LILIHA

(ca. 1800-1839)

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

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LIS 687 Hawaiian Resource Materials Dr. Chieko Tachihata

University of Hawaii Manoa Honolulu July, 1989

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INTRODUCTION

The early years of the nineteenth century were ones of transition and turbulence in Hawaiian history. Kamehameha I had nearly consolidated his kingdom when the century began and westerners were becoming frequent visitors and a growing influence in island life. The overthrow of the kapu system following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819 threw Hawaii into a state of near-social anarchy. His son Liholiho reigned briefly in this atmosphere. Kamehameha II's own death in 1824 brought a child, Kauikeaouli, to the throne, a perfect condition for a prolonged power struggle between various chiefs, foreigners, and their particular political factions.

One of the players in this scenario was the Chiefess Kuini Liliha, also known as Keomailani. Born about 1800, she was reared in the traditional cultural system of the day. She was the daughter, probably hanai, of Hoapili, a favorite of Kamehameha the Great, and the man entrusted with the sacred mission of secreting the dead kings bones. As a young woman, Liliha witnessed Kaahumanu's successful assault on the ancient kapu system. She was the wofe of the handsome and charming Kahalaia, but was soon preempted by his uncle, Boki Kamueleele, the governor of Oahu.

Boki was a man of influence and power. He was the younger brother of the prime minister Kalanimoku, and had been appointed to the governorship by Kamehameha I himself, a position confirmed by Kamehameha II. When Liholiho determined to travel to England in 1823, Boki and Liliha were selected to be leading members of the delegation. It was their sad duty to escort the bodies of the King and Queen home to Hawaii on the H.M.S. Blonde. Boki also served as guardian to the child-king Kamehameha III, and together, they enjoyed the many prerogatives of their position.

Into the void caused by the abolition of the kapu system stepped the American Protestant missionaries. They immediately became the protagonists of the fledgling commercial community of traders and merchants who had been drawn to Hawaii by the opportunities of the sandalwood, whaling, and provisioning industries. As a businessman himself, it was natural for Boki to see that his interests lay with the

commercial community. When Kaahumanu chose to support the missionaries, the stage was set for conflict and a power struggle.

To complicate matters, Boki had been baptised in 1819 by a Catholic priest. Although he was not a serious practitioner, when Catholic missionaries arrived in Honolulu in 1827, he chose to offer them his patronage. This caused further antagonism from Kaahumanu, who was under the influence of the missionary Hiram Bingham, and who attempted to expel the Catholics from Hawaii. Through all this, Liliha is at Boki's side, at least nominally.

When Boki left Hawaii in December, 1829 to search for sandalwood in the South Pacific, Liliha assumed the governorship. In spite of being a favorite of Kamehameha III, when she refused to enforce the orders to expel the Catholics, Kaahumanu took the opportunity to relieve her of her position. A resort to arms was quelled by the timely interference of her father Hoapili. Liliha was exiled to Lahaina for awhile, but she later returned to Honolulu where she died on Aug. 24, 1839. Rumor had it that she was poisoned by a relative.

Liliha was known as a woman who took her pleasures seriously. She apparently had many men in her life and was also quite fond of strong spirits. These characteristics made her a natural opponent of the Protestant missionaries. Although baptised in 1825 aboard the "Blonde," she seems not to have let it interfere with her lifestyle. Not until a few months before her death did she profess a desire to embrace Christianity.

What we know about Liliha is scattered in small amounts among many sources. Sadly lacking is concrete information about her domestic affairs. She is believed to have had seven children by three or four different men, but none are the ones she is usually connected to, i.e. Kahalaia, Boki, and Abner Paki.

Liliha's part in Hawaiian history seems to be as a counterpoint to the prevailing influences of her day. She seems caught between the traditional world that formed her and the tantalizing foreign world that engulfed her. That she coped so poorly is not surprising. She serves as a metaphor for the Hawaiians of today.

<u>LILIHA</u> (ca. 1800-1839)

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, Mary Charlotte & Dodge, Charlotte Peabody.

Punahou 1841-1941.

Berkeley, Ca. Univ. of California Press. 1941. 577 p.

A detailed history of Punahou School, written to commemorate its first one-hundred years. Chapter II, "Punahou Before the School Began," explains the ownership of the land and Liliha's part in its conveyance to Hiram Bingham and the Mission.

Told in narrative style and without citations.

Alexander, William DeWitt.

A Brief History of the Hawaiian People.

New York. American Book Co. 1899. 361 p.

A general history of Hawaii through Annexation (1898), published by order of the Board of Education. Meant for use by teachers and the upper grade students. It is a compilation based on other sources, but useful as a single source for general information.

Refers to Liliha as a member of Kamehameha II's party to England, their return, and her "sedition."

Allen, Helena G.

 $\frac{\text{The Betrayal of Liliuokalani, Last Queen of Hawaii}}{1838-1917.}$

Glendale, Ca. Arthur H. Clark Co. 1982. 431 p.

A biography of Queen Liliuokalani based on the reminiscences of Lydia Aholo, a hanai daughter of the Queen.
Cited here for its reference to "...Liliha, a great prophetess" who predicted the demise of the Kamehameha dynasty. Whether this is the same Liliha or not is not clear, but it is an item worth further research. There is no citation for this statement.
There are other references to Liliha or her daughter Jane Loeau, but they are clearly from other sources,

Bingham, Hiram.

 $\frac{A \text{ Residence}}{I \text{ slands.}}$ of $\frac{\text{Twenty-one}}{I \text{ slands.}}$ $\frac{\text{Years}}{I \text{ slands.}}$ in the $\frac{\text{Sandwich}}{I \text{ slands.}}$

or vague citations, such as "newspaper sources."

Rutland, Vt. & Tokyo, Japan. Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc. 1981. 620 p.

Not indexed.

This book was first published in 1847, the first of at least three printings before this volume. It is an account of activities in Hawaii from 1820 to about 1845, seen through the eyes of an American missionary. It is not surprising that it is very moralistic in tone. In the style of the day, the Table of Contents is very detailed. The Contents mention Liliha only once, but there are a number ofmentions of her throughout. Bingham is not strongly judgmental of her, but he is so when dealing with Boki. There is an especially good account of the power struggle between Kaahumanu and Boki and Liliha, and particularly Liliha's 1830 attempt to overthrow Kaahumanu (p. 404-407).

Bloxam, Andrew.

Diary of Andrew Bloxam, the Naturalist on the "Blonde."

Honolulu. Bishop Museum. 1925. 96 p. Special Publication No. 10.

Not indexed.

The parts of this diary which deal with Hawaii are here reproduced in full. The other sections are summarized or well edited.

Generally describes events Bloxam witnessed, such as the funeral rites of Kamehameha II and Queen Kamamalu. It also gives details of his hikes around Oahu. Mentions Liliha, whom he calls "Madam Boki," a number of times, such as how she rarely left her cabin on the "Blonde" (p. 13) and that upon departing Hawaii, she gifted him with a piece of colored tapa (p. 72). Bloxam is a keen observer and non-judgmental.

Byron, Lord George Anson.

 $\frac{\text{Voyage of } \text{H.M.S. "Blonde" to the Sandwich Islands,}}{1824-1825.}$

London. John Murray. 1826. 260 p.

This volume was actually compiled by Mrs. Maria Graham, who used information collected from various members of the "Blonde's" staff and crew. Not indexed.

This is probably the best account of the deaths in London of King Kamehameha II and Queen Kamamalu, and the return of their remains to Hawaii.

There are numerous references to Liliha and her part in these events, especially of her conduct in observing certain death rituals (p. 65, 67, 74-75).

Here also is the first mention of her baptism on board the "Blonde" on May 1, 1825 (p. 95).

Chamberlain, Levi.

Journals of Levi Chamberlain.

Honolulu. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society. Manuscript. Vols. I-V. Nov. 11, 1822-Nov. 27, 1826.

Not indexed.

Journal of an American missionary which reflects the prevailing attitudes of that group. A disappointing resource for information on Liliha. There are a few specific references, such as on Aug. 18, 1825, she took tea with Mr. Loomis (Vol. V, p. 14) and on Nov. 23, 1825, her participation in a literacy class Vol. V, p. 38).

There is however, considerable mention of Boki, and especially in Nov., 1826, a good deal of the journal is devoted to a breach in relations between Boki and the missionaries. Many of the Boki references are general and meant to include his associates, such as "Boki and company," and "Boki and suite."

Dampier, Robert.

To the Sandwich Islands in the H.M.S. "Blonde."

Honolulu. The Univ. Press of Hawaii. 1971. 131 p. Edited by Pauline King Joerger.

Dampier was an artist and draftsman who joined the "Blonde" at Rio de Janeiro on Dec. 18, 1824.

About half of the book relates directly to Hawaii. It is a well-writtem account of his observations during the "Blonde's" stay in Hawaiian waters, but his attitude is somewhat condescending. He depicts Liliha as being quite refined and as having whole-heartedly adopted the English fashions and manners she had witnessed on her trip. He is not unaware, though, that not long ago, she was as unsophisticated as her fellow countrymen. He was perceptive enough to observe that Kaahumanu already regarded Liliha "with the evil eye" (p. 50).

Day, A. Grove.

<u>History Makers of Hawaii: a Biographical Dictionary.</u>

Honolulu. Mutual Publishing. 1984. 174 p.

A collection of brief sketches of individuals, real and legendary, who in some way have contributed to Hawaii's history and culture. Also contains a chronology of events in Hawaii and the United States. Other appendices cover topics such as Territorial Delegates to Congress, Mayors of Hawaii's counties, and Presidents of the University of Hawaii. The piece on Liliha gives the basic details of her life. Her date of death is inaccurate however. She is also mentioned in the biographies of Boki, Hoapili, Kaahumanu, Kamehameha II, and Maigret.

Dibble, Sheldon.

History of the Sandwich Islands.

Lahainaluna. Press of the Mission Seminary. 1841. 428 p.

Not indexed.

An early history of Hawaii, from pre-contact to the mid-1800's. Based on an earlier volume of information collected by Lahainaluna student from older citizens. Focuses on heathenism and the introduction of Christianity and the political situation in general. Various references to Liliha, the most interesting being about her forsaking her course of opposition and embracing Christianity shortly before her death (p. 356).

Emerson, Oliver Pomeroy.

Pioneer Days in Hawaii.

Garden City, N.Y. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc. 1928. 257 p.

Not indexed.

This is an account based on the diaries of Rev. Johhn S. Emerson, and AMCFM missionary who arrived in Hawaii in 1832 and served until 1867. The author is his son. The account contains excerpts from the diaries with clarifying narrative.

On May 18, 1832, Emerson records his introduction to Madam Boki and others at Kamehameha III's palace in Honolulu (p. 47).

Fornander, Abraham.

 $\frac{\text{An Account}}{\text{Migrations}} \underbrace{\frac{\text{of the Polynesian Race,}}{\text{and the Ancient History}}}_{\text{Deople to the Times of Kamehameha I.} \underbrace{\frac{\text{Origin and Polynesian Race,}}{\text{of the Hawaiian Management of Manageme$

Rutland, Vt. Charles E. Tuttle Co. 1973. 3 vols. in 1. Index in 1 vol.

Excellent overall work on the Hawaiians and Polynesians, based on testimony of native sources. Contains two references to Liliha, each detailing geneological information (Vol II: p. 131 n.2; 261).

Frankenstein, Alfred.

The Royal Visitors.

Portland, Or. Oregon Historical Society. 1963. 32 p.

Not indexed.

An account of the visit by Kamehameha II and his party to England in 1824. Based primarily on London newspaper coverage of the day. It also discussed Hayter's lithographs and Lebrun's oils of Kamehameha II, Queen Kamamalu, and Boki and Liliha. Liliha is referred to as "Twinny" (Kuini) or MadamePoki. One excerpt from the newspaper relates that Liholiho died in Liliha's arms.

An interesting, well written and research account.

Freycinet, Louis De.

Typescript. Hawaii State Archives. Translation of the section relating to Hawaii. 43 p.

Begins on Aug. 5, 1819 and ends at the end of that month. Written in narrative style. A very interesting and observant account.

Of interest is the episode of Boki's baptism aboard ship, at which his wife is said to have been present (p. 14). As other sources have him married to Liliha in January of that year, it is assumed the wife here is Liliha.

Gast, Ross H.

Contentious Consul A Biography of John Coffin Jones, First United States Consular Agent at Hawaii.

Los Angeles. Dawson's Book Shop. 1976. 212 p.

Jones arrived in Hawaii in 1821 as the Consular Agent and as the representative for the Boston firm of Marshall & Wildes. His protagonist would be Hiram Bingham of the ABCFM. Jones was actively engaged in business with Boki. The references to Liliha are primarily in her capacity

Don Francisco de Paula Marin. A Biography. The Letters

Honolulu. Univ. Press of Hawaii. 1973. 344 p. Edited by Agnes C. Conrad.

and Journal of Francisco de Paula Marin.

A well researched and written work about one of the earliest foreign settlers in Hawaii. This source is of importance in fixing the date of Liliha's and Boki's marriage on Jan. 15, 1819 (p. 227).

Ii, John Papa.

Fragments of Hawaiian History.

as a threat to Kaahumanu.

Honolulu. Bishop Museum Press. 1959. 183 p. Translated by Mary Kawena Pukui. Edited by Dorothy B. Barrere.

Not indexed.

A personal account of Hawaiian history and events by a server in the court of the alii. This work is filled with interesting and important details, mostly from personal knowledge. Ii lived from 1800 to 1870, making him a contemporary of Liliha. This is therefore a useful work in understanding the environment she lived in and the events that influenced her. Ii's Christian training is very apparent in his narrative.

Jarves, James Jackson.

History of the Hawaiian Islands: Embracing Their Antiquities, Mythology, Legends, Discovery by Europeans in the Sixteenth Century, Re-discovery by Cook, with Their Civil, Religious and Political History, From the Earliest Traditionary Period to the Year 1846.

Honolulu. Henry M. Whitney, Publisher. 1872. 242 p. 4th edition, with appendix.

Not indexed.

Very moralistic, pro-Protestant missionary, and very condescending. Jarves arrived in Hawaii in 1837 and remained for four years. He took much of his information from William Ellis and Rev. Reuben Tinker, whom he credits. He seems more narrow-minded than many observers of the time. There are a number of references to Liliha, but they are obviously from other sources. However, he makes some interesting comments on the funeral of Liliha regarding heathenish practices (p. 155).

Judd, Laura Fish.

 $\frac{\text{Honolulu, Sketches}}{\text{and Religious, in the}} \underbrace{\frac{\text{of the Life}}{\text{Hawaiian}}}_{\text{1slands}}, \underbrace{\frac{\text{Political}}{\text{from}}}_{\text{from}}$

Honolulu. The Honolulu Star-Bulletin. 1963. Reprint of an 1880 edition.

Judd is the wife of Gerrit P. Judd, and they were among the third party of missionaries, arriving in March, 1828.

An interesting work, mostly of her own observances. Liliha is not listed in the index, but there are a few mentions of her. One is of Judd's impressions of Liliha during a visit to her home. Liliha is described as being tasteful and civilized (p. 10).

Kamakau, Samuel M.

Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii.

Honolulu. Kamehameha Schools. 1961. 440 p.

Index to Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii.

Honolulu. Dept. of Anthropology, B.P. Bishop Museum. 1974. 96 p.

An excellent history of the Hawaiians, by a Hawaiian. Covers traditional history as well as contemporary events.

Kamakau covers Liliha's life better than any other source investigated, but he is sometimes unclear in his statements or does not explain himself fully. He devotes a chapter to her activities from 1830 to 1831, the years of her attempt to rebel against Kaahumanu. His explanation of the cause of Liliha's death is very interesting (p. 351). This is an invaluable resource.

Kuykendall, Ralph Simpson.

 $\frac{\text{The }}{\text{Transformation}} \frac{\text{Kingdom}}{\text{on.}}, \frac{1778-1854}{\text{Foundation}}, \frac{\text{and}}{\text{Instantion}}$

Honolulu. Univ. of Hawaii Press. 1947. 453 p.

A well written reference work which brings together information from many sources. Very well documented. This is an excellent first reference to get an overall view of a subject. The citations are a valuable resource.

Kaeppler, Adrienne.

"L'Aigle" and H.M.S. "Blonde," The Use of History in the Study of Ethnography."

The Hawaiian Journal of History. Vol. XII. Pp. 28-44. Honolulu. Hawaiian Historical Society. 1978. 19 p.

This scholarly work traces various artifacts taken from Hawaii by Kamehameha II on his trip to England, as well as those removed by the crews of the mentioned ships.

Of particular interest is the discussion of the Hayter portrait of Liliha and Boki.

Loomis, Elisha.

Copy of the Journal of E. Loomis, Hawaii 1824-1826.

Honolulu. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society. 1937.

Not indexed.

This is a reproduction of an unpublished manuscript, meant for reference and study only. It was compiled by Dr. Wm. D. Westervelt, assisted by Emil A. and Lili P. Berndt.

Loomis and his wife were in the first contingent of ABCFM missionaries to Hawaii. He was a printer by trade. His entries are fairly straight forward and devoid of moralistic comments.

He mentions Liliha several times and the interesting item is Boki's request to the Mission that someone come to conduct divine service at Liliha's home because she is too ill to attend otherwise. This occurs two days after their return to Honolulu from the London trip (p. 34).

Loomis, Maria Sartwell.

Journal of Mrs. Maria Sartwell Loomis.

Honolulu. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

Not indexed.

This too is a reproduction of unpublished material. Maria Loomis was the wife of Elisha Loomis and her diary deals with more mundane affairs. Several references are made to meeting Twena (Kuini), Boki, and the King (p. 83) and to inviting Twenee to attend sabbath services (p. 89-90).

Macrae, James.

 $\frac{\text{With } \underline{\text{Lord}}}{\underline{\text{Extracts}}} \underbrace{\frac{\text{Byron }}{\text{the}}} \underbrace{\frac{\text{the }}{\text{Diary}}} \underbrace{\frac{\text{Sandwich }}{\text{Islands}}} \underbrace{\frac{\text{in }}{\text{1825}}}, \underbrace{\frac{\text{Being }}{\text{Being}}}$

Honolulu. William F. Wilson. 1922. 75 p.

Not indexed.

Macrae was the botanist on the "Blonde" and only the Hawaii portion of his diary is published here. There are only a few references to Liliha, the most interesting is that she brought mourning clothes from England for Princess Nahienaena (p. 12).

Maui Historical Society.

Lahaina Historical Guide.

Honolulu. Star-Bulletin Publishing Co., Inc. 1961. 48 p.

This is a tourist guide to Lahaina. Of interest is the section of Waiola Cemetery which gives brief accounts of the notables buried there, including Liliha (p. 27).

McKinzie, Edith Kawelohea.

 $\frac{\text{Hawaiian}}{\text{Vol. I.}} \ \underline{\text{Geneologies}} \ \underline{\text{Extracted}} \ \underline{\text{from}} \ \underline{\text{Hawaiian}} \ \underline{\text{Newspapers}},$

Honolulu. Univ. of Hawaii Press. 1983. 106 p. Edited by Ishmael W. Stagner, II.

This book reproduces geneologies printed in various Hawaii newspapers between 1834 and 1900. It includes English traslations of the Hawaiian test. It is a useful resource and almost impossible to judge for accuracy.

The geneology of interest here is that of one of Liliha's sons (pp.41-42, 50, 85-86). This information differs from Kamakau.

Meyen, Dr. Franz Julius Ferdinand.

A Botanist's Visit to Oahu in 1831.

Honolulu. Press Pacifica. 1981. 90 p.

This work is an excerpt from the original publication, Reise um die Erde Aüsgefuhrt auf dem Königlich
Preussischen Seehandlungs-Schiffe, Prinzess Louise,
Commandirt von Capitain W. Wendt In den Jahren 1830,
1831, und 1832. Translated by Astrid Jackson and edited by Mary Anne Pultz.
This is basically a book of botanical observations with comments on social activities. It is filled with inaccuracies. Perhaps language was a barrier, but Meyen's comprehension of relationship, social status, and etiquette is lacking. For instance, he complains about the lack of hospitality among the Hawaiians while using Liliha's home and partaking of a meal provided by Kamehameha III (p. 36).
This work is included for its description of Liliha's home in Nuuanu valley (p. 22, 23).

Paulding, Lt. Hiram.

 $\frac{\text{Journal of a Cruise of the United States Schooner}}{\text{Dolphin Among the Islands of the Pacific Ocean.}}$

Honolulu. Univ. of Hawaii Press. 1970. 258 p.

Not indexed.

This is a personal account of observations made in Hawaii by a staff officer of the "Dolphin." This ship was in the Pacific persuing mutineers of the whaler "Globe." The captain of the "Dolphin" was "Mad Jack" Percival. During its stop in Hawaii, an incident occurred involving the chiefs, missionaries, and the "Dolphin's" captain and crew. The issue was the practice of women visiting ships. Included here is a physical description of "Queen Boque" (p. 200).

Pleadwell, Frank.

Voyage to England of King Liholiho and Queen Kamamalu.

Honolulu. Univ. of Hawaii. 1952. 33 p. Typescript.

This is an essay read at a meeting of the Social Service Association on June 2, 1952. It is well researched and has a good bibliography and documentation. Although most of the information here is from other sources, it is a good condensation of available information in a single work.

An interesting item notes that Liliha's lei niho palaoa returned to Hawaii with her, unlike Queen Kamamalu's, but he cites no authority (p. 28). Also, a comment from a letter written by Kamehameha II about Liliha's bout of seasickness (p. 5).

Reynolds, Stephen

Journal of Stephen Reynolds.

Honolulu. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society. Manuscript.

Not indexed.

Reynolds was an American trader in Hawaii and his journal covers the period from Nov. 27, 1823 to Sept. 30, 1829. His interest in business is clear by his regular recording

Reynolds cont.

of the arrivals and departures of ships. He also keeps track of the activities of various chiefs and missionaries, especially Boki. Although sometimes moralistic, this journal provides a lot of daily detail from the perspective of a businessman. On Jan. 1, 1827, he writes of a visit by Liliha, who became too drunk to leave. Then two days later he describes a luau given by Boki, elegantly set with glass and silver utensils. On June 12, 1827, he notes the arrival of Liliha by canoe. She is coming to visit a sick aunt.

Sandwich Island Mirror & Commercial Gazette.

A monthly newspaper, published in Honolulu, from Aug. 15, 1839 to July 15, 1840. Printed by R.J. Howard.

Sept. 15, 1839. vol. 1, no. 2.

Liliha's obituary. A very complimentary testimony to her character and importance in the community. Also a physical description.

Oct. 15, 1839. vol. 1, no. 3.

A description of Liliha's funeral rites in Honolulu. The writer seemed more impressed with seeing Protestant and Catholic clergy together in the procession. He devotes much of the article to editorializing on the subject.

Schoofs, Robert, SS.CC.

 $\frac{\text{Pioneers}}{\text{in Hawaii}} \frac{\text{of the}}{(1827-1940)}. \frac{\text{Faith, }}{\text{History of the Catholic Mission}}$

Honolulu. Louis Boeynaems, SS.CC. (Sturgis Printing Co., Inc.). 1978. 375 p.

An important work, but poorly documented. This is a valuable resource as Boki was an early supporter of the Catholic missionaries, and by extension, so was Liliha. It was the belief of the writer that had she lived longer, Liliha would have been a convert to the faith (p. 15).

Stewart, Charles S.

New York. John P. Haven. 1833.

Stewart was an American missionary, but not with the ABCFM. His work is an account of his activities at Honolulu he is generally even tempered. There is a good account of an outing to the Nuuanu country home of Boki and Liliha and the entertainment provided there. Especially interesting is his description of Liliha preparing a salad of fresh, raw opae (shrimp) and her joy in eating it (p. 201-202). He also comments on Liliha as the matron of the King's household (p. 203).

Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands, During the Years 1823, 1824 and 1825: Including Remarks on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants; an Account of Lord Byron's Visit in H.M.S. Blonde; and a Description of the Ceremonies Observed at the Interment of the Late King and Queen in the Island of Oahu.

Honolulu. Univ. of Hawaii Press. 1970. 430 p. Facsimile reproduction of the Third Edition of 1830.

This is an earlier work that that cited above. Stewart here gives a very detailed account of various aspects of the "Blonde's" visit. Of note is the publication of an account by Rev. William Richards of Boki's and Liliha's arrival at Lahaina from the "Blonde" (p. 338-340 n.). Stewart also gives a first hand account of Keopuolani's funeral and Liliha's part in it (p. 226). This volume is poorly presented in that it is difficult to keep track of time as his dates often omit the year and month. Otherwise, this is very interesting reading.

Sullivan, Josephine.

 $\frac{A}{\text{in}} \frac{\text{History of C.}}{\text{the Hawaiian}} \frac{\text{C.}}{\text{Islands}} \frac{\text{Brewer & Co., Ltd.,}}{-1826-1926}$.

Boston. Walton Advertising & Printing Co. 1926. 193 p. Edited by K. C. Leebrick.

Not indexed.

Of special interest in this book are the letters
between the two original partners of the company,
particularly those from Henry Pierce to James Hunnewell.
Pierce gives a good account of events affecting their
business. Well covered are the incidents in 1831
involving Liliha and Abner Paki and their attempts to
ward off Kaahumanu's attempt to remove Liliha from
the governorship (p. 33-36). Here he mentions another
name for Liliha, Keomailani (p. 34).
This is the best resource discovered which treats Liliha
and the events of the day from the merchant's perspective.
There is even some gloating by Pierce over his collecting
on Paki's debt, and knowing that the other merchants
"...will have to whistle for what Paki owes them I

Thrum's Hawaiian Annual.

expect" (p. 36).

Honolulu. Thomas G. Thrum.
This annual publication was done in almanac format
and reported all kinds of information of interest
to many segments of the community.

"Honolulu in Primitive Days." 1901. Pp. 76-87.

The article cited here credits no author and is mostly a chronicle of comings and goings. There is a reference to Boki and Liliha returning from Lahaina in Mar., 1829 (p. 85) and soon after of them doing some entertaining (p. 86). These are useful tidbits when trying to trace Liliha's movements.

"Manoa Valley. Descriptive, Historic and Legendary." 1892. Pp. 110-116.

A description of manoa valley, its folklore, historic sites, and notable residents. Here is a condensed version of the story of the gift of land for Punahou School by Liliha and Boki.

SUPPLEMENTAL SOURCES

Ellis, William.

Polynesian Researches, Hawaii.

Tokyo. Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc. 1969. 471 p.

A history of Hawaii by an experienced observer of Polynesian life. Ellis was a missionary with the London Missionary Society, and before visiting Hawaii, he had spent several years in Tahiti. His outlook and understanding of the Hawaiians is therefore more sophisticated than most observers of the time. Cited here for a reference to letters he received from Boki and Liliha after he had returned to his home in England (p.456-457). These letters could be a valuable resource if they still exist or have been published.

Pauahi, Bernice.

Honolulu. Bishop Museum Press. 1981. 15 p. Miscellaneous Publication No. 23.

This report is of interest because Pauahi was a good friend of Jane Loeau, a daughter of Liliha. Jane is mention quite often.

Richards, Mary A.

The Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850.

Honolulu. Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd. 1937. 372 p.

The history of the school set up to educate the children of the alii. This is important reading for its many details about Liliha's daughters who were students there.

Thrums Hawaiian Annual.

Honolulu. Thomas G. Thrum.

"History of Umi-His Birth and his Youth." 1888. Pp. 78-85.

Taken from Prof. W.D. Alexander's translation of Jules Remy's Tales of a Venerable Savage.

A work about the legendary figure Umi. In it are details of a white man and woman being shipwrecked and finding refuge with the Hawaiians. They intermingled with the natives and Jane Loeau, Liliha's daughter, is said to be of this origin.



BOKI AND LILIHA
From a stone engraving of a painting from life, by John Hayter, London, 1824.

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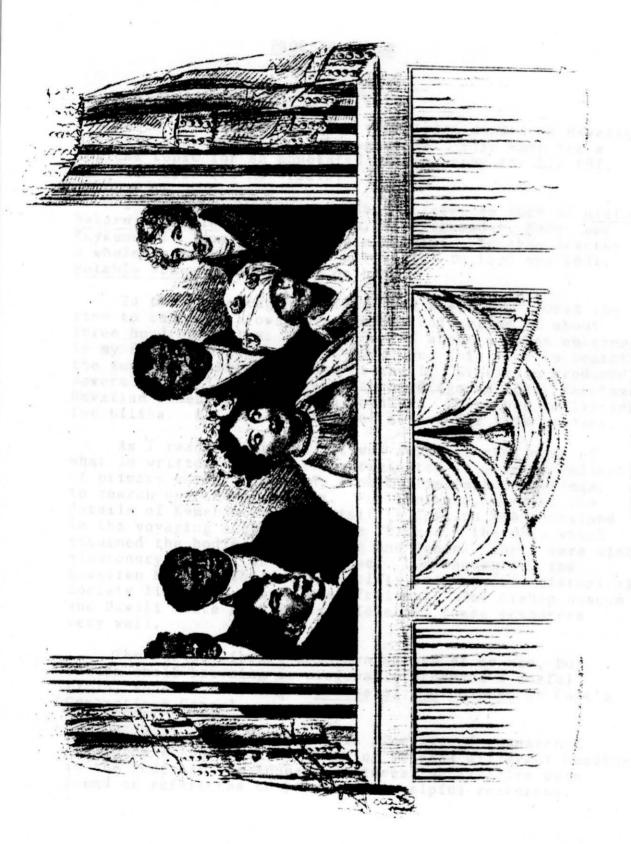
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KING KHEO RHIO, QUEEN TAMEHAMALU, MADAME POKI,

or THE SALVE WICE ISLANDS, AND STITE. As they appeared at the Theater Royal Dency Lane June 19 1824.

PROCESS PAPER

As a woman of a critical transition period in Hawaiian history, Liliha has long intrigued me. This made her a logical topic for an annotated bibliography for LIS 687, Hawaiian Resource Materials.

I began by checking standard references such as <u>History Makers</u>, <u>Notable Women</u>, Kamakau, Ii, Fornander, Malo, and Kuykendall. Most of these were helpful. Kamakau devotes a whole chapter to Liliha's activities in 1830 and 1831. <u>Notable Women</u> has no entry on her.

To take advantage of nights and weekends, I used the time to randomly browse my personal collection of about three hundred titles. This produced about a dozen entries in my final bibliography. I also used this time to search the indices of Kittleson and Mitchell. Kittleson produced several possibilities under such headings as Boki, Kamehameha II, Hawaiian women, and Hawaiian royalty. There was no listing for Liliha. I found Mitchell of no use for this project.

As I read my sources, it was apparent that most of what is written about Liliha originated in a small collection of primary works. I began, from bibliographic listings, to search out these sources. For instance, most of the details of Kamehameha II's visit to England are contained in the voyaging accounts of the "Blonde," the ship which returned the bodies of the King and Queen. There were also missionary account on the subject. Consequently, the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society and Hawaiian Historical Society libraries proved most fruitful. The Bishop Museum and Hawaii State Archives supplemented these resources very well.

The Public Library OPAC system was of no use, but random shelf browsing occassionally produced a useful title, such as Paulding's <u>Cruise of the Dolphin</u> or Gast's Contentious Consul.

Because they were handy in Sinclair, I researched the Thrum's Annuals. By checking several different headings in the index to the Annuals, interesting articles were found or references to potentially helpful resources.

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Although the missionaries and voyagers were prolific writers, the merchants seem not to have been. I found a few such accounts, the best being The History of C. Brewer. Perhaps I was looking in the wrong place. Of about a dozen known merchants of the day, I found work by or about only two or three.

Constraints of time made it necessary to avoid newspaper accounts, although I believe that will produce a wealth of material. Time also prevented a more thorough search of available missionary and voyaging accounts. This was especially so because most are not indexed, or if so, very poorly. A lot of time was spent scanning unindexed works, and too often, it was an unproductive effort.

I found this project very rewarding. Not only did I learn much more about my subject, but I discovered many new works I was not familiar with, or got to know sources I had never bothered with before. A valuable long-term benefit was becoming familiar with the Mission Children's/Hawaiian Historical Society libraries. My only disappointment was not having access to the Hamilton Library Hawaiian collection and not having sufficient time to more thoroughly cover my subject.

My ultimate conclusion is that a definitive and scholarly work needs to be done on Kuini Liliha.