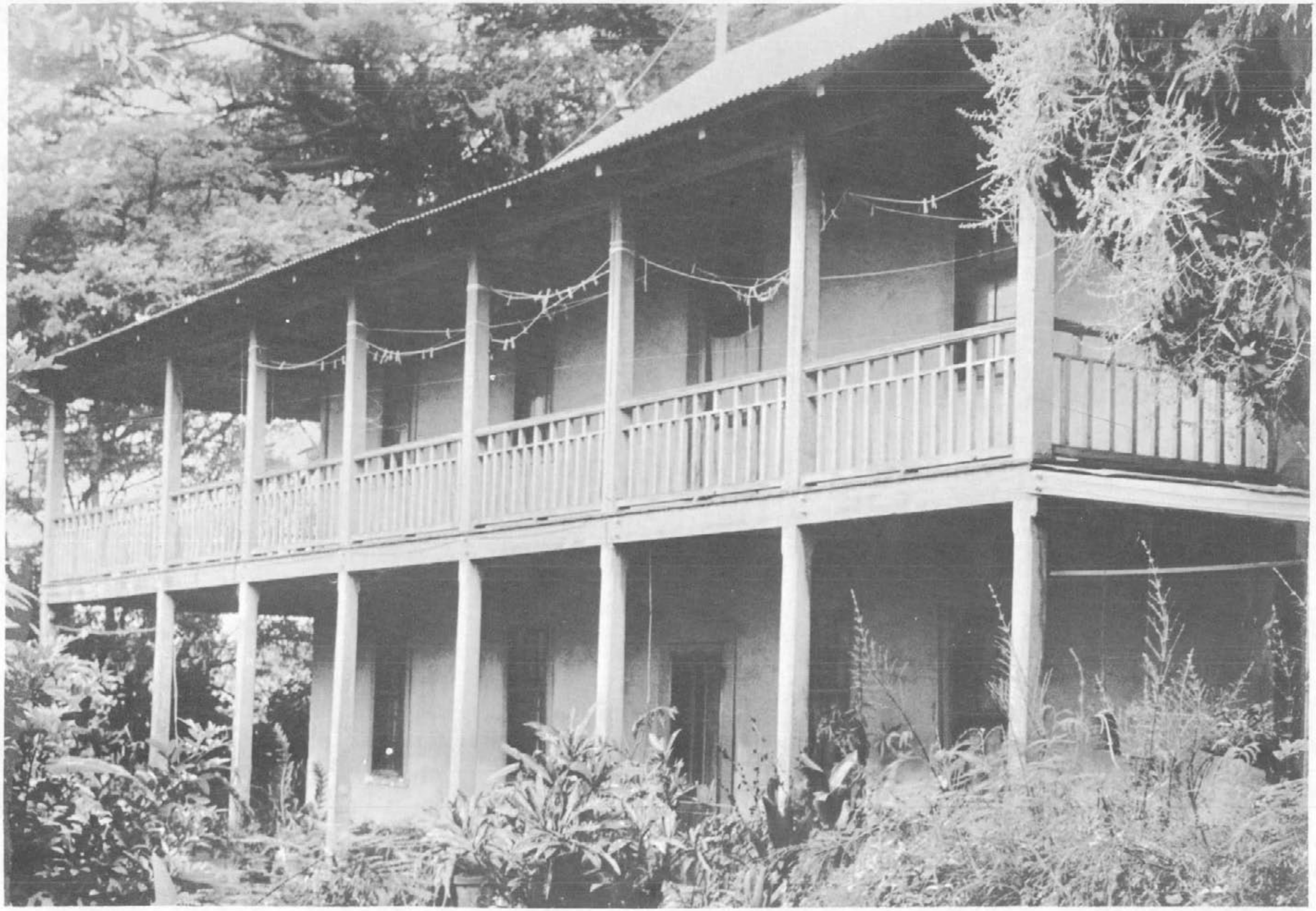
The mission station at Waimea was established in 1820 by members of the first band of missionaries to reach the islands. In 1828 three helpers, including the Rev. and Mrs. Peter J. Gulick, joined the station. After living in a thatched house for a while, Mr. Gulick determined to build a home of sandstone, a ledge of which had been found about a mile from the house site. The hauling of the heaviest blocks was done by ox-cart, an innovation on the island, where stones had always previously been carried by manpower. The house was perhaps still unfinished in 1834 when the Gulicks were transferred, although in 1832 a visitor noted "the neat, new houses of Mr. Gulick, Mr. Whitney and Gov. Kaikioewa" all in a parallel line near the church. In 1846 the Rev. George B. Rowell and his family arrived in Waimea and moved into the old Gulick home, which had long been unoccupied. He rebuilt and enlarged it. The Rowell family lived in the house for many years, and the Rev. Mr. Rowell (1815-1884) is buried on the grounds.

This three-story house, with its thick plastered stone walls, deep window ledges, large kitchen fireplace, and double Dutch door, is one of the oldest and finest of the remaining missionary residences. Despite the double lanais on three sides, it maintains a New England appearance. As with several other important mission homes, however, it must yield the honor of greatest significance to the Mission Houses in Honolulu.

9. Waioli Mission and Waioli Mission House (Waioli Meeting House). On the inland side of the highway, adjoining the present-day Waioli Hui'ia Church, in Hanalei, Island of Kauai; about five acres; excellent condition; incorporated as a Wilcox Family trust.

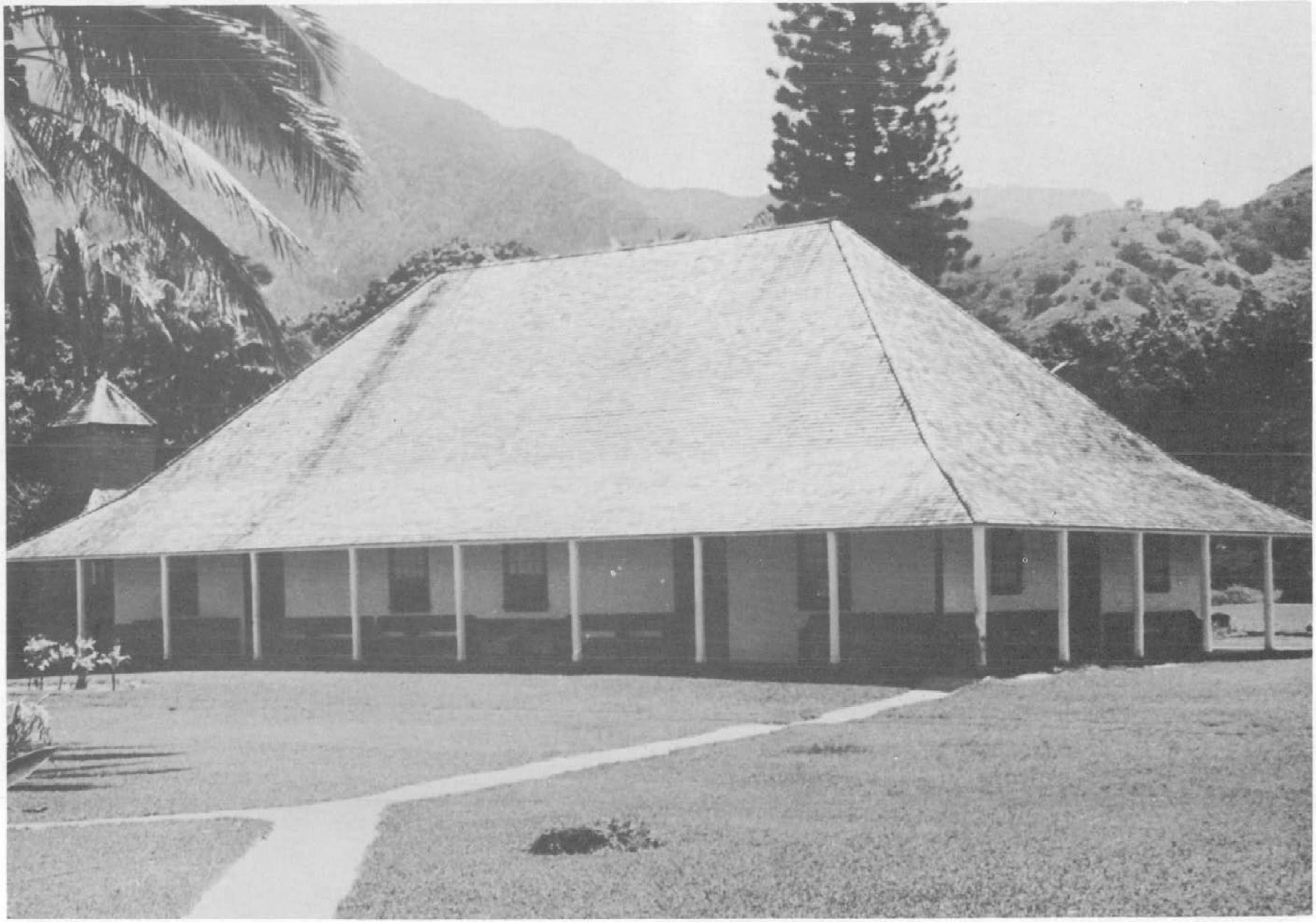
In 1834 the Rev. William P. Alexander, who had reached Honolulu with the Fifth Company of missionaries in 1832 and had spent some time in mission work in the Marquesas and Society Islands, was appointed to labor at Waioli, "a field as yet unoccupied by missionaries." A location for the new mission and residence was selected on July 20, 1834, and in the fall the Alexander family reached Waioli and moved into a thatched hut built for them by the natives. A meetinghouse and schoolhouse were soon built, and a church was organized during October, 1835.

A larger church structure was needed, however, and its construction occupied the entire community for more than five years. By 1837 the people had started to grow cotton to raise funds,and later sugar was



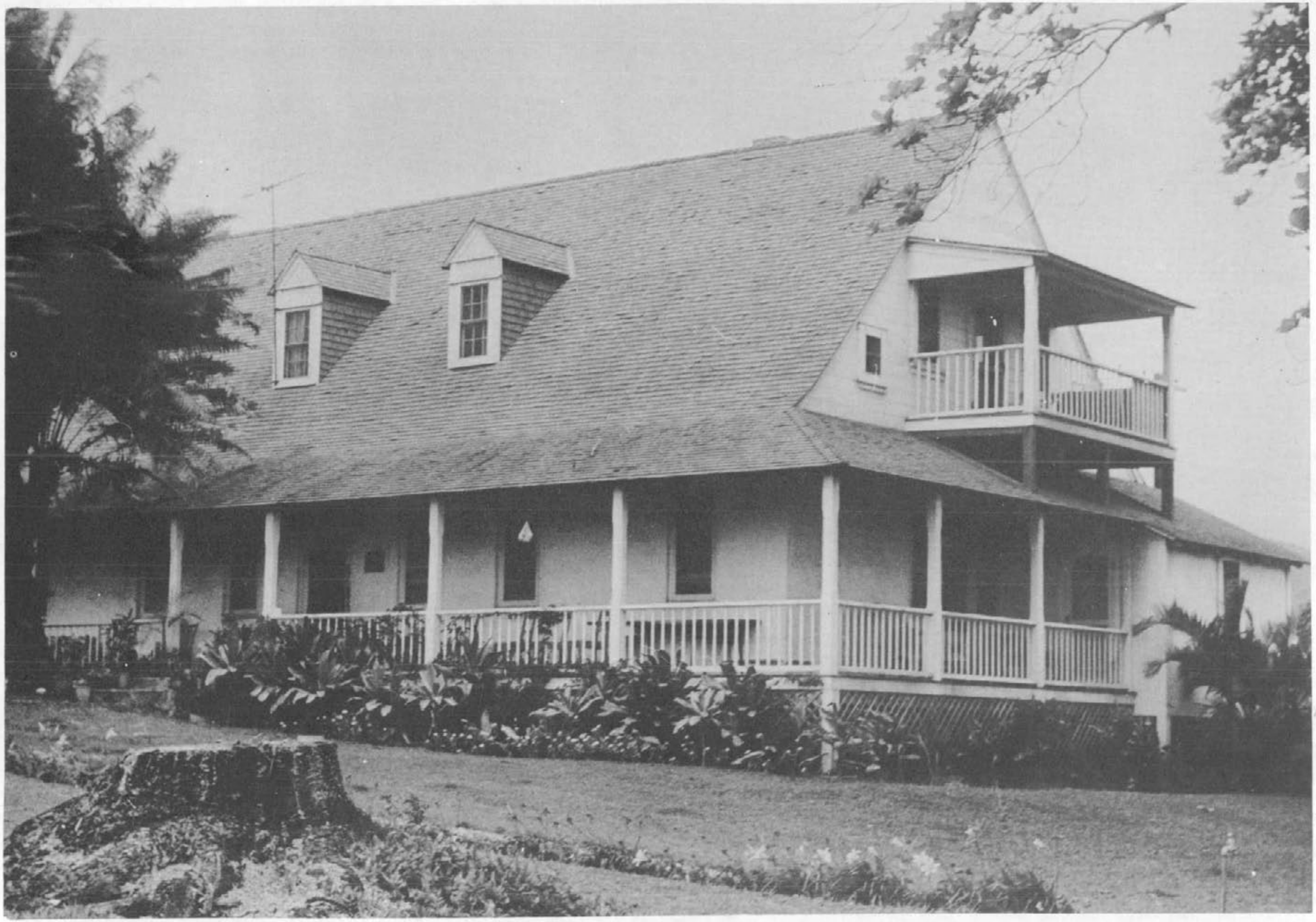
Gulick-Rowell House, Waimea, Island of Kauai, built about 1832-1834, one of the oldest missionary houses in the islands.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962



Waioli Mission Meeting House, Hanalei, Island of Kauai, completed in 1841.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962



Alexander Home, Wailuku, Island of Maui; completed in 1837; birthplace of General Samuel Chapman Armstrong.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962

raised for the same purpose. By 1839 most of the timber had been collected. The man went into the mountains to cut and dress the needed trees. "It was an exciting time in Waioli," said one account, "when the whole population, with long ropes, with shouts and chanting, dragged the heavy timbers into place for the church." The new meetinghouse was completed during November, 1841. It was a frame structure, 35 by 75 feet, plastered inside and out. The belfry was a separate structure. The original grass roof was later replaced by one of shingles.

The missionary residence was started in 1836, the stone chimney being laid up by "Father" Alexander himself. The lumber and furnishings are said to have been brought around the Horn, and the New England architecture reflects the taste of its designers.

Due to ill health, Mr. Alexander was sent to take charge of Lahainaluna, on Maui, in 1843. He was one of the best-known of the American missionaries and made important contributions to mission work in the Pacific. The successors of the Alexanders were the Rev. and Mrs. George B. Rowell; and in 1846 Abner Wilcox and his family came to Waioli. The Wilcox family later purchased the old home. In 1912 a new Waioli Church was built, and the old church and belfry were left in the graveyard. Both church and residence were restored in 1921 and are in excellent condition. The old church now serves as a parish and community hall. The handsome home, still containing many of its original furnishings, is used as a summer residence and can be visited by the public.

The mission structure, with its high, peaked roof and lanais on all sides, is a typical adaptation of the early native grass house to more permanent materials. It is frequently claimed that the Waioli Mission was the prototype for the modern "Hawaiian Style" of architecture. However, the honor is also claimed for Ahuimanu, a Honolulu residence built in 1854, which is said to have been the "inspiration" of Bertram Goodhue in designing the Honolulu Academy of Arts.

From the standpoints of appearance, integrity of historic scene, and architecture, the Waioli Mission and residence must be classified as the most representative existing structures of the missionary period in Hawaii. From the standpoints of age and historical importance, however, they must yield to the Mission Houses in Honolulu.

C. Island of Maui

10. Alexander Home. 2331 Main Street, in Wailuku, Island of Maui; 2.74 acres; excellent condition; owned and used as a parsonage by the Wailuku Union Church.

This two-story, stone residence, termed "the oldest building in Wailuku," is one of the most important and oldest of the surviving missionary homes on the islands. It was begun as a home for the Rev. Richard Armstrong in 1835 and was completed two years later. The dormers for the second story windows are a rather unusual feature for Hawaiian homes. Here, on January 30, 1839, was born General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who in 1868 founded Hampton Institute in Virginia to educate Negroes and American Indians on the pattern of the Lahainaluna Seminary on his native island of Maui. From 1856 to 1884 the structure was the home of the Rev. William Patterson Alexander, one of the most prominent and important of the American missionaries.

The significance of this structure is somewhat reduced by the fact that it has been twice remodeled, once in 1843 and again in 1949. The historical character of the building has been preserved, but most of the wood has been replaced.

11. Bailey Home and Wailuku Female Seminary (Hale Hoikeike) (Bailey Mission). 2375-A Main Street (Iao Road), in Wailuku, Island of Maui; 0.36 acre; good condition; owned by Wailuku Sugar Company (a subsidiary of C. Brewer and Company) and administered by the Maui Historical Society as a museum.

The Rev. Johathan S. Green founded a mission station at Wailuku in 1831. The mission structures were on a sloping plain -- the present location of Wailuku -- overlooking central Maui and backed by a precipitous mountain ridge. "There is beauty here," remarked one early visitor. In keeping with the missionary belief that the natives could only become exemplary Christians by changing their old ways of life, Green organized the Wailuku Female Seminary in 1837. His purpose was to take "young females" into a boarding school "away in a measure from the contaminating influence of heathen society," instruct them, and "make them examples of propriety." The school was opened on July 6, 1837, with Mr. Green as instructor and a class of 30 pupils.

The main building, a two-story stone structure; the chapel, lecture rooms; and two ranges of adobe dormitories no longer stand. The only surviving building is the kitchen-dining room which was built adjoining the main structure in 1838-1839. It is stone, one story high with a basement, measuring 45 by 18 feet, with a lanai on all sides. Some of the original glass window panes, brought around the Horn, are still in place.

In 1840 or 1841 (available sources do not agree) Mr. Edward Bailey succeeded Green as head instructor. He was a remarkable man -- a painter, poet, naturalist, and later, a mill owner and postmaster. The present Bailey Home, almost adjoining the existing seminary building, was erected as his residence in 1841. It is a three-story stone structure, with walls 20 inches thick, It has a lanai on two sides. The walls are plastered inside and out, the plaster, it is said, being held together by human hair contributed by Hawaiian women. The kitchen, once separated from the main house, has been joined to it.

The school flourished for a while under Bailey's supervision. The largest number of pupils at any one time was 70. The seminary was abandoned about 1848, however, "because of its delapidated condition."

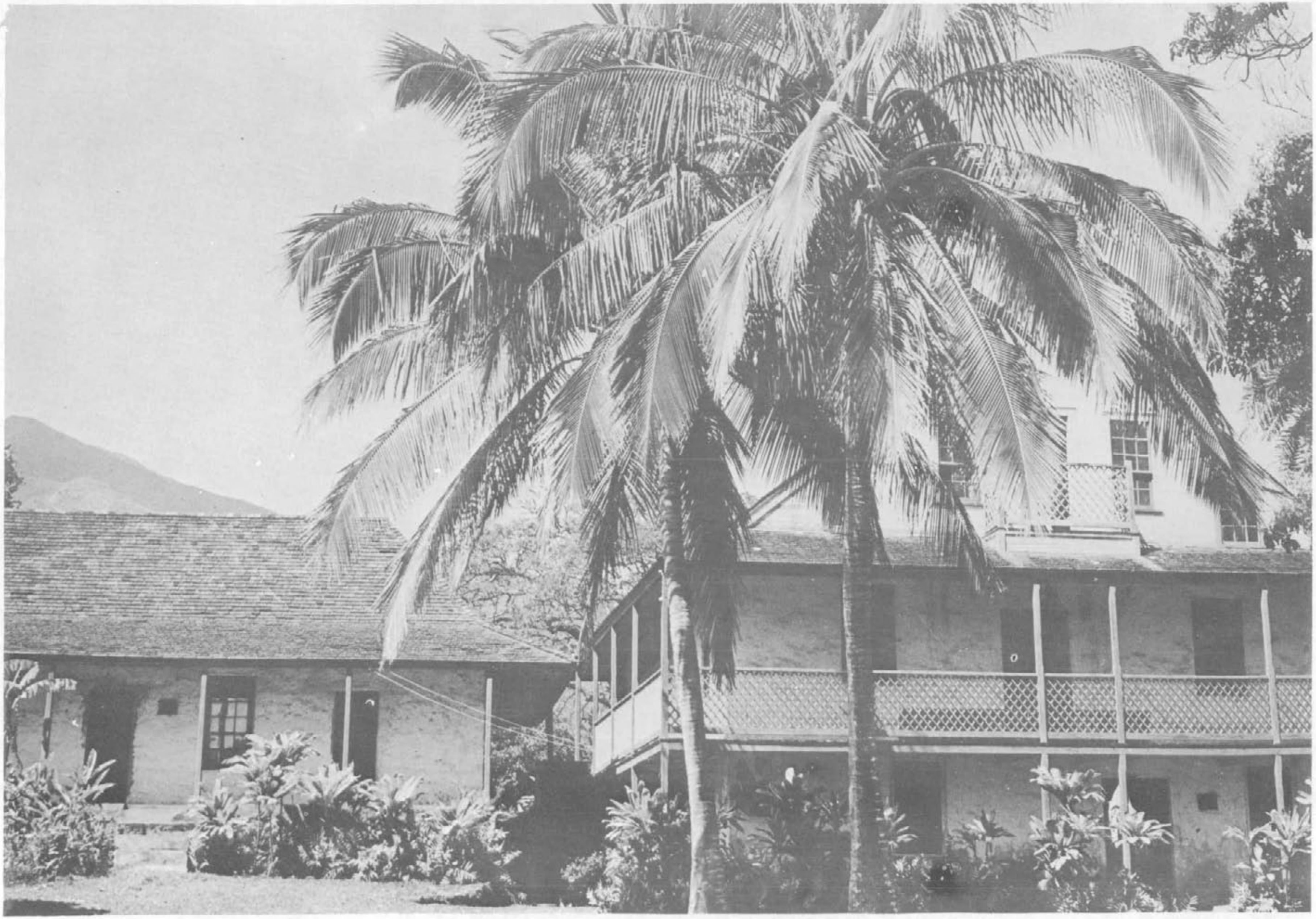
The Bailey House and the adjoining seminary kitchen-dining room are fine examples of early missionary structures, combining both New England and Hawaiian architectural influences. The buildings, in reasonably good repair, are operated as a museum by the Maui Historical Society. Several rooms are furnished with items from the missionary period. The structures are significant reminders of the efforts of the missionaries not merely to convert and educate the Hawaiians but also to change their culture, morals, and habits. They are evidence of the spirit which caused one minister to say during the 1840's, "Let an Hawaiian female be only modest and industrious, and she will make a neat and prudent wife." But other groups of structures appear to illustrate better the entire range of missionary activity and influence.

12. Lahainaluna Technical High School (Lahainaluna, Mission Seminary at Lahainaluna). On the hillside about 1-3/4 miles northeast of Lahaina, on the Island of Maui; the campus proper covers about 10 acres, but the school property amounts to about 1,000 acres; historic structure in fair condition; owned by the State of Hawaii and administered as a boarding school by the Department of Education.

The year 1831 was one of discouragement for the American missionaries in Hawaii. After a decade of effort, native school attendance had suddenly dropped, and it was feared that failure was at hand unless the Hawaiians themselves could be enlisted as teachers. Without such assistance, it was thought that one of the great missionary goals -- to teach the Hawaiians to become "thinking people" -- could not be realized. Thus in 1831 it was decided to establish a seminary for training teachers. Lahaina was chosen as the site, and the project was made possible when Governor Hoapili's wife, Hoapili-Wahine, donated 1,000 acres of land at a place called Lahainaluna, meaning "upper Lahaina."

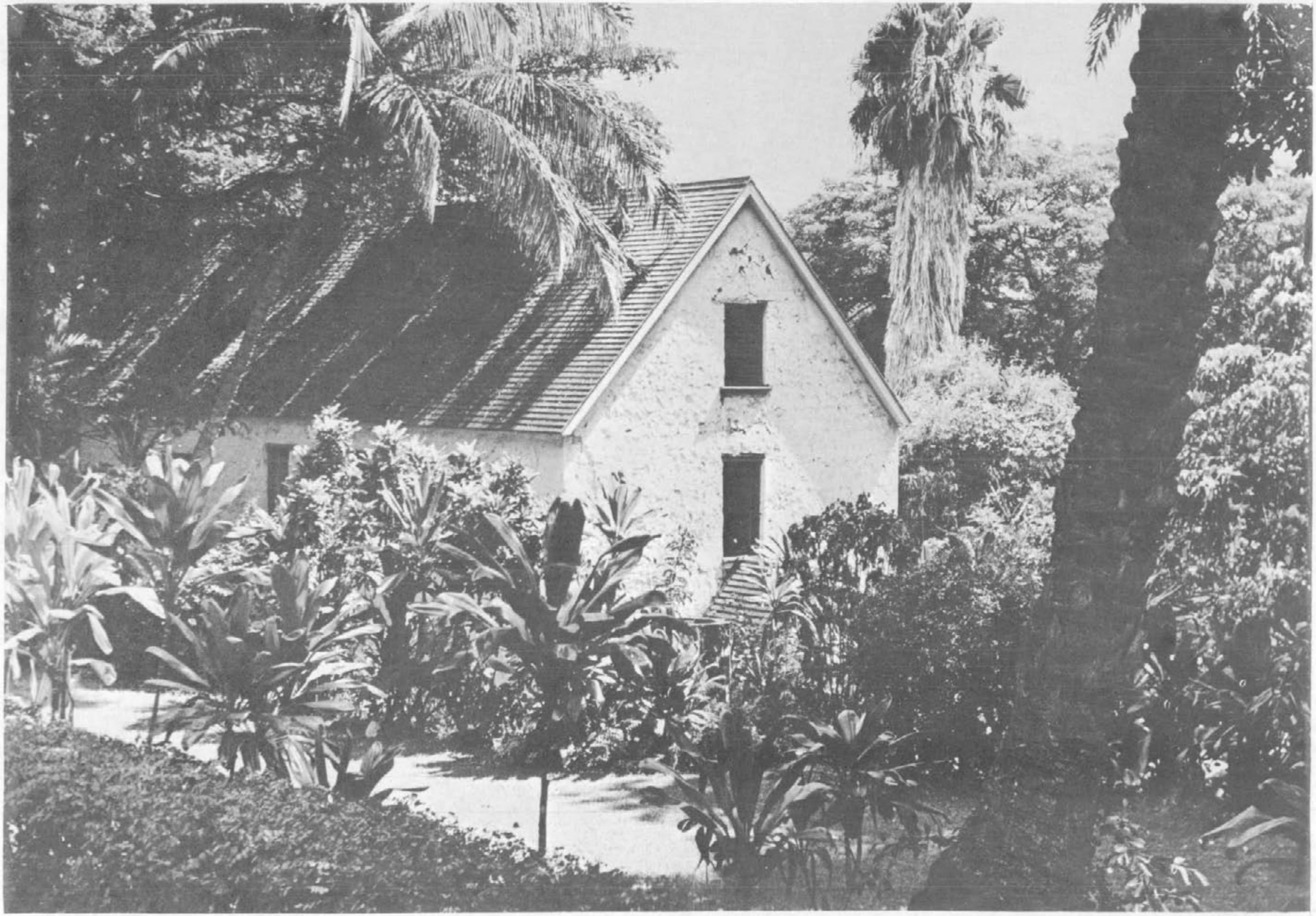
With the Rev. Lorrin Andrews in charge, the school opened in a series of grass houses on September 5, 1831. There were then 25 pupils, all mature native men. Tuition was free, but the pupils raised their own food and performed the work of the school. A pupil in the first class was David Malo, then 38 years old. He later became a noted historian and was responsible for the preservation of much knowledge of ancient Hawaii. He is buried on the hill, Puu Pau Pau, above the school. By June, 1832, a stone schoolhouse was completed.

Finding that school books were needed, Andrews imported an old and battered Ramage press during 1833. From that press on February 14,1834,



Bailey House (right) and Wailuku Female Seminary (left), Wailuku, Maui.

Courtesy Hawaii Visitors Bureau



Hale Pa'i, or Printing House, Lahainaluna, Maui, where the "first American newspaper printed west of the Rockies" came off the press in 1834.

Courtesy Hawaii Visitors Bureau

came the first copy of the first American newspaper printed "west of the Rockies" -- the Lama Hawaii, or Hawaiian Luminary. The stone building which housed this press, the "Hale Pai," is the only one of the early school structures which still stands.

During the next ten years the school came under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and both student body and curriculum were expanded. Geography, writing, and arithmetic were taught, as well as teacher training and technical subjects such as carpentry, masonry, engraving, and agriculture. Before many years the institution was "standardized" as a boarding school for Hawaiian boys below the age of 20. By 1843 the seminary had three main buildings -- a church, a press, and a school -- three adobe teachers' residences, and two rows of adobe and grass houses for students.

Under the direction of Andrews, who was working on a Hawaiian dictionary, and Sheldon Dibble, a dtimulating teacher who developed an interest in Hawaiian antiquities and history, Lahainaluna became a "spring-head" of Hawaiian culture. A group of native scholars was developed. One result was the important Ka Moolelo Hawaii, a history of the islands written and printed in Hawaiian by the pupils. Dibble's own history of Hawaii was printed at the school in 1843. Toward the end of that decade a visitor noted that Lahainaluna graduates were "doing something towards making books and forming a national literature." But the influence of the school was more than literary. It produced many successful teachers, lawyers, judges, surveyors, ministers, and other professional men who did much to improve the lot of the native Hawaiians. Some of the graduates were instrumental in framing the more liberal laws and constitutions which after 1839 helped transform the kingdom into a realm ruled by law. Two graduates in particular, Kauhane and Filipo, became famous orators who long worked for better government.

In 1849-1850 the school was turned over to the Hawaiian government, and it so continued until annexation to the United States. It then became a private boarding school for a time but in 1916 was placed under a board of Maui County officials. In 1923 it passed to the direct control of the Hawaiian Department of Public Instruction, and has continued to the present as a public technical high school.

The influence of Lahainaluna extended beyond the islands. As an industrial school organized before similar technical training was generally available in the United States, it inspired General Samuel Chapman Armstrong to found the Hampton Institute in Virginia for Negroes and American Indians during 1868.

The present campus, with its numerous modern buildings and landscaped grounds, preserves little of the appearance of the early seminary. Only one building, the Printing House, remains from the missionary period; and the old cemetery, containing the grave of the Rev. Sheldon Dibble, is in poor condition, though fenced. Nevertheless the school, as the first seminary for teacher training in the islands, as the site of the printing of the first American newspaper in the Pacific, as the scene of labor during the preparation of the first Hawaiian history, and for many other contributions to Hawaiian spiritual and material development, richly merits recognition. However, the same broad themes seem to be even more significantly symbolized by the mission structures in Honolulu.

D. Island of Molokai

13. Kalawao Peninsula (Kalaupapa, Hansen's Disease Settlement). A small, flat peninsula jutting into the ocean from approximately the center of Molokai's northern coast and separated from the rest of the island by spectacular 2,000-foot cliffs; the peninsula and the adjoining region set apart as a leper settlement have an area of about 10 square miles; still employed as a leprosarium and contains two well-preserved early churches; owned by the State of Hawaii and administered by the Department of Health, Communicable Disease Division, Hansen's Disease Branch, Honolulu; access by permit only.

What appears to have been leprosy was reported by missionaries in Hawaii as early as 1823; but in 1863 Dr. W. Hillebrand, of Queen's Hospital, described it as a new disease in the islands, called attention to its rapid spread, and recommended that some "humane measure" be taken to isolate those affected. Kamehameha V interested himself in the problem, and as a result the "Act to Prevent the Spread of Leprosy" was approved on January 3, 1865. It authorized the establishment of an isolation settlement; and upon the advice of the Rev. Dwight Baldwin, a missionary-physician and member of the Board of Health, the peninsula at Kalawao, on Molokai, was selected for the purpose. The central government acquired title to all privately owned lands in the new reservation, and the area's inhabitants were removed to other properties received in exchange. The first patients arrived on January 6, 1866. By 1872 about 600 lepers had been sent to Kalawao. Often severe heartbreak occurred when the infected natives, who usually did not realize the dangerous nature of their ailment, were separated from their homes and families. During the early years conditions at the settlement, which later was known as Kalaupapa after the town which became its center, were severe.

The leper colony was the scene of heroic sacrifices made by a number of superintendents, missionaries, doctors, priests, and other religious and lay workers of several denominations. The best known of these heroes was the Roman Catholic priest, Father Damien de Veuster, the "Martyr of Molokai," who in 1873 began his work of administering to the spiritual and physical needs of the colonists and who continued his service until his own death from the disease in 1889. In recent years Hansen's disease has been almost wiped out in Hawaii, and there is now but a small group of patients living at Kalaupapa. The historic churches, Siloama, a Protestant chapel built in 1871; and St. Philomena, the Catholic church started as a frame chapel in 1872 and enlarged as a masonry structure during Father Damien's time, are well-preserved and serve as a reminder of the heroism once displayed at the settlement.

14. Sandalwood Pit (Sandalwood Boat, Lua Moku Iliahi). On the backbone ridge of the Island of Molokai, in the Kamiloloa Land Division, 3.3 miles east of the Molokai Forest Camp; about 2 acres; marked by a sign but otherwise uncared for, remarkably intact considering its age and lack of restoration; owned by the State of Hawaii and administered by the Forestry Division.

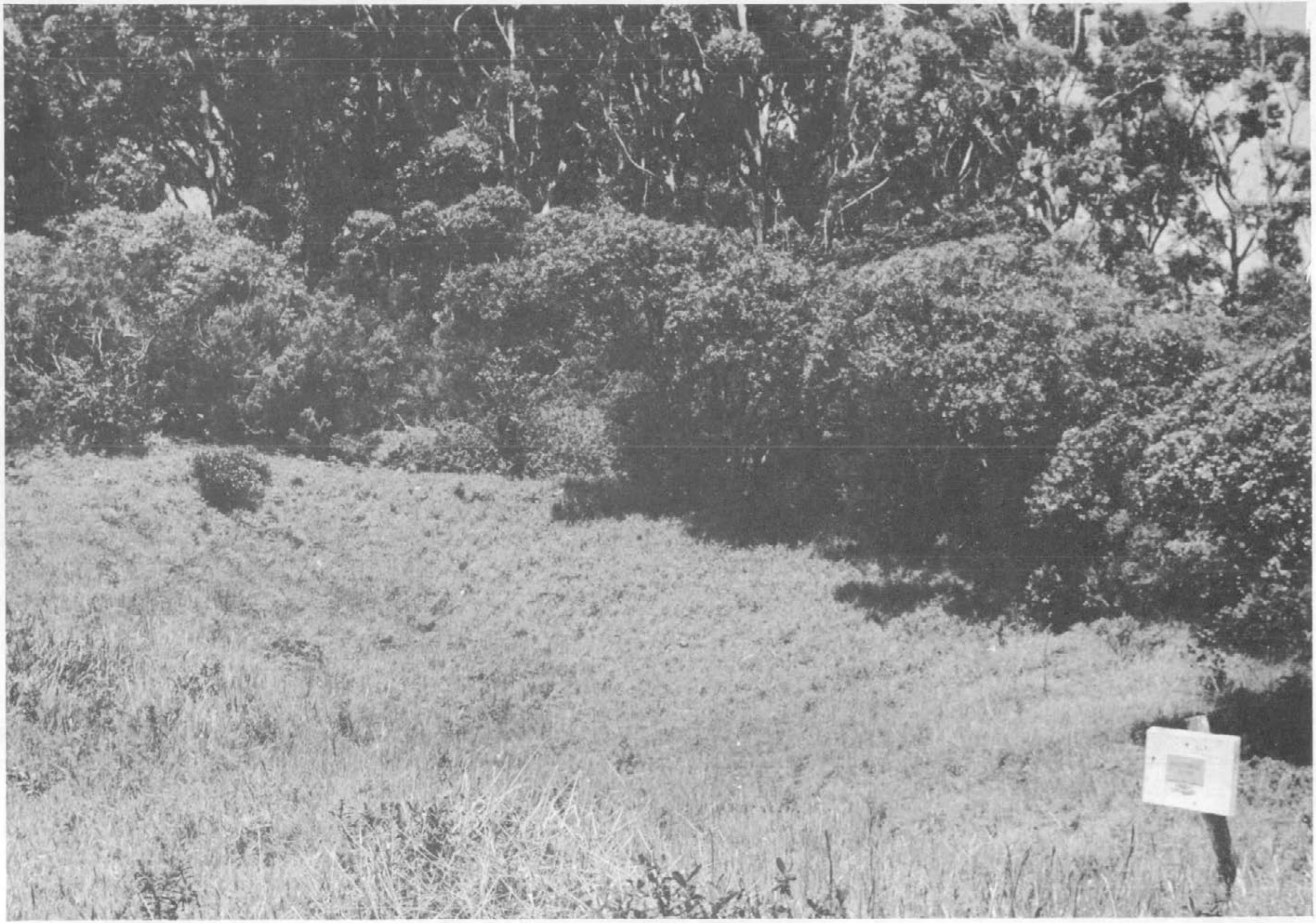
This grass-covered, hull-shaped depression in the ground, about 150 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 12 feet deep, is a relic of the sandalwood trade, the first major commercial enterprise developed in the Hawaiian Islands after their discovery by Cook. For about two decades, from 1812 to the early 1830's, this industry was the mainstay of the Hawaiian economy, and the intensity with which it was carried on, to the neglect of normal food raising and gathering, is credited with contributing to the rapid decline in the native population.

Foreigners discovered sandalwood trees on the Hawaiian Islands about 1790, but despite the high prices brought by the wood in China, where it was much in demand for incense, idols, carvings, and other products, the trade did not really get started until 1812. A boom followed, bringing large revenues to the king and chiefs who owned the forests. So greedy were the rulers for foreign articles that thousands of commoners were sent to the mountains to cut, stack, and haul the sandalwood. The rapid exhaustion of the groves brought an end to the trade during the 1830's.

One aspect of the trade was the digging of pits, the size of ship hulls, in the mountains for ascertaining when a shipload of wood had been gathered. One theory holds that when a pit had been filled, the chief who owned it would bargain with ship captains for sale of the contents; and after the price had been established the commoners would carry the logs to the shore on their backs. Other sources point out that Hawaiian kings often bought foreign ships, paying for them with an equal volume, or in some cases twice an equal volume or more, in logs. To measure the price of a ship, pits were dug the size of the hull and filled with sandalwood. Still other writers believe the pits were used by the chiefs to prevent being cheated by the ship captains. At any rate, several pits are reported to survive on the islands, particularly in the hills of Molokai. The one described is in an attractive, if somewhat remote, location and is reached by a good dirt road.

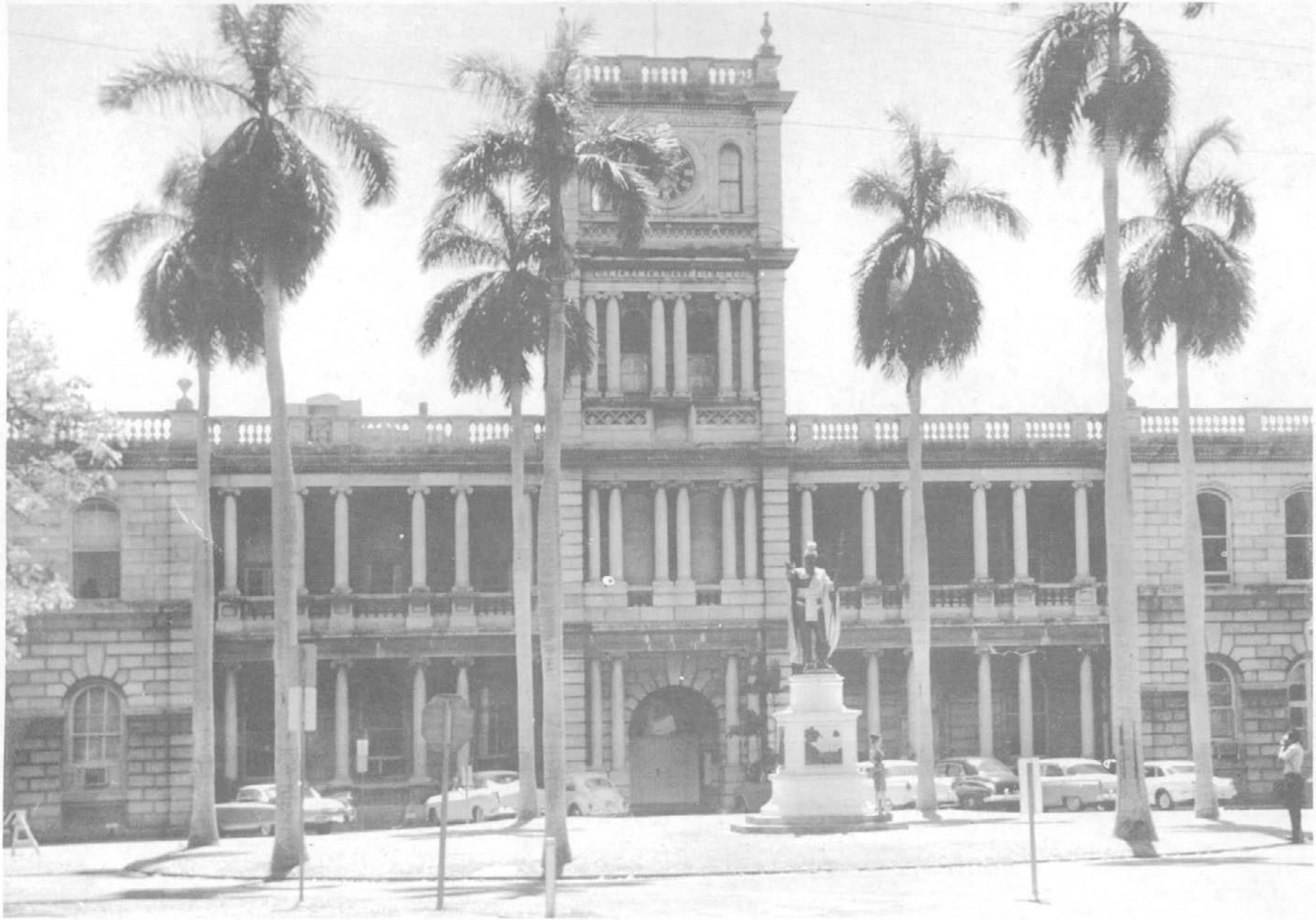
E. Island of Oahu

15. Aliiolani Hale (Judiciary Building). At the corner of King and Malilani Streets, opposite Iolani Palace, in downtown Honolulu; about two acres; exterior is in good condition but interior is now (1962) undergoing alteration; owned by State of Hawaii and used as a State office and court building.



Sandalwood Pit high in the hills of Molokai.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962



Aliiolani Hale, or Judiciary Building, Honolulu, completed in 1874 and used as the office and legislative building of the Royal Hawaiian Government.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962

This large and ornate stone structure is, after the Iolani Palace, perhaps the most impressive relic of the Hawaiian monarchy. The erection of "New Government Offices" was authorized in 1870, but there was some difficulty in obtaining a suitable plan. Finally, a design prepared by architects in Sydney, Australia, for a new royal palace was revised in Honolulu for the new office building. Its style defies architectural description but is generally said to "appear Italian." The cornerstone was laid on February 19, 1872, and upon completion two years later it was named Aliiolani Hale ("House of the Chief of Heaven") by Kalakaua and became the office building of the royal Hawaiian Government and the meeting place of the legislature. Hawaii's first public library was housed there as was the natural history museum of the Natural History and Microscopical Society, an organization sponsored by King Kalakaua.

Early in 1893 the proposal by Queen Liliuokalani to change the constitution aroused a storm of protest, chiefly among the foreign residents; and on January 17, 1893, a Committee of Safety took possession of the government office building. That same afternoon a proclamation ending the monarchy was read from the steps of the structure. The Provisional Government which replaced the monarchy established its seat of government in the Aliiolani Hale, but the executive and legislative offices were soon moved to Iolani Palace, where they have since remained. The Alliiolani Hale became the judiciary building, and it has housed the Territorial and State Supreme and Circuit Courts to the present day. The First Circuit Court meets in the old legislative chamber.

The best-known feature of the Aliiolani Hale is the statue of Kamehameha I which stands in front of the building on King Street. The funds for the statue were appropriated by the Legislature of 1878 to commemorate the discovery of Hawaii by Cook 100 years earlier. The statue was made by T. R. Gould, an American sculptor living in Italy. The ship bringing the statue to Honolulu was wrecked on the Falkland Islands, and a replica was finally unveiled by King Kalakaua in 1883. The original statue was later recovered and today stands in Kohala on the Island of Hawaii.

As the scene of the most important events of the Revolution of 1893 and as the first seat of the Provisional Government, the structure is of considerable historical importance. The same general story is also commemorated by the Iolani Palace, which appears to possess greater significance in the overall history of Hawaii.

AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSION SCHOOL HOUSE (OLD MISSION SCHOOL HOUSE).

880 Mission Lane, at its junction with Kawaiahao Street, opposite the Mission Houses in downtown Honolulu; on Kawaiahao Church grounds; excellent condition; at present (April, 1962) is unused; owned by Kawaiahao Church.

This attractive, one-story building, about 33 by 60 feet in size, with thick adobe walls, was built by 1835 as a schoolhouse by the missionaries. It is sometimes described as the "first permanent school" in the islands, which may be true if it is considered as a continuation of the school established in Honolulu by Mrs. Hiram Bingham in 1820. A number of the annual General Meetings of the Hawaiian Mission were held in this building. Restored in 1922, it was long under lease to the Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid Association. Another renovation was carried out in 1948.

Even though importantly associated with the missionary program of education which has so greatly influenced the history of the islands, this structure in itself might not merit national recognition because the entire missionary effort is more importantly represented by other sites. However, it definitely is part of the complex of mission structures formed by the Mission Houses and Kawaiahao Church and is worthy of being considered with those sites for national recognition. (See photograph following p. 138.)

17. Hanaiakamalama (Queen Emma's Summer Home). 2913 Nuuanu Avenue, in Nuuanu Valley, about 2 1/2 miles northeast of downtown Honolulu; about 9.304 acres; excellent condition; owned by the State of Hawaii, but by law the larger landscaped park is under the control

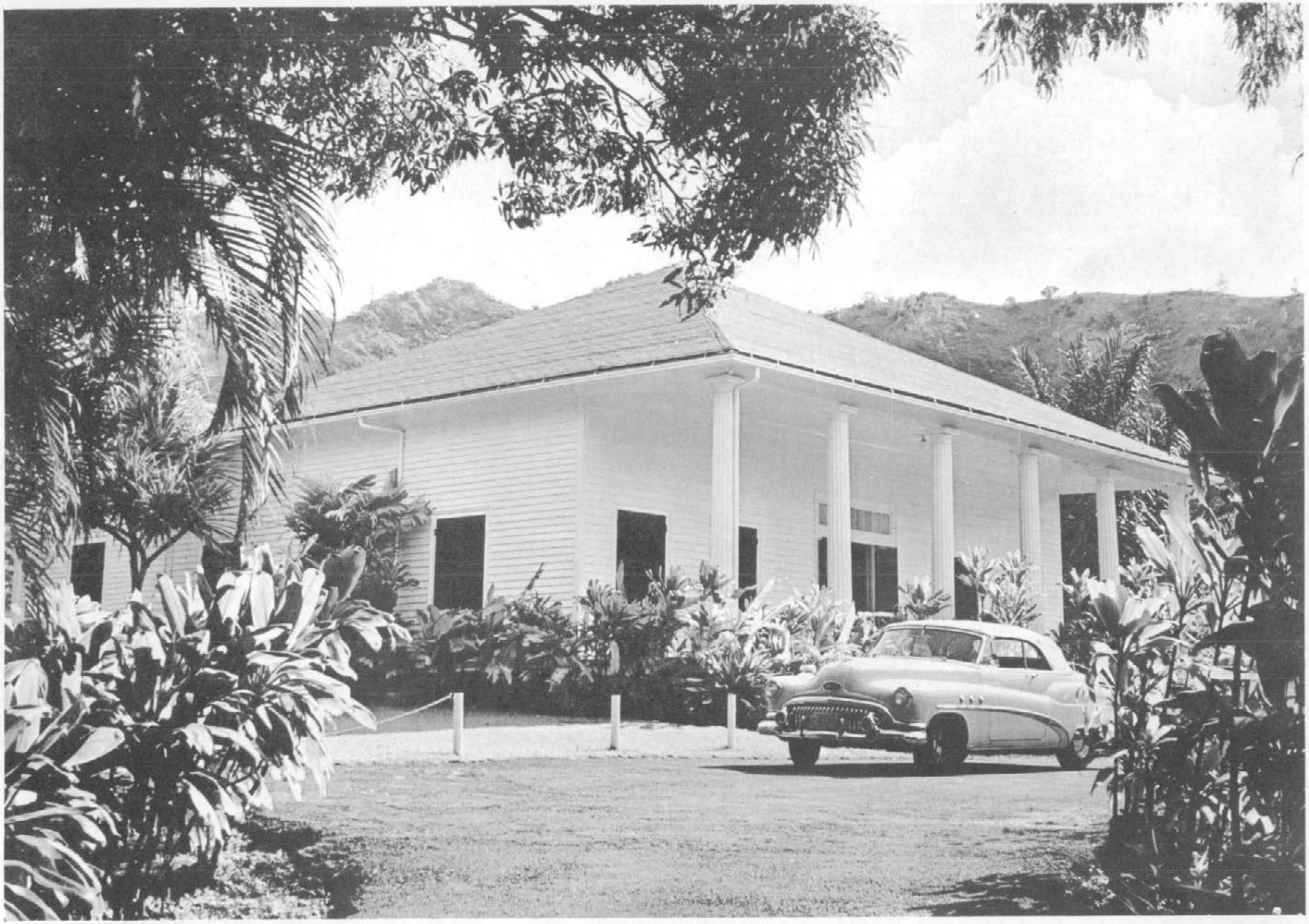
of the City and County of Honolulu, and the house and immediate grounds are administered by the Daughters of Hawaii as a house museum.

This distinguished but simple one-story white frame home evidently was built about 1849. The next year it was bought from "a Mr. Lewis" by John Young II, Premier under Kamehameha III and son of John Young, the English adviser of Kamehameha I. Young gave the house its present name, meaning "Foster child of the God Kamalama," and willed it to his niece, Emma. Born in 1836, this granddaughter of John Young was adopted as a child by Dr. T. C. B. Rooke, an English physician, and married Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) in 1856. Their only child, the Prince of Hawaii, died a tragic death at the age of four, and the king died in 1863. The king and queen used the Nuuanu home as an occasional retreat from the formalities of court life, and after 1863 Dowager Queen Emma continued to use it at intervals and turned it over to an Episcopal school as a summer vacation home. A notable incident was a banquet and ball given for the visiting Duke of Edinburgh in 1869, an event which led to the construction of the present rear room. After the death of the queen in 1885, the property passed into private hands but was acquired by the Territory in 1914.

Although the house has much sentimental value for its association with one of the most respected and beloved of Hawaii's queens, its major significance probably is architectural, since it is a typical example of the homes which caused visitors to call mid-19th century Honolulu "an outpost of New England." The structure is now superbly furnished, many of the articles having been used by Queen Emma and her family. Here also are displayed many portraits and articles associated with the monarchy. Of outstanding interest, and of value as indicating one phase of foreign activity in Hawaii, is the silver baptismal font donated to the infant Prince of Hawaii by Queen Victoria. This structure, educational as it is in illustrating the growing formality and elegance of Hawaiian court life during the middle period of the monarchy, is eclipsed by the formidable Iolani Palace.

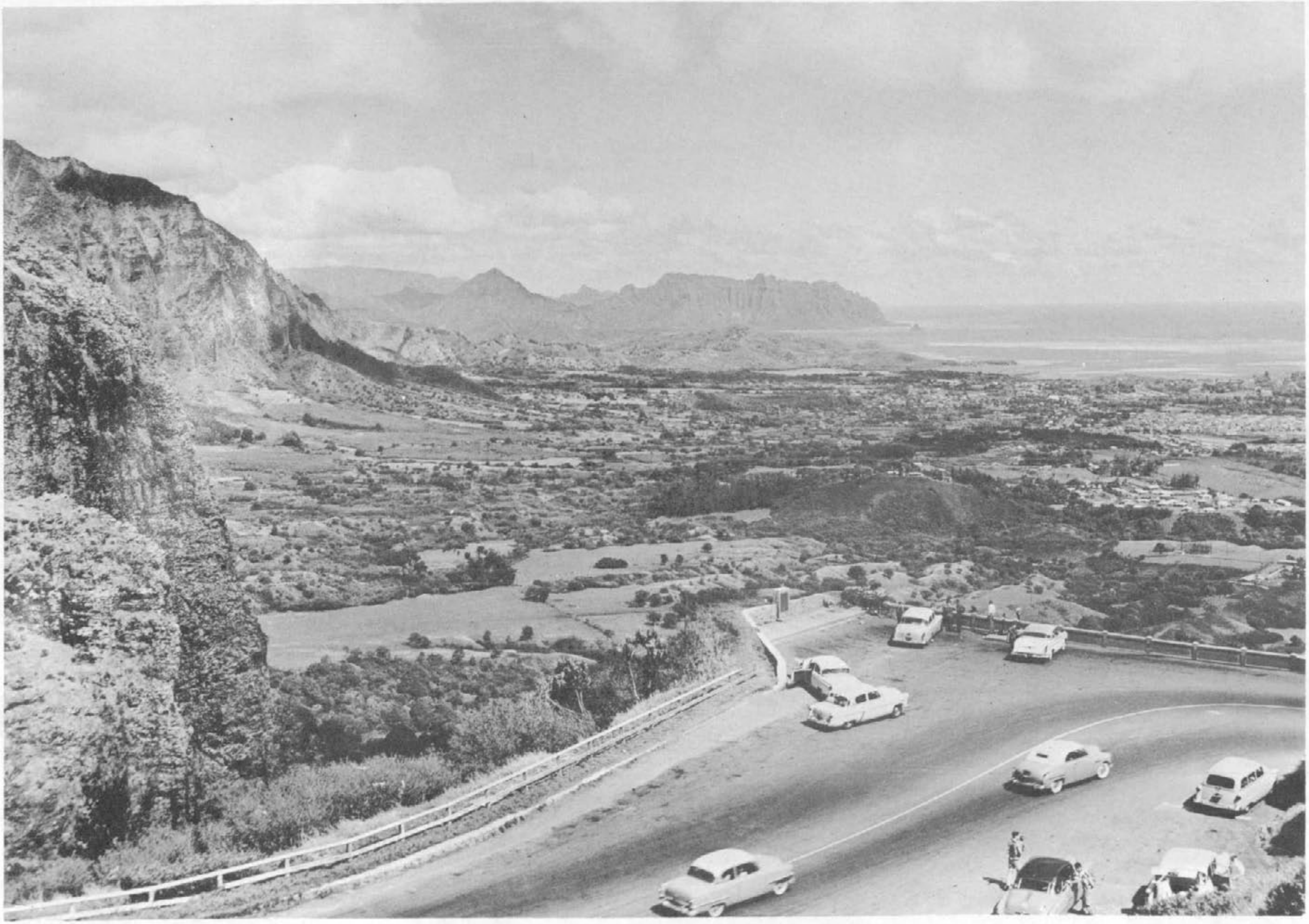
18. Nuuanu Pali. On the crest of the Koolau Range at the head of Nuuanu Valley, about 6 miles northeast of downtown Honolulu; reached by the old Nuuanu Pali Road; about 500 acres; in a relatively undisturbed natural condition except where scarred by roads; owned by the State of Hawaii and administered by the Forestry Division.

At the head of the Nuuanu Valley the eastern slope of the Koolau Range is a series of spectacular cliffs about 1200 feet high; and flanking the gap are cliffs ranging up to about 3000 feet in height. The cliffs at the pass were the scene of the closing phase of the Battle of Nuuanu Valley which took place during the spring or summer of 1795. After winning complete control of the Island of Hawaii in 1791, Kamehameha had delayed his long campaign to unite all of the islands under his rule until he recruited his strength and until his chief opponent on Maui and Oahu, Kalanikupule, had weakened himself by civil wars.



Hanaiakamalama, Queen Emma's Summer Home in Nuuanu Valley, Honululu.

Courtesy Hawaii Visitors Bureau



Nuuanu Pali, at the head of Nuuanu Valley, Oahu; where Oahu warriors were driven to their deaths by Kamehameha's victorious army.

Courtesy Hawaii Visitors Bureau

Sensing that the time was ripe early in 1795, he landed a large force from canoes at Waikiki. The Oahu forces took their position in Nuuanu Valley and made a fierce resistance. Kamehameha's artillery, manned by foreigners, probably turned the day, and the Oahu forces finally broke. Many of the fleeing warriors were pushed over the pali (cliff) and fell to their deaths on the rocks below.

This victory gave Kamehameha control over all the islands except Kauai and Niihau; and the year 1795 is generally considered to mark his ascension to the throne of all Hawaii. However, it was 1810 before the king of Kauai and Niihau finally acknowledged Kamehameha's authority. Except for one campaign on Hawaii, this was the last battle fought by the great king. The victory undoubtedly marked a major step in the development of the Hawaiian kingdom, but the altered state and indefinite area of the entire Nuuanu battlefield seem to make the site less tangible for commenorative purposes than other places associated with events which appear equally important in Kamehameha's rise to power.

19. Our Lady of Peace Cathedral. Between Fort and Bishop Streets, seaward from Beretania Street, in downtown Honolulu; about 2 acres; good condition; an active church; owned by the Roman Catholic Church, Diocese of Honolulu.

The first Catholic missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands arrived at Honolulu from France on July 7, 1827. Despite an unenthusiastic welcome from many of the chiefs and the Protestant missionaries, they obtained from the king a grant of land in Honolulu during August, and in January, 1828, a chapel was opened on this property. The priests were expelled from the islands in 1831, and a period of persecution of Catholic converts followed; but after much dispute religious toleration was forced on the Hawaiian king by the French in 1839. As a result, Bishop Rouchouze came to the islands from South America in May, 1840, bringing with him three priests, to join a priest already in the islands. From that time forward Catholic missionary work went ahead rapidly in Hawaii.

Very soon after Bishop Rouchouze's arrival, the missionaries determined to erect a stone church in Honolulu, and on June 22, 1840, a contract was made with F. J. Greenway for a coral block structure, 115 by 50 feet, to cost $14,150. The location chosen was the land occupied by the mission of 1828; the cornerstone was laid July 9, 1840. The building was completed and dedicated on August 15, 1843. It was later decided to change the style from its original simple lines to "Gothic," and a concrete "porch" was added in 1910; but this is as far as the change of styles progressed. The original belfry was replaced by a concrete tower in 1917; and in 1926 the woodwork was replaced. Father Damien de Veuster, "the Martyr of Molokai," was ordained here in 1864.

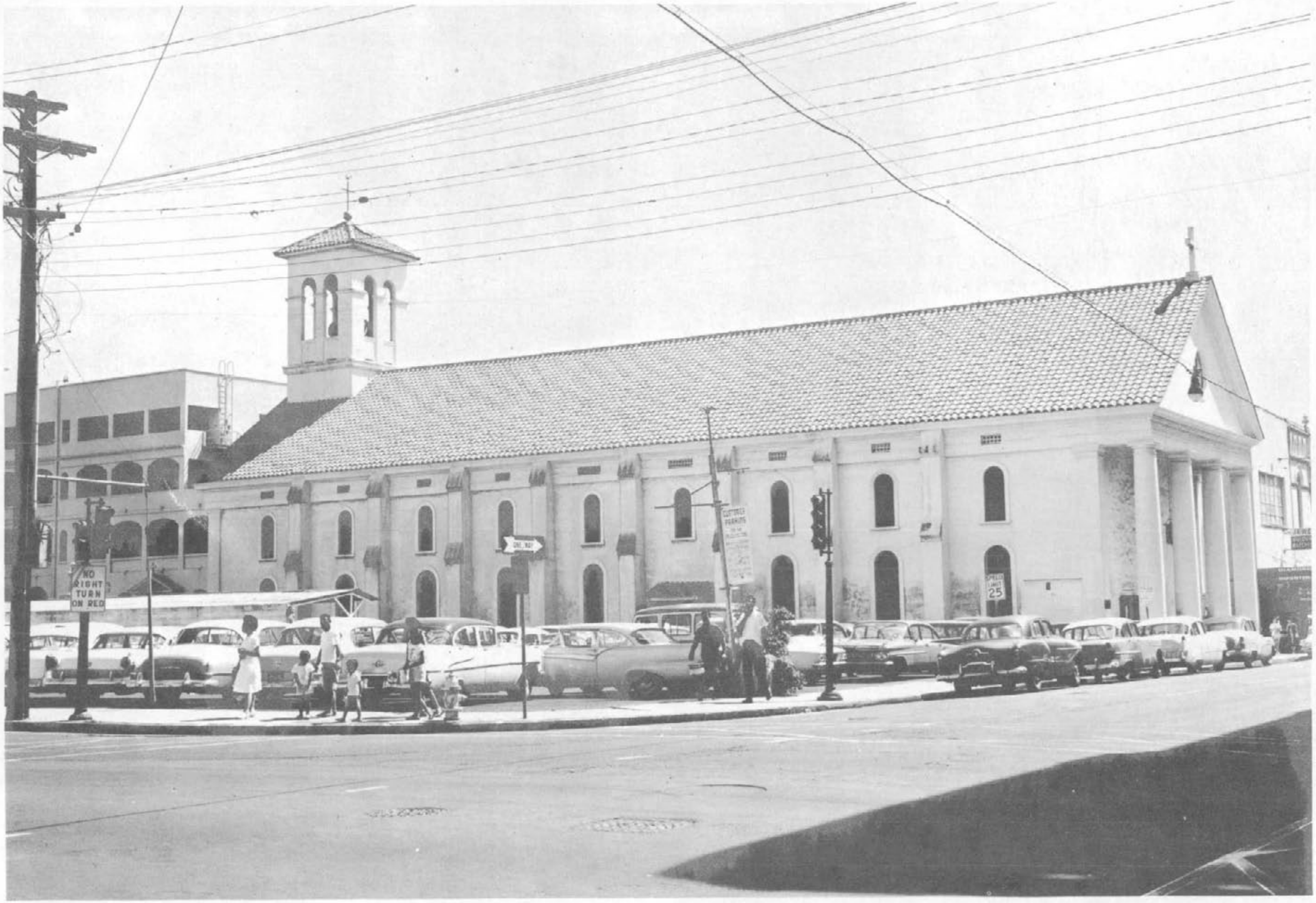
As the oldest surviving, and principal, Catholic church structure in the islands, the Cathedral commemorates one important phase of missionary and educational effort among the Hawaiians. Although the Catholic Church was highly successful in winning native converts, its efforts, from a national point of view, were not as significant in bringing the islands into the orbit of the United States as were those of the American Board missionaries.

20. Thomas Square. Bounded by South King, Ward, South Beretania, and Victoria Streets, in downtown Honolulu; one square block; a well-landscaped, tree-shaded city park; owned and administered by the City and County of Honolulu.

During the later 1830's and early 1840's the Hawaiian kingdom was continuously vexed and disturbed by the growing influence of foreigners and by the interference of representatives of foreign governments in its affairs. During 1842 it sent commissions to Great Britain, France, and the United States in an attempt to gain recognition of its independence. Although the British government had no designs at that particular time to annex the islands, a number of British residents in Hawaii feared the growth of American influence and hoped that claims of British subjects could be used to force the kingdom into the British empire. In response to complaints from such residents, Lord George Paulet, in H.M.S. Carysfort, arrived at Honolulu during February, 1843, and made such stringent demands upon the government that Kamehameha III provisionally ceded the islands to Great Britain. Paulet raised the British flag and occupied the kingdom for five months, showing every intention of annexing Hawaii permanently. The United States, watchful of its own interests in the islands, protested the move; and it seemed that an international incident was about to explode.

As this juncture Rear Admiral Richard Thomas, commander of the British Pacific Squadron, arrived and renounced Paulet's action, declaring his intention of restoring Hawaiian independence. As a colorful public ceremony on the morning of July 31, 1843, amidst the parading of troops and firing of salutes, Admiral Thomas had the British flag lowered and restored the kingdom to its native ruler. A wave of public rejoicing swept over the realm, and the site of the restoration ceremony was later named Thomas Square.

This park is thus associated with one of the most dramatic events illustrating a dominant theme of Hawaiian history--the struggle of the Hawaiians to maintain their independence in the face of growing foreign interest in their homeland. The same broad topic seems to be illustrated even more forcefully, however, by the Russian fort at Waimea, Kauai.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Our Lady of Peace Cathedral, Honolulu; dedicated in 1843.

N. P. S. Photograph, 1962

SITES ALSO NOTED

A. Island of Hawaii

1. Bond House, on Bond Road, ½ mile southeast of Kapaau, North Kohala District, Island of Hawaii. The Rev. Elias Bond, the well-known "Father Bond of Kohala," arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1841, fresh from theological seminary. Assigned to the mission station at Iole land division, Kohala, Bond and his wife moved into a small one-story timber house on a stone foundation started the year before by their predecessor, the Rev. Isaac Bliss. This house, much added to, was to shelter the Bonds the rest of their long lives. Bond established a "Select Boys' Boarding School" in adjoining structures in 1842 which continued until merged with a government school in 1878. Mrs. Bond opened a Kohala Seminary for girls early in 1842. "Necessity compelled its suspension," but the dream resulted in the opening of the nearby Kohala Girls' School in 1874. In 1852 the Hawaiian Mission agreed to sell the house to Bond for $500, so that he could "stand as an independent pastor of an independent church." Bond founded the Kohala Plantation to provide work for the natives, and he established a number of churches and schools in the Kohala region. Most of all, perhaps, he is remembered as a friend of the Hawaiian people. He died in 1896.

2. David Douglas Memorial, North Hilo District, Island of Hawaii. Near this spot the great British botanist, David Douglas, was killed in a wild bullock pit, July 12, 1834. Douglas was the botanical discoverer of the Douglas fir and the sugar pine.

3. Hookena, a coastal town about 3½ miles south of Honaunau, South Kona District, Island of Hawaii. Here, during the spring of 1889, Robert Louis Sevenson spent a week as a guest in the home of a Hawaiian, D. H. Nahinu. "The only white folk in a Polynesian village," he lived, as he later said, "as it was perfect to live," drinking "that warm, light vin du pays of human affection." Here he received much of the inspiration for and probably wrote part or all of his well-known story, "The Bottle Imp." The sites of Nahinu's house and of the courthouse where Stevenson watched a trial are still identifiable. The old Puka-ana Church, built during the 1840's, still stands but is in a ruinous condition as a result of the 1951 earthquake.

4. John Young Homesite, at Kawaihae, South Kohala District, Island of Hawaii. The ruins of what may have been the residence of Kamehameha I's influential English advisor are still visible. The identification of this site is not positive.

5. Kaawaloa, a now virtually deserted coastal village on the north shore of Kealakekua Bay, South Kona District, Island of Hawaii. In the early 19th century this settlement was a place of major importance in Hawaiian history. The Cook Monument marking the place where the famous explorer was killed is here, and the ruins of the heiau where his body

reportedly was burned and broken up are still visible. Here was organized the revolt against the abolition of the kapus, and here was a major center of early Christian missionary effort. The famous chiefess, Kapiolani, who defied Pele, lived here for a while. About 1828-1829 Queen Regent Kaahumanu had the bones of the famous chiefs kept at Waipio and Honaunau removed to caves in the cliffs near the village. Some of the remains were later moved to Honolulu. The site contains interesting ruins but is accessible only by boat or trail.

6. Kalahikiola Church (The Great Stone Church at Kohala), on Bond Road, about ½ mile southeast of Kapaau, North Kohala District, Island of Hawaii.

A Protestant mission station was founded in the Kohala District in 1837 by the Rev. Isaac Bliss and Mr. Edward Bailey, the first location being at Nunulu. The church there blew down, however, and in 1839 the station was moved three miles seaward to the Iole land division, east of Kapaau. When the Rev. Elias Bond arrived to take over the station in 1841, the church at the new location was already "very rotten, leaky, ... a wallowing place for hogs during the week." Bond, who served as pastor at Kohala for 43 years, hoped to start a new stone church during December, 1841, but he had to be content with thatched churches for many more years. Late in 1849, however, a storm destroyed the large frame and thatch church, and the congregation at once determined to rebuild in stone, vowing not to "beg aid of any kind from any one." Epidemics, storms, and other trials made the gathering of the materials a slow process, and it was not until May, 1853, that Bond was able to announce that the walls were nearly up. Rocks, coral for lime, and timbers had to be carried for miles to the building site. The church was finally completed in 1855, at which time Bond said that no church in the islands, except Kawaiahao, could compare with it. King Kamehameha IV came to Kohala to dedicate the church, but Bond refused to let the ruler, a secular person, speak until after the religious dedication, a decision which so enraged the king that he did not appear. "Very good," said Bond, "but the King is not God." Much of the lumber came from Boston, the gift of friendly ministers who gave lectures to raise the funds to buy it. Bond served as pastor of the church until the end of 1884.

7. Kamehameha Water Tunnel, Kohala, Island of Hawaii. This tunnel, said to have been built at the order of Kamehameha the Great to water his taro patches, illustrated the agricultural, irrigation, and public works projects inaugurated by the first ruler of all the islands. It is still in use.

8. Kamehameha III's Birthplace (Lokomaikai), at Keauhou, North Kona District, Island of Hawaii. Here Kauikeaouli, son of Kamehameha I and Kepuolani, was born on March 17, 1814. In 1825 he ascended to the Hawaiian throne, assuming the name of Kamehameha III. His reign, the longest in Hawaiian history, was marked by major advances in constitutional government and in social, educational, and cultural development. The site is marked by a plaque and owned by the Daughters of Hawaii.

9. Lyman House Memorial Museum, 276 Haili Street, in Hilo, Island of Hawaii. Erected in about 1837-1839 by the Rev. and Mrs. David Belden Lyman, this two-and-a-half-story stone and frame house reflects in its architecture the New England origin of its builders. The house, in splendid condition and open to the public as a museum, is one of several early mission houses which have survived.

10. Mark Twain Tree, in Waiohinu, Kau District, Island of Hawaii. Apparently there is no proof that, as stated by tradition, Mark Twain planted this tree during his visit in 1866. The original tree was destroyed by a storm, but it has sprouted again from the original roots.

11. Mokuohai Battlefield (Ke'ei Battlefield, Site of Battle of Mokuohai), on the coastal plain between Napoopoo and Honaunau, South Kona District, Island of Hawaii. Upon the death of King Kalaniopuu of the Island of Hawaii in 1782, his kingdom went to his son, Kiwalao. When the new ruler announced how he had divided his lands among the chiefs, the leading chiefs of Kona, headed by Kamehameha, were dissatisfied. A fight developed between the forces of Kamehameha and those of the king, the decisive battle, known as the Battle of Mokuohai, being fought in the Ke'ei land division south of Napoopoo. Kiwalao was killed, and Kamehameha was victorious. As a result, the island was divided into three kingdoms, one of which was headed by Kamehameha. It is said in Hawaiian tradition that Kamehameha knew that this victory "was but the beginning of an empire." Although the site marks an important step in Kamehameha's conquest of all the islands, its indefinite extent and the multiplicity of other sites which also and perhaps more dramatically illustrate the same story seem to disqualify it for national recognition.

12. Napoopoo Church, at Napoopoo, South Kona District, Island of Hawaii. This large stone church was built during the 1840's under the supervision of the Revs. Cochran Forbes and Mark Ives.

13. Old Sugar Mill, at Waiohinu, Kau District, Island of Hawaii.

14. Puako Church, in the Lalamilo land district, South Kohala District, Island of Hawaii. Though in poor condition, this stone church is still impressive.

15. Punaluu, a coastal settlement in the Kau District, Island of Hawaii. A memorial shrine here marks the traditional boyhood home of Henry Opukahaia, the Hawaiian youth who became a Christian convert in New England and was largely responsible for inspiring the establishment of the Protestant missions in the Hawaiian Islands.

16. St. Michael's Catholic Church, on Alii Drive, opposite Waiaka Lodge, in Kailua, Island of Hawaii. During June, 1840, Father

Robert A. Walsh and Louis-Marie Ernest Heurtel, priests of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, arrived in Kailua from Honolulu and, made welcome by Governor Kuakini, established the Mission of St. Michael on July 5, 1840. This was the first Catholic mission established in the islands other than on Oahu. The construction of the present stone church was started by Father Marechal in 1846. It was completed in two years but not dedicated until 1855.

17. Thurston House, in the Honuaula land district, near Kailua, North Kona District, Island of Hawaii. The ruins of this once well-known structure, for years the home of the family of Asa Thurston, pioneer missionary at Kailua, may still be seen.

18. Wahaula Heiau, close to the ocean shore in the Kalapana extension section of Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, on the Island of Hawaii. This ancient temple has close associations with Hawaiian tradition and history. Thought to have been built in or before the 13th century, it was reconstructed about 1500 and again in the time of King Kalaniopuu (shortly before 1782). It was known as a temple of "severe" services, where many human sacrifices were required. It continued to operate for a time after the official abolition of the ancient religion in 1819 and has been termed "perhaps the last heiau in which worship was publicly offered to the Hawaiian gods."

Despite its remarkably fine condition and impressive appearance, it seems less significant as illustrating the destruction of the old gods than several other sites.

B. Island of Kauai

19. Church of Koloa (Koloa White Church, Koloa Church), on Poipu Road, Koloa, Island of Kauai. This church, originally Congregational, was built in 1859 and was long known as the "White Church" because of its color. Although its architecture always showed a strong New England influence, the present refinement of detail stems from a restoration of 1929.

20. Prince Kuhio's Birthplace, on the coast south of Koloa, Island of Kauai. This park of about five acres, containing remains of a fishpond, house platforms, and other structures of an early Hawaiian chiefly residence, serves as a memorial to one of the principal recent defenders and heroes of the native Hawaiian people. Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole was born here, the son of the high chief of Kauai, on March 26, 1871. Of high rank, he was taken into the royal household and later was made a prince by Queen Liliuokalani. He demonstrated his loyalty to the monarchy by participating in the unsuccessful rebellion against the Republic of Hawaii in 1895. In 1902 he was elected territorial delegate to Congress and served until his death on January 7, 1922. In Washington and in Honolulu

he fought to obtain greater recognition for the Hawaiian people, particularly by his attempts to gain for them a larger share of the public land through homesteading provisions.

21. Russian Fort near Hanalei, on top of the bluff at the northeast point of Hanalei Bay, Island of Kauai. A low, brush-covered earth wall is all that remains of the fort built with the help of the natives by Dr. Georg Anton Scheffer, representative of the Russian American Company, in 1816-1817. Seemingly this action was a preliminary one to building the more elaborate stone fort at Waimea (q.v.). The Russians were expelled from Kauai during the late summer of 1817, and the full extent of their ambitions in Hawaii remains in doubt. The ruin stands in the pastures of Princeville Ranch, "the oldest ranch on Kauai," founded by Robert C. Wyllie, a Scotsman who served as Hawaiian minister of foreign relations from 1845 until his death in 1865. The ranch was named Princeville Plantation in honor of the two-year-old Prince Albert, who visited the property in 1860 with his parents, King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma.

22. St. Raphael's Church (Mission of St. Raphael the Archangel, Kauai Catholic Mission), about one mile southeast of Koloa, Island of Kauai.

This attractive and impressive group of structures on spacious grounds preserves to a remarkable degree the appearance and feeling of an early Catholic mission establishment in the islands. It was founded on December 25, 1841, by Father Arsenius Robert Walsh, the "Apostle of Hawaii," who on that same day celebrated the first known Mass on Kauai. A Catholic school, founded two days earlier, was soon given government support, an important step in obtaining broader toleration for the Catholics. During October, 1842, Father Walsh bought 17 acres of land on the Maulili flats near Koloa and that same year started construction of a stone chapel, the ruins of which still stand. The present large rubble and mortar "Roman" style church probably was started about 1843 and was consecrated October 24, 1856. The large adobe rectory was begun in 1856. Both church and rectory have been altered but preserve much of their original architectural style.

23. Wailua Coconut Grove, around and at the rear of Coco Palms Hotel, on north side of Wailua River near its mouth, Island of Kauai. Site of an ancestral home of Kauai royalty, said to have last been used by Queen Deborah Kapule, who lived there from about 1830 to 1850. The grove, according to some reports, is old; but other evidence points to a planting about the opening of the 20th century.

24. Waimea Church (Waimea Stone Church, Waimea Foreign Church), on Tsuchiya Road directly west of Waimea High School, in Waimea, Island of Kauai. The history of Waimea Foreign Church, "the last of the great stone churches" to be built in Hawaii, began in May, 1820,

with the arrival of two Protestant missionary families at Waimea. The Rev. George Rowell in 1847 decided to replace earlier church structures with a new stone building. By then the native population of Waimea had begun to decline, and it required "prodigious labor" for a "full decade after the time when it was thought that such marvels could be wrought" to complete the handsome structure by 1858.

C. Island of Maui

25. Huialoha Church, at Kaupo, Island of Maui. This stone church, erected in 1859, is particularly impressive because of the lonely grandeur of its location.

26. Iao Valley (Battle of Kepaniwai Site), about 2½ miles west of the Wailuku Post Office, Island of Maui. A marker directly in front of the Iao Hotel in this spectacular gorge indicates the main field of the Battle of Kepaniwai ("the damming of the waters") fought in the spring of 1790 between the invading forces of King Kamehameha from Hawaii and the defending Maui force commanded by Kalanikupule, son of the king of Maui and Oahu. Kamehameha won a complete victory, so many of the defenders being slaughtered that, according to Hawaiian tradition, the valley's stream was filled with bodies. The conquest was not permanent, however, since Kamehameha soon was called back to Hawaii by civil war on that island. He conquered Maui again, and finally, in 1795. The battlefield, stretching roughly from the hotel downstream to just beyond Kepaniwai Park (county-owned), is so highly developed that much of its historical impact is lost.

27. Kaahumanu Church, in Wailuku, Island of Maui. This stone church, built in or about 1837, is typical of the early Protestant churches on the Hawaiian Islands.

28. Kaahumanu's Birthplace, a cave in the south point of Hana Bay, Island of Maui. Here, in or about 1768, was born Kaahumanu, favorite wife of Kamehameha I; kuhina nui (roughly, prime minister), 1819-1832; queen regent, 1825-1832.

29. Keanae Congregational Church, Keanae, on the northeast coast of the Island of Maui. This old stone church, set in a coconut grove, is still in use.

30. Makena, a village on the west coast of the eastern part of the Island of Maui, between Keawakapu and La Perouse Bay. This ancient settlement was an old landing used to ship Kula district vegetables to California during the gold rush; and it was also, until recently, a shipping port for cattle raised on the ranches of Haleakala. Keawalai Church (Makena Church) is an old limestone-block, plastered structure at the south end of the village. It is still in use.

31. Olowalu Landing, on the west coast of Maui, about 6 miles southeast of Lahaina, Maui. Off shore at this place occurred the "Olowalu massacre" of 1790, when Captain Simon Metcalfe, of the ship Eleanora, vengefully fired his guns, loaded with grapeshot and nails, into the canoes of the villagers who had come to trade. It is said that more than 100 natives were killed in this retaliation for the stealing of the ship's boat and the killing of its seaman occupant.

32. Wananalua Church, in Hana, on the Island of Maui. This Congregational church was organized on July 29, 1838, by the Rev. Daniel Toll Conde and the Rev. Mark Ives, the first missionaries to reach Hana. The construction of the present church started in 1843, stones from two nearby heiaus being used for the walls. The building probably was completed about 1849-1851, and it was extensively altered in 1897.

D. Island of Molokai

33. Kaluaaha Congregational Church (Kalawina Church), at Kaluaaha on the south shore of the Island of Molokai. This fine old church, built of coral blocks, was established, evidently in 1832, by the Rev. Harvey Rexford Hitchcock, the first missionary to be stationed on Molokai. Available data concerning the date of construction are conflicting, but 1833 is the date most frequently given. If this information is correct, this "mother church" of Molokai would be one of the oldest, if not the oldest, surviving church structure in the islands. The building was dedicated December 6, 1835. The Rev. Mr. Hitchcock is buried on the grounds. The building was extensively repaired, and the buttresses were added, in 1920.

34. Kamehameha V's Coconut Grove (Kapuaiwa Grove), on the south shore of the Island of Molokai, about 1.2 miles west of Kaunakakai. This impressive grove of about 1,000 coconut trees is supposed to have been planted by order of King Kamehameha V in the early 1860's. Molokai was Kamehameha V's favorite island, and he had a home on the beach at nearby Kaunakakai.

35. Pakuhiwa Battleground (Kawela Battlefield), on the south shore of the Island of Molokai, about 5.1 miles east of Kaunakakai. On this open field late in the 18th century Kamehameha I is said to have fought his "most destructive battle." The engagement occurred when Kamehameha, the king of Hawaii, brought a force to help Molokai repel an invasion from Oahu. "Canoes are said to have been drawn up for four miles along the shore so that the battle could be fought to a finish." The invaders were defeated. A burial mound marking the grave of the warriors killed during the battle can still be seen.

E. Island of Oahu

36. Court House (Old Parliament House), on Queen Street near Bishop, in downtown Honolulu. This building, said to have been erected in 1851, was the Court House of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and here the Parliament met prior to the completion of the Aliiolani Hale. Here Prince William C. Lunalilo was elected king on January 8, 1873; and Colonel David Kalakaua was elected to the same office on February 12, 1874. After the latter election supporters of the defeated candidate, Queen Dowager Emma, rioted through the Court House, attacking legislators and destroying much property. Order was restored by sailors and marines landed from United States and British warships. The building is now owned by American Factors, Ltd., and is used for office purposes.

37. Diamond Head (Leahi), in Honolulu, Oahu. This extinct crater, probably the best-known natural landmark in the Hawaiian Islands, figured somewhat prominently in Hawaiian history, but it was not importantly associated with events of outstanding significance. It is said that in pre-European times, criminals were hurled to their deaths from its summit. At its western foot stood Papaenaena Heiau, a highly sacred temple used for royal ceremonies. Near it, in 1783, eight heroic Oahu warriors assaulted a large invading force from Maui, killing many of the enemy before being forced to retreat. There are a number of recorded instances of human sacrifice, particularly of war victims, on this heiau. King Kahekili of Maui and King Kamehameha I of Hawaii, upon their separate conquests of Oahu, sacrificed their principal opponents here. The temple was totally demolished about 1856.

The peak received its present name during the 19th century when sailors mistook volcanic crystals found there for diamonds. In January, 1895, Hawaiian royalists in rebellion against the Republic of Hawaii took refuge for several days on the peak after being driven from Waikiki and before being scattered or captured. The landmark was later acquired by the United States Army, became a part of Fort Ruger, and is now partly used for National Guard purposes and partly as a State park.

38. First Artesian Well; the site is at Honouliuli, Ewa District, Island of Oahu. Drilled in 1879, this well, the first artesian well in the islands, opened a new source of water which was important in the expansion of the sugar industry. It was drilled by James Ashley for James Campbell.

39. Iolani Barracks, 450 South Hotel Street (opposite the Library of Hawaii) in downtown Honolulu. This stone structure with crenelated towers was designed by Theodore Heuck and built about 1870-1871 as housing for the Household Troops, who in 1873 numbered about 60 men and constituted the entire Hawaiian standing army. During September, 1873, these soldiers mutineed at the barracks and were disbanded by King Lunalilo. The event had political overtones and damaged the prestige of the government. The barracks

also figured in the revolutions and counterrevolutions which marked the overthrow of the monarchy and the period of the Republic, and housed activities of the citizens guard and national guard. The building now serves as a State office building but has been declared structurally unsound.

40. Kamehameha III's Summer Palace (Kaniakapupu), on water reserve lands in upper Nuuanu Valley, Island of Oahu. Only the ruins of the walls remain of this structure, completed in 1845, which was the scene of many festive occasions.

41. Kualoa Sugar Mill, near Kualoa Point on the east shore of the Island of Oahu. This impressive ruin is all that remains of the mill built by S. G. Wilder during the 1860's.

42. Punahou School, 1601 Punahou Street, about two miles east of the central section of Honolulu. The land and spring at this site were originally given to the missionary, the Rev. Hiram Bingham, by Hawaiian chiefs in 1829. Not wishing to send their children to school with the "lewd" natives and distressed at the need to ship them to New England for schooling, the missionaries determined to found their own school for their children. The institution, partly a boarding school, was established in 1841 and opened on July 11, 1842, under the Rev. Daniel Dole; and it grew steadily. Instruction was in English, and it is said that a number of Californians found it more convenient to send their offspring to Punahou than to eastern institutions. In 1853 the school was granted a royal charter as "Punahou School and Oahu College," but it remained essentially a preparatory institution. The next year the school became an independent corporation, and other children than those associated with missionary families were admitted. Over the years Punahou School has become the traditional school where the children of the dominant faction in Hawaii receive their elementary and high school training, and as such it has had a peculiarly important place in island life and politics. The Old School Hall, erected in 1851-1852 is still in use.

43. Robert Louis Stevenson's Grass House, in Manoa Valley, Honolulu. During a six-month visit to Hawaii in 1889, Robert Louis Stevenson lived for a substantial part of the time at Waikiki, near Ainahau, the estate of A. S. Cleghorn. Sevenson became acquainted with Cleghorn's daughter, the young Princess Kaiulani, and occasionally talked to the child under a banyan tree on the estate. Many years later a grass shack on the estate was donated to the Salvation Army Home, and it has been displayed as "Stevenson's Grass House." Stevenson never lived in it, and there seems to be no positive evidence that he ever did any writing in this structure, which is largely a reconstruction.

44. Royal Mausoleum, on Nuuanu Avenue above Judd Street, in Nuuanu Valley, Honolulu. Construction of this stone mausoleum was started during the reign of Kamehameha IV to provide a suitable resting place for the bodies of members of the Kamehameha dynasty. Kamehameha I

is not buried here, since his body was hidden in a secret place upon his death in 1819, and its whereabouts are still unknown. The new tomb was still unfinished in 1863 when Kamehameha IV died and was buried there. Later the remains of the other Hawaiian monarchs who reigned between 1819 and 1854 were removed from the crypt on the grounds of Iolani Palace and interred in the new mausoleum. Kamehameha V was buried there in 1872, but his successor, Lunalilo, preferred to be buried on the grounds of Kawaiahao Church. Following the extinction of the Kamehameha line, the rulers of the Kalakaua dynasty, King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani, were interred in the mausoleum. The bodies have all been removed from the original stone mausoleum, which is now a royal chapel, and are placed in crypts on the grounds. Several prominent personages associated with the monarchy, such as John Young, R. C. Wyllie, and Charles R. Bishop, are also buried on the property.

45. St. Andrew's Cathedral, on Beretania Street at Emma Square in downtown Honolulu. The cornerstone of this Episcopal church was laid in 1867.

46. Washington Place, at Beretenia and Miller Streets in downtown Honolulu. This large white colonial home is the official residence of the Governor of Hawaii and has important associations with the Hawaiian royal family. It was designed and built during the period 1842 to 1846 for Captain John Dominis, a trader prominent in Pacific commerce, by Isaac Adams, a "good mechanic." Dominis desappeared at sea soon after completion of the house, and in 1847 his widow rented part of the structure to Anthony Ten Eyck, American Commissioner to the islands. The house thus became the "United States Legation" and was named "Washington Place" by Ten Eyck in honor of George Washington. In 1862 Dominis's son, John Owen Dominis, married a high chiefess, Lydia K. P. Kapaakea, who later, as Princess Liliuokalani, became heir to the Hawaiian throne. The couple lived at Washington Place until Liluokalani became queen in 1891. After the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893, she returned to Washington Place and lived there until her death in 1917. In 1921 the property was acquired by the Territory of Hawaii as an official residence for its governors. The design of the building is one more reflection of the important New England influence in the islands.

APPENDIX I

CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF SITES

The National Park Service has adopted the following criteria for selection of sites of exceptional value.

1. Structures or sites in which the broad cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of the Nation is best exemplified, and from which the visitor may grasp the larger patterns of our American heritage. Such sites are naturally the points or bases from which the broad aspects of prehistoric and historic American life can best be presented.

2. Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of outstanding historic personages.

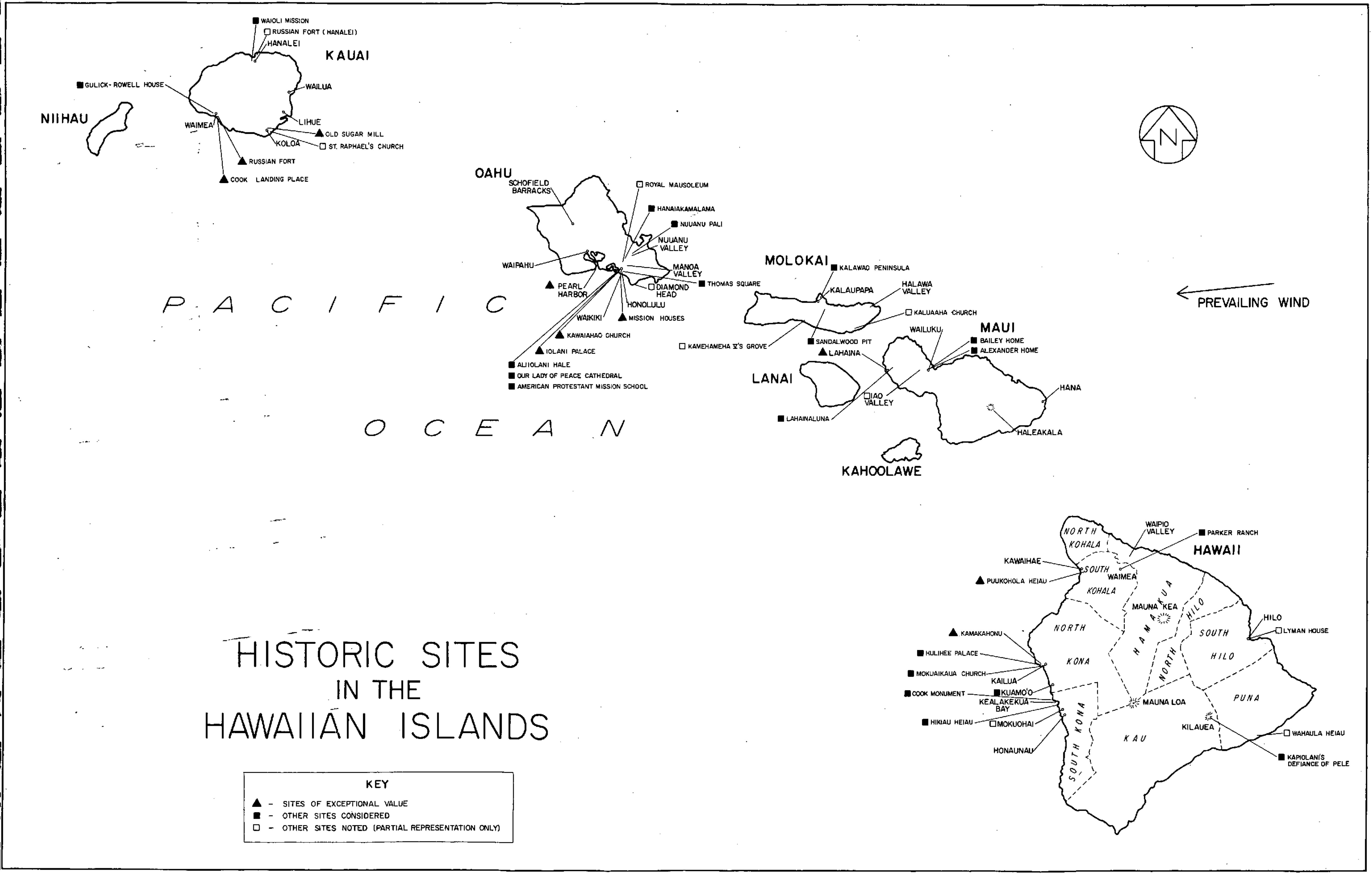
3. Structures or sites associated with important events which are symbolic of some great idea or ideal of the American people.

4. Structures which embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type-specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period style or method of construction; or a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect whose individual genius reflected his age.

5. Archeological sites which have produced information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have affected theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

6. All historical and archeological sites and structures in order to meet the standards of exceptional importance should have integrity; that is, there should not be doubts as to whether it is the original site or building, original material or workmanship, and original locatinn. Intangible elements of feeling and association, although difficult to describe, may also be factors in weighing the integrity of a site or structure.

7. Structures or sites of recent historical importance relating to events or persons within 50 years, will not, as a rule be eligible for consideration.



HISTORIC SITES IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

KEY

▲ – SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE
■ – OTHER SITES CONSIDERED
☐ – OTHER SITES NOTED (PARTIAL REPRESENTATION ONLY)

KAUAI
NIIHAU
WAIOLI MISSION
RUSSIAN FORT (HANALEI)
HANALEI
WAILUA
GULICK-ROWELL HOUSE
LIHUE
WAIMEA
OLD SUGAR MILL
KOLOA
ST. RAPHAEL'S CHURCH
RUSSIAN FORT
COOK LANDING PLACE
N
OAHU
SCHOFIELD BARRACKS
ROYAL MAUSOLEUM
HANAIAKAMALAMA
NUUANU PALI
NUUANU VALLEY
WAIPAHU
MANOA VALLEY
PEARL HARBOR
DIAMOND HEAD
THOMAS SQUARE
WAIKIKI
HONOLULU
MISSION HOUSES
KAWAIAHAO CHURCH
IOLANI PALACE
ALIIOLANI HALE
OUR LADY OF PEACE CATHEDRAL
AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSION SCHOOL
PACIFIC OCEAN
MOLOKAI
KALAWAO PENINSULA
KALAUPAPA
HALAWA VALLEY
KALUAAHA CHURCH
KAMEHAMEHA V'S GROVE
SANDALWOOD PIT
WAILUKU
MAUI
BAILEY HOME
ALEXANDER HOME
LAHAINA
LANAI
IAO VALLEY
HANA
LAHAINALUNA
HALEAKALA
KAHOOLAWE
PREVAILING WIND
NORTH KOHALA
WAIPIO VALLEY
PARKER RANCH
HAWAII
KAWAIHAE
SOUTH KOHALA
WAIMEA
PUUKOHOLA HEIAU
MAUNA KEA
HAMAKUA
HILO
LYMAN HOUSE
NORTH HILO
SOUTH HILO
KAMAKAHONU
NORTH KONA
HULIHEE PALACE
MOKUAIKAUA CHURCH
KAILUA
COOK MONUMENT
KUAMO'O
KEALAKEKUA BAY
MAUNA LOA
PUNA
HIKIAU HEIAU
MOKUOHAI
KILAUEA
WAHAULA HEIAU
HONAUNAU
SOUTH KONA
KAU
KAPIOLANI'S DEFIANCE OF PELE