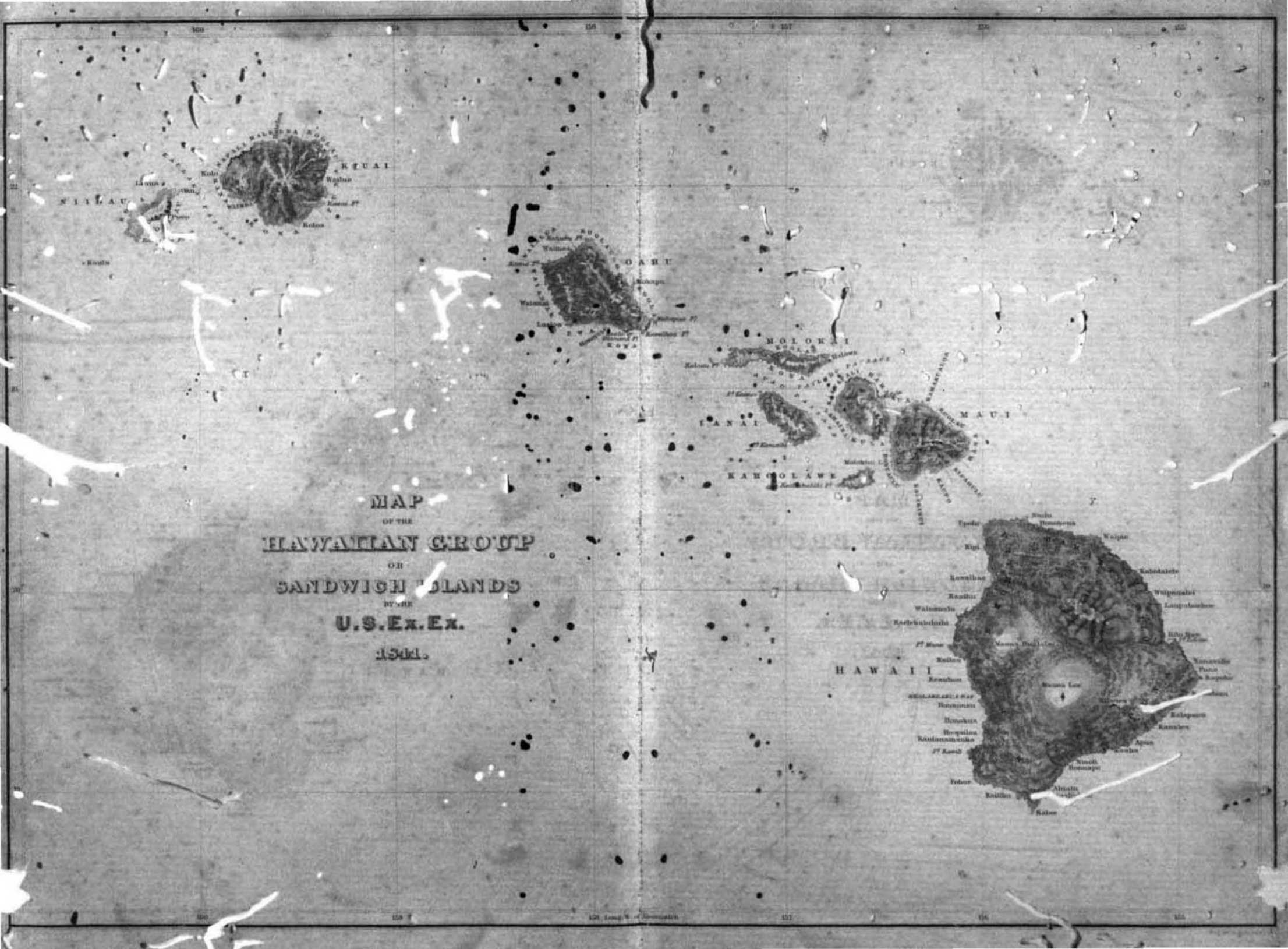


MAP
OF THE
HAWAIIAN GROUP
OR
SANDWICH ISLANDS
BY
U.S. Ex. Ex.
1844.

HAWAII





NARRATIVE
OF THE
UNITED STATES
EXPLORING EXPEDITION.

DURING THE YEARS

1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842,

BY

CHARLES WILKES, U.S.N.,

COMMANDER OF THE EXPEDITION,

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, ETC.

IN FIVE VOLUMES, AND AN ATLAS.

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Engraved by A. J. Cox

Wells & Wells

KAMEHAMEHA III
KING OF THE HAWAIIAN IS.



NARRATIVE
OF
THE EXPLORING EXPEDITION.

CHAPTER I.

HAWAIIAN GROUP.

1840.

THE king, Kamehameha III., who had given orders that he should be sent for as soon as the Vincennes arrived, reached Honolulu on the 29th September, from Maui. The next day I waited upon him, accompanied by our consul, Mr. Brinsmade, and by many of the officers and naturalists, at his quarters near the fort. A soldier dressed in a scarlet uniform stood on guard at the door. We were ushered into the audience-chamber, and presented to the king, whom we found seated in the midst of his retinue. The apartment was composed of two large rooms with low ceilings, communicating by folding doors. On the right of the king was Kekauluohi, a daughter of Kamehameha I., who acts as prime minister; and there were also present, among others, Kektanagaa, the governor of Oahu, Mr. Richards, who is the king's interpreter and adviser, Haalilio, John Young, and the officers of the body-guard.

The king was dressed in a blue coat, white pantaloons, and vest. We afterwards understood that he had prepared himself to receive us in full costume, but on seeing us approaching in undress uniform, he had taken off his robes of state.

The appearance of the king is prepossessing: he is rather robust, above the middle height, has a good expression of countenance, and pleasing manners.

The person who attracted our attention most, was Kekauluohi. This lady is upwards of six feet in height; her frame is exceedingly large and well covered with fat. She was dressed in yellow silk, with enormously large gigot sleeves, and wore on her head a tiara of beautiful yellow feathers interspersed with a few of a scarlet colour.* Above the feathers appeared a large tortoise-shell comb, that confined her straight black hair. Her shoulders were covered with a richly-embroidered shawl of scarlet crape. She sat in a large arm-chair, over which was thrown a robe made of the same kind of yellow feathers as decked her tiara. Her feet were encased in white cotton stockings and men's shoes. She was altogether one of the most remarkable-looking personages I have ever seen.

The governor was handsomely dressed in a uniform of blue and gold.

The conversation was carried on with ease through the interpretation of Mr. Richards, and left upon our minds a favourable impression of the intelligence of the royal family of these islands. One thing was certain, namely, that, in regard to personal size, they are unsurpassed by any family that has ever come under my notice.

I next returned the visits I had received from the foreign residents, in which duty I was accompanied by our consul. I found many of them living in very comfortable stone houses, which were surrounded with young plantations of ornamental shrubs and trees. These plantations, with their gardens, are kept in a thriving state by means of irrigation. The water for this purpose is raised by windmills, that work pumps, from wells about ten feet in depth. It was represented to me that the water in these wells rose and fell with the flow and ebb of the tide; but after frequent trials of that in the rear of the house which I occupied, I could detect no variation greater than an inch or two. The wells are sunk through the bed of coral on which the town is built, and water is every where found beneath it. The water is not perfectly fresh, and many persons have that which they drink, brought from the valley of Nuuanu.

* These feathers are among the most celebrated productions of these islands, and some idea of their cost may be formed when it is stated that each bird yields only a few, and that some thousands are required to form a head-dress. The wreath worn by Kekauluohi, was valued at \$250, and her robe at \$2,500. The birds (*Melithreptes pacifica*) are taken by means of birdlime, made from the pisonia, and the catching of them is practised as a trade by the mountaineers. The wearing of these feathers is a symbol of high rank.

I also had the pleasure of visiting the missionaries; and as many misrepresentations have been published, and much misunderstanding exists, relative to their domiciles, I trust I may be excused if I give a short description of their interior, to set the matter at rest. It will I think be sufficient to satisfy any one that they are not as luxurious in their furniture as has been sometimes represented. Their houses are generally one story and a half high, situated fifteen or twenty paces within an unpretending gate, and the garden is surrounded by adobe walls about seven or eight feet high. Some of the houses are of stone, but most of them are of wood; they are from twenty to thirty feet square, and twenty feet high, and have the appearance of having been added to as the prosperity of the mission increased. The front door opens into the principal room, which is covered with a mat or common ingrain carpeting, and furnished with a table, a few windsor chairs, a rocking-chair, and sofa, all of wood. There is a very high mantel, but no fire-place, the latter not being needed. On the mantel are placed four glass lamps, each with one burner, and in the centre a small china vase, with a bunch of flowers in it. Several coloured scriptural prints hang on the walls about a foot below the ceiling; on the table were a few devotional books.

The eating-room adjoins the principal room, and in one corner stands a cupboard, or an old sideboard, very much the worse for wear. This contained the common earthenware used at meals. A native girl, or woman, is all the "help;" and both the master and mistress take a part in many of the domestic duties. As to their fare, it is plain, simple, and wholesome, and always accompanied with a hearty welcome and cheerful, contented faces,—at least, I found it so. The salaries of all, both clerical and secular members, are the same, namely, four hundred dollars for a family. How it is possible for them to clothe and maintain a family on such a stipend at Honolulu, I am unable to conceive. They receive no other compensation, nor are they allowed to hold any property for themselves, not even a cow. All must belong to the mission, and be paid for by it.

To several of the missionaries I feel indebted for unsolicited kindnesses, and I spent many agreeable hours in their society. I must bear testimony that I saw nothing but a truly charitable and Christian bearing towards others throughout my intercourse with them, and heard none but the most charitable expressions towards their assailants. Heedless of the tongue of scandal, they pursued their duties with evenness of temper, and highly laudable good-will.

Near the missionaries' dwellings is their printing establishment under the superintendence of Mr. Rogers. Here they have three

presses, which are generally in active employment. The workmen are all natives, and, from Mr. Rogers's account, they work very steadily, during the hours of labour, throughout the year. This occupation is considered as the road to preferment; for the knowledge and habits of industry they acquire in it naturally raise them above their fellows, and they are soon required for the wants of the country, either in teaching schools or other employments under the government.

I was told that upwards of four reams of paper are printed daily, affording an extensive circulation of books in the native language. Eleven thousand copies of the whole Bible have been printed, and two weekly papers are published, one in English, called the *Polynesian*, the other in the Hawaiian language, which the natives generally read. They have likewise a book-bindery, under the direction of the society. Many tracts are also published, some of which are by native authors. Of these I cannot pass at least one without naming him. This is David Maro, who is highly esteemed by all who know him, and who lends the missionaries his aid, in mind as well as example, in ameliorating the condition of his countrymen, and checking licentiousness. At the same time he sets an example of industry, by farming with his own hands, and manufactures from his sugar-cane an excellent molasses.

Though not actually connected with the mission, the Seaman's Chapel, and its pious and enlightened pastor, the Rev. Mr. Diell, assist in doing great good among the sailors who frequent the port. The chapel is a neat wooden building, and is chiefly frequented by the foreign residents and sailors in port. From its cupola, on the Sabbath, always waves the Bethel flag; and it is generally well attended. The Rev. Mr. Diell, to the regret of all, was about returning home. He was in the last stage of consumption, but hoped to reach his native land before his dissolution, which he felt and knew was rapidly approaching. I regretted to hear that in this hope he was disappointed, having died on the homeward passage. He was truly a pattern of resignation, and was beloved by the whole community. He had done much, I have been told, to soften the asperities between the contending factions, and to arrest the course of vice, which, on his arrival, he found stalking abroad, regardless of moral laws, and setting at nought all those enacted by the government for the protection of the peace and quietness of the well-disposed, as well as for punishing those who were guilty of crime.

As the natives, under the tuition of the missionaries, emerged from barbarism, instead of deriving encouragement from their intercourse

with foreigners, difficulties were thrown in the way. The chief agents in the vexations to which the government has been exposed, are the designing individuals who hold the situation of consuls of the two great European powers; and through their baleful influence the difficulties have been continually increasing, until, finally, these islands and their government have been forced upon the attention of the whole civilized world. All the laws and regulations established by the kings and chiefs for repressing immorality and vice, were not only derided, but often set at open defiance, because they clashed with the interests of some of the individuals settled here. If attempts were made to enforce them, official remonstrances were resorted to, accompanied by threats of punishment. As this, for a long time, did not follow, the matter came to be considered as a systematic course of bullying, which soon lost its effect, and remained unheeded. When these idle threats failed to effect their object, the new one of the arrival of a man-of-war was held out as a terror. In these disputes the missionaries seldom took a part, even in the way of advice, and left the chiefs to their own guidance. They did not feel themselves competent to give advice upon international questions, and, besides, considered them as of a temporal character; for which reason they believed it their duty to abstain from any connexion with the disputes. They could not, however, avoid being as much surprised as the chiefs themselves were, at the continually renewed difficulties which were made by these troublesome officials, and which there was nothing in the laws or regulations to justify.

As to the threat of the coming of a man-of-war, the natives rather looked to it as the sure termination of the vexations to which they were exposed. They had formed their opinion of the character and probable course of action of the naval officers of either of the two great powers from the visit of Lord Byron in H. B. M. frigate *Blonde*. This vessel had been the bearer of the bodies of the late King Liho-liho and his wife from England, and her commander had made a most favourable impression upon the chiefs and people. They therefore expected that on the arrival of another man-of-war, all existing difficulties would be removed, and that their good intentions and strict adherence to justice would be made manifest. In this expectation they were disappointed; the British naval commanders who came afterwards were not Byrons, and were, with one or two exceptions, the willing tools of the designing consul. Influenced by his erroneous representations, they demanded apologies and concessions, and endeavoured to dictate treaties. The regent and chiefs resisted these demands, and many disagreeable interviews occurred.

England was not the only nation whose ships of war were brought to aid in overawing the natives. A Frenchman, who claimed the title of consul, although not recognised as such by the king, persuaded the captain of a French frigate to insist upon his being acknowledged as a government agent. Thus, while this half-civilized community was struggling to make advances in morals and religion, French and English men-of-war, alternately, and occasionally in concert, did all in their power to break down the laws and regulations by which alone the union of the native barbarism with the worst vices of civilization could be prevented.

In this state of things it became evident to the king and chiefs that they were in want of information in relation to international law, and they in consequence desired to obtain a competent person to give them advice on that subject. For this purpose they endeavoured to procure a suitable counsellor from the United States. Failing in this attempt, they requested the Rev. Mr. Richards, one of the missionaries, to undertake this duty.

The missionaries, as a body, seem to have thought it a duty to abstain from meddling with any temporal matters, but Mr. Richards was prevailed upon to serve. As respects the internal policy of the islands, no better guide than this gentleman could possibly have been chosen. But like the other missionaries, he was but little versed and had no experience in the affairs of government. He was unused to the petty squabbling of the foreign officials, and his mind was far above the ignoble task of disputing with the revilers of all law and religion.

I had the pleasure of becoming intimately acquainted with Mr. Richards, in his private capacity, and enjoyed an opportunity of judging as to the manner in which he performed his public functions; and I cannot but felicitate the government and people of Hawaii upon their fortune in obtaining the services of one who has made such exertions in their behalf, and who is so well qualified for the responsible situation he holds.

Mr. Richards had, as missionary, been for years a resident of these islands, and was thus in close connexion with the king and chiefs in their spiritual concerns. That they should have desired his counsel in their temporal affairs, is a strong proof of the affection and esteem with which they regarded him, and is alike creditable to his character and the soundness of their judgment. It was not, however, to be received as an evidence of any undue influence of the missionaries in political questions; and from a close examination I am satisfied that no such influence exists. Mr. Richards, since his appointment has no voice in council, and is merely an adviser on such questions as the

council may consider as demanding an acquaintance with the usages of civilized nations.

The council, in which the government is in fact vested, is composed of thirteen persons ranking as chiefs of the highest order, four of whom are females.

When any subject demands their consideration, the facts and reasons, pro and con, are fully laid before the council, in a comprehensive and simple manner, and the vote and decision of its members are had, without any further recourse to Mr. Richards. The subject is always acted upon with great deliberation, and frequently with much discrimination and judgment; for, not only are the chiefs a strong-minded people, but the female members of the council are also remarkable in this respect, and all appear desirous of doing what is right and proper.

An anecdote of what occurred at one of their deliberations, will, I think, illustrate their simple mode of coming to a proper decision, and show that when they are made to understand that any act or regulation will prove unjust, they are quite desirous to revise their own intended vote.

When they had under consideration the law relative to the descent of property, and previous to its final passage, each was, as usual, asked whether it should become a law. All had assented to its passage except one of the female members, who, when the interrogatory was put to her, laughed, but gave no answer. On being pressed, she said, "The law to which you have assented, has it not passed? My vote is not then needed." But, supposing from this, that she had reasons for withholding her vote, they pressed her to speak, when she asked, "Does not this proposed law give one-third of the property to the king, and two-thirds to the heirs of every one?" Yes. "Is this just? How differently does this affect one or two of the chiefs and myself! They have no children; I have four. My heirs will suffer, theirs will not. This is not right."

They saw the subject in a new light, and at once determined to adjourn, for the purpose of thinking the affair over. They finally came to the conclusion, that all the property of those who had children should go to the offspring, but that of the property of those who had no direct heirs, the king should be entitled to one-third. Thus stands the law at present.

On the 2d October, I received a visit from Mr. Richards, who communicated to me the desire of the king that I should visit him. In conformity with this request, I called upon him, accompanied by Captain Hudson. Although I had departed, after my first visit,

highly prepossessed in his favour, I was not prepared to find him so easy and gentlemanly in his manners as he now appeared. He was alone when he received us, and in a few minutes, we found that he was able to express himself very intelligibly in English, and was quick in comprehending what was said to him.

He was found at one end of the large grass-house built for him by the Governor Kekuanaoa.* He received us in a friendly manner. From the representations that had been made to me, I had been led to believe that the king was not only dull of apprehension, but had little disposition to engage in or talk of the affairs of government; I found him, on the contrary, exhibiting an intimate acquaintance with them. He entered fully and frankly in the discussion of all the matters in relation to which disputes had arisen between him and foreign nations; and I, on the other hand, was desirous to elicit his views with regard to the difficulties he had for the last year or two encountered, and learn the feelings he had experienced in the arduous situations in which he had been placed.

He spoke of the manner in which foreigners had obtruded themselves into the affairs of his government, so that no one of its acts was permitted to pass without his being called, in a rude and uncivil manner, to account for it. He stated that he found great difficulty in acting correctly; for foreigners, whom he and his chiefs had treated with every possible attention, had from interested motives, urged measures upon him which he knew to be wrong, and had, in many cases, abused the confidence he had placed in them. He expressed the strongest desire to do right, and to protect his people from evil influences and the encroachments of designing persons, by wholesome laws and regulations.

The treaty which he had been compelled to sign by Captain Laplace, of the French frigate *Artemise*, was alluded to by him in terms of mortification: he regretted that he had done an act and yielded to a measure which had rendered nugatory his municipal laws and regulations.

To explain this part of the conversation, it will be necessary to relate some particulars of the circumstances which led to this interference of a French commander with the laws and ordinances of a weak, and, as I think it will appear clearly, an unoffending people.

There has always been a party among the foreign residents op-

* This building is about sixty feet long by forty feet wide, and contains only one room, which may, however, be divided by movable screens into several apartments. The floor was covered with mats. The whole was well adapted to the heat of the climate, and the smell of the sweet-scented grass was agreeable and refreshing.

posed to the improvements which are taking place in the morals and habits of the Hawaiian people under the influence of the missionaries. My position enabled me to hear the statements of both parties, and although the heat of the dispute had in some degree abated, mutual complaints were still made. By a comparison of the two statements, the truth does not appear difficult to be reached.

The party opposed to the missionaries were anxious to counteract the influence they ascribe to them; and for this purpose, when they saw the old heathen practices and vicious habits of the people rapidly vanishing, bethought themselves of the Roman Catholic priests; and seem to have desired to excite a sectarian war as one of the most effectual means of opposing the progress of the Protestant missionary cause. For this purpose they held out inducements to those priests to enter and establish themselves in the Hawaiian territory. This was in direct defiance of the law, which had made the Protestant the established and solely tolerated religion of the state.

This principle, by which all forms of worship except one were excluded, seems to have been adopted by the king and chiefs, in the belief that two creeds would have tended to distract the minds of the people, and produce contention and confusion. What share the missionaries had in bringing them to this conclusion, I found it impossible clearly to ascertain; but by information obtained from those best informed on the subject, I was satisfied that the accounts of the persecutions undergone by Catholic converts, and of the cruelties said to have been endured by them, were much exaggerated. Nor were these in any case to be imputed directly to the missionaries, who had in many instances endeavoured to prevent the infliction of punishment for religious reasons. Of cruel treatment for this cause, I could learn no authenticated instance, nor did I meet with any one who could adduce facts from his own knowledge, although I sought information from those inimical to the missionaries, as well as from those who favour them. That the missionaries and their proselytes entertain apprehensions of evil from the propagation of Romanism is true, but I found less illiberality on the subject of religious forms existing in the Hawaiian Islands than in any place I visited on the cruise; less than is entertained by opposing sects in our country; and far less than exists in Catholic countries against those who hold the Protestant faith.

In spite of the prohibitory law, it is a notorious and indisputable fact, that the first Catholic priests, who landed in 1827, were kindly treated by all classes of natives, and by the Protestant missionaries. The American mission even furnished them with the books they had

printed to enable them to learn the Hawaiian language. When, however, mass was first publicly celebrated, the converted natives in general took an aversion to that mode of worship, as it appeared to them a step backwards towards their ancient idolatry; and the very circumstance which, had they continued heathen, might have been an inducement to adopt, served now to alienate them from it.

No serious disturbances in relation to religion occurred until 1830, when the Catholic missionaries were considered to have been engaged in promoting the attempted rebellion of Lilika. The Catholics, for this reason, were associated in the minds of the rulers with the opponents of good order and the violators of the laws. The chiefs, in consequence, became jealous of their religion, and of their attempts to promulgate their doctrines. Whatever may have been the truth of the suspicion of the interference of the Catholic priests with the affairs of government, there can be no doubt that the proceedings which followed were dictated by reasons of state, not by sectarian religious feelings. It was determined to expel the priests from the island, and they were sent to California, at the expense of the government, in a vessel fitted out for the purpose.

No further attempt was made by the Catholics to propagate their doctrines in these islands until 1836, when the Rev. Mr. Walsh landed secretly. When his calling became known, he was ordered to depart; but, after various excuses for delay, finally obtained permission to remain, on condition that he would not attempt to propagate his religion.

In November of the same year, Captain Russell, of H. B. M. Ship *Acteon*, made a treaty with Kamehameha III. One of its articles provided for the protection of British subjects and property; and under this treaty with a nation whose established religion is Protestant, it was resolved that an attempt should be made to introduce Catholic missionaries again, by making use of the British flag, and by claiming that at least one of them, an Irishman, came under the protection of its provisions.

The brig *Clementine* arrived, under British colours, having a number of Catholic priests on board, who landed. Great excitement was at once produced in Oahu, and they were forthwith ordered to re-embark and depart in the same vessel. This they refused, but were compelled by threats to comply, no force, however, being used. Although under English colours, the vessel was owned by the French consul; but he, when asked by the authorities of Oahu to interfere, denied that he had any control over the vessel, asserting that she had been chartered.

The Catholic priests having been compelled to re-embark, the vessel

was abandoned by the owners and those who had chartered her. Her colours were hauled down by the French, and burnt in the street by the British consul, and a large amount of damages was claimed from the government, on the plea that she had been forcibly seized.

This transaction had hardly occurred, when the French frigate *Venus*, Captain Du Petit Thouars, and H. B. M. ship *Sulphur*, Captain Belcher, arrived. The two consuls did all in their power to make it appear that a gross violation of the rights of their respective citizens had been committed. The scenes which followed were disgraceful; for instance, the English consul so far forgot himself as to shake his fist in the face of Kinau, a female, second in rank to the king; and Captain Belcher did the same to the Rev. Mr. Bingham, the head of the American mission, whom he threatened to hang at the yardarm. The only offence of the reverend gentleman was his having acted as interpreter, and being supposed to exercise an influence over the government. Although this threat was no more than idle bravado, it produced much excitement.

A treaty was made with the French, and new articles were added to the Russell treaty. Both commanders promised that the Catholic missionaries should depart at the earliest opportunity, and should not preach or attempt to propagate their religion. Under the French treaty, however, it was afterwards claimed that the missionaries had the right of teaching their tenets, although both the officers had thus formally acknowledged that no such right could exist against the consent and without the permission of the Hawaiian government.

Some months after these transactions, the provisor of the Bishop of Nicopolis, with some assistants, arrived at Oahu, when permission to land was refused him, and the vessel was not permitted to enter the port, until the owner had given bond that the priests should not be landed. These priests, together with those already under a stipulation to embark as soon as they could procure a passage, purchased a schooner, in which they sailed for the island of Ascension, in the Caroline Group.

The king and chiefs now thought it necessary, for the purpose of securing themselves against any future annoyance, to enact a law making it penal for any one to teach or propagate the Romish faith. Under this law some of the natives were fined and otherwise punished. Every possible endeavour was made to throw the odium of this law on the American mission, and it was asserted that its enactment had been procured through their influence over the king and chiefs. The falsehood of this charge became apparent when, eighteen months after-

wards, the repeal of so much of the law as authorized the infliction of corporal punishment, was effected through the instrumentality of the missionaries, and religious toleration was proclaimed. If any blame is to be imputed to them, it is because they did not at an earlier period take steps to obtain the withdrawal of an ordinance so much at variance with the institutions of the country whence they came, where alone, of nations professing Christianity, toleration is an unknown term, because all sects stand upon an equal footing. It is possible that they had warm and excited feelings to contend with; but if they had it in their power to obtain the repeal of the law, under which they must have heard that much severity was practised, at an earlier period, there can be no excuse for their delay. This supineness, whether apparent or real, has naturally excited censure, both in Hawaii and in the United States, and has served to give a shadow of probability to the numerous falsehoods and misstatements that have been published in relation to their conduct in other matters. Even the severity that was reported to have been practised while the law continued in force, was far less than is usually represented, and the reports in relation to it seem generally to have been much exaggerated.

The arrival of Captain Laplace, in the French frigate *Artemise*, brought about a crisis, for which it appears that no party was prepared. It was generally supposed in Honolulu, that the mission of this officer was the consequence of representations made by a secret agent of the Romish missionaries, by the name of Murphy, who is suspected of having informed the French government that a persecution was still going on against French Catholics and citizens. How far this could be true will appear from the fact that the number of the subjects of France in these islands is *four*, including the consul, but excluding his family, who are English; how valuable the commerce which required a frigate to protect it, will be properly appreciated, when it is stated, that only three French vessels had visited the islands during the two years previous to the mission of Captain Laplace, and that the value of their cargoes was no more than \$20,000 or \$30,000. Only one French vessel arrived in the year which followed the transactions I am about to refer to.

That some gross misstatement had been made, is evident from the tenor of Captain Laplace's manifesto,* in which he states that he had been specially sent to put an end to the ill-treatment received by French subjects, and to secure them the free right of their worship.

* This will be found in Appendix I.

He ascribes the fancied evils of which he complains to the evil course of the American missionaries, and charges the king with having been misled by "perfidious counsellors."

How far this opinion was well founded, will appear by a letter addressed on this subject to the king, by the American consul, and his reply. I deem it an act of justice to the American missionaries, that these official documents should be made public, as the most authentic testimony that can be procured on the subject, and which I am of opinion must command full belief.*

So far as can be learned from Captain Laplace's manifesto, his instructions had reference only to the subject of religious toleration; he was to insure the future good treatment of French Catholics, and of the natives converted by them. He demanded, in addition, as surety for the future good conduct of the king and chiefs, the sum of \$20,000, for which it has been alleged he has not accounted; and the French consul contrived to turn the intervention of Captain Laplace to his own personal advantage, as will presently be seen.

The promulgation of this manifesto, and the exorbitant demand with which it was accompanied, produced great consternation at Honolulu, and throughout the island of Oahu. The foreign residents were in alarm for their property, which was exposed on the one side to the dangers of a bombardment, and on the other to the pillaging of the natives; the natives were dismayed at the demand of a sum they were unable to pay; while the missionaries, with their wives and children, were the objects of a proscription, from which, the American consul was informed, their national flag should not be a protection, nor guard them from insult and injury.

Until the demands of the French captain should be complied with, the port of Honolulu was declared by him in a state of blockade, and no advices were allowed to be sent from it except with his knowledge.

The conduct of the foreign residents, at this juncture, was most extraordinary. So far from aiding, by their advice and countenance, the government under whose protection they had been living and making fortunes, they organized a committee to look to their own safety in the threatened crisis, formed a company of minute-men, not to act against the invaders, but against the natives; and actually applied to Captain Laplace for the loan of arms and ammunition, to be employed against those to whom they were in so many ways indebted. They thus took part against the native government, which they deserted in its utmost need; and it is with regret that I am compelled

* This correspondence will be found in Appendix II.

to state that the Americans as a body did not form an exception, but that some of them left the native rulers to struggle as they best could with a powerful enemy.

The missionaries who were proscribed, declined to involve the king and chiefs in further difficulties by giving advice, which, coming from them, would have been obnoxious to the French commander, but silently awaited the suffering which they seemed called upon to undergo.

The regent, Kekaulaohi, and the governor, Kekuanaoa, succeeded after some negotiation in obtaining a delay of the threatened hostilities, until the king, who had been sent for, should arrive from Maui, or until a sufficient time should be allowed for his so doing; and Haalilio was sent on board the frigate as a hostage, for the execution of the treaty they were required to sign. The time which was thus allowed to intervene, was spent on the side of the foreigners in creating alarm, and holding up in dismal colours the prospect of the bloodshed and rapine that were to fall on the devoted community, in case the demands of the French captain were not complied with; and on the part of the chiefs in forming an efficient police to suppress any intestine commotion. Their conduct ought to have put to the blush those whose property they thus prepared to guard, and I can conceive nothing more disgraceful than the conduct of the foreigners on this occasion. Even the American consul fell in the first instance into an error, in not asserting the right of his flag to protect all Americans, and in not throwing back upon the French commander the unmanly threat he had uttered against the missionaries and their families. He, however, fully retrieved his error before the affair ended.

It would appear that the sum demanded by Captain Laplace had been made so large by the advice of the French consul, who knew that the resources of the native government would not enable them to raise it, and who hoped that, in lieu of it, any commercial arrangements he might choose to dictate would be granted, or that a good pretext would exist for the occupation of the island by the French, either of which might be turned to his (the consul's) pecuniary advantage. The same reasons operated in a different manner upon the other foreign residents; for after their first alarm had somewhat subsided, they became aware of the injury to which the latter alternative would have subjected them, while from actual hostilities they would be the greatest sufferers; and thus, to the great disappointment of the French consul, they determined to lend the demanded sum to the government. The king did not arrive at the specified time; but the regent and governor, being thus furnished with funds, at a high rate of interest, signed the treaty.

Although the hopes of the French consul to see the island taken possession of by his countrymen were frustrated, he took advantage of the state of affairs to secure a personal advantage to himself, by procuring a commercial treaty which should abrogate, in favour of the French, the laws against the importation of spirituous liquors. Captain Laplace lent himself to this design, and a commercial treaty was drawn up, which, under the avowed intention of protecting French commerce, provided for the free admission of brandy and wine, in which the consul had hitherto been an illicit trader. This treaty was presented to the king, who had by this time arrived, late in the afternoon, and he was required to put his signature to it by the next morning, failing which, it was intimated that hostile measures would be again resorted to. It is not surprising that the king, on this occasion, found himself, as he expressed it to me, completely at a loss what to do, when he found a second treaty presented to him for his signature, which broke down his laws and the municipal regulations of the island. These difficulties were enhanced by finding that he was left entirely to himself, and without the aid of any friendly advice; for no time was allowed him, even to call in the counsel of his own chiefs. The foreigners, both residents and missionaries, kept aloof from him, although now was a juncture at which the true friends of this people might have acted to advantage by stepping forward in support of the laws under which they lived. They cannot be too much blamed for having suffered this flagrant outrage upon the rights of a feeble nation to be committed with their knowledge, and without strong and decided remonstrances on their part. The missionaries, in particular, lost a glorious opportunity. It would have shown their character in a beautiful light, if, after abstaining as they did from any act that might have increased the embarrassment of the government, when they were themselves threatened, they had come forward to oppose, by every means in their power, the overthrow of the laws enacted to check the scourge of intemperance, against which they had so long contended.

The merchants, also, had not the spirit to raise a voice in condemnation of an act fraught with so much evil to the people from whom they were gaining their livelihood. Although all were aware of what was going forward, and some of them were appealed to, none would take the responsibility of advising the king to withhold his signature from a treaty that was to degrade him in his own eyes, and which subverted the laws that had hitherto been so beneficial.

I make these comments on the conduct of the foreign residents and missionaries, because I am satisfied that the smallest opposition would now have checked the career of Captain Laplace; and it would have

required but little argument to prove to him the selfish views of the French consul. Whatever he might have done had his first requisitions not been complied with, I cannot believe, that to secure a commercial treaty (which does not appear to have been part of his instructions), however advantageous, he would have ventured to commence hostilities, or that, if opposed on this point, he would have proceeded to trample on the rights of the monarch of a weak and unoffending nation.

It was now that Captain Laplace insisted upon the recognition, in the capacity of consul, of the irresponsible individual of whom we have spoken under that style, but who had not hitherto been received by the government.

The affair terminated by the landing of Captain Laplace, with two hundred of his men, fully armed and equipped for battle, for the purpose of celebrating mass in one of the straw-built houses of the king.

The frigate sailed the day after this ceremony; and thus, in the space of ten days, Captain Laplace had, by the terror of his cannon, forced a dreaded religion upon a reluctant people, heaped ignominy on the sovereign and chiefs, trodden down the laws, and left the islands open to the introduction of immorality and vice, besides carrying off in his frigate the whole of the circulating medium. This was truly an heroic exploit, and one that must redound greatly to the credit of all who were concerned in it!

The immediate consequences of the treaty, were it not for their serious results, would be ludicrous. The brig *Clementine*, which has before been mentioned, was immediately despatched by the French consul to the coast of South America, whence she returned without delay, having on board the Bishop of Nicopolis with several priests, and a full cargo of French wines and brandy. It is needless to describe the effect which the introduction of quantities of intoxicating liquor produced upon the population of the islands, the inferior classes of which have still the propensity manifested by all savages for this worst product of the arts of civilized nations. The chiefs have indeed endeavoured to put some impediment in the way of the progress of the scourge, by making it necessary to obtain a license for the retail of spirituous liquors.

After this account, it will be easy to understand the feelings of mortification and regret with which the king spoke of the Laplace treaty. He said, that he was not surprised that France should have sent a force to inquire whether his people had injured the natives of that country who had visited them, but he did wonder that so great a nation as France was represented to him to be, should have wished to destroy his laws, and make his people drunkards for the sake of selling

a small quantity of brandy; that, were not his honour concerned, he would willingly sacrifice the twenty thousand dollars which Captain Laplace held as security for the faithful performance of the treaty, if by so doing he could prevent the demoralization of his people; that the commercial treaty had been forced upon him by Captain Laplace and the French consul, who threatened to renew the war and destroy Honolulu; that they refused him time to consult with his chiefs or any other person, and insisted on receiving his signature the next morning. Having no one with whom to advise, his own impulse was to do any thing that might serve to preserve peace and prevent injury to his people and the foreigners under his protection.

He said further, that this was not the only instance in which his consent had been extorted by threats, to measures of which he disapproved, and that there had been instances when he had been called upon to perform alleged promises which he had never given, for there were some of the foreigners who misrepresented every thing that took place in their interviews with him.

I at once pointed out a simple remedy for this, namely, that he should hereafter transact all business in writing, and have no verbal communication with people of this stamp or indeed with any one; telling him that by keeping their letters, and copies of his own, he would always be in possession of evidence of what had passed. I assured him that I considered his government to have made sufficient progress towards a position among civilized nations to authorize him to require that official business should be carried on in this manner, and expressed my belief, that should he adopt this method, the "bullies" of whom he had spoken would give him no further trouble.

I now found that his principal object in requesting an interview with me was, that he might renew and amplify his treaty with the United States, for which purpose he thought it probable that I might have had instructions. When he found that this was not the case, and that I had no official communication for him, he was evidently disappointed; for he appeared most desirous to enter into a close friendship with the United States, and spoke in the highest terms of the kind manner in which he had ever been treated by our consul Mr. Briasmade and the commanders of the United States vessels of war that had visited his islands. In conclusion, he intimated his hopes that the United States would acknowledge his people as a nation, and enter into a new treaty with him as its ruler.

All this was well and intelligently expressed by him, but the main subject of the conversation, which lasted for three hours, was his regret that he had ever permitted foreigners to interfere with his laws

and municipal regulations, and had not rather allowed them to do their worst. The only justification he could offer to himself for his submission was, that by yielding he had saved much trouble and distress to others.

To return to the Laplace treaty. A commission has been sent to France with letters to its government, containing a statement of the transactions of which we have spoken, and asking that the commercial treaty might be annulled as injurious to the morals of his people, and the king expressed his hopes that this appeal to the magnanimity and moral sense of the French monarch would be successful.

With the Catholics, to whom this treaty has given free entrance, I had no direct intercourse. I saw however that they were zealous in their exertions to inculcate their peculiar tenets; they have already several places of worship, and were busy in erecting a large chapel of stone. All the chiefs, however, and the great body of the people, are still Protestants. The existence of two different creeds has caused some difficulties. One relating to the school system took place during the stay of our squadron; and another relative to marriages between native converts of different persuasions.

I cannot but indulge the hope, that the competition of the teachers of different creeds, if they be actuated by proper motives, will, by stimulating their efforts, tend to the improvement of education and the advancement of civilization. The Protestant missionaries have already done so much good, that it is much more a matter of wonder that there should be so many signs of piety, and so many instances of strict obedience to the moral law, than that vice and sensuality are still to be seen in existence in this community, so recently redeemed from barbarism.

Among the most obvious benefits of the missionary labours, are a code of laws and a written constitution; the last of which was promulgated on the 8th October, 1840. It is, no doubt, far from being perfect, but it is as much so as circumstances would permit, and is a proof of the sincerity of the interest the king and chiefs take in the welfare of those whom they govern; for in it they have made a willing sacrifice of their power to what they deem the general benefit of the nation.

I was furnished with a copy of this constitution by Mr. Richards, and I insert it, as perhaps the best mode of contrasting the present state of the Hawaiian people with that of the inhabitants of the other Polynesian islands, and of exhibiting the advance which they have made towards complete civilization.

CONSTITUTION, LAWS, ETC.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, BOTH OF THE PEOPLE AND CHIEFS.

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on the earth" in unity and blessedness. God has also bestowed certain rights alike on all men, and all chiefs, and all people of all lands.

These are some of the rights which he has given alike to every man and every chief of correct deportment: life, limb, liberty, freedom from oppression, the earnings of his hands and the productions of his mind; not, however, to those who act in violation of the laws.

God has also established governments, and rule, for the purpose of peace; but, in making laws for the nation, it is by no means proper to enact laws for the protection of the rulers only, without also providing protection for their subjects; neither is it proper to enact laws to enrich the chiefs only, without regard to enriching their subjects also; and hereafter there shall, by no means, be any laws enacted which are at variance with what is above expressed, neither shall any tax be assessed, nor any service or labour required of any man, in a manner which is at all at variance with the above sentiments.

PROTECTION FOR THE PEOPLE DECLARED.

The above sentiments are hereby published for the purpose of protecting alike both the people and the chiefs of all these islands, while they maintain a correct deportment; that no chief may be able to oppress any subject, but that chiefs and people may enjoy the same protection, under one and the same law.

Protection is hereby secured to the persons of all the people, together with their lands, their building-lots, and all their property, while they conform to the laws of the kingdom; and nothing whatever shall be taken from any individual except by express provision of the laws. Whatever chief shall act perseveringly in violation of the constitution, shall no longer remain a chief of the Hawaiian Islands, and the same shall be true of the governors, officers, and all land agents.

But if any one who is deposed should change his course and regulate his conduct by law, it shall then be in the power of the chiefs to reinstate him in the place he occupied previous to his being deposed.

CONSTITUTION.

It is our design to regulate our kingdom according to the above principles, and thus seek the greatest prosperity both of all the chiefs and all the people of these Hawaiian Islands. But we are aware that we cannot ourselves alone accomplish such an object. God must be our aid, for it is his province alone to give perfect protection and property. Wherefore we first present our supplication to him that he will guide us to right measures and sustain us in our work.

It is, therefore, our fixed decree:—

1. That no law shall be enacted which is at variance with the word of the Lord Jehovah, or at variance with the general spirit of his word. All laws of the island shall be in consistency with the general spirit of God's law.

2. All men in every religion shall be protected in worshipping Jehovah, and serving him according to their own understanding, but no man shall ever be punished for neglect of God, unless he injures his neighbour, or bring evil on the kingdom.

3. The law shall give redress to every man who is injured by another, without a fault of his own, and shall protect all men while they conduct properly, and shall punish all men who commit crime against the kingdom or against individuals; and no unequal law shall be passed for the benefit of one to the injury of another.

4. No man shall be punished, unless his crime be first made manifest, neither shall he be punished unless he be first brought to trial in the presence of his accusers, and they have met face to face, and the trial having been conducted according to law, and the crime made manifest in their presence, then punishment may be inflicted.

5. No man or chief shall be permitted to sit as judge or act on a jury to try his particular friend or enemy, or one who is especially connected with him. Wherefore, if any man be condemned or acquitted, and it shall afterwards be made to appear that some one who tried him acted with partiality, for the purpose of favouring his friend or injuring his enemy, or for the purpose of enriching himself, then there shall be a new trial allowed before those who are impartial.

EXPOSITION OF THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE PRESENT DYNASTY IS FOUNDED.

The origin of the present government and system of polity is as follows: Kamehameha I. was the founder of the kingdom, and to him belonged all the land from one end of the islands to the other, though it was not his own private property. It belonged to the chiefs and

people in common, of whom Kamehameha I. was the head, and had the management of the landed property. Wherefore there was not formerly and is not now any person who could or can convey away the smallest portion of land without the consent of the one who had or has the direction of the kingdom.

These are the persons who have had the direction of it from that time down: Kamehameha II., Kaahumanu I., and at the present time Kamehameha III. These persons have had the direction of the kingdom down to the present time, and all documents written by them, and no others, are the documents of the kingdom.

The kingdom is permanently confirmed to Kamehameha III. and his heirs, and his heir shall be the person whom he and the chiefs shall appoint during his lifetime; but should there be no appointment, then the decision shall rest with the chiefs and House of Representatives.

PREROGATIVES OF THE KING.

The prerogatives of the king are as follows. He is the sovereign of all the people and all the chiefs. The kingdom is his. He shall have the direction of the army and all the implements of war of the kingdom. He also shall have the direction of the government property, the poll-tax, the land-tax, the three days' monthly labour; though in conformity to the laws. He also shall retain his own private lands, and lands forfeited for the non-payment of taxes shall revert to him. He shall be the chief judge of the supreme court, and it shall be his duty to execute the laws of the land, also all decrees and treaties with other countries; all, however, in accordance with the laws. • •

It shall also be his prerogative to form treaties with the rulers of all other kingdoms, also to receive all ministers sent by other countries, and he shall have power to confirm agreements with them.

He shall also have power to make war in time of emergency when the chiefs cannot be assembled, and he shall be the commander-in-chief. He shall also have power to transact all important business of the kingdom, which is not by law assigned to others.

RESPECTING THE PREMIER OF THE KINGDOM.

It shall be the duty of the king to appoint some chief of rank and ability to be his particular minister, whose title shall be Premier of the Kingdom. His office and business shall be the same as that of Kaahumanu I. and Kaahumanu II. For even in the time of Kame-

kamehameha I., life and death, condemnation and acquittal, were in the hands of Kaahumanu. When Kamehameha I. died, his will was, "The kingdom is Liho-liho's, and Kaahumanu is his minister."

That important feature of the government, originated by Kamehameha I., shall be perpetuated in these Hawaiian Islands, but shall always be in subserviency to the law.

The following are the duties of the premier:

All business connected with the special interests of the kingdom, which the king wishes to transact, shall be done by the premier under the authority of the king. All documents and business of the kingdom, executed by the premier, shall be considered as executed by the king's authority. All government property shall be reported to him (or her), and he (or she) shall make it over to the king.

The premier shall be the king's special counsellor in the great business of the kingdom.

The king shall not act without the knowledge of the premier, nor shall the premier act without the knowledge of the king, and the veto of the king on the acts of the premier shall arrest the business. All important business of the kingdom which the king chooses to transact in person, he may do it, but not without the approbation of the premier.

GOVERNORS.

There shall be four governors over these Hawaiian Islands—one for Hawaii, one for Maui and the islands adjacent, one for Oahu, and one for Kauai and the adjacent islands. All the governors, from Hawaii to Kauai, shall be subject to the king.

The prerogatives of the governors and their duties, shall be as follows. Each governor shall have the general direction of the several tax-gatherers of his island, and shall support them in the execution of all their orders which he considers to have been properly given, but shall pursue a course according to law, and not according to his own private views. He also shall preside over all the judges of his island, and shall see their sentences executed as above. He shall also appoint the judges and give them their certificates of office.

All the governors, from Hawaii to Kauai, shall be subject not only to the king but also to the premier.

The governor shall be superior over his particular island or islands. He shall have charge of the munitions of war, under the direction of the king however, and the premier. He shall have charge of the forts, the soldiery, the arms, and all the implements of war. He shall receive

the government dues, and shall deliver over the same to the premier. All important decisions rest with him in times of emergency, unless the king or premier be present. He shall have charge of all the king's business on the island, the taxation, new improvements to be extended, and plans for the increase of wealth; and all officers shall be subject to him. He shall also have power to decide all questions, and transact all island business which is not by law assigned to others.

When either of the governors shall decease, then all the chiefs shall assemble at such place as the king shall appoint, and shall nominate a successor of the deceased governor; and whosoever they shall nominate and be approved by the king, he shall be the new governor.

RESPECTING THE SUBORDINATE CHIEFS.

At the present period, these are the persons who shall sit in the government councils: Kamehameha III., Kekauluohi, Hoapiliwahine, Kuakini, Kekauonohi, Kahekili, Paki, Konai, Koahokalola, Leleiohoku, Kekuanaoa, Kealiihonui, Kanaina, Keoni Ii, Keoni Ana, and Haalilio. Should any person be received into the council, it shall be made known by law. These persons shall have part in the councils of the kingdom. No law of the nation shall be passed without their assent. They shall act in the following manner: they shall assemble annually, for the purpose of seeking the welfare of the nation, and establishing the laws of the kingdom. Their meetings shall commence in April, at such day and place as the king shall appoint.

It shall be proper for the king to consult with the above persons respecting all the great concerns of the kingdom, in order to promote unanimity and secure the greatest good. They shall moreover transact such other business as the king shall commit to them.

They shall still retain their own appropriate lands, whether districts or plantations, in whatever divisions they may be, and they may conduct the business on said lands at their discretion, but not at variance with the laws of the kingdom.

RESPECTING THE REPRESENTATIVE BODY.

There shall be annually chosen certain persons to sit in council with the chiefs and establish laws for the nation. They shall be chosen by the people, according to their wish, from Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Kauai. The law shall decide the form of choosing them, and also the number to be chosen. This representative body shall have a voice in

the business of the kingdom. No law shall be passed without the approbation of a majority of them.

RESPECTING THE MEETINGS OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

There shall be an annual meeting as stated above; but if the chiefs think it desirable to meet again, they may do it at their discretion. When they assemble, the nobles shall meet by themselves, and the representative body by themselves, though at such times as they shall think it necessary to consult together, they may unite at their discretion.

The form of doing business shall be as follows: the nobles shall appoint a secretary for themselves, who at the meetings shall record all decisions made by them; and that book of records shall be preserved, in order that no decrees affecting the interests of the kingdom shall be lost.

The same shall be done by the representative body. They too shall choose a secretary for themselves; and when they meet for the purpose of seeking the interests of the kingdom, and shall come to a decision on any point, then that decision shall be recorded in a book, and the book shall be preserved, in order that nothing valuable affecting the interests of the kingdom, shall be lost; and there shall be no new law made without the approbation of a majority of the chiefs, and also a majority of the representative body.

When any act has been agreed upon by them, it shall then be presented to the king, and if he approve and sign his name, and also the premier, then it shall become a law of the kingdom; and that law shall not be repealed until it is done by the voice of those who established it.

RESPECTING THE TAX OFFICERS.

The king and premier shall appoint tax officers and give them their certificates of office. There shall be district tax officers for each of the islands, at the discretion of the king and premier.

When a tax officer has received his certificate of appointment, he shall not be dismissed from office without first having a formal trial, and having been convicted of fault, at which time he shall be dismissed. Though if the law should prescribe a given number of years as the term of office it may be done.

The following are the established duties of the tax officers. They

shall assess the taxes, and give notice of the amount to all the people, that they may understand in suitable time. The tax officers shall make the assessments in subserviency to the orders of the governors, and in accordance with the requirements of the law. And when the taxes are to be gathered, they shall gather them, and deliver the property to the governor, and the governor shall pay it over to the premier, and the premier shall deliver it to the king.

The tax officers shall also have charge of the public labour done for the king, though if they see proper to commit it to the land agents, it is well; but the tax officers being above the land agents, shall be accountable for the work. They shall also have charge of all new business which the king shall wish to extend through the kingdom. In all business, however, they shall be subject to the governor.

The tax officers shall be the judges in all cases arising under the tax law. In all cases where land agents or landlords are charged with oppressing the lower classes, and also in all cases of difficulty between land agents and tenants, the tax officers shall be the judges, and also all cases arising under the tax law enacted on the 7th of June, 1839.

They shall, moreover, perform their duties in the following manner. Each tax officer shall be confined in his authority to his own appropriate district. If a difficulty arises between a land agent and his tenant, the tax officer shall try the case, and if the tenant be found guilty, then the tax officer, in connexion with the land agent, shall execute the law upon him. But if the tax officer judge the land agent to be in fault, then he shall notify all the tax officers of his particular island, and if they are agreed, they shall pass sentence on him, and the governor shall execute it. But in all trials, if any individual take exception to the decision of the tax officer, he may appeal to the governor, who shall have the power to try the case again, and if exceptions are taken to the decision of the governor, on information given to the supreme judges, there shall be a new and final trial before them.

OF THE JUDGES.

Each of the governors shall, at his discretion, appoint judges for his particular island, two or more, as he shall think expedient, and shall give them certificates of office. After having received their certificates, they shall not be turned out except by impeachment, though it shall be proper at any time for the law to limit the term of office.

They shall act in the following manner. They shall give notice

beforehand of the days on which courts are to be held. When the time specified arrives, they shall be the judges in cases arising under the laws, excepting those which regard taxation, or difficulties between land agents, or landlords and their tenants. They shall be sustained by the governor, whose duty it shall be to execute the law according to their decisions. But if exceptions are taken to their judgment, who-soever takes them, may appeal to the supreme judges.

OF THE SUPREME JUDGES.

The representative body shall appoint four persons whose duty it shall be to aid the king and premier, and six persons shall constitute the supreme court of the kingdom.

Their business shall be to settle all cases of difficulty which are left unsettled by the tax officers and common judges. They shall give a new trial according to the conditions of the law. They shall give previous notice of the time for holding courts, in order that those who are in difficulty may appeal. The decision of these shall be final. There shall be no further trial afterwards. Life, death, confinement, fine, and freedom from it, are all in their hands, and their decisions are final.

OF CHANGES IN THIS CONSTITUTION.

This constitution shall not be considered as finally established until the people have generally heard it, and have appointed persons according to the provisions herein made, and they have given their assent; then this constitution shall be considered as permanently established.

But hereafter, if it should be thought desirable to change it, notice shall be previously given, that all the people may understand the nature of the proposed change, and at the succeeding meeting of the chiefs and the representative body, if they shall agree as to the addition proposed, or as to the alteration, then they may make it.

The above constitution has been agreed to by the chiefs, and we have hereunto subscribed our names, this eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty, at Honolulu, Oahu.

(Signed) KANEHAMEHA III.
KERAULUOHI.

The code of laws is now administered with firmness and a promptitude that gives them great effect, and of this we had an instance while we remained at Honolulu.

A night or two after our arrival, I was awakened by one of the most startling and mournful sounds I ever heard, which lasted all

night, and disturbed the whole town of Honolulu. It brought back to my mind the idea that I was still among savages, which the impressions I had received within the last few days had in a measure dissipated. This sound proved to be the wailing over Kamakinki, the wife of a chief of high rank. Strong suspicions being entertained of her having been poisoned by drinking ava, which her husband, Kamanawa, had prepared for her, he was apprehended, together with an accomplice, whose name was Sono. Three days after their arrest, they were put under trial before Kekuanaoa, the governor, as presiding judge, and a jury of twelve Hawaiians. On being brought to the stand they were examined against themselves, and confessed on interrogation; for the Hawaiian law permits this, and such confessions are esteemed as good testimony. They were found guilty by the jury, and Sono confessed on the trial that he had committed one other murder.

The facts in relation to the murder of the chief's wife were as follows.

The husband and wife had been for some time separated, because the chief wished to marry another woman, for whom he had formed a strong attachment. Having already one wife, this was forbidden by the law, and he in consequence determined to rid himself of her. For this purpose he applied to Sono, who was said to be well acquainted with poisons. He found Sono in the same position as himself, and they both agreed to destroy their wives. Accordingly, a seeming reconciliation was brought about, and they met at the house of a son-in-law of Kamakinki to celebrate it by drinking ava. Two bowls of the liquor were prepared, the one unadulterated, the other mixed with poison composed of *Tephrosia piscatoria*, *Daphne indica*, and the leaves of a common gourd (*Lagenaria*). From the first of these the company drank, but when Kamakinki called for her share, which was handed to her by Kamanawa her husband, she, after taking a few mouthfuls, complained of its bitterness. On asking if the other cups had tasted so, and being answered in the negative, she at once accused her husband of having poisoned her.

The proof would have been ample without the confession of the guilty parties, for a post-mortem examination had taken place, which proved conclusively that the death had been the result of poison. The parties, however, both made a full and corresponding confession. It was stated by Kamanawa, the husband, that Sono, on receiving his application, at once said that he had a drug that would destroy life. On his expressing some doubts, Sono told him that he had already proved it in three cases. When Kamanawa drugged the ava, he had doubts whether it would prove effective, but was glad to find it so.

The prisoners were allowed counsel, and the whole proceedings were conducted in a becoming manner. The charge of the judge to the jury was clear and forcible. The king and several high chiefs were present, and as Kamanawa was a great favourite of the king, it was supposed by many that a pardon would be extended to him, this being the first case in which the sentence of the law had been passed on one of so high a rank. But there was no pardon, and the criminals were hung on the 20th of October, on the walls of the fort, the king having gone some days previously to Lahaina. The concourse of people at the execution was very large, and the prisoners were attended by the missionaries. There was none of that eager curiosity, rushing, and crowding, that is to be observed at home on an occasion of the kind, and no noise or confusion. All present were decently dressed and well behaved, but they did not seem impressed with the solemnity of the scene. It was estimated that ten thousand persons, from all parts of the island, were present. I was in hopes that the law would have been put into execution within the fort, and not on the walls, thus making it a private instead of a public execution. I had much conversation relative to this subject with the authorities, but I thought the disposition was to make it a matter of parade rather than otherwise. The criminals showed no manner of contrition for their foul crimes, but evinced a hardihood in unison with the deed for which they suffered the penalty of the law.

There are no persons to whom the old adage of "murder will out" will more justly apply, than to these natives; they cannot keep a secret, and when once a crime is perpetrated, it is not long before it becomes known to the public; they will even tell against themselves, however certain the punishment may be. In this respect, nearly all the Polynesian nations are alike. It was perhaps not to be expected that much feeling should be shown on an occasion of the kind among a half-civilized nation, who had formerly been in the habit of seeing death frequently administered by the hands of the assassin, acting by the order of the chiefs; yet I was not prepared to see so quiet and indifferent a demeanour. The son of Kamanawa, who is an extremely fat youth, and one of the best swimmers and divers in the port, spoke of the execution of his father without any apparent feeling.

The immense advance which has been made by the Hawaiians in civilization, will be best appreciated by the contrast which the foregoing constitution exhibits to the ancient usages and mode of government of this group. As, however, many points in the early history of these islands have been fully illustrated by other writers, I shall content myself with a general view of such facts as may serve for the basis

of a comparison between the past and present condition of the Hawaiians, and between their usages and customs and those of the other groups of Polynesia. On these points I have endeavoured to obtain the most correct information, and have been fortunate in receiving it from the highest and most authentic sources.

In former times there were no fixed laws of succession to the throne, and the practice in relation to it varied. It was, however, the general usage that the crown should descend, on the death of a sovereign, to one of his children, sons being preferred to daughters, and the rank of the mother being taken into consideration, as well as priority of birth. Thus Kamehameha I. had children by several wives, but his eldest son, as well as a daughter, were superseded by the children of another wife of more elevated birth. Even if a sovereign had sons by females of low origin, a daughter might succeed, if her mother were of very elevated rank.

A case of this sort had occurred two generations prior to the discovery of the island, when the throne was held by Queen Keokeolau, who had several half-brothers, but they were of lower rank on the mother's side. There have been only two instances of the accession of females to the supreme power, Keokeolau, and Laca, of still greater antiquity.

Exceptions sometimes were made to the regular descent, by the conceded right of the sovereign to name his successor; and, in consequence, it has sometimes been willed to a younger instead of the elder son, of the same mother, and sometimes to a member of another family. Where special reasons existed for such a course, it was generally concurred in by the chiefs. But these rules were often set aside, and personal valour decided the point. Kamehameha I. was an instance of this kind.

A chief of inferior rank stood little chance of attaining the royal dignity, however highly he might be endowed; but even the lawful heir, if a weak and pusillanimous man, was sure to be supplanted by a chief better qualified. Thus, in consequence of their being many different aspirants for the high office, the death of a king was always the signal for a civil war.

During the life of a king he generally signified his wish in relation to the descent of the crown, and often a council of chiefs was called upon the subject. If they all concurred, it put a stop to any difficulties, and the party nominated succeeded to the kingdom without disturbance.

If the king married a low woman, the right of her children to the crown was always disputed. Hence it was considered of great im-

portance that the wife of the king should be of as high blood, if not higher, than any other female in the nation. For this reason, if there were several women of the same rank, the king felt it important to secure them all as his wives, in order that there might be no competition, on the ground of rank, for the kingdom after his death. On this account Kamehameha had five wives at the same time. In order to prevent the existence of competitors, it was often thought expedient for the kings to marry their own sisters, although this incestuous intercourse is, in other cases, contrary to the customs, habits, and feelings of the people. The offspring of such a union was deemed of the highest possible rank.

It is said the present king was desirous of marrying his own sister, Nahienaena, but that this was prevented by the missionaries.

The public feeling was so strong against the king's having heirs by a woman of inferior rank, that it often caused the children to be put to death in infancy by the high chiefs, in order to avoid any of them laying claim to the throne, or to a higher rank than they were willing to allow them.

Illegitimate children of the king were almost sure to be put to death in infancy, and sometimes by order of the father.

The rank of a woman was not materially altered by her marriage to the king. She acquired no authority in the government, and no special rights or privileges, but usually received a present of lands from the king, to be held during his lifetime. On his death, her right to them ceased, although they might, through courtesy, be left in her possession. It will easily be understood, that when a chief has a wife of the highest rank and purest blood, he is naturally an object of jealousy and distrust to the reigning house.

Under the new constitution the descent is regulated, as has been seen, but great latitude of choice is allowed. The king's heir shall be the person whom the king and chiefs may appoint during his lifetime. If there should be no appointment, then the chiefs and House of Representatives shall exercise it; and I found it the prevailing opinion that their former customs would have much weight in their decision.

The next heir to the throne has already been chosen, in the person of Prince Alexander, the third son of Kinau, and grandson to Kamehameha I. In this choice his two elder brothers, who are quite as intelligent, have been passed over. The king is married to the daughter of a petty chief. It was a match of affection, and they have no children; but should he have an heir, it is thought that, notwithstanding their former customs, the low rank of his wife, and the choice already made, her child would inherit.

The government, so far as one was established in past times, was mainly of a feudal character, and vested in the various ranks of landlords, the king being considered as the head. The power of each particular chief was, in most cases, supreme over his own immediate vassals or tenants, and this power was not entirely confined to his own dependants. The chiefs having a common interest in preserving their power, showed great politeness and respect towards each other, so much so that they felt themselves at liberty to call upon the dependants of another without the fear of giving offence: this operated to the disadvantage of the people, for instead of serving but one master they were subject to several.

As a general rule, however, the authority descended in the scale of rank, rising from the lowest class of servants to tenants, agents, landholders, land-owners, petty chiefs, high chiefs, and the king, each one ruling according to his own understanding, or that of his superiors. Of course, civil rights could not be expected under such a state of things, nor were any acknowledged to exist. Some general rules seem to have had place, and when they were infringed, the offender was punished, particularly if the crime was of an aggravated nature.

Murder was punished by death; and in the time of Kamehameha I. repeated instances of this crime and its punishment occurred.

Grand larceny was also a capital offence, provided the injured person had power to execute the law; the king and chiefs not unfrequently espoused the cause of the injured party, and inflicted the punishment.

Adultery was likewise often punished by death, and, in a celebrated case, Kamehameha called upon his highest chiefs to act as executioners.

The taboo, or sacred law, restrained and regulated, in a considerable degree, the will of those in authority, although it was in other respects very oppressive to the people. A chief, who was a notorious violator of taboo, soon became unpopular, and was eventually supplanted by some other who stood in higher estimation.

As far as there was any system in their government, it was deeply interwoven with their religious taboos, and partook of law, custom, and will. The taboos that were fixed may be considered as embraced in the first; the second was founded on their superstitions; and the last on the power the chiefs had to enforce them. Thus, no kings have been thought to have governed exclusively by will and taboos; custom and the fear of other chiefs had placed many restraints on them. Among these was the influence of a certain class of men whose business it was to give instruction, and rehearse the proverbs

handed down from their ancestors. These men often prophesied that judgment would follow if these were neglected; but, notwithstanding, as may readily be supposed, bad rulers contrived to evade the taboos and rules, and the people had no means of redressing their grievances but by rebellion, and placing other chiefs in their stead.

There were means used to publish the laws. Kamehameha was very particular in this respect; and there appears to have been no complaint that he had ever violated them himself.

From the earliest periods of Hawaiian history, the tenure of lands has been, in most respects, feudal. The origin of the fiefs was the same as in the northern nations of Europe. Any chieftain who could collect a sufficient number of followers to conquer a district, or an island, and had succeeded in his object, proceeded to divide the spoils, or "cut up the land," as the natives termed it.

The king, or principal chief, made his choice from the best of the lands. Afterwards the remaining part of the conquered territory was distributed among the leaders, and these again subdivided their shares to others, who became vassals, owing fealty to the sovereigns of the fee.

The king placed some of his own particular servants on his portion as his agents, to superintend the cultivation. The original occupants who were on the land, usually remained under their new conqueror, and by them the lands were cultivated, and rent or taxes paid.

This division was often a work of great difficulty. In spite of any wisdom and skill that could be exercised, it was no easy matter to satisfy every one that the division had been fairly and equally made, and before the business was finished, difficulties often arose, which ended in some cases in rebellion, and in others in open war. When every thing could be settled amicably, the whole body of retainers became bound up with the interest of the king, having every inducement to support him, for their property became safe or uncertain in proportion as his authority was upheld. These landholders were the persons on whom the king could call and rely on to support him in his difficulties, aid him in his plans, or fight his battles.

The manner in which these divisions took place, shows more system than appears to have been practised in any other group in Polynesia.

An Island was divided	.	.	.	into Mokus.
Mokus	.	.	.	" Thalanas, or counties.
Thalanas	.	.	.	" Ahupnaas, or townships.
Ahupnaas	.	.	.	" Ilis, or plantations.
Ilis	.	.	.	" Moos, or small farms.

One of the latter divisions was frequently the property of a single

person, and instances occurred where all the moos which composed an ili, were possessed by one individual.

Every feudatory was bound to his particular land-owner, after the same manner as the chief or land-owner was bound to the king; and thus a feudal connexion was established between the king and his lowest subject, by which tie the society or clan was held together.

The king and chiefs having power even to depriving a chief not only of his rank, but also of his possessions, had complete control over the whole, and had them firmly bound to their purposes.

This was the only system of government known to the Hawaiians, and even the older chiefs cannot be persuaded that authority or government can be successfully maintained by any other means. Their argument is, "If they cannot take the people's lands away from them, what will they care for their authority?"

But, what appears extraordinary, this bond was more often severed by the superiors than by their vassals, notwithstanding the landlord had not only a right to require military service, to tax his particular tenants at pleasure, and demand other things, among which might be daily labour in any or every kind of employment, so that a labourer seldom received on an average more than one-third of the value of his work, while the different chiefs pocketed the rest. But this was not all; even this portion of one-third was not secure, for they had no line of demarcation by which the tenant could separate the profits of his labour from the property of his chief; and if he by any chance was industrious, and brought his farm into a good state of cultivation, he was at once marked out as a subject for taxation. No tenant, in short, could call any thing he had his own. Favouritism, jealousy, and fickleness of character were so general, that no landholder could consider himself sure of the fruits of his own exertions, and therefore would make no improvements, and even ridiculed the idea of attempting them.

These exactions came so heavily at times from particular chiefs, that the landholders found it necessary, in order to avoid starvation, to hold lands at the same time under different chiefs, so that their chance might be greater of retaining a portion, and that the necessities of one of them could not entirely sweep away the whole.

All that restrained a chief in demanding taxes or from dispossessing his tenants was a certain sense of propriety, which forbade the ejection of the actual cultivator of the land, notwithstanding the changes which might take place above him, so that those possessing the moos were seldom disturbed. Self-interest must have pointed out this course to the chiefs, and it not only prevented distress throughout the different islands, but mitigated the evils of the frequent changes that were

occurring from one cause or another. The dispossessing a tenant of his lands, also took away nearly all the personal property which might have been acquired from them, either directly or indirectly.

The greatest confusion and changes took place at the deaths of the chiefs or landholders, the right of the fief descending to heirs, who, as a matter of course, had followers of their own, and almost invariably dispossessed the old agents and put their own favourites in their places.

On the death of a king, these changes of course affected the whole kingdom; and on the demise of a chief, whatever territory had been subject to his sway. Under the present government the feudal tenure still exists, but it is greatly modified.

The new laws define the rights of the different classes, and prescribe the rules by which each class shall be governed.

Officers are also appointed to see that the regulations are observed, and to assess damages according to law when the rights of one class are invaded by those of another.

No tax can be now laid, neither can any property be seized, not even by the king, except by express provision of the law, and no landlord dispossesses his tenants of their fief. The right of tenure is declared perpetual, except being subject to forfeiture for non-payment of rent. The right to fix the amount of rent is regulated by law, and the people have a voice in the legislature, so that no new tax can be laid without the assent of their representatives.

These are great modifications, which one would suppose must have been found immediately effective; but the evils intended to be remedied are but partially removed, owing to the fact that the officers who are employed are ignorant, and fear to thwart the interests of the chiefs and others. These evils, as the natives improve and become more familiar with their laws and rights, must entirely vanish. * Even if the abuses should continue, they can be of no great extent, for the number of the superior lords of the soil is reduced to two, of whom one is the king.

The taxation under the old kings was sufficiently regular; it was annually assessed by the king's agents appointed for that purpose, and fluctuated but little. It did not extend below the ilis or plantations, which were taxed as follows:

- One hog,
- " dog,
- " fish-net,
- " fishing-line,
- " cluster of feathers.

Twenty tapas, a part square, and a part long and narrow: the

square tapas were those used for their sleeping and screens, the long and narrow ones for female dresses.

The size of the hog, dog, &c., varied according to the size of the ili. The taxes were paid into the hands of the immediate superior, and so on until they reached the king, before whom they were exhibited in a large heap. In this mode of transmission, opportunities for holding back a large amount were afforded.

Besides this tax for the maintenance of the king, there were customs and rules which made it necessary to make presents to the king, especially when he was travelling, at which times himself and retinue were to be supported by presents from the people. This might be considered a forced tax, for, if sufficient supplies were not furnished, the inhabitants suffered every kind of extortion from the king's attendants; and one may have some idea of the extent of these requisitions, when informed that the king's party sometimes consisted of upwards of a thousand persons. Another direct tax was imposed on the work of the people, the king having a right to call out all classes of the community to perform any kind of labour he might desire; nor was there any limit as to the amount of time, or any rules for fixing it.

The manner in which the notice of a call for labour was made, was for the king to give his orders to a chief of rank, who issued his directions to other chiefs, and so on until it reached the lowest tenant. If the work was of any magnitude, such as building temples, or labour in honour of the dead, then the king issued his order to all the chiefs of rank, and it thence extended to the people. In such cases the highest persons in the nation, both male and female, were to be seen carrying stones on their shoulders, and engaged in other kinds of labour.

After they had intercourse with foreigners, the mode of taxation became changed, and its amount was somewhat increased.

In the case of furnishing sandalwood, the burden became at last quite irksome and severe. It is calculated that the traffic in this article lasted about thirty years, and yielded in that time upwards of one million of dollars. It is considered fortunate that the supply has become exhausted, as the collection of this wood was the most onerous of all the ways in which the chiefs exacted taxes from the people. The trade in sandalwood was likewise carried on in shares, and therefore, that gathered by taxation was but a moiety of that which has been derived from these islands.

There was yet another mode of taxation practised until a year or two before our visit; this was by a duty on so much of the produce of the islands as was carried to market. At Honolulu this amounted

to one-half, but at other places less frequented it was not as heavy. Besides this, a tax was levied on trades, such as the house-builders, &c., and even on those who washed clothes.

The tax on land was sometimes collected in money, the poll-tax always. One year the government received twenty-five thousand dollars; but I understood that usually it was about half that sum. These were government taxes; but the chiefs regulated their possessions in the same manner, and so it continued throughout down to the petty chiefs. It is not probable that any one could evade the host of tax-gatherers; indeed, no valuable article could be held by the lower classes; for if not directly falling under some of the heads of taxation, a mode would be devised by some one of their superiors to enable him to take it, or persuasion was resorted to, until it was given up to satisfy the demands.

From this, it naturally resulted, that none of the lower orders, even if they were able, would live in a large house, cook a large hog, fish with a large net, or wear a dress of good cloth.

The lower order of chiefs, not unfrequently, made use of the king's name to obtain the articles they wanted. This was done by spreading a report that the king was about to visit a place, which at once put the whole community in a stir to build houses for him; hogs and all articles necessary for his entertainment would be collected, and they even went so far at times as to cook some of the provisions. The king not arriving, the head men, of course, appropriated the houses, provisions, &c., enjoying themselves quite in royal style.

Thanks to the enlightening influence of the missionaries, this whole system of taxation has gone into disuse, and the right to tax the people is confined to the government, in which the people themselves have a voice. The only tax that is left to chiefs and landlords is one of labour; this is now limited to three days in a month, and the tenants may commute it for four dollars and a half a year.

In the laying of the taxes, it has been thought advisable to have them all estimated in money, although they are paid in a variety of ways. They are assessed on the polls and on lands. The manner of the assessment varies. In the first year it was made heavier on the polls than on the lands. The poll-tax must be paid in money; and if not paid at the time, it must be paid in double the amount of produce. This will show the dependence they place on the facility of gaining returns. The land-tax may be paid in produce at market prices.

Most of the land-tax is now paid in hogs, which it is found can be

turned to very little advantage, as there is not much demand for them. The rate of the poll-tax, from year to year, according to their present law, is—

For able-bodied Men,	75 cents.
Women,	37 "
Boys,	18 "
Girls,	9 "

The land-tax is assessed, as formerly, on each ili. The amount varies from two and a half to ten dollars. The size of an ili may be understood by its being capable of supporting about thirty people.

The present rate of taxation of every kind is believed to amount, on a fair estimate, according to the government, to about eleven dollars and fifty cents on a family, consisting of two adults and two children; of this amount it is supposed that nine dollars is paid in labour, one in produce, and one dollar and fifty cents in money.

The real revenue of the government falls far short of this, not amounting to more than fifty thousand dollars annually, when, according to the above data, it ought to be more than three hundred thousand dollars.

Thus there appears to be a defect in the system, which is well known to the king and chiefs. Mr. Richards believes that it is owing to the want of a circulating medium, and the receiving those kinds of articles that are not available in the market for cash. The fifty thousand dollars goes to the petty chiefs and to the payment of rents, &c., leaving only about fourteen thousand dollars as the actual income of His Majesty Kamehameha III.

There are many persons who are excused from paying taxes. Thus, all fathers who have three children whom they support, are freed from the labour-tax.

If a man has four children, he is then freed from labour-taxes both to the king and his landlord.

If he has five, he is freed from the poll-tax.

If six, he is freed from all taxation whatever.

All old persons, and all who are sickly and feeble, all teachers of schools and pupils in schools where the higher branches are taught, are exempt from taxation, unless the pupils are landholders, when they pay the land-tax.

The statistics of crime which they have are of no value, for they have kept no regular record. I understood that some of the chiefs had kept records of the sentences that had been passed; but they were so vague, so isolated, and so defective, as to be unworthy of confidence.

All high crimes have usually been punished with death. This was, however, previous to 1824. The executions were more like assassinations than judicial punishments. Formerly among a chief's retinue were executioners, called *ili-muku*, to whom the business of punishing capitally was committed. These persons became well known to the people, and as no trials or any sentences were promulgated, even to see these men abroad created general consternation, as the people knew not where the blow was to fall, and all those who were conscious of having committed any offence against the king considered themselves in great peril. The victims were usually attacked in the night, without giving them any warning, with clubs and stones. Such was the fear entertained of the king's authority, that even if the executioners were discovered, the nearest friends did not dare to give warning, or assist in resisting them.

Those who had violated the religious taboos were seized, either secretly or open, by the officers of the priests, and carried to the temple, where they were stoned, strangled, or beaten to death with clubs, and then laid on the altar to putrefy. These constituted the great majority of executions in former times; some indeed, were by order of the chiefs, and in conformity to their rules of avenging private wrongs.

A high chief, Kanihouni, was sentenced by Kamehameha to be put to death. As he was possessed of great power and influence, many precautions were taken to quell any rebellion that might arise from the attempt. He was executed in the following manner. The king caused a number of soldiers to be armed, who were concealed in a neighbouring house; he then sent a silver coin to Pitt (Kalanimoku), who, having heard of the crime committed by Kanihouni, immediately understood the secret signal. He at once repaired to the king's house, where he received his orders, and several of the high chiefs were also ordered to aid him in the execution.

Kamehameha I. was greatly importuned to grant a pardon to Kanihouni, for all the higher chiefs were his relations; but he was inexorable, and finally threatened them, if his orders were not carried into effect, he would cause some of them to be substituted instead of the criminal.

The chiefs, finding that entreaty was in vain, went openly to the house of Kanihouni, and put him to death in a very unusual manner. A rope being put around his neck, and the ends of it being passed through the opposite sides of the house, they took hold of them and strangled him.

After the introduction of edged tools, and especially axes, beheading

secretly in the night became a common form of execution. The last instance of this occurred in 1822.

The king sent an ili-muku in the night, who found the criminal fast asleep, his wife by his side; and it is said that the ili-muku gently pulled the woman's head on one side, and with a broadaxe instantly severed the head of the husband from his body.

In 1824, an officer at Hawaii was guilty of high treason in attempting to give up the fort (in which he was serving) to the rebels. By the order of Kalanimoku, he was taken on board a vessel, under pretence of being sent to Oahu; during the passage, at night, he was taken on deck, stabbed, and thrown overboard. This is said to have been the last punishment in the form of assassination. Since then, capital offences have been regularly tried by jury, and executions have been by hanging, of which the first instance was in 1826.

The whole number of executions for murder since 1826, have been as follows:

On Kanai	3
Oahu	7
Maii	2
Hawaii	1
	<hr/>
In all	13

Besides another murder on Hawaii, in which the culprit committed suicide; thus averaging one a year in the whole group, besides two cases of manslaughter.

The mythology of the Hawaiians is extensive and complicated; but their gods are fast being forgotten, and few are willing to spend much time in attending to them. Little information on this subject is to be derived from any one with whom I had an opportunity of conversing. What is known is contained in published accounts.

Traditions were extremely numerous, and many have been already published in the Hawaiian Spectator.

The Hawaiians appear to have but little knowledge of astronomy. Hoapili, who died a short time before our arrival, was accounted one of their most skilful astrologers. They had some knowledge of the planets, with five of which they were acquainted, viz.: Mercury (Kawela), Venus (Naholoholo), Jupiter (Hoomanalonala), Mars (Holo-kolapinaau), Saturn (Mukula). There was a class of persons whose employment was to watch the motions of the stars, and who from practice became tolerably accurate observers of many celestial phenomena. They were in the habit of telling the hour of the night quite as cor-

rectly as they did the hour of the day by the sun. This remark applies more particularly to the fishermen and those who were employed during the night.

It was by the particular position of the planets (or "wandering stars") in relation to certain fixed ones, that their soothsayers grounded their predictions of the fate of battles, and the success of all enterprises.

The contiguity of the planets to certain fixed stars and constellations, some of which had names, foretold the speedy death of some chief. The goddess of volcanoes (Pele) was supposed to hold intercourse with the travelling stars, and from their movements hers were oftentimes predicted.

The motions of the stars in the vicinity of the north pole attracted much of their attention, and was often a subject of discussion among their astrologers. These they designated as the regular travelling stars, the planets were the wandering ones.

Of the true motions, they had no knowledge whatever. Their best chronologists measured time by means both of the moon and fixed stars. The year was divided into twelve months, and each month into thirty days. They had a distinct name for each of the days of the month. The following is a copy of the Hawaiian calendar.

MONTHS.

Ikuwa	January.
Waileku	February.
Makalii	March.
Kaelo	April.
Kaulua	May.
Nana	June.
Welo	July.
Ihiki	August.
Kaaona	September.
Kinainelele	October.
Hilinehu	November.
Helenama	December.

DAYS.

1. Hilo, day of new moon.	11. Huna.	21. Olekukahi.
2. Hoaka.	12. Mohalu.	22. Olekulua.
3. Kukahi.	13. Hua.	23. Olepau.
4. Kulua.	14. Akua.	24. Kaloakukahi.
5. Kukolu.	15. Hoku.	25. Kaloakulua.
6. Kupau.	16. Mahealaui.	26. Kaloapan.
7. Olekukahi.	17. Kulu.	27. Kaue.
8. Olekulua.	18. Laaukukahi.	28. Lono.
9. Olekokolu.	19. Laaukulua.	29. Maui.
10. Olepau.	20. Laupau.	30. Muku.

The names of the months were not the same at all the islands, but those of the days were.

On the island of Hawaii, to each month was assigned a particular business, as follows:

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. Nana, | } Months for war. |
| 2. Welo, | |
| 3. Ikikiki, | |
| 4. Kaona, taboo the opelu. | |
| 5. Hinaielele, catch the opelu. | |
| 6. Hilinehu, | } Taxing months. |
| 7. Hilinama, | |
| 8. Ikuwa, prayers, games, and dissipations. | |
| 9. Wailehu, annual feast, and pay taxes. | |
| 10. Makalii, idols carried around the island; demanding taxes. | |
| 11. Kaelo (January), offerings for the dead; catch boneta. | |
| 12. Kaulau, fishing boneta. | |

Farming was carried on at all seasons of the year.

It is not a little singular that two islands so closely in the vicinity of each other as Hawaii and Maui, both speaking the same language, should have had their monthly calendar varying nearly two months.

With regard to the days, they commenced numbering them on the first day the new moon is seen in the west.

This made it necessary for them to correct their reckoning every two or three months, and reduce their year to twelve lunations instead of three hundred and sixty-five days. The difference between the sidereal and lunar year they are said to have discovered, and to have corrected their reckoning by the stars, for which reason in practice their years varied, some containing twelve and others thirteen lunations.

They likewise applied corrections to their months, giving them twenty-nine and thirty days. Although this caused many breaks in their system, yet their chronologists could always tell the name of the day and month on which any great event had occurred; and it is easy to reduce their time to ours, except when the change of the moon takes place about the middle of our calendar months, when there is a liability to a mistake of a whole month. Another error is apt to occur in the uncertainty of the day when the moon is discovered in the west. It may readily be conceived that their own method did not tend to much accuracy, as they had to rely entirely upon their memories.

Eclipses were thought to be an attack on the sun and moon, by the gods, and presaged a war or some other disaster.*

* In Appendix III. will be found an account of their heathen gods, and the ceremonies attendant on the consecration of their heiaus.

They thought that much of their success depended on working in unison with the heavenly bodies; yet, as I before said, they had not the slightest notion of the most simple astronomical calculation.

The first little book published that contained some of the true principles of astronomy, awakened their surprise very much; and the almanac published afterwards by the mission, predicting the phases of the moon, eclipses, tides, &c., excited in them great interest, and as was natural, raised the missionaries very much in their estimation.

They were very slow in adopting the idea of the earth being round, and Hoapili was known to have argued the point with many of them, insisting on their not being too precipitate in condemning the foreign theory, as he himself was aware that in some of his fishing excursions, he had observed that the beach was always lost sight of first.

There is proof, however, of their connecting the action of the tide with the moon, and from her appearance they were able to tell the state of the tides.

In their navigation they never, if they could avoid it, subjected themselves to get out of sight of land, and were never so except by accident. When they found this to be the case, they made use of the heavenly bodies, if visible; and being accurate observers of the weather and atmospheric changes, they were enabled to find their way back again; for the various changes of weather about the Hawaiian Islands, and the appearance these changes brought about in the clouds over and in the vicinity of the land, afforded them a sure guide. From all accounts, it is supposed that but few persons have been lost, by being driven or sailing off (through mistake) from the land. Many disasters, however, have arisen, from the frailty and smallness of their canoes, although their good management of them was proverbial, particularly in the surf. Of late, and since they have possessed foreign vessels, they have lost much of their skill. These vessels they manage after their own way, and although many have been lost by wreck on the islands, I did not hear of any having been blown off. Some amusing anecdotes were told me of their negligence and inability to keep awake during the night.

They are quite fearless on the water; all swim, and have little fear of loss of life by drowning. They appear quite as much at home in the water as on land, and many of them more so.

Many remarkable instances of their patience under this kind of fatigue, were mentioned to me. One of them, which happened the year of our arrival, is well authenticated, and will also tend to show very great attachment and endurance in the female sex.

As the Hawaiian schooner *Kiola*, commanded by an American

named Thompson, who was married to Kaiha, a female chief, was going to Hawaii, having on board many passengers, on getting into the straits between Maui and Hawaii the schooner foundered, and all on board, forty-five in number, were obliged to take to swimming for safety. Thompson could swim but little, but his wife was quite expert in the art; she promptly came to his aid, placed him on an oar, and swam for the shore. The accident occurred on Sunday about noon, when she with many others began to swim for the nearest land, which was Kahoolawe. She continued to support her husband until Monday morning, when he died from exhaustion, and she did not succeed in reaching the shore until that afternoon. She clung to him to the last, at the imminent risk of her own life, and was thirty hours in the water; she was met by some fishermen on landing, who took charge of, and brought her back to Maui.

I have also been told that there are many instances of such deep attachment among the Hawaiians, and that in former times widows and widowers have been known to commit suicide, or pine away with grief at the loss of their partners. Similar evidences of affection and attachment were also exhibited between parents and children.

Notwithstanding the instances of this kind, I must say from my own observation, that I should not be inclined to believe there is much natural affection among them; nor is there apparently any domestic happiness. Thus, it is not an unusual thing for a husband to tell you he has whipped his wife, because she has eaten up all his *poe* and fish. Formerly their laws of taboo were calculated to produce any thing but a kindly feeling towards the female sex; nor is it contended that they were of much if any consequence, if they were not of the highest class. These, as has already been mentioned, have great influence over the acts of government.

At the time of the advent of the missionaries, marriage was hardly known among them, and all the rules they observed, in relation to sexual intercourse, were a few regulating the extent of their licentiousness. From tradition, however, it is believed that the marriage tie was more regarded prior to the discovery of the island than since. Yet it is good evidence that this tie produced no greater happiness, or rather that they did not look to it as a source of happiness, when it is found that none of their songs, elegies, or other poetic effusions, have any allusion to it; nor are there any terms in the language to express connubial bliss.

The natives of this group generally show very little attachment to their children. All classes of females are unwilling to be burdened with the trouble of them, and, whenever it is possible, commit them

to others to nurse. Although I observed this frequently, yet I was told that, since the institution of marriage, a change for the better has taken place; but all admit that this has not been to any great extent.

There are certainly instances in which many members of a family are united and live in harmony, and I can readily believe that the wish to have families is daily increasing, as the laws now protect and hold out inducements to those who have large ones. For these laws the natives are indebted to the missionaries, who have certainly effected this desired change. This change will do more to improve the character of this people than any other circumstance; and, by care and watchfulness over the wants and pleasures of the rising generation, the parents will lose some of that selfishness, which is now so predominant a characteristic, that a very short time spent among them suffices to show its general prevalence.

According to the missionaries and residents, a native is content if he can obtain a little *poe* and fish, and regards nothing beyond. This, however, according to my experience, is rating them too low; and probably proceeds from their unwillingness to be taught, or become passive to the will of the missionaries, or to exert themselves as much as those doing business for money, and seeking for profit out of their labour, desire. Thus, with different ends in view, they arrive at the same conclusion. In regard to the energies of the natives, as far as my own observations extended, they are always willing to work for a reasonable compensation; and it is not remarkable that they should prefer their own ease to toiling for what they consider, in the one case, unnecessary, and, in the other, for an inadequate reward.

Having little motive for industry, they expend their physical energies in various athletic sports. A favourite amusement of the chiefs was sliding down hill on a long narrow sled; this was called *holua*; it was not unlike our boys' play, when we have snow. The sled was made to slide on one runner, and the chiefs prostrated themselves on it. For this sport they had a trench dug from the top of a steep hill and down its sides, to a great distance over the adjoining plain. This being made quite smooth, and having dry grass laid on it, they were precipitated with great velocity down it, and, it is said, were frequently carried a half, and sometimes a whole mile. Diamond Hill and the plain of Waikiki was one of these localities for this pastime.

Playing in the surf was another of their amusements, and is still much practised. It is a beautiful sight to see them coming in on the top of a heavy roller, borne along with increasing rapidity until they suddenly disappear. What we should look upon as the most dangerous surf, is that they most delight in. The surf-board which they use

is about six feet in length and eighteen inches wide, made of some light wood. After they have passed within the surf, they are seen buffeting the waves, to regain the outside, whence they again take their course, with almost the speed of an aerial flight. They play for hours in this way, never seeming to tire; and the time to see a Hawaiian happy, is while he is gambolling and frolicking in the surf. I have stood for hours watching their sport with great interest, and, I must say, with no little envy.

Next in interest to the foregoing amusements, were their dances. Some of these consisted, as among the other islanders, in gesture to a monotonous song, whose lascivious meaning was easily interpreted. Many persons were engaged in these dances, of which some are said to have been graceful; but if so, the people must have sadly changed since their first intercourse with the whites.

Their music consisted of drumming on various hollow vessels, calabashes, &c.; but the instrument most used by those who could afford one, was a piece of shark's skin, drawn tight over a hollow log.

Since the introduction of Christianity, these amusements have been interdicted; for, although the missionaries were somewhat averse to destroying those of an innocent character, yet, such was the proneness of all to indulge in lascivious thoughts and actions, that it was deemed by them necessary to put a stop to the whole, in order to root out the licentiousness that pervaded the land. They therefore discourage any kind of nocturnal assemblies, as they are well satisfied that it would take but little to revive these immoral propensities with more force than ever. The watchfulness of the government, police, and missionaries, is constantly required to enforce the due observance of the laws.

The principal games now in vogue among them, are cards, of which, as they minister to their love of gambling, they are passionately fond, and often indulge in.

They had likewise the amusement of see-saw, which has not yet gone quite out of fashion, and is performed in a manner somewhat different from ours. A forked post is placed in the ground; on this a long pole is placed, which admits several on each side. After two or three ups and downs, they try which shall give the opposite party a tumble. This is, at times, adroitly done, and down they all fall, to the infinite amusement both of their adversaries and the bystanders, who indulge in loud laughter and merriment at the expense of those who are so unlucky as to get hurt. They are particularly ungallant, in this respect, to their female associates.

The practice of medicine was not known in ancient times; they had then no physicians, and the only medical treatment, if such it may

be called, was, when they had eaten too heartily of food, to drink seawater in large quantities, to produce a cathartic effect. They used the loomi-loomi, or kneading the flesh with the hands, in cases of fatigue, over-eating, and pains; and this is yet quite general.

The practice of medicine is said to have taken its rise in the reign of Atapai, the predecessor of Kalaïopua, who was king when Cook visited the islands: since that time there has been a distinct class in this employment. An epidemic, which prevailed extensively, is said to have been the origin of this class, and their number was greatly increased afterwards, in the reign of Kamehameha I.; and after this they were to be found in great numbers, furnished with a variety of nostrums.

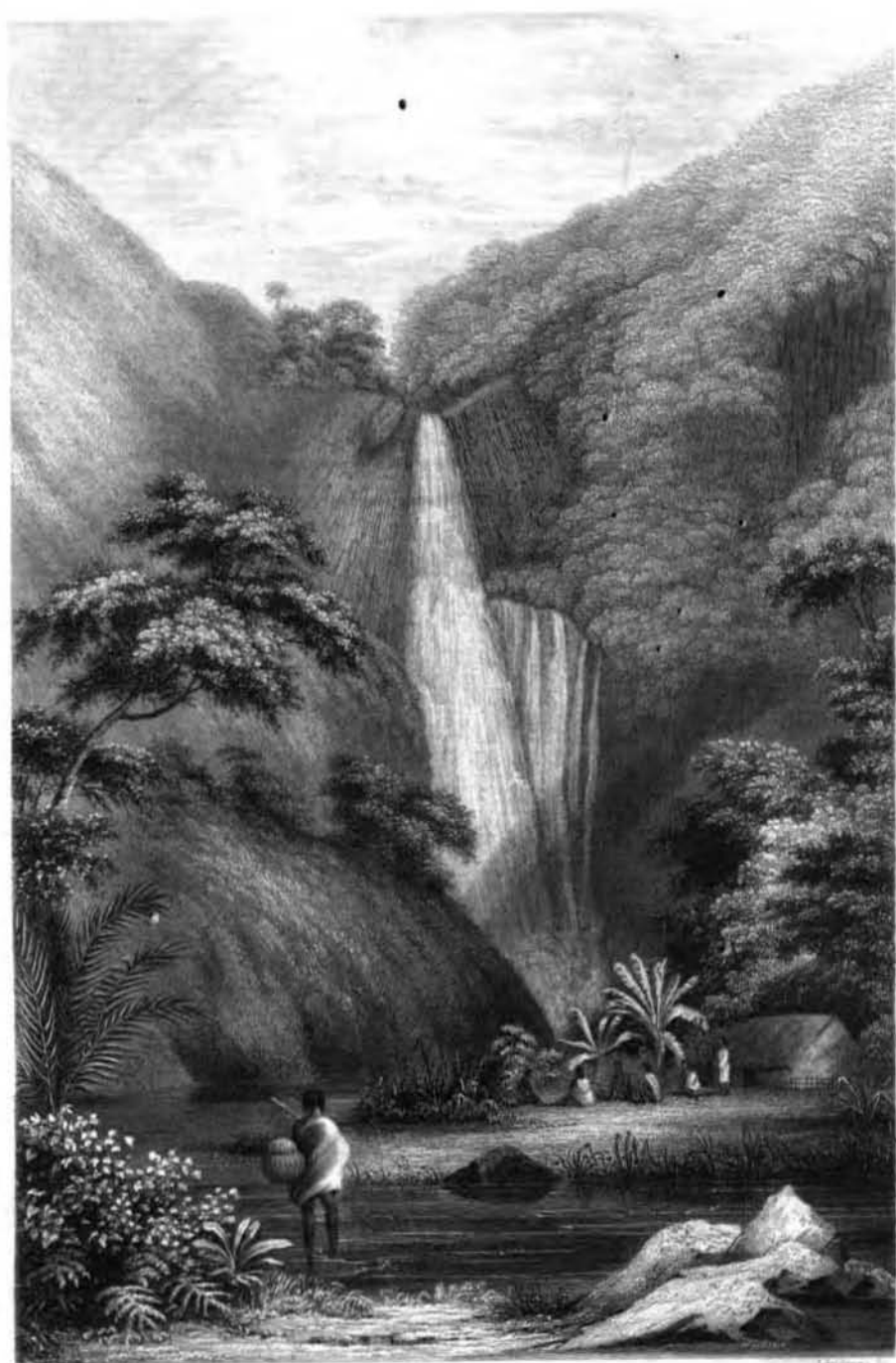


STONE QUOITS, PESTLE, AND MAIKA.

CHAPTER II.

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HAWAIIAN FALLS.

CHAPTER II.

KAUAI AND OAHU.

1840.

SATURDAY in Honolulu is a gala day, and all ages of both sexes devote themselves to amusement. Towards the afternoon, they may be seen wending their way towards the east end of the town, in every variety of costume, and borne along in every possible manner. All who have health enough must engage in this day's sport, and every horse is in requisition. The national taste, if I may so speak, is riding horses; and the more break-neck and furious the animal is, the better. Nicety of equipment is not thought of: any thing answers for a saddle and bridle, and as for stirrups, they are considered quite unnecessary. By four o'clock the crowd is well collected, and feats of horsemanship are practised, consisting generally in those involuntary tumblings that inexpert riders are wont to indulge in. The great gathering is on the eastern plain, the road to which is well covered with dust. The whole looks, when the crowd has possession of it, not unlike a rag fair, the predominant colour being yellow. They are generally well behaved, and the only sufferers are the poor horses, who are kept running, not races only, but for the amusement of the riders, whose great delight is to ride at full speed. At times there are races, in which case the crowd is increased by the addition of the foreigners, many of whom are in a state of intoxication. The uproar is proportionably great, and the natives are less conspicuous, their places being occupied by those whose morals and enjoyments are far from being as innocent. When his majesty and suite are present, much more order and decorum are observed, and the whole affords a pleasing and amusing sight. The returning throng is headed by the king and his party, after whom follow the crowd in a somewhat uproarious style; those on horses indiscrimi-

nately mixed, racing and hallooing; the fair riders being borne along, amidst clouds of dust so thick, that were it not for the rustling of flowing silks and tapas, one would be at a loss to know their sex. By the evening, all is again quiet, and the streets are nearly deserted.

Sunday is ushered in with a decorum and quietness that would satisfy the most scrupulous Puritan. I have often had occasion to speak of the strict observance of the Sabbath among the Polynesian islands; and this strictness is no less remarkable here. Such is the force of example, that even the least orderly of the foreigners are prevented from indulging in any excesses; which, considering the worthless population the town of Honolulu contains, is a proof of the excellence of the police regulations, and the watchfulness of the guardians of the law.

There are several congregations of natives, some of which consist of two thousand persons, all decently clad, exceedingly well behaved, and attentive. The Rev. Mr. Armstrong officiates in the oldest church, which is at the east end of the town. It is a long grass building, calculated to accommodate a very large number of persons: the pulpit, or desk, is in the middle of one of the sides. Service is held twice a day. The Rev. Mr. Smith has also a large church, situated at the west end of the town.

There is a very large church in progress of building, of coral, taken from the reef, which will be capable of containing a congregation of two thousand people. The funds for its erection are provided by the government; Dr. Judd, of the mission, has the general superintendence of its construction; and it is entirely the work of natives. It makes a good appearance, though I cannot say much for its architectural taste and beauty. It has a small steeple, sufficient to contain a clock and bell.

There are several schools under the superintendence of the missionaries, besides the school for the chiefs, before spoken of, and a charity school for half-breeds. I attended their examinations; and the natives performed better than I anticipated. At an examination in the old church, there were seven hundred children, and as many more parents. The attraction that drew together such numbers, was a feast, which I understood was given annually. The scholars had banners, with various mottoes, in Hawaiian, (which were translated to me,) as emblematical of purity, good conduct, steadfast in faith, &c. It was as pleasing a sight as the Sunday-school exhibitions at home; and it gave Captain Hudson and myself great pleasure, at the request of the missionaries, to say a few words of encouragement to them. After the services were over, the scholars formed a procession, and

walked to Mr. Smith's church, the children of the governor and chiefs heading the procession. I was invited in due form to the feast, and as it was a place where I anticipated some display of the native character, I made a point of going. On my arrival at the church I found several tables set out, one for the accommodation of the chiefs, furnished as we see for a 4th of July lunch at home, with hams, turkeys, chickens, pies, &c. The common people's children took their poe and raw fish on the floor.

On arriving at the church, the governor became master of ceremonies, and with his numerous aids endeavoured to direct the throng; but all were too eager to get the most convenient seats to heed his commands, and the uproar was great. Some stopped short of their allotted place, and the church soon became a human hive. The governor did his utmost to maintain order and silence, but his voice was not heard; for in such a moment the anxiety he was under to have things conducted with good order, caused him for a time to lose sight of his usual urbanity and decorum of behaviour. He in fact showed that a little of the unbridled ferocity of former times was still within him, which moved him repeatedly to use his fist, and that too upon the fair sex, tumbling them over amid calabashes of poe, raw fish, &c., but with little injury to the individuals. Order was at last restored for a few minutes, during which grace was said by the Rev. Mr. Smith; which being ended, the clatter of tongues, clashing of teeth, and smacking of lips began. It was a joyous sight to see fifteen hundred human beings so happy and gratified by this molasses feast: poe and raw fish were the only additions. The latter are every-day food, so that the molasses constituted the special treat. So great is the fondness of the natives for it, that I was told many are induced to send their children to school, merely to entitle them to be present at this feast. It was not a little amusing to see the wistful faces without, contrasted with the joyous and happy ones within; in one place might be seen a sturdy native biting a piece from a raw fish, and near him another sucking the poe off his fingers, with much grace and sleight of hand. The molasses was either drank with water or sucked from the fingers. I thought that selfishness predominated among the crowd; the parents and children did not entirely harmonize as to the share that was due to each, and none seemed fully satisfied. Of the molasses there was "short commons;" but, all things considered, the feast went off well. I regretted it had not been held in the open fields, and that the natives were not allowed to have the whole management, without being so immediately under the eye of their teachers; for though suffi-