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## Native Hawaiian Seamen's Accounts of the 1876 Arctic Whaling Disaster and the 1877 Massacre of Alaskan Natives from Cape Prince of Wales

### INTRODUCTION

Charles Edward Kealoha and J. Polapola left their island homes a year apart, each bound for a whaling voyage to the Arctic. While their departures from Honolulu mirrored those of countless other Native Hawaiian seamen, Kealoha and Polapola engaged in cross-cultural encounters that ended in a tragic loss of lives. Within several weeks of returning home, they each published their whaling stories in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Lahui Hawaii*.<sup>1</sup> These stories vividly describe the fateful voyages of Kealoha aboard the bark *Desmond* and Polapola aboard the brig *William H. Allen*. In this paper, we facilitate access to these two Native Hawaiian whaling narratives by reproducing them in their entirety as they appeared in November 1877, followed by a modern English translation with endnotes. These narratives contain immeasurable potential for (1) examining unique personal accounts about specific whaling cruises, (2) comparing whaling stories written from different perspectives about particular whal-

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ing encounters, and (3) encouraging indigenous identity research about whaling-related culture contact among Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander, Native Alaskan and non-indigenous peoples and communities. We briefly examine these potential contributions and provide references to other critical historical sources, including official Hawaiian government documents, whaling logbooks, and newspaper stories.

“He Moololo Walohia! Ka noho pio ana iwaena o ka Lahui Naguru ma Alike! Ka ike hou ana i ka aina!” “A Heartwrenching Tale!  
Living as a captive amongst the Naguru people in the Arctic!  
Seeing Land Again!

This narrative reflects Charles Edward Kealoha’s strong Native Hawaiian cultural identity and his intent to share his Arctic whaling experience with his *‘ohana*, which he defines at several scales of inclusiveness, from his immediate family and friends to the entire Native Hawaiian populace across the length and breadth of the archipelago. It reflects a formal oratory style presented in a written format that includes expressive imagery and exacting detail in presentation protocol, descriptive phraseology, and the use of traditional place names and naming practices, for example, renaming foreign ships with Hawaiian names.

Kealoha’s whaling story provides a singularly indigenous perspective about a young Native Hawaiian male leaving his *‘ohana* and island home to become a seaman on a ten- to twelve-month Arctic whaling cruise. It represents one of only two known personal stories by Native Hawaiian seamen employed in the nineteenth-century commercial whaling fleets. This narrative reveals his experience in a foreign industry that both exalted and exploited the seafaring abilities of Pacific native men, ubiquitously called *Kanaka* seamen.<sup>2</sup> It intimately portrays his internal conflicts and actions, as well as his perceptions and interactions with other native peoples, Hawaiian, Pacific Islander, and Alaskan, and with non-natives, including captains, officers, and other seamen.

This story indicates that Kealoha left his island home to go whaling aboard the ship *Halekano*, otherwise known as the Hawaiian-registered bark *Desmond*. While it states that the whaler departed in March 1866 [*sic*], the Honolulu Harbormaster recorded its clear-

ance from Honolulu Harbor, as February 25, 1876.<sup>3</sup> The narrative further reveals that Native Hawaiian and Tahitian seamen were aboard the whaler, which was commanded by Captain Frederick M. Green.

Kealoha's account briefly describes the loss of 11 whaling vessels, including the *Desmond*, all of which were abandoned in the ice near Point Tangent, Alaska, on September 5, 1876.<sup>4</sup> It conveys the disbelief he and many of the other whalers felt when ice engulfed their vessels, and their renewed hope when they learned that at least a fortunate few vessels remained beyond the floes. It underscores their predicament in reporting that the officers ordered the men to abandon the *Desmond* and to drag their whaleboats over the ice to open water and possible rescue.

This narrative discusses the mutiny that a Hawaiian government document indicates divided the *Desmond* men and resulted in all but one of the native men aboard returning to the abandoned bark.<sup>5</sup> It reports that someone named Hopu (one of the Native Hawaiian boatsteerers) threatened to shoot Kealoha and others if they did not follow his defiance of the captain's orders and return to the *Desmond*. The account emphasizes that the captain and the ship's officers were not prevented from leaving. It further suggests that some of the men believed the captain abandoned the *Desmond* too soon, but that four days later they had lost all hope of freeing the bark.

This personal story, unlike other narratives, provides only tangen-



FIG. 1. The barks *Acors Barns*, *Camilla*, *Clara Bell*, *Desmond*, *James Allen*, *Java 2nd*, and *Onward*, and the ships *Cornelius Howland*, *Josephine*, *Marengo*, and *St. George* enclosed in the ice and abandoned near Point Tangent, Alaska, on 5 September 1876. Sketch by Captain W. H. Kelley of the ship *Marengo*, which appeared in "Arctic Perils," *Harper's Weekly* (New York), 18 November 1876. © The New Bedford Whaling Museum.

tial references to the nearly 300 men who abandoned their vessels or the nearly 60 men who stayed with the trapped whaleships, including 19 from the *Desmond*.<sup>6</sup> It reveals that Kealoha's ice-bound companions included three Tahitians: his shipboard friend Kenela and two men from another vessel. Kealoha's description of these men as Tahitians reflects his intimate interaction with them, which differs from reports given by Captain Green and others that identified all of the lost *Desmond* men as Native Hawaiians. However, it matches the newspaper notices dating to 1877, reporting the rescue of Kealoha and Kenela and the deaths of the two other Tahitian seamen near Point Barrow, Alaska.<sup>7</sup>

Kealoha's portrayal of a party of Naguru (Iñupiaq) boarding the trapped *Eagle Banner* (*Acors Barns*), seizing everything of value to them, and then burning the vessel confirms similar stories concerning other wrecked whalers.<sup>8</sup> His narrative suggests that prior to this incident, he likely had minimal or no exposure to the Iñupiaq, although the fleet often traded with them, relied on them for news and weather reports, and some of the captains employed a few of them aboard their vessels. It remains equally unclear whether Kealoha and his Tahitian companions had heard stories about the Iñupiaq, or other native people befriending and sheltering whalers stranded near their villages. In his narrative he did not indicate that he or any of the other men trapped on the ice considered seeking shelter ashore in a native village.

His story supports other contemporary explorers', whalers', and traders' descriptions of the Iñupiaq, their winter villages, and their way of life.<sup>9</sup> However, it conveys Kealoha's interpersonal relationship with the Iñupiaq at Point Barrow, Alaska, rather than the ubiquitous detached outsider's description of a native community. The narrative details particular events and people and Kealoha's own actions and interactions with his companions and with the villagers. In addition, the story contains evidence that Kealoha learned some of the Iñupiaq language and that prior to his voyage he was well educated and literate in both Hawaiian and English.

The account affirms that whalers relied on news reports provided by the Iñupiaq, including information relayed to ships offshore.<sup>10</sup> Kealoha describes that several Iñupiaq brought him and Kenela news of a whaling vessel in a nearby bay, while another document reveals

that the Iñupiaq reported information about the two survivors to men on the bark *Mount Wollaston*.<sup>11</sup> It remains unclear from both Kealoha's story and other documents which vessel rescued them. What is clear is that Kealoha and Kenela returned to Honolulu on the Hawaiian-registered brig *William H. Allen*.<sup>12</sup>

Kealoha's description of the voyage home indicates Captain George Gilley signed the two men aboard as part of the *William H. Allen* crew on August 9, 1877, slightly more than a week after their



FIG. 2. Captain George Gilley in 1887. © The New Bedford Whaling Museum.

rescue. Captain Gilley is described as “one of Hawaii’s own children” and many of the crew also are reported to be from Hawai‘i. This portrayal dovetails with other narratives about Captain Gilley’s Kanaka heritage and the vessel’s primarily Native Hawaiian crew.<sup>13</sup>

Among the crew Kealoha met on the *William H. Allen* was another young Native Hawaiian named Polapola. Kealoha, Polapola, and their Native Hawaiian shipmates likely spent many hours sharing stories in the fo’c’s’le, the crew’s quarters in the bow of the ship. The two men began writing their stories while sailing home.

Kealoha’s narrative, like Polapola’s story which follows, provides insight into Native Hawaiian cultural identity and perspective about Native Hawaiian cultural interaction with native and non-native peoples during Hawaii’s whaling period. Kealoha chronicles his Arctic voyage as a Native Hawaiian whaler from his departure in the spring of 1876 to his return in the fall of 1877. His insightful journal contains unique details about the 1876 disaster that resulted in the loss of 11 ships and nearly 60 men. It affirms information in other documents about a mutiny aboard the *Desmond* and about how the fleet’s survival often relied on the generosity extended by Native Alaskan communities. Kealoha provides an interpersonal perspective of his Iñupiaq benefactors often not evident in narratives by other outsiders.

#### HE MOOLELO WALOHIA!

Ka noho pio ana iwaena o ka Lahui Naguru ma Alika!  
KA IKE HOU ANA I KA AINA!

E KA LAHUI HAWAII; Aloha oe:-

He malihini au ia oe, aka, he kamaaina i kou mau kolamu. A no ka loa ana ia’u he manawa e kaana pu ai me oe, nolaila, ke hoouna aku nei au imua ou, a nau hoi ia e hoike ae, i ike mai ai na makamaka mai Hawaii a Kauai.

A oiai ka mea e kamaio aku nei ma kou mau kolamu ua halawai mai me na inea, a me na pilikia ma ka aina maka maka ole, kahi hoi a na puuwai opio o’u e ake mai nei e holo i ke o kohola.

A oiai ko oukou makamaka nei maluna o ka “Hau oki” o Alika, ua ike i na kahua kupilikii o Alika, kahi nona keia mau leo mele a’u e puana’e nei:

Kaulana ke anu i Alika,  
Ka lalawe i ka ili a puni.

Ua haalele iho au i ka home o kuu mau makua, a me na awawa uli-uli, na kualono maikai, na hiohiona nani o kuu aina hanau, i ka malama o Maraki, AD 1866, a kau aku la au a me ko'u mau hoa maluna o ka moku "Halekano," kapena Green. A ia'u e holoholo ana ma kona papahale me ka haliatia mokumokuahua o kuu mana'o no ka haalele iho i kuu mau kini a me hoa'loha. Aohe hoi e hihi o ka uilani a loko, e ake no o ke "o kohola."

Ke huki nei na pea, ke ani nei ka makani, a hookuuia mai la ke kaula e paa ana i ka uwapo, o ka wa iho la ia i haalele ai na kapakai o ka'alua. Kauoha mai la na aliimoku ia'u e hele e huki i na kaula o ka moku, he mea ole aku la ia ia'u. Aia no ko'u mau mana'o i hope, i ka nana mai i ke kulanakauhale alii i ka halii pono ae mahope, oia no oe o "na pae opua hiki kakahiaka," ka nenee i ka ili o ke kai. Aka,

Aohe hana a Kauhikoa,  
Ke lawe nei e ka ihu o ka moku,  
O Maleka i ke hoa la lilo.

Ke nee nei ka moku imua me ka makani aheahe malie, a ke eku la hoi ka ihu o ka moku i na ale o Mamala, a ke emi hope aku la hoi na hono o Honolulu, me he mea la e noi ae ana i na Lani na ke Akua Kahikolu e malama mai i ko makou ola.

Pau mai la ka ike ana i ke ao aina, a he ililaumania wale no o ke kai ka'u e ike ana. He mau pule ko makou holo ana a komo ana i ke anu, kahi i maa mau i na moku o kohola e holo nei e lawaia, oia hoi o Alika.

Oiai, o ka makamua keia o ko'u hele ana ma keia wahi, aole io no hoi i ke anu a anu, ke hele la na manamanalima a maele, a o na wawae hoi, aohe hiki ke hoomaopopo iho i ka mehana, i ka ua mea o ke anu, hele ka lehelehe a haukeke i ke anu. He mea ole na paalole mehana a kakou e ike nei i ka manoanoa ma kela wahi.

Ike aku la au i nei mea nui keokeo e nee mai nei i ke kai, a i kuu hoomaopopo ana'ku, o ka hau ka keia, aole no i kanamai ka nunui o keia mea he hau, hoohalike wale ae la no au, ua like paha me kekahi o ko kakou mau mokupuni liilii, e laa o Molokini ma, a oi aku kekahi, a emi mai no hoi kahi. A oiai au e nanea ana i ka nana i ka

hau, akibolo ana ka mea nana ia iluna o ke kia, ua ike aku la i ke puhi o ka ia mamua pono o ka moku o makou, a o ka wa no ia i eleu mai ai na aliimoku i na waapa a holo aku la, aia nae au maluna o ka waapa o ke kapena, aole nae i paa ka ia i ko makou waapa, paa mai la i ka waapa o ka *Pokomeki*, a he neo iho la ka makou, aka, uleu like aku la makou i ka huki i ka ia a pili i ka moku.

O ka helu ekahi keia o ka ia i paa ia makou, hoomanao ae la au e hoi puolo ana i ka aina; aka, i ka wa i ike ole ia'i he pilikia ua ili iho la maluna o makou ka pilikia, oia hoi ka puliki ia ana o na moku a paa i ka hau, aohe wahi mea a hemo, a o na moku aole i komo loa iloko o ka hau, ua palekana lakou i ka upiki paa a ka hau.

A ike na aliimoku o makou ua pau ka pono no ka hemo o ka moku mai ka paa ana i ka hau, o ka wa no ia o lakou i kauoha mai ai ia makou na sela e haalele i ka moku, a e huki makou i na waapa maluna o ka hau i mea e holo imi aku ai i na moku aole i paa i ka hau. Aka, i ka wa a ke kapena i kauoha mai ai ia makou, o ka wa no ia o kekahi kanaka o Hopu ka inoa i olelo mai ai i na kanaka a pau, aole make hele mamuli o ka olelo a ke kapena, e noho no kakou a pau iluna nei o ka moku, ia wa, ulu mai la he haunaele mamuli o ka manao ino o keia kanaka, aka, aole i paa mai ke kapena a me kekahi mau aliimoku no ka hele, nolaila, hala aku la lakou, a noho iho la makou iluna o ka moku e mo-ku ai, kauoha mai la ua kanaka nei, ina e hele kekahi kanaka, e ki ia oia i ka pu.

A hala na la eha o ko makou noho ana iluna o ka moku, pau mai la ka pono, paa loa mai la i ka hau, aohe manao e hemo ana ka moku.

Nolaila, ku ae la au a me kekahi bolabola, o Kenela ka inoa, a liuliu no ka hele e imi i mea e pakele ai, a no maua hoi ka hele, hahai mai elua mau bolabola hou no kekahi moku e aku, aha makou i ka makou huakaihele maluna o ka hau, o ka nui aku o ka makou mau hoa aukai, noho aku no iluna o ka moku o makou me Hopu. Aole makou i lohe iki no lakou, a ua manao no hoi makou ua palekana la lakou, a eia la lakou i Honolulu nei kahi i noho ai, eia ka aole.

A ia makou i hele aku ai a kaawale loa, ike aku la makou i keia moku ua paa i ka hau, kaukoo aku la makou a hiki i ua moku nei ahi-ahi, a pii makou iluna o ua moku nei, moku nui keia, a moku maikai no hoi, ua hele na mea a pau oluna o ua moku nei, a i ko makou makaikai ana ia luna o keia moku, nui ka ai, ka ia, ka lole a me na mea no a pau, o "Eagle Banner" ka inoa o keia moku.



Moe makou iluna o ua moku nei ia po, a ao ae ike makou ua malaelae iki ka hau, a he hiki i ka moku ke holo ke akamai ka hoo-kele ana, nolaila, hooikaika makou i ka huki ana i na pea a kua pono i ka makani, o ka holo aku la no ia, eia no nae ka hau ke holomoku nei, no ka nui o ka makani, a me ke au e lawe ana. Alaila, haawi ae la makou i na hana a makou, ia'u ke ku ana ma ka lukau, e nana ai i kahi a ka hau e nee mai ana, a me ka holo ana o ka moku, i ko'u hoa bolabola ke ku ana i ka hoe oia o Kenela, a he noho kokua wale no hoi ka kekahi mau mea o makou. A me he mea la nae i ka'u ike, e puka aku ana makou iwaho mai ka paa ana i ka hau, aka, eia ka pili-kia, ua ulu ka hoopaapaa mawaena o makou no ka aina, olelo maua me ko'u hoa e ku ana i ka hoe, aole i hala ka aina ihope, aka, olelo hoi na bolabola, ua hala ka aina ihope, pela ka makou nononoke ana i ka hoopaapa, aohe holo iki, ia wa, o ko laua iho no ia ilalo o ka moku a inu i ka rama a ona, pii mai a aumeume i ka hoe, a ano hau-naele kuloko iho la makou, elua laua la, a elua no hoi maua, aka, i ka wa a makou e apa nei, kawewe ana ka ihu o ka moku i ka aina, a he manawa ole paa mai la ka moku i ka hau, o ke aki iho la no ia pau ka manao e ola. Aohe no hoi i liuliu mahope iho, piha mai la ka moku o makou i ka Naguru (Esquimaux) oia kanaka o ua aina nei e holo ia nei, aia ilalo o ka honua e noho ai keia lahui, he ili holoholona ko lakou kapa, o kane, o ka wahine, keiki a piha u ua moku nei o makou, pau mai la ia lakou la na mea oluna o ka moku, aohe opala koe, pau na pea o ka moku i ka okioki ia, a me na mea a pau oluna o ka moku, hao ia'ku la ku ana i kula. Ia wa i mimimihi iho ai makou i ka make, o ua moku nei keia o makou, pau aku la i ke puhi ia i ke ahi e ka Naguru, aka, ma ka lokomaikai o ke Akua, ua loa ia makou he alohaia mai e ua poe Naguru nei, konoia mai la makou e hoi iloko o na lua o lakou, oia ko lakou hale e noho ai, o ko makou hoi pu akula no ia. A i ka wa a makou e noho nei me ka poe Naguru, hu mai la ke aloha i na makua, na kini a pau, ka ohana, a hookahi a'u hana o ka uwe, me ke kukuli hoomaikai ana i ke Akua, ka mea Nona mai ke ola, a me na pomaikai, nolaila, aole au i poina i ka olelo a ke Akua, e i ana, "he kokua kokoke ke Akua no ka poe pilikia." (Aole i pau) [this ends the first section—continued the following week]

(Koena mai kela pule mai.)

He lahui keia i ano like ka ili me ko kakou, aka, he ano nanakea nae ko lakou, i ka noho paha iloko o na lua, a he kapa hulu ko lakou,

mai na ili holoholona mai; ke ano o ko lakou noho ana ua halii ia ko lakou wahi e moe ai i ka ili holoholona, a he kapuahi ahi ko lakou e aa mau ai i na wa a pau, aohe manao nui ia o na wahine a kela poe, pela na kaikamahine, aia o ke kanaka ikaika i ka lawe mai i ka ia a piha ka lua, alaila nana wale no ka wahine a me na kaikamahine ui; o ka lakou ai ka ia a me na io holoholona, a he ano kapulu ke ano o keia poe. O na hanawai o lakou, oia no ko lakou wai auau, a holoi maka no hoi, a ina e kahe iho ka hupe, pau ae la no i ka amuia, a me kekahi mau mea ino e ae. A ina ai a kahe iho ka hinu o ka ia ilalo, pau iho la no i ka paluia; a he nui aku na mea ino a lakou e ai ai. A ina make kekahi o lakou, nakii ia ke kaula ma ka a-i o ka mea make, alaila, na na ilio e kauo hele iluna o ka hau, a o ko lakou luakupapau iho la no ia. A o kahi hoi e moe ai o keia poe, aohe loihi e like me ko kakou nei, he pokole loa keia, ma kahi paha o ka 4 kapuai ka loihi, a o kahi iho la no ia e moe ai. A o na ili holoholona oia iho la no ka moena e moe ai. A e hele mau ana na kane i ke o boe-heke i ai na lakou, a ina e make ka ia, a pau a pau kane, ka wahine, kamalii i ka okioki ia, a hoihoi iloko o ka lua; a ina no e maea ana ka ia e pau ana no i ka amuia, pela na io holoholona. O keia mau mea nae a'u e helu papa aku nei la i ke ino, ua pau wale no ia makou i ka ai ia; oiai, ina e haalele aku i keia mau mea ai a ua poe nei, e make ana i ka ka mea o ka pololi, aohe no hoi e ike hou i ka aina hanau, aohe no hoi e ike hou i ka maka o na makua, a me na kini. Nolaila, ua hoomanawanui ia keia mau mea ino a pau, oi ekekei mai na lima i ka ike aku i ke ino, lalau no na lima o ka ai no ia; oi ai ae i na wahi papaa berena o luna mai o ka moku, a puehu, a o ka ai no ia i ua mea ino nei a'u i hai ae nei; aka, mai manao mai oukou e o'u mau hoa o ka ili hookahi, i ai ia no ka ono aku, aka, i ai ia no ka pilikia i ka pololi a ka ai ole.

I ka wa o makou e noho ana me ka Naguru, make aku la elua mau mea o makou, oia hoi na Bolabola a'u i hai ae nei maluna i ke aumeume i ka hoe o ka moku a makou i holo mai ai. Penei ke kumu o ko laua make ana: oi noho aku makou a uluhua loa ua mau kanaka nei, o ka hele no ia maluna o ka hau, e nana ai i ka moku e ike ia aku ana e laua, alaila, holo a kau iluna o ka moku, pela ko laua manao ana, aka, mamua ae o ko laua makaukau ana a hele, kau-a aku maua, mai hele olua, o make olua, no ka mea, he nui loa ke anu, aka, o ko laua mau no o ka paakiki, aohe paa mai, hele no; aia nae i kau haele ana

a hoi mai ua moku ka wawae o kekahi i ka hau, a o kekahi hoi ua pehu ka a-i, a o ka mai no ia a make, a i ka make ana, na ka ilio i kauo a waiho ko laua mau kino iluna o ka hau, a noho iho la no hoi maua elua me ua poe Naguru nei, aka, o ko maua noho ana, aohe noho i kahi hookahi, he lua okoa no ko ko'u kokoolua i noho ai me kekahi poe Naguru, a pela no hoi au; aka, o ka noho ana o ko'u hoa, he ano nawaliwali kona, nolaila, aole loa hele ana, aole no hoi loa kana ai, o ka noho wale iho la no; nolaila, hu mai la ko'u aloha iaia i ko'u hoa make, nolaila, hele pu au me ka poe Naguru o ko'u wahi i noho ai i ka pepehi ia, a loa ka ia, hoihoi aku la au nana, a na'u no hoi kekahi, pela iho la ko maua hoomanawanui ana a hiki i ka loa ana o ka moku a maua i hoi mai nei; oia hoi ka Brig W. H. Allen, Kapena George Gilley. A penei ke kumu o ka loa ana ia maua o keia moku, oia na Naguru e hele ana i kela me keia wahi, lohe mai la na Naguru o ko maua wahi e noho nei, ua ikeia ka moku ma kekahi kuono e aku, hoi mai la a hai mai la ia maua, he moku ua ike ia ma kekahi aoao o ka aina, no laila, o ko maua hele iho la no ia, ia maua nae i hele ai, aole maua i ike moku iki a po ua la nei, hoi aku la maua a kahi i noho ai o ko'u hoa, he mau wahi elemakule, pupuu iho la makou iloko o ko laua wahi ia po, aohe kupono iki o ka moe ana, no ka haiki loa, nolaila, i oni wale ia no ia po a ao, o ka hana wale no a lako o ke ao ae, alaila, ike ia aku ka moku, a o ke ola ana no ia. A i loa no a maamaama, o ko'u mio aku la no ia i waho pinana ana iluna o ka hau, a miki mai la no hoi ko'u hoa mahope, ke kakae wale la no maua iluna o na puu, aohe manaao ae o ke anu, a ia maua nae e ake nei o ka ike moku ia aku, ua hoopomaikai mai na lani ia maua ma o ka ike ia ana aku o ka moku a'u i hai ae nei maluna, nolaila, holoholo iho la maua mai na puu mai, hina no ala no holo, o ka holo keia i kahi o maua i moe ai, i loa na wahi puolo kapa o maua, a mai laila aku holo hou i kahakai i kahi o ka waa Naguru.

Aia nae a hiki maua i kahakai, mea aku la hoi i ka Naguru e lawe ia maua iluna o ka moku maluna o na waa o lakou, he ole ke pi mai o na ihu, a me na lehelehe puka o lakou; ia wa hoka wale iho la no maua, a ma ka lokomaikai o na wahi elemakule a maua i moe pu ai i ka po i hala, ua hoopomaikaiia mai maua ma ko laua hooikaika ana i na Naguru mea waa, nolaila, hoopuka ia mai la ka huaolelo ae, e lawe ia maua iluna o ka moku, o ke kau ae la no ia o maua maluna o

ka waa Naguru, a o ka holo no ia i ka moku, a ia maua i hehi aku ai i ka papahale o ka moku, mana'o ae la ke ola, a olelo ae la e ike hou ana i na maka o na makua, a me na kini, a e honi hou ana ka i na ea huihui o ka aina hanau, a e holoholo hou ana ka ma na alanui kikee-kee o ke kaona o Honolulu, kahi hoi nona ka olelo ia:

“Aia i Honolulu kuu pohaku  
O ke alohilani kuu hakuia,”

Aia nae a kau maua iluna o ua moku nei; miki mai la na hoa o ka puuwai hookahi oia hoi na keiki o ka aina hanuu a lulu lima me ke aloha, a pela pu me ke Kapena George Gilley, a me na alii malalo iho ona. He moku keia no Hawaii nei, o Kimo Pelekane ka ona nona keia moku, a he keiki Hawaii Pono ka mea nana e hookele ana i ke anu o Alike, oia hoi ke Kapena i haia ae nei maluna, a he mau sela Hawaii Pono ko luna o ua moku nei, nolaila, olelo ae la au, eia au i ka aina hanau nei kahi i noho ai. Nolaila o ka loihi o ko maua noho pu ana me ka poe Naguru (Esquimaux), he umi mahina, nolaila, o ko maua ola ana ma kela wahi, aole no ko maua ikaika iho, aole no hoi no ko maua hoomanawanui i ka ai i na io ia, aole no hoi no ko maua pono: aka, no ko ke Akua aloha wale mai ia maua, a mamuli o Kona hoihoi lanakila ana mai ia maua, ke hui hou nei kakou na makua, na makamaka a me na hoa'loha, nolaila, ke puana nei au i keia mau olelo:

“E hoomaikaiia ke Akua ma na lani kiekie loa, he malu ma ka honua he aloha i kanaka.”

A penei kekahi mau wahi apana olelo a ua poe Naguru nei i loaia ia'u:

Olelo Naguru.	Olelo Hawaii.
Um-ia-pang	Moku.
Machuah	Pea o ka moku.
Igaru	Ia.
Aipah	Ai.
Coicoi	Kanaka.
Ama'm	Wahine.
Picnini	Keiki.
Alacha	Hele.
Mah-ney	Noho.

Nag-guru	Aloha.
Ah-pah	Makuakane.
Cucu	Dia.
Lahno	Bea.
Naitac	Ilio Sila.
Aiwa	Uwalo.
Cico	Hau.
Anium	(Snow) Kano.
Cauchu	Ike mai.
Ah-ki-lah	Kahaha.
Naome	Eia ka oe.

A he nui aku na mea i koe, aka, ua lawa ae la kakou maanei. A ia makou maluna o ka moku, ua kepa iho la no ke Kapena ia maua i ka la 9 o Augate 1877, a lilo iho la maua i sela no luna o ua moku nei, a o na pomaikai a pau e loa ana, e kaana pu ia ana ia me na sela mua o ua Brig nei o makou ke hiki mai i Honolulu nei. Nolaila, ua lilo iho la na hana o luna o ka moku i mea ole ia maua ke hoounauna mai na 'lii moku, oiai he ola hou ana keia loa mai ia maua, a he mau la helu wale no koe a o ka hoi no ia o ka moku i ka home o Hawaii nei, a ma ka pule elua o Okatoba, huli hoi mai la makou no Honolulu nei, a kalewa ana ka moku o makou i ka nuku o Mamala i ka la 25 o Okatoba. A ia'u i ike mai ai i ka aina, he mea e ka olioli o kuu manao i ka ike mai i na kuahiwi o ka aina e ku mai ana lakou me na hiohiona nani uliuli, a i na hale hoi o ke kaona alii, oia no oe ka moena pawehe o Niihau ka panio i ka ili o ke kai, alawa loa ae maluna, e welo ana no ka hae kalaunu, a i ae la au me keia mau huaolelo, eia no ka o Kalani Kaulilua i ke anu o Waialeale, a me na ohana alii Ou, oiai ke hoike mai nei ka hae kalaunu, eia no Oe me ka maikai i na wa a pau. Nolaila, e ola o Kalani Kalakaua a me kou mau kaikuahine alii, na ohana alii a me na makaainana o ke alii. A eia hoi au keia wahi lepo makaainana Ou ua hoea mai, mai ka make mai, a honi hou i na ea huihui o ka aina hanau.

A i keia wa a'u e kaukau nei me keia mau olelo, pili ana ka waapa hoolimalima o ka uapo, a o ko'u kau iho la no ia a holo ana i uka nei a hoi loa 'ku la no i ka hale, a uwe waimaka me na makua, na kini a me na ho'aloa; a i ka pau ana o ko makou uwe ana, ninau aku au i ko'u papa, auhea o mama me kuaana? Hai mai kela, ua lawe ke Akua

ka mea Mana loa, nolaila, ua nui ke aloha a me ke kaumaha, aka, na ke Akua i haawi mai, a nana no i lawe'ku. E hoonaniia ke Akua.

Owau no me ke aloha i na wa a pau. Kekahi olulo o ke kai anu hau oki o Alikea.

Chas. Edw. Kealoha

Honolulu, Oahu, Nov. 6, 1877

#### A HEARTWRENCHING TALE!

Living as a captive amongst the Naguru people in the Arctic!  
SEEING LAND AGAIN!

Greetings to you, Ka Lahui Hawaii<sup>13</sup>,

I am a stranger to you, but I am familiar with your columns. And since I have some time to share with you, I am sending something to you, and it is for you to present it, so that all of our friends from Hawaii to Kauai may see it.

Whereas the person speaking in your columns has met with great hardship and trouble in a friendless land, the place my young heart yearned to sail so I could hunt whales.

And while this same friend of yours was upon the frosts of the Arctic, I saw the barren ice fields of the Arctic, the place for whom these lines of song that I shall recite were sung:

Famous is the cold of the Arctic,  
Overwhelming your entire body.

I left the home of my beloved parents, the verdant valleys, the comely ridges, and the beautiful features of my birthplace in the month of March, 1866, and I, along with my compatriots, boarded the ship *Halekano*, under Captain Green. While I ran about upon its decks, I was stricken by a yearning grief for having left my friends and relatives. But there was nothing to hold me back, I ached to be a whaler.

The sails were unfurled, the wind was blowing, and the lines securing us to the dock were released, that was the time when we left the shores of the land [*ka alua*]. The ship's officers ordered me to go and pull in the ship's lines; it was no trouble for me. My thoughts were still far behind, watching the capitol spread out at our stern, looking

like “the cloud banks that arrive in the morning,” floating upon the sea. But,

There is no work left for Kauhikoa,  
Being taken away by the prow of the ship,  
The mate is taken by America, he is gone!

The ship is sailing on, pushed on by the gentle breeze, the prow of the ship is rooting in the billows of Mamala, and the harbors of Honolulu are fading out of sight; it was as if it were asking the Heavens, the Holy Trinity, to protect our lives.

We could no longer see land, all I could see was the smooth surface of the ocean. We sailed for a number of weeks before we hit the cold, the area where whaling ships normally go to fish, the Arctic.

Since this was my very first trip to this area, I had never experienced a cold like this, my fingers had become numb, my toes couldn't feel the slightest bit of warmth, and because of the chill, my lips were quivering with the cold. The warm clothes that we consider thick and heavy were of no use in this place.

I saw a large white object moving towards us on the ocean, and then I recognized that it was ice. This piece of ice was gigantic, if I tried to compare it, it would probably be about the size of one of our small islands, such as Molokini and the like, and some were bigger, some smaller. Then, while I was engrossed in watching the ice, the lookout up on the mast called out, “There she blows!” having seen a fish spout directly in front of our ship, whereupon the officers made for the boats and rowed out, and there I was upon the captain's long-boat. The fish was not snared by one of our boats, it was captured by a boat from the *Pokomeki*. We had gotten nothing, but we still joined in the work of pulling the whale up to the ship.

This was the best whale that we had ever taken, I envisioned returning heavily laden to shore. But, at a time when no one was expecting trouble, trouble is what befell us, namely that the fleet fell into the clutches of the ice, there was no way out. As for the ships that did not come all the way into the ice, they were safe from the inescapable snare of the ice.

When our officers saw that there was no way to extricate the ship from the ice, they ordered us sailors to disembark from the boat and

drag the rowboats up on the ice so that we could search about for the ships that were not caught in the ice. But, when the Captain gave his order to us, a man named Hopu addressed everyone, saying, "I don't want to leave just because of the Captain's orders, let's all just stay on the boat." Then a clamor rose up because of the ill-intent of this man, but, the Captain and some of the ship's officers were not prevented from going. Therefore, they departed, and the rest of us remained captive on the ship. Hopu ordered that if anyone tried to leave, he would be shot.

After four days of our stay on the ship had passed, things were looking pretty dire, we were completely stuck in the ice and there was no hope that the ship would be freed.

Therefore, I arose, with a Tahitian named Kenela, and prepared for our journey in search of a way out. The two of us were leaving, and two other Tahitians from a different ship came along with us, so there were four of us on our expedition across the ice. As for the majority of our fellow seafarers, they remained on that ship of ours with Hopu. We heard nothing further about them and thought that they had reached safety and were living in Honolulu, but it seems that it is not so.

When we headed forth and were quite a ways from our ship, we saw this ship that was also stuck in the ice; we struggled forward until we reached that ship around evening. We boarded this ship and found that it was a large and well-built ship. All of us had gone aboard this ship, and when we explored the deck of this vessel, there was abundant food, fish, clothing and everything else. This ship was the *Eagle Banner*.

We slept that night aboard the ship and when day broke, we saw that the ice had cleared a bit and the ship could sail, if it were astutely navigated. So, we set to work raising the sails and squaring them to the wind, and off we went. Nevertheless, the ice was breaking forth because of the strong wind and the current pulling at it. Then, we divided the work amongst ourselves, I stood the lookout, in order to keep watch the movement of the ice and the direction of the ship; my Tahitian friend, Kenela was stationed at the sweeps; others of us helped wherever they could. From what I could see, it seemed that we were going to break free from the imprisonment of the ice, but, here was the problem: disagreement arose amongst us about the



land we would head to. I, along with my friend stationed at the steering sweep, said that we had not yet passed land, but the other Tahitians said that we had, and thus we continued on in our argument, and there was no progress. At that point, they went belowdecks and drank rum until they got drunk. They came back up and tried to seize control of the steering. We struggled amongst ourselves, there were two of them and two of us, but, while we were distracted, the prow of the ship crashed into the shore, and in no time, the ship was stuck in the ice. With that, all of our hopes for escape were dashed. But, not long after that, our ship was crawling with the Naguru (Eskimo), the people of that land that we were traveling. This nation lives underground, animal skins are their clothing. There were men, women, and children; our ship was filled to capacity, and they took everything that was on board the ship, nothing was left to waste. The sails were cut up along with everything else, seized and brought ashore. At that time, while we were consigning ourselves to death, our ship was set ablaze by the Naguru, but, by the grace of God, we received a warm reception from them. We were invited to accompany them into their caves, those being their houses that they lived in, and so we went with them. During the time that we were living with the Naguru people, yearning arose within me for my parents, relatives and family; I could only lament and kneel in prayer before God, from whom comes all life, and all blessings. Therefore, I could not forget the word of God, which said, "God is a close comfort for troubled people." (To be continued)

(Remainder from last week)

This is a race whose skin color is somewhat similar to ours, but they are a bit fairer, most likely because they dwell in caves. They wear fur clothing, made from animal skins; in regards to their manner of dwelling, their sleeping places are covered with animal skins, and they have a brazier that is lit at all times. The women and girls of these people are not much thought of, it is for the strong ones to acquire fish and keep the caves supplied, the women and young girls just sit around and watch. Fish and animal meat is generally what they eat. These people are somewhat slovenly in their manner. They use urine as their bath water and to wash their face; if mucus is dripping from their nose, it is eaten, and there are other vile things done. If they are eating and the oil from the fish drips down, it is licked up;

there are many unsavory things that they eat. If one of them dies, the throat of the deceased is looped with rope, then the dogs drag them out onto the ice, and that is their final resting place. As for their sleeping areas, they are not as long as ours, they are very short, perhaps around four feet in length, and that is where they sleep. Animal skins are their bed that they sleep on. The men always go out to spear "buoys with triangular topsails" [orca] for their food; if a fish is killed, all the men, women and children are engaged in the cutting of the fish and hauling it back into the caves. Even if the fish begins to stink, it is still eaten; the same goes for the flesh of land animals. Nevertheless, we consumed all of these foul things that I've listed because if we refused this food from these people, we would have starved to death. There would be no return to the land of our birth, we would never again see the faces of our parents and our kin. Therefore, we endured all of these execrable things; while our hands kept stopping short at seeing the vileness of these things, they still mangaed to grab and eat them, since we had eaten all of the hardtack from onboard the ship. So we ate all of those disgusting things that I have just spoken about, but do not think, O my people, that they were eaten because we relished them, they were eaten to stave off starvation.

During the time that we were living with the Naguru, two of us died, they being the two from Borabora that I spoke about above, the ones who attempted to seize command of the ship that we sailed. Here is the reason for their deaths: while we were staying there, they became very ill-tempered and ventured out onto the ice to watch for a ship that they might spot, whereupon they would run and board the ship, or at least, that's what they were thinking, but before they got ready to go, we bade them stay, "Don't go, or the two of you will die because of the great cold." But, their minds were stubbornly set, they did not stay, they went. Yet no sooner had they left than they came back, one having broken his leg on the ice, and as for the other one, his throat was all swollen. Those afflictions proved fatal, and when they died, it was left to the dogs to drag their bodies out onto the ice. The remaining two of us continued to live with the Naguru, but we did not live in the same place; my companion lived in a separate cave with different Naguru people, and the same went for me. But, in regards to how my friend was getting on, he was in a weakened

state, he could not move, he could not go and get his food, he could only lie still. Because of that, pity welled up inside of me for my sick friend, so I went with the Naguru of the place that I lived to catch fish, and when we got some, I took some back for him and some for me. That is how we endured until that ship that we returned on found us, that ship being the brig *W. H. Allen*, under Captain George Gilley. This is how we found the ship: while the Naguru were moving here and there, the ones from our area heard that a ship had been sighted in another bay. They returned and informed us that there had been a ship spotted on the other side of the land, so the two of us set off. While we were traveling on, neither one of us saw the slightest hint of a ship before nightfall, so we returned to the area where my companion was staying. There were these two elderly men there, and we all huddled together there for the night. There was no proper way to lie down because of the narrowness of the sleeping area, therefore I tossed and turned until daybreak. When it finally started to become light, we saw the ship, and it was our salvation. As soon as it was bright enough, I burst outside and was clambering across the ice, and my companion was following right after. The two of us were sprinting across the icy dunes, giving no thought to the cold. While we were yearning to be seen by those on the ship, we were blessed by the heavens to be seen by the ship that I described above. So we ran back down from the dunes, falling and getting back up again, our flight taking us to the place where we had slept, so that we might get our bundled belongings. From there we took off again and headed for the shore where the Naguru canoes were beached.

However, when we reached the shore, and told the Naguru there to take us to the ship aboard their canoes, they snorted and refused; so at that time, we were out of luck, but because the kindness of the elders that we passed the night with, we were blessed by their prevailing upon the Naguru who owned the canoe. So, was given assent to take us aboard the ship, we got on the Naguru canoe, and off we sailed to the ship. When we stepped upon the deck of the ship, we envisioned our salvation, and spoke of our being able to see the faces of our parents and kin again. We would be able to again breathe the crisp air of our birthland and stroll the winding streets of Honolulu town, the place for which it is said,

“There in Honolulu is my beloved stone  
Kealohilani is my Lord,”

As soon as we boarded that ship, our fellows of the same heart, namely the children of our birth land, came over quickly and affectionately shook our hands, Captain George Gilley along with the junior officers came over and did the same. This was a ship from here in Hawaii, Kimo Pelekane is the owner of the ship, and the person navigating the ship through the frost of the Arctic was one of Hawaii's own, he being the captain mentioned above. There were also sailors from Hawaii aboard this ship, so I said, “Here I am in the land of my birth, the place where I have lived.” And so it was, that our stay with the Naguru (Eskimo) people lasted ten months. Our survival there was not because of our own strength, it also wasn't because of our willingness to eat the fish, not because of our own virtue, but it was because of God's love for us. It is because He returned us triumphantly to be together again with our parents, companions and friends; so I pronounce these words:

“Blessed be God in Heaven on high, there is peace on earth and love for man.”

Here are some phrases used by the Naguru people that I learned:

Naguru Language	Hawaiian Language	English Language
Um-ia-pang	Moku	Ship
Machuah	Pea o ka moku	Sail of a ship
Igaru	Ia	Fish
Aipah	Ai	Eat
Coicoi	Kanaka	Man
Ama'm	Wahine	Woman
Picnini	Keiki	Child
Alacha	Hele	Go
Mah-ney	Noho	Stay
Nag-guru	Aloha	Affection
Ah-pah	Makuakane	Father
Cucu	Dia	Deer
Lahno	Bea	Bear
Naitac	Ilio Sila	Seal
Aiwa	Uwalo	Call out
Cico	Hau	Ice

Anium	Kano	Snow
Cauchu	Ike mai	See
Ah-ki-lah	Kahaha	What a surprise
Naome	Eia ka oe	Here you are

There are many more details that remain, but that should be enough for us now. While we were aboard the ship, the Captain put us under contract on August 9, 1877, and we became sailors aboard that ship. All of our wages were to be shared with the crew that was already on the Brig when we arrived here in Honolulu. So it was that all of the duties aboardship that the officers of the ship put us to work at were as nothing because this was a new life that we had been given. There were only a few short days left before the ship would return home to Hawaii. In the second week of October, we turned about and headed for Honolulu; our ship was floating outside of the entrance to Mamala on the 25th of October. When I spotted land, my thoughts were filled with wondrous joy at seeing the mountains of my land standing forth with their dark, beautiful features, and the buildings of the capitol; the streaks on the surface of the water looked just like the fine-patterned mats of Niihau. I glanced up, saw the Crown's flag waving above, and proclaimed these words, "Here is the Chief Kaulilua in the chill of Waialeale, and Your Royal Family. While the Crown flag is displayed, here You are with righteousness at all times. So, long live Heavenly Kalakaua, Your Royal Siblings, the Royal Families and all of Your subjects. And here I am again, Your humble subject, I have arrived, returned from death, to again breathe the refreshing air of my birth land."

At this time that I am setting down these words, the chartered skiff from the wharf is approaching. I boarded and went ashore, and finally returned to my house. I shed tears with my family, kin, and friends. When we had all finished our tearful reunion, I asked my father, "Where are Mama and my older brother?" He told me, "God Almighty has taken them, so there is much grief and affection, but, God giveth and He taketh away. May God be praised." Sincerely with love always. A castaway from the frigid, icy Arctic Sea.

Chas. Edw. Kealoha  
Honolulu, Oahu, Nov. 6, 1877

He kauhaweliweli ma Alike maluna o ka moku Alepani  
A Fierce Battle in the Arctic Aboard the Ship Alepani

Rather than providing a complete chronicle of his six-month voyage to the Arctic in 1877, J. Polapola confines his narrative to a trading conflict that took place aboard the Hawaiian-registered brig *William H. Allen*. This shipboard incident claimed the lives of over 12 Iñupiaq traders and one Native Hawaiian seaman. Two other Hawaiians were wounded in the skirmish that took place on July 5, 1877, about three weeks before Kealoha joined the crew and almost four months before the whalers returned home.

This narrative represents the only known account actually written by someone who participated in the conflict. It reveals that Polapola was a Native Hawaiian seaman on the *William H. Allen*, under the command of Captain George Gilley. The vessel left Honolulu Harbor on April 21, 1877,<sup>14</sup> carrying about 24 men. Most of the men were Native Hawaiian, not an uncommon practice aboard many vessels in the fleet.<sup>15</sup> Polapola identifies Gilley as Hawaiian, making him the only known Hawaiian whaling captain. Another account describes Gilley as a “Bonin Islander” or as a “half-breed Kanaka from Bonin Islands.”<sup>16</sup> Other stories reveal that at least two Siberian natives served aboard the vessel.<sup>17</sup> Captain Gilley likely hired the two natives while trading along the Siberian side of the Bering Strait.

Polapola specifically published his narrative to publish it in a Hawaiian-language newspaper to ensure that his readers obtained a Native Hawaiian perspective. His account appeared in *Ka Lahui Hawaii* on November 1, 1877, two months after news of the conflict had reached Honolulu and American perspectives began appearing in English-language newspapers.<sup>18</sup> The first of several accounts from the fleet appeared in *The Friend* on September 1st. The earliest account contained hearsay provided by Captain Whitney of the trading schooner *Giovanni Apiani*. Captain Dexter of the schooner *Loleta* provided a similar account.<sup>19</sup> The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* published several brief whaling reports from Captain Gilley on October 27th, just days after the *William H. Allen* returned to Honolulu Harbor.<sup>20</sup>

When Polapola’s article appeared in the *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, five

days after Gilley's report, it was not repeated in any of the English-language newspapers. His first-hand indigenous seaman's perspective was ignored and had no impact on the American government's actions, while Gilley's news stories and those of other captains were replicated in newspapers in California and Massachusetts. The story "*Indian Pirates in the Arctic*," which drew on information provided by Gilley, appeared in the *Chronicle* (San Francisco) on November 6th and in the *Whalemen's Shipping List and Merchant's Transcript* (New Bedford) on December 4, 1877. The excerpt, "*Captain Gilley and the Cape Prince of Wales Natives*," which appeared in an 1889 publication, reportedly reflects Gilley's personal description of the conflict.<sup>21</sup> Stories published later in the century reflect fanciful embellishments and little or no primary information.<sup>22</sup>

Polapola's narrative reveals that the trading conflict revolved around liquor, a commodity the whalers often traded to Siberian and Alaskan natives for ivory, furs, and other local articles.<sup>23</sup> He mentions rum being aboard, which Gilley refused to supply the Iñupiaq who came aboard. The traders included several chiefs, numerous young men, a few women, and several elderly men. They came from one of several villages at Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska. They frequently traded with whalers and with native communities on both sides of the Bering Strait as well as those who lived on the intervening islands.<sup>24</sup>

Polapola's description of the Cape Prince of Wales natives lacks the animosity and accusations evident in Gilley's accounts and those of other captains in the fleet. Polapola characterizes the Iñupiaq as amicable and peaceful traders. He indicates that one of the chiefs was caught stealing liquor and that the skirmish erupted when that chief and another native assaulted the captain and first mate. Other accounts, including Gilley's, portray the natives as intoxicated and belligerent bullies who had a reputation of preying on their native neighbors and attacking whalers and trying to steal their vessels and cargoes.<sup>25</sup>

Polapola describes his introspective feelings about the conflict, which he calls a battle, and about the whalers' victorious outcome. Initially he portrays himself as an onlooker who watched the captain trading with the Iñupiaq. Later, he recasts himself and claims respon-

sibility for defending Gilley's life and killing a younger chief. Gilley, in contrast, emphasizes his own leadership in thwarting the nefarious intentions of the Cape Prince of Wales natives. His accounts scathingly vilify the natives, while characterizing himself and his men as unwilling victims forced to kill them.

Polapola, like Kealoha, reveals his strong sense of cultural pride and values as a Native Hawaiian seaman. His personal narrative challenges other portrayals of this trading conflict and underscores the cultural biases inherent in colonial writings about these cross-cultural events and the need for Native Hawaiian participation in creating new narratives and new understandings.

He kaula weliweli ma Alike maluna o ka moku Alepani

E KA LAHUI HAWAII; Aloha oe:-

He malihini au imua o kou alo, akahi nae a launa pu me oe, no ka loa ana ia'u o kekahi mea ano nui o ke kaula maluna o ka moku Alepani, oi'ai, ma ko'u ano iho, he kanaka Hawaii au, a he kela hoi maluna o ua moku nei, a ke hai aku nei au imua ou, a nau ia e waiho ae ma ke akea o keia mau paemoku, mai Hawaii a Niihau, i ike mai ai na hoa'loha a me na makamaka e heluhelu ana i kou kino.

O keia moolelo malalo nei, oia no ka moolelo piha oiaio loa, mamua o na moolelo e ae. Penei: ma ka hora 4 o ka auina la o ka la 4 o Iulai, 1877, ua pili mai kekahi waa, a hoi aku ia; ma ia hope mai, pili mai hookahi waa hou, me na kanaka he 30 a oi maluna, me na wahine elua. I ko lakou pili ana mai i ka moku, ua pii mai elua alii, me na kanaka pu, a noho no na wahine iluna o ka waa.

O keia poe, he Nakulu. I na 'lii i pii mai ai a me na kanaka, e kuai niho ana o Kapena Kele me ka poe Nakulu me ka oluolu, ia wa iho la no hana ia ka hewa e ke 'lii Nakulu, a puepue ia ka pahu rama, a paa ia ka pu a-i o ke Kapena me ka weliweli e ua alii Nakulu nei, me ke ano okalakala e mea ana e hopu iho i ka pu ua Nakulu nei, a pela no hoi ka malamamoku; ia wa, ke ku la au iluna o ka hale o hope, a nana aku la au, aneane pilikia ke Kapena a me ka malamamoku, aka, i ka'u hoomaopopo ana aku, o ka malamamoku ke pilikia e ana. Ia wa, e hopu iho ana au i kekahi pauku laau nui, a paa i kuu lima akau, alia mai la ke 'lii, aka, ua haalele aku au i ka laau ma ka a-i o ke kai-



kaina alii a haule make aku la iluna o ka oneki, no ka mea, ua hemo e ka laau mai kuu lima ae, a ua ike aku au e pilikia ana ke Kapena, oiai e nao ana ua 'lii Nakulu nei i kana pu panapana iloko o ke kapa hulu o lakou, e waiho ae ana au i ka'u mea make, me kuu lohe aku i ka leo o ke Kapena i ka i mai, alia oe e pepehi. Ma ia hope iho, imi iho la na Nakulu i mea make na lakou, aohe loa, a pela no hoi i na kanaka maoli.

Ia wa, maluna o ka oneki, ke hi-o lua nei na kanaka, a me na Nakulu, ia wa, pa hou iho la ia'u ekolu Nakulu, aole nae i make, holo aku la mamua o ka laau ihu e pee ai, ia wa, e ku nanea ana o Honuailealea, oia holo no o nei Nakulu a hou ia aku la i ka pahi ma ka iwi hoehoe malalo iho, a puka pu ma kahi e pili ana i ka puuwai, a haule iho la ko makou hoa o ke kai ilalo i ka papahale, me ka leo o ke aloha i puka ae ma kona waha, e! make au, a o ua poe nei, holo aku la mamua e pee ai, a me ka mea nana i hou i ka pahi ia Honuailealea a make ai.

Holo aku la na 'lii o ka moku, a ki aku la i ka pu, pouli i ka uahi, aole nae he ike ia aku, ia wa, hoolou ia i ka polohuku, hukia mai iwaho, pau lakou a pau i ke ki ia me ka pu panapana, a kiola ia iloko o ke kai, a o ka hapanui hoi, lele no iloko o ke kai ma o a maanei o ka moku, a kiei aku la au, aohe kanaka, oia lele no a pau lakou a pau i ke poholo iloko o ka hohonu o ka moana, me ka ike ole ia ae o ko lakou mau kino, no ka mea, he poe ike ole lakou i ka au.

O kekahi mau kela o makou, o Paia no Manoa, a me Kahele no Kepahoni, ua mahuka, a ua holo aku la a pee malalo o ka laau ihu mamua loa, o laua na kanaka Hawaii i kue i neia pilikia i ili mai maluna o makou ia manawa.

Mahope iho o ko makou kaua ana, ua lanakila na kanaka Hawaii, a ina aole maua e hooikaika me Kamohai ma keia kaua ana, a ina makou e pio, a luku ia e ka poe Nakulu, he poho ia i oi aku ke lilo ka moku ia lakou, a ke pau makou i ka make, aneane hiki aku ke poho, ke pio makou, i ke \$36,000, aka, mamuli o ko makou hooikaika ana i keia pilikia, ua palekana makou i keia poino weliweli ma ke kai anu o Alike, elua mile ka mamao mai ka aina mai, a o keia mau alii no hoi, he mau alii ino laua, he hoohaunaele pinepine laua iluna o na moku a pau i kaleva ae mawaho o ko lakou aina. He ano koa no iluna o ko laua mau ouli a pau, a he pienua na helehena ke nana aku, me he

mea la, he mau alii powa laua. O ke alii hoi, ua paa ia aku ka pu a-i e ke Kapena, a haawi ia aku i ka poka ma ka ihu a hoolei ia i ke kai. Ua pau me ke aloha. Owau no, kekahi o na kela o ka moku Alepani.

Mr. J. Polapola

Honolulu, Oahu, Okatoba, 29, 1877

A Fierce Battle in the Arctic Aboard the Ship *Alepani*

To Ka Lahui Hawaii, Greetings:—<sup>27</sup>

I am a stranger in your presence, having come before you because I have something of great import regarding the battle aboard the *Alepani*. Whereas, in regards to myself, I am a Hawaiian, and also a sailor aboard this ship, and I am proclaiming this before you, and you should spread it across this group of islands, from Hawaii to Niihau, in order that all the friends and companions reading your contents shall know about it.

As for this account below, it is the complete and unabridged truth, more so than any of the other stories. It went like this: at 4 o'clock in the afternoon on the 4th of July, 1877, a canoe drew abreast of us, and then left; after that, another canoe pulled up, with thirty or more men aboard, along with two women. When they approached the ship, two chiefs boarded, along with the men, while the women remained on the canoe.

These people were Nakulu. When the chiefs boarded with the men, Captain Kele and the Nakulu were amicably bartering for ivory, but then, a wrong was perpetrated by one of the Naguru chiefs. The barrel of rum was snatched, and the Nakulu chief fiercely grabbed the Captain by the throat, and was roughly attempting to grab the Captain's gun, and the same was happening to the ship's mate. At that time, I was standing on top of the aft cabin, and when I looked, the Captain and the mate were in dire straits, but, it seemed to me that the mate was in the most trouble. At that point, I was firmly grasping a large piece of wood in my right hand; the chief called out for me to wait, but I flung the wood at the neck of the chief's younger brother and he fell down dead upon the deck, since the wood had already left my hand. I saw that the Captain was in danger, for the

Nakulu chief was reaching into the officers' furs and searching for the pistol. I had lost my weapon, and heard the Captain shouting "Don't kill him yet." From there, the Nakulu were looking for weapons for themselves, but couldn't find anything, and the same went for the Hawaiians.

Then, on deck, the Hawaiians, along with the Nakulu were dropping all over. By then, I had struck down three more Nakulu, but they were not fatally wounded, and they ran toward the bowsprit to hide. At that time, Honuailealea was standing peacefully by, when those Nakulu ran up and stabbed him in the shoulder blade with a sword, the point reemerging from the area near his heart. Our sea-faring brother fell to the deck, and his voice cried out full of desperation, "Alas! I have been killed!" Those people ran afore to hide, along with the one who stabbed and killed Honuailealea.

The officers of the ship ran up and discharged their guns, the smoke obscured everything, no one could see anything. Then, those Nakulu who had tried to hide were caught with the boat hook, and pulled out. They were all shot with pistols and thrown overboard into the sea. And as for the rest of them, they leapt into the sea from various parts of the ship, and when I looked, there was no one there. They had all leaped into the ocean, causing them to drown in the depths of the sea; there was no trace of their bodies because they are a people who do not know how to swim.

Some of our sailors, Paia from Manoa, and Kahele from Kepahoni, fled, ran and cowered below the bowsprit at the very front of the ship; they are the two Hawaiians who hid from this trouble that befell us at that time.

After our battle, the Hawaiians were victorious, and if we had not striven with Kamohai in this struggle, and if we had been taken prisoner, and slaughtered by the Nakulu, it would have been a greater loss if the ship was taken by them and we were all killed. The losses, if we had lost, would have been nearly \$36,000, but, because of our resistance, we were spared from this horrific fate in the icy Arctic sea, two miles from any land. These two chiefs were foul-hearted, often preying on the ships that traveled back and forth outside of their land. Both of their countenances were stern, and their features very fierce looking, as if they were bandit princes. The captain seized the

chief by the neck, gave him a bullet in the face and threw him into the sea. That is the end, with affection. I am, sincerely, one of the sailors of the ship *Alepani*.

Mr. J. Polapola

Honolulu, Oahu, October, 29, 1877

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#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Kealoha, Charles Edward. "He Moolelo Walohia! Ka noho pio ana iwaena o ka Lahui Naguru ma Alike! Ka ike hou ana i ka aina!" *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, November 8 and 15, 1877; Polapola, J. "He kaula weliweli ma Alike maluna o ka moku Alepani," *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, November 1, 1877.
- <sup>2</sup> Whalers frequently used the Hawaiian word *Kanaka* to refer to Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander seamen. A few applied the term more broadly to refer to any seaman with a dark complexion.
- <sup>3</sup> Collector General of Customs, Records of the Honolulu Harbormaster, Series 104, Vol. 6, Register of Entries and Clearances, Jan 1868–July 1880, AH.
- <sup>4</sup> The disaster resulted in the September 5, 1876, abandonment of the following 11 ships trapped in the ice near Tangent Point: the barks *Acors Barns*, *Camilla*, *Clara Bell*, *Desmond*, *James Allen*, *Java 2nd*, and *Onward*, and the ships *Cornelius Howland*, *Josephine*, *Marengo*, and *St. George*. Two other vessels lost during the season were the bark *Illinois*, which was struck and sunk by the ship *Marengo* in April, and the bark *Arctic*, which sank in July after being struck by

ice. The bark *Java* 1st, which went to Bristol Bay, Alaska, avoided the disaster completely.

- For a discussion, see: "Arctic Perils," *Harper's Weekly*, November 18, 1876; New Bedford Whaling Museum, Old Dartmouth Historical Society No. 935, Bark Mount Wollaston; New Bedford Whaling Museum, Old Dartmouth Historical Society No. 497, Bark Northern Light; Herbert L. Aldrich, "The Horror of 1876," *Arctic Alaska and Siberia or Eight Months with the Arctic Whalemens*. (Chicago and New York, 1889), 43-44; "Another Arctic Disaster!" *PCA*, October 21, 1876; "Another Arctic Disaster!" *The Friend*, November 1, 1876; "Poino nui ma Arika! 12 Moku Okohola i pau i ka hau!" *Nupēpa Kuokoa*, Okakopa 28, 1876; "Disaster to the Arctic Whaling Fleet," *Evening Standard* (New Bedford), October 23, 1876.
- <sup>5</sup> Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library, Bark Desmond, Papers, MHO.614, 1876, In the Matter – of – the bark Desmond, a whaler abandoned in the ice, about 30 miles N.E. of Pt. Tangent, in the Arctic Ocean on the Coast of Alaska.
- <sup>6</sup> "Another Arctic Disaster!" *PCA*, October 21, 1876; "The Lost Whalers," *Whalemens's Shipping List and Merchant's Transcript*, December 19, 1876.
- <sup>7</sup> Department of the Interior, Box 53, Shipping, Hawaiian Seamen, Folder 1874-1900, Letter from Daniel Smith, Agent for Shipping and Discharging Native Seamen to J. Mott Smith, Minister of the Interior, Honolulu, January 11, 1877, AH; Department of the Interior, Box 53, Shipping, Native Seamen, 1874-1900, Letter from William R. Castle, Attorney General, to William L. Moehonua, Minister of the Interior, Honolulu, HI, October 25, 1876, AH; Peabody Essex Museum, Phillips Library, Bark Desmond, Papers, MHO.614, 1876, In the Matter – of – the bark Desmond, a whaler abandoned in the ice, about 30 miles N.E. of Pt. Tangent, in the Arctic Ocean on the Coast of Alaska; "Letters," *Whalemens's Shipping List and Merchants' Transcript*, August 14, 1877; "Letters," *Whalemens's Shipping List and Merchants' Transcript*, October 9, 1877; "Men Left on the Ice Last Year Perished," *Mercury* (New Bedford) October 27, 1877; "The W. H. Allen," *PCA*, October 27, 1877.
- <sup>8</sup> *Naguru* and *Nakulu* respectively are Kealoha's and Polapola's spellings of the word *nakoork*, which likely derives from the Iñupiaq word for "good," whose root is spelled *nakuu*. Aldrich reported that *Nakoork* is the word the Iñupiaq applied to themselves when whalemens first invaded the Arctic, probably to indicate they were good or peaceful and it was used by the whalemens as their name for them. Herbert L. Aldrich, "The Nakoorks," *Arctic Alaska and Siberia or Eight Months with the Arctic Whalemens* (Chicago and New York, 1889) 29. The *Eagle Banner* is referred to in all other documents as the *Acors Barns*. Stories by other wrecked whalers include, "Letter," *Whalemens's Shipping List and Merchant's Transcript*, October 9, 1877; "The Arctic Disaster," *Whalemens's Shipping List and Merchant's Transcript*, November 7, 1876; New Bedford Whaling Museum, Old Dartmouth Historical Society Logbook No. 497, Bark Northern Light, August 18, 1877.
- <sup>9</sup> For the Siberian side, see: "Cruise and Shipwreck of the 'Japan.'" *Friend*, November 1, 1871; "Loss of the 'Japan,'" *Friend*, November 1, 1871.

- <sup>10</sup> New Bedford Whaling Museum, Old Dartmouth Historical Society Logbook No. 497, Bark Northern Light, September 3, 1876; "Report of Am Wh Bk Norman, Campbell, Master," *Friend*, December 4, 1876.
- <sup>11</sup> New Bedford Whaling Museum, Old Dartmouth Historical Society Logbook No. 935, Bark Mount Wollaston, Sunday, July 29, 1877.
- <sup>12</sup> "Letter." *Whalemens's Shipping List and Merchant's Transcript*, October 9, 1877; "So Far as We Can Learn." *Friend*, November 1, 1877.
- <sup>13</sup> The greeting is addressed to Ka Lahui Hawaii, the name of the newspaper, and means the Hawaiian people.
- <sup>14</sup> John R. Bockstoce, *Whales, Ice, and Men: The History of Whaling in the Western Arctic*. (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, in association with the New Bedford Whaling Museum, Massachusetts, 1986).
- <sup>15</sup> Collector General of Customs, Records of the Honolulu Harbormaster, Series 104, Vol. 6, Register of Entries and Clearances, Jan 1868 – July 1880, AH.
- <sup>16</sup> Many thousands of Native Hawaiian seamen took whaling cruises beginning with four young men who left in 1819 aboard the American whaleship *Balaena*. Many of these seamen's names appear on surviving copies of *Hawaiian Shipping Articles* preserved in various repositories, including the Hawaii State Archives. The website, <http://www2.bishopmuseum.org/whaling/mainscreen.asp>, contains data pertaining to over 7,000 native seamen who shipped aboard foreign whaling vessels between 1859 and 1867.
- <sup>17</sup> C. L. Hooper, *Report of the Cruise of the U.S. Revenue-Steamer Corwin in the Arctic Ocean* (Washington, D.C., Govt. Printing, 1881) 20; John W. Kelly, "Ethnographical Memoranda Concerning the Eskimos of Arctic Alaska and Siberia," *Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology*, Bulletin no. 3 (Sitka, AK, 1890) 12; John R. Bockstoce, *Whales, Ice, and Men: The History of Whaling in the Western Arctic*. (Seattle and London: U of Washington P, in association with the New Bedford Whaling Museum, Massachusetts, 1986) 189.
- <sup>18</sup> Herbert L. Aldrich, "The Nakoorkus," *Arctic Alaska and Siberia or Eight Months with the Arctic Whalemens*. (Chicago and New York: Rand McNally, 1889) 30.
- <sup>19</sup> Polapola, J. "He kaula weliweli ma Alike maluna o ka moku Alepani," *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, November 1, 1877.
- <sup>20</sup> "Report of Haw Trading Schr Giovanni Apiani," *Friend*, September 1, 1876; "Capt. Whitney," *Whalemens's Shipping List and Merchant's Transcript*, September 23, 1876; "Report of Am Schr Loleta, Dexter, Master," *Friend*, November 1, 1877.
- <sup>21</sup> "Report of the Haw Wh Brig W H Allen, G. Gilley, Master." *PCA*, October 27, 1877; "Report of the Haw Wh Brig W H Allen, G. Gilley, Master." *Friend*, November 1, 1877; "The W. H. Allen." *PCA*, October 27, 1877.
- <sup>22</sup> Herbert L. Aldrich, "The Nakoorkus," *Arctic Alaska and Siberia or Eight Months with the Arctic Whalemens*. (Chicago and New York: Rand McNally, 1889), 30; "Indian Pirates in the Arctic," *Whalemens's Shipping List and Merchant's Transcript*, December 4, 1877; "Report of the Haw Wh Brig W H Allen, G. Gilley, Master." *PCA*, October 27, 1877; "Report of the Haw Wh Brig W H Allen, G. Gilley, Master." *Friend*, November 1, 1877; "The W. H. Allen." *PCA*, October 27, 1877.

- <sup>23</sup> For example, see: C. L. Hooper, *Report of the Cruise of the U.S. Revenue-Steamer Corwin in the Arctic Ocean* (Washington, D.C., Govt. Printing, 1881) 20–21; John W. Kelly, “Ethnographical Memoranda Concerning the Eskimos of Arctic Alaska and Siberia,” *Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology*, Bulletin no. 3 (Sitka, AK, 1890) 11–13.
- <sup>24</sup> For an extensive overview, see: John R. Bockstoce, *Whales, Ice, and Men: The History of Whaling in the Western Arctic* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press in association with the New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1986).
- <sup>25</sup> C. L. Hooper, *Report of the Cruise of the U.S. Revenue Steamer Thomas Corwin, in the Arctic Ocean, 1881* (Washington, D.C.: Govt. Printing, 1884) 16; Henry W. Elliott, *Our Arctic Province: Alaska and the Seal Islands* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1886) 431–2; Herbert L. Aldrich, “The Nakoorkus,” *Arctic Alaska and Siberia or Eight Months with the Arctic Whalemens*. (Chicago and New York: Rand McNally, 1889), 29–38.
- <sup>26</sup> “Indian Pirates in the Arctic,” *Whalemens Shipping List and Merchant’s Transcript*, December 4, 1877; C. L. Hooper, *Report of the Cruise of the U.S. Revenue Steamer Thomas Corwin, in the Arctic Ocean, 1881* (Washington, D.C.: Govt. Printing, 1884) 16, 20–21; John W. Kelly, “Ethnographical Memoranda Concerning the Arctic Eskimos in Alaska and Siberia,” in *English-Eskimo and Eskimo-English Vocabularies*, Ensign Roger Wells, Jr. and John W. Kelly, compilers (Washington, D.C.: Govt. Printing, 1890) 12–13; J. W. Powell, *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896–97* (Washington D.C., 1899), 300–303.
- <sup>27</sup> The greeting is addressed to Ka Lahui Hawaii, the name of the newspaper, and means the Hawaiian people.

