

Women's Exchanges: The Sex Trade and Cloth In Early Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i

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By

Catherine 'Imaikalani Ulep

Thesis Committee:

Noelani Arista, Chairperson

John Rosa

Njoroge Njoroge

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures .....	iii
Introduction .....	1
Chapter 1: Exotic Exchanges: Trade & Foreign Arrivals at The Turn of the Nineteenth Century .....	10
Chapter 2: “In The English Style”: Commerce, Clothing, and Christianity in 1820s Hawai‘i .....	37
Chapter 3: Impeding Exchanges: The Impact Of A Kapu (Prohibition) on Sex Work .....	73
Conclusion .....	98
Bibliography .....	103

## LIST OF FIGURES

1.1	“Hawaii-La Perouse Bay”, 1785 .....	19
1.2	Ali‘i wahine, Otto Von Kotzebue, 1816 .....	22
2.1	Reverend Hiram Bingham & Sybil Moseley Bingham, 1819 .....	47
2.2	Kamāmalu, 1824 .....	54
2.3	Liholiho, 1824 .....	55
2.4	Liholiho & Kamāmalu at the theatre, 1824 .....	56
2.5	Kalanimoku, Baptism, 1819 .....	64

## INTRODUCTION

“The females no longer repair to the beach as formerly for sport & purposes of impurity” wrote missionary Levi Chamberlain, the secular merchant agent for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) on September 13, 1825.<sup>1</sup> His observation reveals a shift in women’s activities because only a month prior groups of women left shores to sell sex on shipboard markets, often remaining onboard for several weeks until the vessel departed.<sup>2</sup> The sale of sex developed soon after Captain James Cook’s arrival in 1778 and continued over the following decades with women traveling out to ships to exchange sex for Western-style goods. Hawaiians wanted foreign imports, and sex became the facilitator of trade with sailors who sought refreshment. But traveling on board also presented women with opportunities that differed from the monotony of daily life. These visiting haole (foreign) men, their ships, clothing, goods, and foods were exotic to women who wanted to be in the company of sailors for fun and pleasurable experiences that were also opportunities to acquire Western-style clothing, a coveted item amongst the Hawaiian population.

Women were prohibited from traveling out to ships following an August 1825 chiefly decree that placed a kapu (prohibition) on women leaving shores for the purposes of ho‘okamakama (prostitution). The acquisition of Euro-American goods and the possibility of a good time was a great reward, so much so, that some women defied the kapu by leaving shore. Those caught diving into the water were returned and faced other punishments. Their willingness to disobey kapu illustrates that the value of imports was greater than the threat of

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<sup>1</sup> Levi Chamberlain Journal, September 13, 1825, Volume 5, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Otto Von Kotzebue, Hannibal Evans Lloyd, Ivan Fedorovich Kruzenshtern, Johann Caspar Horner, Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz, and Adelbert Von Chamisso, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering’s Straits* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1967), 295.; Iuri Fedorovich Lisianskii, *A Voyage round the World in the Years 1803, 4, 5 & 6. Performed by of His Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, in the Ship Neva* (London: John Booth, 1814), 101, 103.

punishment. Possession of Western goods introduced a change in value system that was only accessible through trade with the ali'i (chiefs) and few maka'āinana (people of the land) possessing fineries that were worn at public events. By the 1820s, Sunday church services were weekly occasions attended by Hawaiians dressed in their best attire. This presented a regular opportunity to observe the apparel of churchgoers who included the ali'i and maka'āinana. Exchanges with haole men that facilitated the acquisition of clothing, a reason why some of the female church attendees were seen leaving the shoreline.

The sale of sex was widespread and, over time, Euro-American ship captains and crews expected sexual access to Hawaiian women. But after the 1825 kapu, violence erupted when their attempts were denied. A mob of sailors from the USS *Dolphin* threatened to demolish the missionaries' houses. Sailors, then, went to the home of high chief Kalanimoku, where Sunday church services were being held, and "dashed in the windows with clubs" and attempted to force the doors and windows of the house that "Mr. Bingham's family reside & repeatedly offered violence to Mr. B's person."<sup>3</sup> Outrage over access to women was more than sexual pleasure. It represented commercial, religious, and political interests. Traveling out to ships facilitated the acquisition of Western imports for women who, by the 1820s, became a large consumer group, patronizing retail stores owned by haole merchants. The sex trade attracted other mariners who wanted to be in the company of women while frequenting merchant and grog shops. As haole missionaries and merchants vied for influence over chiefs, access to Hawaiian women became an issue of furthering perspective, although differing, interests.

Hawai'i became an important stop in an international trade route that brought haole men to the islands. In 1786, the *King George*, a 320-ton English ship on a fur expedition was the first

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<sup>3</sup> Hiram Bingham, William Richards, Elisha Loomis, Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, March 10, 1826. Missionary Letters to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Volume V3 – 1824 – 1830, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Digital Archives, Typescript, Honolulu, HI. (Henceforth: ABCFM).

vessel to spend the winter in Hawai‘i, then sail to China exchange their cargo for tea, spices, and porcelain to take back to England.<sup>4</sup> This voyage established a pattern that was followed by other ships over the following decades. Over time, fur, sandalwood, and whaling brought more mariners to Hawai‘i as they sailed along routes that connected the islands to New England, South America, the Pacific West Coast, China, and Japan. By the 1820s, Honolulu emerged as a port city that was called on by sailors who became temporary residents during the spring and fall months. Hawai‘i’s central geographic location to either side of the Pacific Ocean in addition to abundance of fresh food and water brought a large number of seamen in direct contact with Hawaiian women.

Sexual engagements with haole (foreign) men, although now for a reward, were grounded in Hawaiian epistemologies. Sex was an openly acceptable act, celebrated in countless mo‘olelo (stories) and mele (songs). Relationships varied from serial monogamy to multiple partnerships, and it was common to have a partner and sleep with another. These are reasons why sex with haole men and the sex-for-goods trade was acceptable and women were often times encouraged to travel out to ships. There was no stigma attached to participating in the sex-for-goods trade until decades after the arrival of the missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in 1820. Additionally, it was probably the missionaries who introduced the word prostitution and its religious and moral connotations to the Hawaiian people.

The terms sex work and the sale of sex are used because my work focuses on the sexual services that maka‘āinana women exchanged for money and foreign goods. Yet, there are instances, especially in missionary writing, when use of the word prostitution is appropriate. Women’s work is often overlooked within the context of early trade in Hawai‘i. By relegating

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<sup>4</sup> Martin P. Riegel, *Historic Ships of Hawaii: Pacific Nautical Heritage Collection*, (San Clemente: Riegel Publishing, 1988), 2.

women's participation in trade ignores their important role as the primary accumulators of Western-style goods and money. Women were one of the largest consumer groups that were catered to by haole merchant agents.

My writing also avoids the use of marriage, spouse, and husband, except when suitable, like when Hawaiian women became the brides of haole sailors after the kapu of 1825. Avoidance was appropriate, but difficult, because these words connote a relationship or partner within a Christian marriage. Life long monogamous relationships married in the church was an introduction of the ABCFM mission. Hawaiians, both ali'i and maka'āinana, had multiple partners. Some of these unions were long term, but not all. As mentioned, earlier, it was common for a person to have multiple partners at the same time or over a lifetime.

Yet, this does not imply sex was unrestrained. Many women, particularly ali'i wāhine (chiefly women) and some maka'āinana, did not participate in the sex-for-goods trade, rather, involvement was a decision made by the individual participant. There were few instances, which are discussed in chapter three, when women's safety was threatened by haole demands, an influential factor in decreeing the kapu on ho'okamakama.

My work expands on a growing body of scholarly work that examines relationships between White men and Pacific women. Damon Salesa's *Race Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire* (2011) is the most current book in this field. He examines the practice of racial crossings in New Zealand during the nineteenth-century to illuminate how the British colonial government sought to regulate race for administration, integration, consumption, and recordation.

Patty O'Brien's *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and The Colonial Pacific* (2006) examines Western notions of female sexuality in Pacific colonized regions, primarily focusing

on Tahiti, through looking at European colonialism, Enlightenment ideologies, and emerging occurrences within Western imperialism. Her references to Hawai‘i are brief and include prostitution and the outbreak of violence by crewmembers of the *Dolphin*, an American warship, after being denied access to women.

Ann Stoler’s *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (2002) examines the shifting dynamics of intimate relationships that operated within ideologies of race in the context of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia. During the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries the colonial government enacted a series of behavioral protocols that promoted idealisms of endogamy and domesticity, while opposing relationships between White men and indigenous women, which were primarily concubinage or prostitution. Over time, the European colonial community enacted cultural, political, and sexual borders to regulate behaviors and relationships.

Noelani Arista’s work "Captive Women In Paradise 1796-1826: The Kapu on Prostitution In Hawaiian Historical Legal Context" (2011) is the most current scholarship about prostitution in Hawai‘i during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. This work undermines dominant beliefs of Hawaiian women resisting advances of sailors. The increasing number of seamen arrived in Hawai‘i, resulted in increased sexual encounters between Hawaiian women and foreign men. This brought serious conflict among the ali‘i (chiefs), foreign sailors, ship captains, merchants, and American missionaries, resulting in the pronouncement of a kapu (prohibition) on prostitution, whereby the ali‘i sought to legally restrict foreign access to Hawaiian women. Since Ka‘ahumanu, the Kuhina Nui (prime minister), was the primary enforcer of this pronouncement, this afforded her a new opportunity and authority to deliberate, judge, and mete out punishment publicly to women who violated the kapu. This kapu is not a new moral law



inspired by missionaries, rather the kapu sought to protect women and afforded Ka‘ahumanu to exercise authority she formerly may not have had.

Noelani Arista’s “Histories of Unequal Measure” (2010) is a history of encounters among Hawaiians and the various American merchant and mission presence. Her dissertation is about the development and growth of a Pacific economic market, primarily the sandalwood trade with an evolving political economy and interactions among the ali‘i, American businessmen, and the missionaries from the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions. She focuses on Hawaiian law that changed from kapu, an oral decree concerned with the actions and behaviors of Hawaiian subjects, to kānāwai, published laws that were produced as a result of foreigners misbehaving on Hawaiian soil.

My writing builds upon these scholarly works of sexual relations between Pacific women and Euro-American men. This is a study of Hawaiian women, particularly of the maka‘āinana wāhine (women of the land), and their exchange of sex for Western commodities. To get to their stories, I gleaned through journals, letters, accounts, and newspapers written in both the Hawaiian and English languages. Many of the primary source materials recorded during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were from sailors, merchants, and missionaries because Hawai‘i was primarily an oral society. The chiefs learned how to read and write during the mid-1820s and within a few years a larger segment of the population received instruction. If maka‘āinana penned documents about their exchanges with Euro-Americans during this early period of literacy, they remain to be discovered even after my countless hours of archival research at the Hawai‘i State Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Hawaiian Historical Society, University of Hawai‘i Hamilton Library, and Bishop Museum Library and

Archives. Engaging with Hawaiian language sources is essential to scholarship about Hawai‘i and its people, and my thesis draws on these records, although written after the event.

Works by Emmanuel Akyeampong and Laurel Thatcher Ulrich shaped my understanding of women’s work. In *‘Wo pe tam won pe ba’* (*‘You like cloth but you don’t want children’*) (2000), Akyeampong examines female accumulation and “the cohesion of the forces of individualism and accumulation in gender relations in urban Ghana” during the first three decades of the 1900s.<sup>5</sup> This work illuminates that through relationships, commerce, and accumulation, women were displaying wealth and becoming the ‘big men’ in society. The sale of sex was an important resource in female accumulation in Ghanian history. Ulrich’s award winning book *A Midwife’s Tale* (1991), draws on Martha Ballard’s diary to illuminate her work as a wife, mother, and midwife from the mid1700s to early 1800s. Her use of the diary in relation to larger themes in history sheds light on women’s social and economic networks that extend beyond their own households.

Both these scholarships also examine the economic engagements of “ordinary” people. They provide a template to historically frame the work of maka‘āinana wāhine, a topic absent in the scholarship about the Hawaiian people. My thesis aims to bring the labor of maka‘āinana wāhine to the foreground with sex work being their primary means of acquiring consumer goods. It is important to note that Hawaiian women were not relegated to the sex trade because of a gendered division of labor that excluded them from other commercial activities. This is unlike patriarchal societies where work opportunities outside of one’s household were limited to domestic help and needlecraft. Rather Hawaiian women sold sex because of a demand by haole men.

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<sup>5</sup> Emmanuel Akyeampong, “‘Wo pe tam won pe ba’ (*‘You like cloth but you don’t want children’*) Urbanization, Individualism & Gender Relations in Colonial Ghana c. 1900-39” In *Africa’s Urban Past*, ed. David M. Anderson & Richard Rathbone (Oxford: James Currey, 2000), 222.

Chapter one of this thesis, traces commodity exchange between Hawaiians and Euro-American sailors at the turn of the nineteenth century. Early trade developed since Captain Cook's arrival in 1778 with the islands quickly emerged as an essential refueling stopover for sailors traveling across the Pacific Ocean. Women left the shores in large numbers for shipboard markets where they mediated exchanges of food, water, and sex for Western goods, such as, clothing an item fashioned at dances or public occasions. Their commercial activities were crucial to exchanges, especially because females were essential to the sex-for-goods trade. Without this commercial activity sailors would not be inclined to call on the islands. Though there were numerous interactions with Westerners, women accumulated imports, prized possessions in an emerging new value system that was brought about by foreign trade. Sex work became even more crucial in the acquisition of Western goods after a series of kapu (prohibitions) privileged King Kamehameha's trade by prohibiting maka'āinana from exchanging produce and products with foreigners.

Women's participation in the development of trade and commodity acquisition is focus of chapter two. Hawaiian women continued to travel out to ships during the first half of the 1820s. The desire for commodities, especially Western-style clothing, increased exchanges with haole who, by this time, included, the ABCFM missionaries, merchants, and mariners. These three groups sought female attention (although for different reasons) by dressing the Hawaiian body. As commercial activities, particularly the sale of drink, gambling, and sex, expanded, so did a new moral code based on Christian mores. Disputes over female sexual conduct arose, especially surrounding the sex trade, but these impositions did little to hamper the sale of sex.

The final chapter examines the impact of the 1825 chiefly kapu that forbade ho'okamakama (prostitution). Prohibiting women from traveling to ships impacted commerce

because the sex trade brought in money that was spent at establishments primarily operated by Euro-Americans. Stopping the sex trade brought about rioting driven by the sexual desire of mariners and merchants concerned over their financial interests. Access to a woman's body was more than sexual pleasure, it represented Euro-American political and trade influence over the ali'i. Because haole interpreted the kapu as a new moral code influenced by the ABCFM mission, allowing women to travel to ships meant that sailors and merchants had a greater chiefly influence than the missionaries who intervened to stop this commercial activity. Although these issues concerned women, the sellers of sex did not participate in the riots, rather they became wives to avoid punishment and continue their exchanges.

Excerpts and references from the Hawaiian language have few, if any, diacritical markings. Hawaiian words are not italicized because Hawaiian is the indigenous language. All translations are my own.

## CHAPTER 1

### **Exotic Exchanges: Trade & Foreign Arrivals at The Turn of the Nineteenth Century**

European exploration fostered exchanges and connections between Native Hawaiians and foreigners. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the trans-Pacific trade brought an increasing number of Euro-American men to the Hawaiian Islands. A longing for refreshment and female intimacy placed sailors in direct contact with Hawaiian women. Interactions with foreigners presented opportunities for Hawaiians to supply incoming vessels with goods and services in exchange for new and novel Western items. A sex-for-goods trade emerged as an essential component in these early exchanges with women, the sellers of sex, as some of the principal agents of commerce. They acquired Euro-American imports that became sought after possessions amongst the Hawaiian people. Over time, a series of decrees enacted by King Kamehameha privileged his trade with foreigners. By severely restricting *maka'āinana* (people of the land) engagements with foreign trade, sex emerged as one of the few commodities to be exchanged for Western goods.

#### Multiple Unions

To understand the acceptability of sexual relations between women and *haole* (foreign) men, it is essential to look at sexuality in Hawaiian culture. Multiple relationships with partners of the same and opposite gender were customary. The words that describe individuals within a relationship provide further insight into the familial and social functions of these unions. For example, an *'aikāne* is often translated to a friend; however, by examining *mo'olelo* (stories) this word refers to a sexual companion of the same gender.<sup>1</sup> Another common type of relationship

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<sup>1</sup> Ho'oulumāhiehie, Puakea Nogelmeier, Solomon Enos, Ho'oulumāhiehie, and Ho'oulumāhiehie. *Ka Mo'olelo O Hi'iaikaipoliopole: Ka Wahine I Ka Hikina a Ka Lā, Ka U'i Palekoki Uila O Halema'uma'u*. The *'aikāne* relationship occurred among chiefs. Mō'ī Kauikeauoli (Kamehameha III) and Kaomi had an *'aikāne* relationship. See Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires = Ko Hawai'i 'āina a Me Nā Koi*

was punalua. This can be defined as spouses sharing a house, such as the husbands of a wife, or the wives of a husband.<sup>2</sup> Punalua relationships were frequently recognized among the chiefs, but, as we will see, the maka‘āinana also had multiple relationships. Another term is po‘olua that can be translated as a child who recognizes the lineage of two men.<sup>3</sup> Ali‘i wahine (female chiefs) were often sent to live in the household of another male chief. After pregnancy was confirmed, the ali‘i wahine (female chief) returned home where the mother and another ali‘i kāne (male chief) raised the child who could then recognize both paternal lineages. This practice increased the number of relatives who gave the child their loyalty. The existence of these three relationship terms indicates their familial and social functions in a place where multiple partnerships occurred among all levels of society.

Because sexual relations and gender roles were not bound by Christian norms, numerous Euro-American sailing accounts remark on Hawaiian relationship patterns. Samuel Patterson, was an American sailor who visited Hawai‘i once in 1805 and made two subsequent visits in 1806. He wrote that for commoners, “any pair wishing to live together may form the connection by their own agreement; and they continue it during their pleasure, without any appearance of jealousy; but when they ch[oo]se, wholly by their own agreement, they part, and form new connections.”<sup>4</sup> The idea that the church or state did not regulate relations was novel to sailors who came from societies where sex was confined within life long monogamous relationships.

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*Pu‘umake a Ka Po‘e Haole: A History of Land Tenure Change in Hawai‘i from Traditional times until the 1848 Māhele, including an Analysis of Hawaiian Ali‘i Nui and American Calvinists.* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press 1992), 47, 160.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 355.

<sup>3</sup> Pukui, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 342.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Patterson, *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of Samuel Patterson, Who Made Three Voyages to the North West Coast of America, and Who Sailed to the Sandwich Islands, and to Many Other Parts of This World before Being Shipwrecked on the Feejee Islands* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1967), 68.

Patterson’s observations addresses key characteristics, particularly jealousy, in Hawaiian relationships, issues in Kaluakoko, a mo‘olelo (story) about a fisherman and his wife living in Hilo on Hawai‘i Island. Hawaiian people openly formed new unions and, at times, while in another relationship.<sup>5</sup> In the story, the wife consents to her husband starting another relationship with a woman who eventually becomes her punalua. It is the generosity of the first wife that brings about the three of them living together. But their life together is destroyed by the second wife’s envy, which is the cause of her death. The point of the story and a key aspect of Hawaiian relationships is that jealousy ruins familial relations, not multiple unions.

Sex was a permissible act and a common topic of mo‘olelo, mele (songs), oli (chants), and mele ma‘i (songs to honor the genitals of a chief).<sup>6</sup> These forms of poetic expression often honor a lover and intimate acts through the use of a specific location and its unique geographic features. With the increasing number of European contacts, Hawaiians began composing mele about visiting foreigners, their vessels, and distant lands. The song “‘Ālika”, is a Hawaiian word that can be translated to the Arctic, but in this instance, it commemorates the landing of the *Arctic* vessel off the coast of Kaua‘i around 1787. This may be one of the earliest Hawaiian songs to honor a foreign ship.

Aia i Alika o ka ihu o ka moku	There on the Arctic is the prow of the ship
Ua hao a paihi ka pe‘a i na kia	Fully set are the sails
Ke liolio nei na kaula polena	The bound cords are drawn tight
Alualu ole iho i ka pa a ka makani	Rise the sails in the wind
Ke kau ae nei ka ihu i Makao	The prow of the Macao is set on course
Ke iho ae nei e komo i Alika	It’s heading down to enter Alika
Ma ke kai melemele ke kowa o Berina	At the yellow sea the Bering Straits
Nani wale ka ikena, na pua i Kalona	A lovely view, the flowers at Sharon

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<sup>5</sup> Mary Kawena Pukui and Martha Warren Beckwith, *Hawaiian Folk Tales*. (Poughkeepsie, NY: Vassar College, 1933). For the purposes of this mo‘olelo, the term wife is used to refer to a female partner. It is not used within the context of Christian marriage.

<sup>6</sup> Incorporated in these poetic forms are numerous references to sexuality and sexual relations. A compilation of these stories is Mary Kawena Pukui and Martha Warren Beckwith’s *Hawaiian Folk Tales* (1933).

I noho i ka ia, ka piko i Himele	The yard resides, at the Himalayan summit <sup>7</sup>
Ka hale pama hoomaka i ke kula	The palm house began at the plains
Aia i Alika o ka ihu o ka moku	There on the Arctic is the prow of the ship
Nana i alakai kuhikuhi pololei	Look to the right direction
Ke ala pololei e ike ai oe	You recognize the correct path
Ka loa o ka moana, ka piko o ka honua <sup>8</sup>	The distance of the ocean, the peak of the earth

Although this is only a portion of a longer mele, the lyrics describe distant lands visited by fur traders sailing on vessels en route to the port cities of New England, the Pacific Northwest, Hawai‘i, and China. Haole mariners or returning Hawaiian sailors surely shared stories about distant lands to Hawaiians who wanted to travel abroad.<sup>9</sup> Also composed in this mele, in addition to other poetic forms of expression, is kaona, a multiplicity of meanings that are often sexual. Several lyrics in this song are suggestive such as, describing the sails as “set so fine,” prompting imagery of a sailor dressed in uniform.<sup>10</sup> Or the continued use of prow, the long front part of a ship that projects out into the ocean, elicits thoughts of male physical prowess and endurance.

Although Captain James Cook is recognized as the earliest Westerner to visit Hawai‘i in 1778, various accounts indicate prior European arrivals. Hawaiian mo‘olelo reveals that Spanish sailors were marooned in the 1500s, lived with women, and had children from these unions. A sixteenth century map discovered by Lord Anson, an English admiral who captured a Spanish

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<sup>7</sup> A yard is a spar, a long pole used for a mast on a ship.

<sup>8</sup> *Ka Lei Momi* (Honolulu), July 4, 1893. Although the song appeared in an 1893 newspaper publication, it is possible the song was composed earlier.

<sup>9</sup> Polynesians traveling abroad is the focus of David Chappell’s (1997) *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships*. One of voyagers was Ka‘iana a chief of Kaua‘i who by embarking on a long-distance voyage on a fur vessel was envied by other Hawaiians. Additionally, the chief became one of a select few Hawaiians that traveled to China and Northwest American during the late 1700s. See David Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships*. (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1990), 36.

Another examination of Hawaiian explorations is a book by David Chang. See David Chang, *The World And All The Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016).

<sup>10</sup> Sam Ohu Gon III’s *Facebook* page, accessed February 22, 2016.

<https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=365%20OF%20ALOHA%20ALIKA>

Samuel Elbert and Noelani Mahoe, *Nā Mele o Hawai‘i Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), 33, 34.



ship sailing from Acapulco to Manila, is further indication that Spaniards probably reached Hawai‘i. On the map, between the 18° and 23° parallels North, the exact location of Hawai‘i, were a group of islands.<sup>11</sup> A January 19, 1867 article by Samuel Kamakau, writer, historian, and cultural critic, recounts other visitors prior to Captain Cook. He mentions a group of foreigners that arrived near Kāne‘ohe on the island of O‘ahu during the reign of Auaniai, the high chief who resided at Kapalawai in Kailua. Kamakau’s writing on early foreign arrivals further states that during the time of Kualī‘i who was chief of O‘ahu until his death in 1730, the Hawaiian people were familiar with foreigners because of numerous encounters.<sup>12</sup>

William Shaler, an American who visited the Hawaiian Islands in 1804, wrote about two arrivals prior to Captain Cook. Hawaiians told Shaler that “two white men [who] landed at Karakakoo (Kealakekua) in a skin canoe; one of them is reported to have been much respected for his wisdom and prowess as a warrior.”<sup>13</sup> After visiting their descendants, Shaler wrote that their “features are very different from the natives in general”. His account continues with another visit that occurred several years before Cook’s arrival when “a ship appeared off the south end of the island of Owhyee [Hawai‘i]: two girls went on board of her in a small canoe, which was stowed along-side of the ship, and, after, remaining a night on board, they returned in a small boat, furnished them by the commander of the ship.”<sup>14</sup> Sexual encounters with haole men increased after the coming of Captain Cook with the presence of these large vessels and foreign men generating curiosity among Hawaiians who traveled aboard to see the mysterious

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<sup>11</sup>Ella L. Embree, "Les Russes Aux Iles Hawai, 1816-1818. Reports, Letters, Etc. of the Russian-American Co., of Alaska from Hagenmeister, Scheffer, Baranov, Etc Concerning the Sandwich Islands, from Original Manuscript in the Bancroft Library.": 7.

<sup>11</sup>William Shaler, Lindley Bynum, and Ruth Saunders, *Journal Of A Voyage Between China And The North-Western Coast of America, Made in 1804 by William Shaler* (Claremont, CA: Saunders Studio Press, 1935), 98.

<sup>12</sup>Samuel M. Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo O Kamehameha I," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (Honolulu, HI), January 19, 1867. nupepa.org.

<sup>13</sup>Shaler, *Journal Of A Voyage Between China and The North-Western Coast of America*, 98.

<sup>14</sup>Shaler, *Journal Of A Voyage Between China and The North-Western Coast of America*, 85.

ship, crew, and cargo. Yet, as with earlier arrivals, women paddled out to ships, a practice that indicates a familiarity with foreigners that developed over multiple encounters.

### Resident Newcomers

By the 1790s, a small number of Euro-Americans were cohabitating with Hawaiian women. Isaac Davis and John Young were two foreigners who served Kamehameha as chiefly advisors and acted as mediators with Euro-American sailors. Young became the governor of Hawai‘i Island and assisted Kamehameha in composing correspondences written in English.<sup>15</sup> Another European residing in Hawai‘i was Francisco de Paula Marin, known as Manini in Hawai‘i. His fluency in Spanish, English, and Hawaiian languages provided the chiefs with an advisor who served as an interpreter and recorder.<sup>16</sup> The Spaniard’s signature on several agreements between the chiefs and haole businessmen is evidence of his importance as a chiefly recorder and possible advisor.<sup>17</sup> He was a craftsman, adept at distilling, construction, and needlework, producing prized items, such as brandy, a stone house, and Western-style clothing for certain high chiefs.<sup>18</sup> Oliver Holmes from Plymouth, Massachusetts also took up residence in

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<sup>15</sup> John Young signed a receipt on behalf of Kamehameha for the payment of three thousand dollars for the sale of the ship *Lelia Byrd*. See Photostat Copy Of Receipt, Signed by John Young, for Tamaahuahu, for \$3000, March 4, 1814, Foreign Office and Executive, Chronological File, 1810, 1812-1814, folder 402-2-7, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>16</sup> Documents written and signed by Manini indicate that he served the chiefs in these capacities. See: 1812: Account by Don Francisco Marin of the returns brought by Captain Winship for the King’s sandalwood shipped to China in 1811, Foreign Office and Executive, Chronological File 1810, 1812-1814, folder 402-2-7, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>17</sup> Photostat Copy Of Receipt, Signed by John Young, for Tamaahuahu, for \$3000, March 4, 1814.; Receipt Karaimoku and Poki pay Josiah Marshall & Dixey Wildes, January 10, 1826, Foreign Office and Executive, Chronological File, 1826: Jan. 10 – April 9, folder 402-2-20. Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.; Deed of Lease, Karaimoku to R. Charlton, October 5, 1826, Foreign Office and Executive, Chronological File, 1826: Aug. 25, Oct., folder 402-2-21, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.; Copy of Deed (299 years), Karaimoku to R. Charlton, December 9, 1826, Foreign Office and Executive, Chronological File, 1826: Dec. 9, 23, folder 402-2-22, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.; Copy of Confirmation of Lease, Karaimoku to R. Charlton, December 9, 1826, Foreign Office and Executive, Chronological File, 1826: Dec. 9, 23, folder 402-2-22, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>18</sup> Ross H. Gast, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin: A Biography by Ross H. Gast: The Letters and Journal of Francisco de Paula Marin*, ed. Anges C. Conrad (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1973), 200, 201, 207, 223.

Honolulu after being discharged from the *Margaret* on October 8, 1793.<sup>19</sup> For a period, Holmes was the governor for O‘ahu. Because of their loyal service to Kamehameha, large pieces of land were granted. Yet, it was the marriages to the ali‘i wāhine (chiefly women) that secured their positions.<sup>20</sup> Both Davis and Young had several wives, and the children from these unions were considered ali‘i. Charles Stewart, a visitor to the islands said that Manini was called the “father of foreigners” because his marriages to four Hawaiian women produced thirty-seven children.<sup>21</sup> Oliver Holmes married Mahi, the daughter of an O‘ahu ali‘i nui, who bore several of his children mentioned in the last chapter.

Anthony Allen was another foreigner who resided in Hawai‘i during the early 1800s. Unlike the other men previously mentioned, Allen was a former slave prior to arriving on Hawaiian shores in 1811. An 1822 letter that Allen wrote to his former master details about his life after slavery and how he

came to live on [a] place with two families the people of the High Priest [Hevaheva], belonging to the land. And here I must tell you that according to the custom of the country & the practice of some of my white neighbors who settle in the Islands I took me two wives. They were cousins, and were daughters in [sic] the two families living on the land that was given to me. You Sir may think it strange that I should have two wives. But most of the foreigners who come here must have at least one, which can be easily exchanged for another, some have two, or three. Isaac Davis had six, and one American gentleman who I could name, kept ten, for two or three years. This is true as the book of Genesis. In 1813, I began to build me small thatched houses, I built one for a sleeping house, one for an eating house for my self and one for an eating house for my wives, for we might not eat in a sleeping house without breaking taboo. I could not eat in my women’s eating house nor they in mine. I could not go into theirs nor they into mine, we could not drink.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> “Ka Papa Kuhikuhi Makahiki O Na Mea Kaulana O Hawaii Nei” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, (Honolulu, HI), July 29, 1865. p.4.; Oliver Holmes, Manuscript Collection Inventory, folder G-H, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>20</sup> Some of the women who cohabitated with these haole men had relations with others, at times, without the knowledge of their partner. See Gast, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin*, ed. Anges C. Conrad, 199, 206, 214.

<sup>21</sup> C.S. Stewart, *The Private Journal of the Rev. C.S. Stewart: Late Missionary at the Sandwich Islands* (Dublin: Religious Tract and Book Society for Ireland, 1831), 239.

<sup>22</sup> Anthony Allen letter to former master, October 11, 1822, Non-Missionary Letters, Allen, Anthony D. 1828, 1830, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI.

Along with his two wives and children, Allen lived on nearly six acres of land near Waikīkī. The letter reads as if Allen is boasting about his life and relationships with two women, but it is striking that the Bible was mentioned to authenticate his honesty even though missionary, Hiram Bingham of the ABCFM mission, an advocate of life long monogamous Christian marriage, helped pen this letter. In addition, Allen points out that the Euro-American residents were afforded similar cohabitation privileges, while obliging to Hawaiian customs, including the ‘aikapu, a restriction that forbade men and women from eating together. Allen and the haole chiefly advisors were granted similar land privileges by the chiefs. Because these men observed similar decrees, this would have seemed revolutionary to a Black man and former slave who was previously regarded as another man’s property and subject to racially biased legislation.

Although there was this form of social equality, Anthony Allen was exposed to racial prejudice from the growing number of Euro-American men in Hawai‘i. Allen is noticeably missing from sailing accounts, especially writings that call attention to the increasing presence of foreign men and their interactions with women.<sup>23</sup> This could be a result of the land and marriage privileges Allen was afforded in Hawai‘i. Another reason might be because, over time, Allen became a successful entrepreneur and philanthropist.<sup>24</sup> The social and economic conditions that facilitated Allen’s acquisition of wealth was considered revolutionary in Western countries. But his success was even more radical because it was unheard of to the majority of Blacks in other parts of the world and to the visiting White mariners who were likely of lower economic means.

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<sup>23</sup> Missionary writings frequently mention Anthony Allen and his generosity to the mission. This will be discussed in the following chapter. The *Missionary Herald* publishes an account of Allen, but it only mentions that he has one wife. Additionally, it is because of this published account that his former master becomes aware of Allen’s whereabouts. *The Missionary Herald for the Year 1821* (Boston: Published for the Board by Samuel T. Armstrong, 1821).

<sup>24</sup> Eleanor C. Nordyke, “Blacks in Hawai‘i: A Demographic and Historical Perspective,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* no. 22. (1988), 243.

Other newcomers included sailors who deserted their ship and rather risk living on a remote tropical island than return to life at sea. Similar to the other resident foreigners, these men cohabitated with at least one Hawaiian woman and fathered children from these unions. Archibald Campbell, who resided on the island of O‘ahu for over a year beginning in 1809, observed that six convicts from New South Wales and nearly sixty former sailors were living on O‘ahu.<sup>25</sup> By 1814, it was observed that nearly one hundred and fifty Englishmen resided in Hawai‘i.<sup>26</sup> Although the exact number of newcomers is unknown, these accounts indicate there were an increasing number of haole men.

### Objects of Desire

The Hawaiian Islands played a central geographic and economic role in the emergent trans-Pacific trade routes. Following the arrival of Captain Cook, Euro-American ships considered Hawai‘i an essential rest stop because of its the central location in relation to either side of the Pacific and abundance of firewood, salt, water, and food. In addition, Hawaiians were recruited as deckhands because of their excellent swimming and diving abilities. These were valuable skills because a majority of Euro-American sailors could not swim.

As European ships entered Hawaiian waters, the indigenous inhabitants left the shore in large numbers to trade. This was a well-known occurrence among visitors, as documented by La

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<sup>25</sup> Archibald Campbell, *A Voyage round the World, from 1806 to 1812; in Which Japan, Kamschatka, the Aleutian Islands, and the Sandwich Islands Were Visited; including a Narrative of the Author's Shipwreck on the Island of Sannack, and His Subsequent Wreck in the Ship's Long-boat; with an Account of the Present State of the Sandwich Islands, and a Vocabulary of Their Language* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press for Friends of the Library of Hawaii, 1967), 118-119.

<sup>26</sup> Embree, "Les Russes Aux Iles Hawai.", 13.



Figure 1.1: The vessels of L' Astrolabe & La Boussole anchored off Maui, HI, ca. 1785.  
Laperouse Museum & Monuments, "Hawaii-La Perouse Bay"  
<https://laperousemuseum.files.wordpress.com/2012/09/astrolabeboussole.jpg> (accessed April 12, 2017)

Perouse, a French navigator who called on the islands in 1785. The image above depicts two ships off the coast of Maui and the Hawaiian traders, that he wrote about, who

as usual flocked around their visitors with hogs, potatoes, banana, &c which they bartered for iron, their first object of their desire. –They had acquired, since Captain Cook's time, considerable knowledge of exchange, which they evinced by never bringing into the market a large quantity of any of their commodities at one time, and by their demanding a distinct price for every article.<sup>27</sup>

His list of exchanged items reveals that Hawaiians wanted iron and other new and novel imports, while sailors wanted familiar foods of pigs, potatoes, and bananas. Commodity desire drove the increasing number of exchanges that continued into the following decade. The account goes on to describe an exchange practice where Hawaiian traders implied that commodities were in short supply by bringing small amounts of produce to shipboard markets, even though an abundance of food was available on land. A practice that ultimately benefited Hawaiian traders who could

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<sup>27</sup> *History Of The Otaheitean Islands From Their First Discovery To The Present Time: Including An Account Of The Institutions, Government, Manners, Customs, Religion, & Ceremonies, Of The People Inhabiting The Society, The Friendly Islands, and The Marquesas. With An Historical Sketch Of The Sandwich Islands. To Which Is Added, An Account Of A Mission To The Pacific Ocean, In The Years 1796, 1797, 1798* (Edinburgh: Printed by T. Maccliesh and Co. for Ogle & Aikman. 1800), 181.

“demand a distinct price for every article” because mariners felt compelled to acquire these items, rather than risk disaster by departing without essential provisions.

In addition, traders allied and worked together to establish, maintain, and demand high exchange rates. Urey Lisianskii, a Captain in the Russian Navy who visited Hawai‘i Island in June 1804, wrote about trade practices. He believed that Hawaiians were “very difficult in bargaining,” because the people “know how to keep up the price of whatever they have to sell; and, if it happened that we purchased any thing at a dear rate, it was immediately known to the whole throng, and the article could not be obtained afterwards cheaper.”<sup>28</sup> Prices were said to be “far more expensive than earlier” because Hawaiian traders did not undercut a fellow merchant. This kept exchange prices high with everyone receiving excellent compensation for their produce and product. This points to a high level of social organization and a possibility that traders might have shared acquired imports. Although the incoming trade items were highly desirable, foreign goods were nonessential because, on land, there was an abundance of food and material that sustained the Hawaiian people. Therefore, a Hawaiian trader could wait, although reluctantly, for a more favorable exchange opportunity.

It was important for visitors to be aware of and possess the preferred commodity to successfully conduct exchanges. By 1805, iron was in abundance and of little value, cloth, firearms, ammunition, sea-lion teeth, carpenter’s tools, hardware, and other European items were the commodities of choice.<sup>29</sup> Western-style clothing became highly prized as detailed by a Russian sailor who wrote that Hawaiians “receive[d] with pleasure, old shirts, jackets, and trowsers [sic]” and the crew parted with “all our rags, in exchange for provisions, and other

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<sup>28</sup> Iuri Fedorovich Lisianskii, *A Voyage round the World in the Years 1803, 4, 5 & 6. Performed by of His Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, in the Ship Neva* (London: John Booth, 1814).

<sup>29</sup> Campbell, *A Voyage Round The World*, 144-145.

articles, of which we were in want.”<sup>30</sup> The exceptionally limited quantities and desire for clothing resulted in worn garments being happily accepted. Firearms, carpenter tools, and hardware were other desirable imports because, as will be discussed later in this chapter, this equipment was essential in carrying out important tasks.

A Russian navigator became mortified when he quickly realized that without the desired commodity, Hawaiians were unwilling to trade. When three crafts sailed out with a large hog, I.R. Kruzenshtern, another Russian sailor, wrote that he

was destining the animal as Sunday dinner for my people on the morrow. My mortification was therefore the greater when I realized that it would not be possible to purchase even that, the only beast brought out to us. I offered everything I had at my disposal for the hog; but the vendor refused the best axes, knives and scissors as well as whole pieces of material and complete suits of cloths, demanding only a piece of broadcloth [a finely twilled fabric] large enough to envelop him, like a mantle, from head to toe.<sup>31</sup>

After another day of unsuccessful bartering, Kruzenshtern quickly realized that broadcloth was essential to acquire the highly sought after animal. The sailor’s eagerness to trade everything at his disposal for a pig demonstrates his desire and realization that this may be the only opportunity to obtain pork, even though additional hogs were available on land. This account also describes how a majority of people wrapped a large of cloth around their entire body, or perhaps, only their lower section, similar to the traditionally fashioned malo or pā‘ū skirt.<sup>32</sup> At this early time, sewing was an unnecessary and therefore, not a widely known craft, and Manini, the chiefly advisor, might have been the only resident skilled in needlework. The ali‘i called on

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<sup>30</sup> Lisianskii, *A Voyage Round The World*, 125.

<sup>31</sup> Glynn Barratt, *The Russian Discovery of Hawai‘i: The Ethnographic And Historic Record*. (Honolulu, Editions Ltd., 1987), 90.

Broadcloth was highly desirable finely made fabric that was used to make clothing.

<sup>32</sup> Males wore a malo, commonly known as a loincloth. Women wrapped themselves with material that resembled a skirt that is called a pā‘ū. This type of clothing was usually made from processed tree bark.



him for this valuable service, like when the high chief, Kalanimoku requested for two pairs of trousers and four shirts to be made.<sup>33</sup>

### European Cloth

Hawaiians who owned European fashions publically displayed their coveted possessions.



Figure 1.2: Image of an ali'i wahine wearing bright colored clothing followed by two attendants, one carrying an umbrella. Otto Von Kotzebue, Hawai'i Island, ca. 1816 <http://www.lindahall.org/otto-van-kotzebue/> (accessed April 12, 2017)

Two of Kamehameha's queens walked with an attendant whom was "holding with his two hands a splendid parasol of the richest silk, measuring six feet eight inches in diameter. From this umbrella hung twelve massy tassels, weighing at least a pound each."<sup>34</sup> The mention of this extremely large and finely crafted umbrella by Alexander Ross, an American visitor in February 1811, indicates its uniqueness in a place where most Hawaiians still wore a malo or pā'ū skirt. Although the image is a from Otto Von Kotzebue's visit in 1816, the depiction is similar to Ross' description. The ali'i wahine was followed by two kahu, attendants, one holding an umbrella and the other a kähili, a feathered like shaft that signifies the presence of ali'i. Her bright colored attire stood out and Euro-American observers recognized this public display of finery as symbols

<sup>33</sup> Gast, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin: A Biography* by Ross H. Gast, ed. Anges C. Conrad, 207, 223. On June 16, 1812, Manini writes "cuts 2 pairs of trousers of the Minister". See Gast, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin*, 207. Kalanimoku is called the Minister in Manini's journal. See Gast, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin*, 200.

<sup>34</sup> Alexander Ross, *Adventures of The First Settlers On The Columbia River* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966), 36.

of chiefly wealth, which included luxury possessions that were difficult to acquire for a majority of Westerners, including the observer.

Some maka‘āinana who owned European dress fashioned themselves with these highly sought-after outfits. According to Campbell, at popular and public dances women would “display all their finery, particularly in European cloths, if they are so fortunate as to possess any.”<sup>35</sup> Because European goods were difficult to acquire, in limited supply, and could not be locally produced in large quantities, imports were coveted items. Other people possibly envied those who possessed these highly prized imports. This would elevate the owner’s social status that was not associated with genealogy.<sup>36</sup> Since subsistence living provided Hawaiians with a similar standard of living, such as housing, clothing, and food types, variation in possessions amongst maka‘āinana was limited and might not have been possible until trade with foreigners. Therefore, trade was the source of acquiring limited imports, exchange with foreigners initiated a change in value systems that was previously unavailable to the maka‘āinana.

Over the next decade, demand for Western-style dress increased. Otto Von Kotzebue, a German navigator for the Russian Empire, visited Hawai‘i in 1816. He wrote that accessorizing with an article of “European dress has become a matter of necessity, even to the meanest individual; some wear only a shirt, another has trowsers [sic], and a third parades in a waistcoat” and Hawaiian women “clothe themselves in stuffs (tappa) of their own manufacture, and only the neck is adorned with a silk handkerchief”.<sup>37</sup> Even though the number of Hawaiians accessorizing with European dress increased, the majority of maka‘āinana did not possess a complete outfit. Dress patterns could be influenced by supply limitations. The majority of

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<sup>35</sup> Campbell, *A Voyage Round The World*, 146-147.

<sup>36</sup> Familial lineage is the customary means for a person to claim ruling authority and chiefly status. Prior to the introduction of trade, genealogy was one of the few means for a person to obtain status.

<sup>37</sup> Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits*, 330.

sailors might not have brought complete sets of clothing to exchange because of the limited space aboard. Another reason is because a sailor did not possess extra cloths to trade. Although Kotzebue mentioned that American merchants who imported clothing had a significant trade advantage, these commodities might have been intended for the chiefs and foreign residents.

### Commodified Bodies

The exchange of sex for imported products became an essential component of early trade between women and visiting Euro-American sailors. When Captain Cook and his crew arrived in Hawai'i, they might have attempted to recreate a sex trade that was similar to places they previously called on. Tahiti had an established sex-for-nails trade that later took hold in Aotearoa where, in 1772, women boarded Cook's ship to establish friendly relations with their British visitors.<sup>38</sup> Interactions between Hawaiian women and seamen varied from one-time exchanges to long-term interactions that occurred over multiple stopovers. In many cases these were relationships of convenience with participants having multiple partners, a relationship pattern that was in accordance with Hawaiian epistemologies. Additionally, the exchange of sex-for-goods was not stigmatized in Hawaiian society until decades after the introduction of Christianity.

Large numbers of Hawaiian women frequented these shipboard marketplaces to engage in the sale of sex. Sailors' accounts often remark that canoes filled with women routinely paddled out to ships.<sup>39</sup> One account mentions that at dusk "a company of about a hundred young women made their appearance in the water, swimming towards our vessel, and exhibiting, as

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<sup>38</sup> David A. Chappell, "Shipboard Relations between Pacific Island Women and EuroAmerican Men 1767-1887," *The Journal of Pacific History* 27, no. 2 (1992): 140.

His article overview of sexual encounters and exchanges and argues that indigenous women aided in shaping mutual initiation with Euro-American seamen.

<sup>39</sup> Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits*, 295.

they approached us, the most unequivocal tokens of pleasure, no doubting of admittance.”<sup>40</sup>

According to his writing, the following night the “vessel was again surrounded by the female troop, who had so kindly offered us their company the preceding evening, and who now seemed resolved upon intrusion, if not admitted freely to our society.”<sup>41</sup> Because this is the second time that a Russian ship called on the Hawaiian Islands, the women’s actions may have surprised the visitors who might have been unaware of trade protocol and the routine occurrence of women traveling out to ships. In addition, these are perceptions of Hawaiian women that vary from other Euro-American sailors who traveled with preconceived notions of hypersexual indigenous women.

Women began altering their behavior in the company of European men to facilitate the sale of sex. The British Captain, George Vancouver returned to the Hawaiian Islands in for a second time in March 1792, and wrote about the

excessive wantonness presented in this excursion. Had this levity, now so offensively conspicuous, been exhibited in my former visits to these islands, its impressions could not have been effaced, and it must have been recollected at this time with all the abhorrence which it would at first have naturally created; but as no remembrance of such behaviour occurred, I was induced to consider this licentiousness as a perfectly new acquirement, taught, perhaps by the different civilized voluptuaries, who, for some years past, have been their constant visitors.<sup>42</sup>

In this account, Vancouver compared the actions of Hawaiian women with those during his previous visit in 1778. He blamed incoming sailors for teaching women this overtly sensual conduct and believed that men were incapable of controlling their sexual desires. However, a result of increased contact was women changing their behavior to express sexual availability in a way understandable to sailors.

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<sup>40</sup> Lisianskii, *A Voyage Round The World*, 101.

<sup>41</sup> Lisianskii, *A Voyage Round The World*, 103.

<sup>42</sup> George Vancouver, *A Voyage Of Discovery To The North Pacific Ocean And Round The World, 1791-1795 With an Introduction and Appendices, Volume II*, ed. W. Kaye Lamb (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1984), 462.

A Russian navigator described the outgoing actions of a Hawaiian woman who leapt aboard. This eighteen-year-old female “look[ed] at all with merry eyes full of animation, she held out her hand to everyone approaching her, or else went up to individuals and did the same.” Her actions got the attention of the Captain who “watched her with particular attention, for her boldness and freedom with which she was behaving with us were decidedly unusual for a native. Her vivacity was matchless.”<sup>43</sup> This woman had numerous interactions with foreigners because of her ability to act “as a spontaneous interpreter” for the other male Hawaiian traders who did not speak English.<sup>44</sup> She used this knowledge to mediate the exchange and get the attention of the sailors through a handshake, a distinctively European gesture, and direct gazes that are interpreted as invitations. In addition, through her body language and mannerisms, the captain understood “that she had come out to us with quite another sort of commerce in mind.”<sup>45</sup> This acquired behavior differed from Hawaiian sexuality that was openly accepted, as examined previously in mo‘olelo and mele. Because nudity was an everyday occurrence, a naked body was not considered overtly sexual behavior to Hawaiian people.

Some women regarded these foreign visitors as exotic. This attraction could be attributed to the fact that Hawaiians wanted to travel abroad, possibly to the distant lands called on by their visiting partner.<sup>46</sup> In addition, involvement with these men presented opportunities that differed from the monotony of daily life. Being in the company of sailors offered Hawaiian women opportunities for a fun time. Ships were places where Hawaiians saw and possibly acquired clothing and other foreign objects, heard stories about distant places, and ate new foods. Some women who traveled to ships did not observe the kapu (prohibitions), such as the ‘aikapu, a

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<sup>43</sup> Barratt, *The Russian Discovery of Hawai‘i*, 92.

<sup>44</sup> Barratt, *The Russian Discovery of Hawai‘i*, 92-3.

<sup>45</sup> Barratt, *The Russian Discovery of Hawai‘i*, 93.

<sup>46</sup> Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 36. Since the 1787 Hawaiians called out to ships to go to “Britanee, Britanee”.

chiefly restriction that forbade women from consuming pork, turtle, shark, coconuts, and bananas in addition to segregating eating between men and women.<sup>47</sup> Campbell observed this occurrence as Hawaiian women “often swim off to ships at night during the taboo; and I have known them eat of the forbidden delicacies of pork and shark’s flesh. What would be the consequence of a discovery I know not; but I once saw the queen transgressing in this respect, and was strictly enjoined to secrecy, as she said it was as much as her life was worth.”<sup>48</sup> The kapu that Campbell is referring to is most likely the ‘aikapu. Yet, there were other prohibitions that forbade people from traveling out to ships to impose order.<sup>49</sup> Vessels were liminal spaces, a place where both women and Euro-American men transgressed their own religious observances. As mentioned previously, food was kapu in Hawaiian society, but on board women partook in prohibited foods in the company of men. The presence of a foreign ship provided women with an opportunity to flout restrictions that were observed on land; however, upon returning to shore one might receive punishment.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, a haole man in Hawai‘i was unbound from Christian morals of sex and could openly sleep with women outside of marriage. If this sexual experience took place in his home country, the adverse social and religious repercussions would certainly be known to

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<sup>47</sup> The ‘aikapu is a religious observance that prohibits men and women from eating together. Additionally, women were forbidden from eating certain foods, such as pork, coconuts, and bananas.

<sup>48</sup> Campbell, *A Voyage Round The World, From 1806 to 1812*, 136.

<sup>49</sup> Kotzebue, *A voyage of discovery into the South Sea and Beering’s Straits*, 293.

Noelani Arista suggests in a footnote another way of understanding kapu in Hawaiian society is to impose order, or being orderly. See Noelani Arista “Histories of Unequal Measure: Euro-American Encounters with Hawaiian Governance and Law, 1793 – 1827” Dissertation, Brandeis University, 2010, 166-167.

<sup>50</sup> This does not indicate that all transgressors of a kapu were condemned to death, as reported in other scholarship. See Jennifer Fish Kashay, “Competing Imperialisms and Hawaiian Authority: The Cannonading of Lāhainā in 1827,” *Pacific Historical Review*, 77, no. 3 (2008), 375. Primary sources indicate otherwise. According to missionary wife Lucy Thurston, she was told, that several years before her arrival and under the ‘aikapu, “the ball of her right eye had been scooped out entirely” because a young girl ate a banana, a food only to be eaten by men.. Lucy Goodale Thurston, 1822, Handwritten Journal, 1819-1876, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, 88. ;Jennifer Fish Kashay, “From Kapus to Christianity: The Disestablishment of the Hawaiian Religion and Chiefly Appropriation of Calvinist Christianity,” *Western Historical Quarterly*, 39, no. 1 (2008): 19. She states that “hundreds of women who swam out to the foreign vessels,” to eat pork and other forbidden foods on board. But rather, the sex-for-goods trade is suggestive of another motive for going aboard. Kashay further states that women went aboard to eat the forbidden foods and have sex with haole men to get mana (power). If kapu foods provided women with mana, then it was easier to eat the foods on land where it was abundantly available.

the entire community. These shipboard encounters allowed women and men to take pleasure in experiences that were forbidden on land.

### Strangely Unfamiliar

Since early contacts with European sailors, the chiefs were often presented with new crops and animals. Captain Cook gifted cabbages and onions and in 1794, Vancouver presented a young bull, two cows, a couple of calves, five rams, and five sheep to Kamehameha.<sup>51</sup> By the turn of the century, watermelon, muskmelon, white potato, onions, lettuce, peas, beans, pumpkins, and grapes were among a large variety of introduced crops grown on the islands. In 1804, navigator William Shaler introduced horses, geese, ducks, and pigeons. The presence of these animals added numerous protein options to the existing choices of fish, dog, and pork. Cultivating different food crops added variety of foods to the Hawaiian diet.

These new crops also helped fill the demand of fresh food and produce that was supplied to incoming sailors. While on long voyages, food options were limited and unappetizing, as described by a sailor who ate “almost exclusively, on sea biscuit, and salt beef and pork, brought from America two or three years old.”<sup>52</sup> These harsh onboard conditions created a strong yearning among seamen who sought refreshment at the nearest port. Yet, the local fare of dog, breadfruit, taro, yams, and sweet potato were unfamiliar to incoming visitors. Poi, a staple of the Hawaiian diet was described by one visitor as “not unpalatable,” this dislike is evident when compared to another food item prepared from taro root that was “preferred by the white people.”<sup>53</sup> Due to these circumstances, fresh food items, especially those that were familiar to Euro-American diets would have been highly desirable to Western visitors.

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<sup>51</sup> George Vancouver, *A Voyage Of Discovery To The North Pacific Ocean And Round The World, 1791-1795, With an Introduction and Appendices, Volume III*, ed. W. Kaye Lamb (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1984), 1145.

<sup>52</sup> C.S. Stewart, *The Private Journal of The Rev. C.S. Stewart*, 87.

<sup>53</sup> Campbell, *A Voyage Round The World, From 1806 to 1812*, 131, 132.

Hawaiians sought to learn the skilled crafts of their European visitors. One example is when Kamehameha sought Vancouver's assistance to build a European style ship by having Hawaiians work along British carpenters and engineers to construct a vessel.<sup>54</sup> Within a short time, Hawaiians became adept carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, metalworkers, and shipbuilders.<sup>55</sup> Another example is when the king later requested the services of another European, Archibald Campbell for the construction of a loom. While working, Campbell was observed by an onlooker who was a skilled craftsman and tailor of Isaac Davis. Campbell mentions that

This man showed much anxiety to observe how I proceeded; but his master told me by no means to allow him, as he was so quick he would soon learn to make a loom himself. When I said I had no wish to make it a secret, he replied, that if the natives could weave cloth, and supply themselves, ships would have no encouragement to call at the islands.<sup>56</sup>

Foreigners were threatened by Hawaiians ability to quickly master skilled crafts because their learning of these crafts could have adversely influenced chiefly favor toward foreigners, particularly those belonging to the Kamehameha's counsel, who used their expertise in literacy and Western-style craftsmanship to provide the ali'i with valuable services and products. By becoming adept at shipbuilding, Hawaiians learned how to construct one of the most expensive items available, a skill unknown to the resident haole.<sup>57</sup> Because these men were subject to and dependent upon the good graces of the ali'i for their survival, land, and resources it is not surprising that a notion formed among "many of the white people, that the natives should be taught nothing that would render them independent of strangers."<sup>58</sup> The comment by Isaac Davis, indicates that skilled Hawaiians threatened haole men who thought the indigenous

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<sup>54</sup> Vancouver, *A Voyage Of Discovery To The North Pacific Ocean And Round The World, 1791-1795 With an Introduction and Appendices, Volume III*, 1152.

<sup>55</sup> Campbell, *A Voyage Round The World, From 1806 to 1812*, 144.; Shaler, *Journal Of A Voyage Between China and The North-Western Coast of America, Made in 1804 by William Shaler*, 90.

<sup>56</sup> Campbell, *A Voyage Round The World, From 1806 to 1812*, 99-100.

<sup>57</sup> Vancouver, *A Voyage Of Discovery To The North Pacific Ocean And Round The World, 1791-1795 With an Introduction and Appendices, Volume III*, 1152.

<sup>58</sup> Campbell, *A Voyage Round The World, From 1806 to 1812*, 99.



inhabitants should be in a state of ignorance and dependency. Another reason why foreign residents might have sought to withhold knowledge was to ensure foreign ships called on Hawai‘i to trade. The comment by Isaac Davis, indicates that trade with vessels was fostered by Hawaiian desire for cloth, hence knowledge in weaving jeopardized their commercial interests. Resident foreigners profited from ships calling on Hawai‘i by supplying fresh food and manufactured merchandise.

### Kapu

All aspects of Hawaiian society, politics, economics, and religion were regulated by kapu, a chiefly pronouncement that disseminated a complex set of behaviors, protocols, and laws. The enactment of a kapu could place a prohibition on a particular object, in turn, reserving the item for chiefly use. There were restrictions placed upon a pig because of ceremonial and preparation, so when pork emerged as a valuable commodity, the chiefs decreed special trade privileges on the ability to barter this animal. William Broughton’s 1796 account is the first mention of a kapu on pork:

Tamaahmaah [Kamehameha] with all his chiefs, and [s]ixteen thou[s]and men, had been ab[s]ent on an expedition again[s]t the i[s]lands to the leeward, all of which he had conquered but Atooi [Kaua‘i]. We could not therefore buy any hogs, as the[r]e chiefs had taboo’d all their property.<sup>59</sup>

Though the intent of this kapu is unclear, this passage demonstrates that local politics affected foreign trade. Kapu were a set of guidelines and regulations that were specific to the Hawaiian people, but foreigners too, were impacted by chiefly decrees.

The next mention of a kapu on pork was on June 12, 1804. It was observed that John Young, the Governor of Hawai‘i Island, prohibited the trade of pigs to Europeans without his

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<sup>59</sup> William Robert Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* (Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, 1967), 34.

consent.<sup>60</sup> By February 1811, the kapu on pork was extended to all the islands governed by Kamehameha.<sup>61</sup> When the king enacted a kapu on pork, the sole authority to exchange a hog rested with Kamehameha, affording him a considerable trade advantage. This was a widely observed decree according to a visiting mariner, Alexander Ross who wrote that

the natives, however, began a brisk trade in fruits and vegetables; we however, were desirous of purchasing hogs and goats, but were told that the sale of pork had been prohibited by royal proclamation, and that, without permission of king, who resided in the island of Woahoo [O‘ahu], no subject could dispose of any. Anxious to complete our supplies, we immediately resolved on sailing to Wahoo [O‘ahu].<sup>62</sup>

Since the kapu was widely observed, sailors traveled out of their way to trade directly with the king. Ships traveling to O‘ahu were directed to sail into Honolulu harbor, the place where many of Kamehameha’s armed vessels were moored. This was a display of authority, power, and wealth in a way understandable to visiting Euro-American sailors. Directing ships to trade at O‘ahu also facilitated the collection of port fees and became part of the origin of Honolulu developing into a port town.

Once at O‘ahu, foreigners were obligated to observe chiefly trade protocols. Though Ross and the crew were anxious to obtain supplies and quickly depart, the king held “interviews and visits of ceremony, [before the] captain had broached the subject of pork to his majesty; but this was not the work of an hour nor of a day; pork was a royal monopoly, and the king well knew how to turn it to his advantage on the present occasion, for several conferences were held, and all the *pros* and *cons* of a hard bargain discussed, before the royal contract was concluded.”<sup>63</sup>

A prolonged stopover was frustrating for the crew who wanted to hastily depart with the four-

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<sup>60</sup> Barratt, *The Russian Discovery of Hawai‘i*, 31.

<sup>61</sup> Though the high chief Kaumuali‘i ceded Kaua‘i and Ni‘ihau to Kamehameha, the former continued to control trade over these two islands. Accounts do not indicate that a trade kapu over pork was enacted over the two Northern most Hawaiian Islands.

<sup>62</sup> Ross, *Adventures of The First Settlers On The Columbia River*, 33.

<sup>63</sup> Ross, *Adventures of The First Settlers On The Columbia River*, 36.

legged swine. But they misunderstood a kapu, a chiefly decree that regulated all aspects of society, for a monopoly that simply controlled the supply or trade. The sole authority of supplying hogs to foreigners placed Kamehameha at an advantage by which the sailors acquiesced to the king's requests, rather than facing a possible four-month sail without the sought after animal. The enactment of this kapu, however, also stopped the maka'āinana and other chiefs from acquiring goods that potentially jeopardized his authority and the wellbeing of society.

Within a few years, the kapu on trade was expanded. In 1811, after a 175-day voyage from the East Coast, the *O'Cain* arrived at O'ahu to obtain refreshments. Upon anchoring, it was written that Kamehameha and other ali'i nui visited the ship that "was surrounded by natives, who were anxious to sell hogs and vegetables, but were prohibited from trading by the Royal Savage, until he had disposed of his own stock, all of which Captain Winship was obliged to purchase at extravagant prices."<sup>64</sup> This account indicates Euro-Americans believed Kamehameha, the person who possessed the most power and wealth in Hawai'i, was still considered a "savage". This also demonstrates a shift in trade protocol because no longer could Hawaiian traders travel out shipboard markets, rather the king was the initial point of contact. Kamehameha, now, had the first choice of exchange items and could regulate competition.

Within a few years, Kamehameha extended the kapu that prohibited maka'āinana from trading with sailors, affording him exclusive exchange privileges while protecting the Hawaiian people. Otto Von Kotzebue wrote on November 13, 1816 that "provisions could not be obtained, but by bargaining with the king himself; because the inhabitants have not the liberty of supplying

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<sup>64</sup> William Dane Phelps, *Solid Men of Boston in the Northwest* (Place of Publication Not Identified: Publisher Not Identified, 1850), 9.

the ships.”<sup>65</sup> This expansion essentially broadened trade regulations and placed Kamehameha with the sole authority to determine the quantity, quality, and type of articles that were exchanged for imports. Prohibiting trade with foreigners limited the maka‘āinana from accumulating highly sought after goods while ensuring food and materials were accessible to all Hawaiians, rather than a select few. It is possible with an increasing foreign presence provisions were directed to shipboard markets, taking food out of the mouths of the Hawaiian people and placing it on sailors’ plates.

Kotzebue’s account provides further insight about exchanges during the mid 1810s. When the German navigator wanted to trade, he unexpectedly discovered that the cost of “all the indispensable supplies are extremely high” which was blamed on the “frequent visits to the Sandwich Islands by the Bostonmen [sic] on their way to Canton”.<sup>66</sup> It is interesting that Kotzebue held Americans responsible for the high price of goods by overlooking the source that was the kapu. He even mentions that all merchandise “are sold exclusively by the King himself who fixes his own prices” in exchange for iron, canvas, nails, and red and navy pilot-cloth, thread, guns and powder.<sup>67</sup> Because Kamehameha held the sole authority to trade with foreigners, he determined the exchange rate that was met by sailors. But it is interesting that Kamehameha acquired items like pilot cloth, a thick blue woolen material, used to make seamen’s coats that were of little use in Hawai‘i, but essential outerwear in colder climates. The

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<sup>65</sup> Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery Into The South Sea And Beering's Straits*, 293.

<sup>66</sup> Embree, "Les Russes Aux Iles Hawai.", 5.

Mark Rifkin examines how chiefly debt was used by the United States to further their economic interests and ‘open’ Hawai‘i for trade during the 1820s, and argues that “the ali‘i did not conceptualize the reception of goods from U.S. traders as an exchange of equivalents in which a particular amount of sandalwood was the price of purchase”. See: Mark Rifkin “Debt and the Transnationalization of Hawai‘i,” *American Quarterly* 60, no. 1, (2008): 52. As my research suggests, the ali‘i understood the value of items since the time of Kamehameha. Hawaiian conception of a good’s worth was based on their value system, which differed from a Euro-American. Additionally, as early as, 1818 the chiefs such as Kamehameha, Liholiho, Kalanimoku, and Boki purchased goods like shirts, boots, cloth, linen, sundries, pillows, copper sheets, and playing cards, from merchant William French and paid their debt with sandalwood and hogs. See William French, Account Book 1818-1819, Manuscript Collection, Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>67</sup> Embree, "Les Russes Aux Iles Hawai.", 5.

goods could have been resold to other sailors, or kept with the intent for use on an overseas trade expedition, possibly in colder weather.

Regulation of trade provided Kamehameha with the opportunity to obtain items that could not be acquired from local tax. As king, he received tribute of food items, hogs, bird feathers, kapa (clothing or materials made from bark cloth), and mats from the lower ali‘i and maka‘āinana. He, then, used some of these items to acquire Euro-American imports. By 1804, Kamehameha was able to

maintain about 500 guards, and to purchase from foreigners whatever he is in want of for the equipment of his vessels, of which he has about thirty, of from twenty to sixty tons burthen. His arsenal is stocked with about thirty pieces of iron cannon, 1000 muskets, and a considerable quantity of powder and ball.<sup>68</sup>

Acquisition of these items served three purposes. First, imported military weapons and technology hampered rebellions and threats from rival chiefs who sought to usurp the islands governed by Kamehameha. Secondly, the vessels and arms provided the king with a means to conduct commerce outside of Hawaiian waters. Kamehameha wanted to expand his sphere of trade. With the help of an interpreter, on March 3, 1810, he wrote a diplomatic letter to King George of England asking for “brass Guns to defend the Islands” from British enemies and a Register and Seal with Kamehameha’s name because he believed these were required to conduct trade on the “North West of America”.<sup>69</sup> Establishing trade on the Pacific West Coast was especially important because this was the source of the highly sought after fur skins to exchange at the China market. By this time, Kamehameha possessed the ships and weapons required for these voyages of commerce. A register and seal were possibly the only two items that prohibited

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<sup>68</sup> Shaler, *Journal Of A Voyage Between China and The North-Western Coast of America, Made in 1804 by William Shaler*, 84-85.

<sup>69</sup> Tamaahmaah to King George, March 3, 1810, Foreign Office and Executive, Chronological File, 1810, 1812-1814, folder 402-2-7, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

the king from carrying out overseas trade, in the name of the Hawaiian Kingdom, in the Pacific Northwest.

Finally, weapons played a role in the king being able to ensure the security of incoming crew. Foreigners were often concerned over their wellbeing because of the well-known death of Captain Cook. Additionally, Hawaiians stole items that they considered valuable, such as knives with ivory handles belonging to the crew of Captain Vancouver.<sup>70</sup> Although ivory was reserved for the chiefs, if the thief turned this item over to an ali'i, the former might have received chiefly favor, protection, or gifts. Because Kamehameha was able to recover the stolen goods, this most likely resulted in punishment for the thief while the crew would have been indebted to the king for his assistance. By the turn of the century, the mō'i's actions resulted in sailors entering his "ports not only without the least fear" over their safety, "but with a certainty of obtaining, on the best terms," the provisions the islands are able to provide, as mentioned by one Russian mariner.<sup>71</sup> This favorable outlook towards Kamehameha might have attracted more foreigners to Hawaiian waters, which increased commerce. These factors placed Kamehameha at a greater trade advantage over, Kaumuali'i who was a rival chief and ruling ali'i of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau, the two northern most Hawaiian Islands. Additionally, because Kamehameha's domain was much larger, consisting of the six islands between O'ahu to Hawai'i Island, greater resource options were available. This placed him at an advantage because mariners would have preferred to trade at a location with the largest available food supply.

Sailors were concerned over the safety of themselves and their cargo while traveling overseas. When the *Bering*, a Russian ship ran aground off the coast of Kaua'i in 1814, the crew successfully hurried to recover the cargo. But their favorable outcome was short-lived as "the

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<sup>70</sup> Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World, 1791-1795*, 1151.

<sup>71</sup> Barratt, *The Russian Discovery of Hawai'i*, 64.

savage natives having come from all directions to see the wreck stole all that was salvaged during the night”, according to an account.<sup>72</sup> Unlike Kamehameha, Kaumuali‘i was unable to recover the stolen items. The Russians held the Kaua‘i ali‘i personally responsible, requiring him to pay an estimated 20,000 piastres (coins). He was additionally forced into a trade agreement in which all the sandalwood growing on his islands would be sold exclusively to the Russians. By eliminating other customers, the Russians situated themselves at a trade advantage because the Kaua‘i ali‘i would have been inclined to sell the commodity at a lower rate, rather than withdrawing from the sandalwood trade entirely.

Women wielded significant trade authority because of their sexual capital that facilitated the acquisition and accumulation of Euro-American imports. When Kamehameha enacted the kapu that eventually placed the king with sole authority to trade goods with foreigners, sex became the only commodity that could be exchanged with haole men. Women became the principal foreign commercial trade agents and the primary receivers of Western-style goods. But it was male sexual desire that advantageously positioned the sellers of sex who could seek out the most favorable exchange opportunities and demand their preferred articles of trade. As mentioned earlier, trade and the introduction of foreign goods initiated a change in value system that, over time, became dominated by women who influenced what imports were entering Hawai‘i. The sale of sex provided women with the ability to elevate their station by possessing and fashioning themselves with desired items, such as clothing that was highly distinguishable from a malo or pā‘ū and in the likeness of chiefly attire, a previously unknown phenomenon. As the next chapters demonstrate, the sex trade continued to facilitated women’s exchanges with commerce and the acquisition of sought after Western fashions into the 1820s.

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<sup>72</sup> Embree, "Les Russes Aux Iles Hawai.", 16.

## CHAPTER 2

### **“In The English Style”: Commerce, Clothing, and Christianity in 1820s Hawai‘i.<sup>1</sup>**

By the second decade of the 1800s, maka‘āinana traders, once again, left shores for shipboard markets to exchange their merchandise for Western-style goods. Commercial activities expanded to accommodate trade growth brought on by Hawaiian desire for Western imports and foreigners that, now, included whalers and ABCFM missionaries who called on the islands for supplies and refreshment. These groups also sailed out of New England harbors, but unlike the other foreigners, the missionaries along with their wives and children arrived on Hawaiian shores to establish residency with the intent of Christianizing the Hawaiian population. However, this increasing number of haole men placed them in direct contact with Hawaiian women who capitalized on Euro-American male sexual desires. By the middle of the decade, Christian mores emerged as a guideline for proper behavior, even as the sex-for-goods trade became a widespread commercial pursuit. Though these developments complicated relationships, the sale of sex flourished because it was highly sought after and one of the few trade options available to maka‘āinana women.

#### Commerce of the early 1800s

By the early 1800s, Hawai‘i became connected to a global trade network. American sailors and fur traders set sail from New England voyaged around Cape Horn with stopovers along the Pacific Northwest and Hawai‘i until proceeding to Canton, their final destination. Merchant ships traveling back and forth across the Pacific Ocean, called on the islands, located in the middle of a vast body of water, for essential supplies. By the first decade of century, the discovery of sandalwood trees, growing in upland forests, brought merchants who wanted the

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<sup>1</sup> Lucia Ruggles Holman Journal, April 3, 1820, Journal of Mrs. Lucia Ruggles Holman, November 1819 – September 1820, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.



coveted fragrant wood for trade in Canton. By 1819, the spotting of whales of the coast of Japan brought whalers, another influx of haole men, to Hawaiian waters.<sup>2</sup> Similar to the two previous groups, their homeport was also based in New England with routes that connected Hawai'i to the Pacific Northwest and Japan. The Hawaiian Islands, and the city of Honolulu; in particular, emerged as an essential rest stop during the spring and fall seasons with ships remaining in port for a few days, weeks, or several months. Honolulu became a temporary residence, a place where sailors sought refreshment, often in the company of women. By this time, there was a shift in trade practices, although Hawaiian traders traveled to shipboard markets, sailors also came ashore.

While in town, sailors patronized the newly established grog shops. The popularity of these watering holes grew rapidly, and by 1822, there were seventeen taverns operating on O'ahu.<sup>3</sup> The alcohol along with entertainment of gambling and billiard tables attracted both Hawaiian and Euro-American patrons.<sup>4</sup> Hawaiians might have frequented these establishments because of the novelty and experiences that were unavailable elsewhere. Mariners (who were possibly in the company of women) visited these places to relax after long periods at sea, share stories, and hear news from abroad.

Retail shops were another emergent business activity. New England merchant houses regularly sent trade agents who visited the islands for extended trips. By 1818, William French became the Honolulu resident agent for the Boston firm Bryant & Sturgis. Retail operations grew, and by 1824, there were four shops managed by American agents who were tasked with

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<sup>2</sup> To read a brief history of whaling in Hawai'i with number of ships that visited the islands See William Richards and E. Spalding, "The Whale Fishery At The Sandwich Islands," *American Seamen's Friend Society*, August 1834.

<sup>3</sup> John Coffin Jones, Jr., letter to Marshall & Wildes, Woahoo, Nov. 16, 1823. In Samuel Eliot Morison *Boston Traders In The Hawaiian Islands 1789-1823*. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1920), 44.

<sup>4</sup> Levi Chamberlain, November 3, 1826, The Levi Chamberlain Journal, Volume 6, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 30.

securing sandalwood by creating a desire for imported commodities among the ali‘i who obtained whole cargoes of goods. Though exchange with the chiefs was a principal task, supplying the maka‘āinana with imports became a significant part of trade.<sup>5</sup> Reverend C.S. Stewart, a missionary who resided in Hawai‘i for nearly a year, recounted that storehouses were “abundantly furnished with goods in demand by the Islanders; and, at them, most articles contained in common retail shops and groceries in America, may be purchased.”<sup>6</sup> Because the ali‘i were accustomed to quality imports, such as, ships, carriages, silk dresses, and other fineries, merchandise in the retail shops was intended for consumers of limited resources who were the maka‘āinana, resident foreigners, sailors, and whalers.

To meet trade demands and the desire for imports among the resident and transient populations, commercial agriculture expanded. Hawaiian farmers continued to cultivate imported livestock, fruits, and vegetables for trade with foreigners who preferred foods that were familiar to their Euro-American diet. A Hawaiian man, who spoke English and previously sailed on two voyages to America, supplied ships and resident foreigners with fish, eggs, poultry, and pigs from his home in Honolulu.<sup>7</sup> Other Hawaiians engaged in commercial activities by selling food and fresh water or providing overnight shelter to haole sightseers along the Pearl River, also known as Pu‘uloa.<sup>8</sup> During the 1820s, this was a frequent destination, located about eleven miles outside of Honolulu, to resident and visiting foreigners for sightseeing and retrieving sandalwood. In addition, Manini and Anthony Allen, two, early foreign residents, became

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<sup>5</sup> Hiram Paulding, *Journal Of A Cruise of The United States Schooner Dolphin Among The Islands Of The Pacific Ocean And A Visit To The Mulgrave Islands, In Pursuit Of The Mutineers Of The Whale Ship Globe* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), 232.

<sup>6</sup> Stewart, *The Private Journal of The Rev. C.S. Stewart*, 83.

<sup>7</sup> Gilbert Farquhar Mathison, *Narrative of A Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands During The Years 1821 and 1822. With Miscellaneous Remarks on the past and Present State, and Political Prospects of Those Countries*. (London: C. Knight. 1825), 417.

<sup>8</sup> James Hunnewell to Levi Chamberlain, November 20, 1827, Non-missionary letters, Hunnewell, James, 1825-1867, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI.; Paulding, *Journal Of A Cruise of The United States Schooner Dolphin*, 225.

suppliers of agricultural produce.<sup>9</sup> They maintained plantations with flocks of sheep and livestock, and cultivated other newly introduced crops of orange, lemon, fig, and tamarind trees.<sup>10</sup> Manini sought to protect his business by blocking access to seedlings and destroying other people's crops.

Maka'āinana provided the workforce needed for expanding commercial activities. The crops and livestock, traded with sailors, were cultivated in outlying cities or islands by Hawaiians who also transported the merchandise to Honolulu. The origin of interisland transport is possibly rooted in the shipping of hides, tallow, and beef from Hawai'i Island where Hawaiian ranchers raised cows. But sending these cargos required crews who were familiar with Hawaiian waters in addition to skilled swimmers to assist with docking and unloading. Since Hawaiians knew the best routes and were adept in the water, their assistance was essential to transport operations.

Hawaiian laborers also worked at other commercial operations. Boki was an ali'i, Governor of O'ahu, and entrepreneur. He employed about one hundred laborers at \$2.00 a week to cut, haul, and prepare sugar cane for distilling at his Mānoa plantation. The extracted rum was served at his grog shop in the port town.<sup>11</sup> Taverns and other establishments required employees to assist with daily operating tasks, cleaning, and maintenance. Hawaiian carpenters probably built the shelves, tables, chairs, and other wooden furnishings for these businesses. The commercialization of vice, including sex work, created additional opportunities of paid labor. Work could have been sporadic, possibly a few days a month, or perhaps while ships were in port, during the spring and fall months when whalers called on the islands. Working for money

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<sup>9</sup>The first chapter details the arrival of these foreign men.

<sup>10</sup> Stewart, *The Private Journal of The Rev. C.S. Stewart*, 84.

<sup>11</sup> Levi Chamberlain Journal, November 30, 1826, *The Journal of Levi Chamberlain*, Volume 7, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 1.

was appealing because it allowed workers to participate in the emergent cash economy with earnings spent at retail stores or grog shops. The majority of Hawaiian people, however, chose not to engage in commercial activities that were located in Honolulu. The port city was too faraway for many people who grew their own food, made kapa (cloth from bark wood), crafted tools, and built homes from materials found in the area. Because of these reasons, Hawaiians were not dependent on working for money, nor does the development of commerce make way for capitalism. Rather working for money was optional and probably sporadic, when ships were in port. Furthermore, this labor differs from the work that maka‘āinana provided to the chiefs as a form of tax, such as working in the chiefs’ taro patches, building infrastructure, or cutting sandalwood in the forest.

#### Women’s Exchanges

During the first half of the 1820s, Hawaiian traders and women greeted incoming ships wanting to exchange their produce or sexual services for Western goods. The large number of women engaging in the sex-for-goods trade surprised Clarissa Richards, member of the second company of ABCFM missionaries, who arrived in Honolulu harbor on April 27, 1823. She believed sex work contributed to “the degradation of females in this port,” which is a subject that she “could write much- but delicacy forbids.”<sup>12</sup> During her short time in port, she surely witnessed a lot of women engaging in the sex-for-goods trade. The number of women participating in the sale of sex was unknown, but it was a widespread commercial activity. “[B]etween twenty and thirty females, who had been living on board with sailors” as the ship anchored off Honolulu according to Gilbert Farquhar Mathison, a visitor to the islands in 1822.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Clarissa Lyman Richards Journal, April 27, 1823, Mrs. Richards Journal, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 39.

<sup>13</sup> Mathison, *Narrative of A Visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands During The Years 1821 and 1822*, 437.

Women remaining on board indicate that relations with sailors also included companionship, a person to pass the time with other than a fellow crewmember. Female presence was also a morale boost and an exciting change from the dullness of ship life, especially because mariners were often prohibited from disembarking.

Clarissa Richards' account provides information that further explains trade practices and reveals clothing continued to be the payment of choice during the first half of the 1820s.

Merchandise sold at "an extravagant price for everything; yet [traders] will often accept a very trifling article of dress, for what they would ask in money a most enormous price."<sup>14</sup>

Maka'āinana sold goods at "an extravagant price" because the money was spent at merchant stores that charged at least twice as much for goods than in New England.<sup>15</sup> Hawaiian women traders willingly accepted what Mrs. Richards believed was "a very trifling article of dress" for expensive goods because Western-style dress was sought after and in limited supply.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, Clarissa Richards arrived with an abundance of clothing, but longed for fresh food after spending nearly five months at sea eating salted pork, stale sea biscuits, rotten fruits and vegetables, and drinking old water. She gladly traded what was thought to be a small piece of clothing for delectable food that was abundantly available to Hawaiian traders on land. Each possessed an item that was easily accessible to themselves, but scarcely available to the other.

Hawaiian men also accompanied women to foreign vessels. This occurrence was observed by missionary, Lucy Goodale Thurston, a member of the initial company of ABCFM

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<sup>14</sup> Richards Journal, April 27, 1823, 39.

<sup>15</sup> A billiard table that could be sold for \$200 in New England could command at least \$1500 in Hawai'i. John Coffin Jones, Jr., letter to Marshall & Wildes, Woahoo, January, 1823. In Samuel Eliot Morison *Boston Traders In The Hawaiian Islands*, 45.

<sup>16</sup> Clarissa's opinion of the value of clothing is from an American newcomer who came from a place with an abundance of Western-style clothing that could be easily acquired. Yet, as will be discussed in this chapter, European fashioned dress was difficult to obtain and highly valued in Hawai'i. And even missionary wives who resided in Hawai'i for extended periods began to desire new clothing because they were ashamed of their worn and outdated attire. See Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 109.

missionaries that landed off Hawai‘i Island on March 30, 1820. By 1823, Lucy along with her husband Asa resided at the Kailua-Kona mission station on Hawai‘i Island, a several day sail from the port town of Honolulu - the location of foreign trade and settlement and the Hawai‘i ABCFM headquarters. Lucy’s journal details that she and Asa “were in the heart of the nation, shut up to a strange dialect, without associates, and without foreigners for neighbors.”<sup>17</sup> She rejoiced upon hearing “[e]nglish words, in cultivated tones,” from crewmembers of an incoming American vessel that “fell with strange power upon the ear, and upon the heart.”<sup>18</sup> Her excitement quickly turned to horror upon witnessing the “relatives and friends, perhaps fathers or brothers, or husbands paddled off the company of women and girls to spend the night on board that ship, specially for the gratification of its inmates.”<sup>19</sup> Hawaiian men accompanied women to ships because they, too, benefited from Hawaiian women’s acquisition of clothing. Men’s wear was certainly obtained through the sex-for-goods exchange. But association with a person who possessed Western-style clothing possibly elevated his and the standing of the family.

Lucy’s account further reveals the importance of exhibiting clothing payments upon returning to shore. “When they returned each one flaunted their base reward of foreign cloth.”<sup>20</sup> When these women came back the following day, they were possibly one of the few Hawaiians to possess Western-style clothing in the region because “before the arrival of that ship, they were simply attired in native cloth” as indicated by Mrs. Thurston.<sup>21</sup> By spending a night aboard, these women became the owners of prized, and in this area, rare, possessions. Boasting about their earnings, not only announced what each woman earned, but also fostered competition,

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<sup>17</sup> Lucy Goodale Thurston Journal, 1820,1819-1876, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, 56.

<sup>18</sup> Thurston Journal, 1820, 56.

<sup>19</sup> Thurston Journal, 1820, 56.

<sup>20</sup> Thurston Journal, 1820, 56.

<sup>21</sup> Thurston Journal, 1820, 56.

pressuring the sellers of sex to obtain the most prized cloth. It also made known the most valuable clothing that could be acquired from selling sex. Thus, the next time a ship arrived, women possibly worked together to negotiate for the finest quality clothing, similar to Hawaiian traders who did not undercut one another.

Although barter was the primary means of exchange, at times, the sellers of sex received monetary payments that were spent at retail stores. Women became a large consumer base and merchant agents were acutely aware of female consumers wants, as shown in a March 9, 1823 letter from Honolulu resident agent John C. Jones, Jr. to his employer, the New England trading firm Marshall & Wildes. In the correspondence, he pleads for the company to send a cargo of various European goods, including

Fine calicoes and Cambricks (white fine linen cloth), silks, ladies shoes, large size, good hats, ready made cloths, shirts, ladies bonnets, different patterns, any quantity would sell, shawls, scarfs, gowns, ribbon handsome patterns. Large size cheap trunks. Furniture, superfine Broadcloth and Cassimere, damask table cloth and cloth do [sic], many articles also might be selected of a showy kind that would answer well, a few lace caps and articles of those description would find quick sale; if you could send a miliner [sic] here she would be a profitable person.<sup>22</sup>

This message demonstrates the importance of women consumers and details specific goods in want. Some of these imports were fineries, such as silk gowns, fine calicoes, and cambricks that were intended for the ali'i who expected items of superior quality and some fortunate maka'āinana women. Adorning oneself with clothing in the likeness of a chiefess would surely elevated the social station of a maka'āinana woman who was seen by surprised or possibly begrudged on lookers. However, the everyday wear of bonnets, ready made clothing, shawls, scarfs, and ribbons were cheaper items intended for the less affluent female customers such as other maka'āinana and mission wives.

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<sup>22</sup> John Coffin Jones, Jr., letter to Marshall & Wildes, March 9, 1823. In Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Boston Traders In The Hawaiian Islands 1789 – 1823*, 46.

As governor, Boki possessed the authority to enact prohibitions and collect taxes in his district of Honolulu. The chief established a tax on the sale of sex. On October 1, 1823, Levi Chamberlain who was a secular agent of the ABCFM mission stationed in Honolulu wrote

Several whaling ships arrived today. Some of the captains are enraged on account of the tabu & some fears are entertained that they will make [a] disturbance. It is said that females are forbidden to go on board the vessels, and the ships which desire females to come on board are required to pay one dollar at the [Honolulu] fort for every female going on board.<sup>23</sup>

Boki's chiefly authority enabled him to enact a kapu that functioned as a mechanism that prohibited women from going to ships unless a tax was collected. When ships entered Honolulu harbor, sailors came to expect groups of women aboard, and their noticeable absence angered ship captains who were inclined to violence. As a result of sailors' sexual desire for Hawaiian women, the tax on sex work would have been a profitable source of income for the governor and king who received a portion of revenue collected. Though this 1823 tax may have increased the cost of having a woman go aboard, it did little to diminish the sex-for-goods trade. "This vice is in fact too popular here and too patronized by officers and travellers to be easily suppressed," wrote missionary Elisha Loomis, on November 17, 1824.<sup>24</sup> Although missionaries attempted to stop prostitution by circulating this handbill, his writing indicates the sale of sex remained widespread despite increased cost, regulation, and attempted prohibition.

#### "Naked Creatures", Their Desire For Dress

Concerns about dress dominated early interactions between Hawaiians and missionaries.

Hawaiians were exposed to Christianity since early European arrivals; however, these were brief

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<sup>23</sup> Levi Chamberlain Journal, October 1, 1823, The Levi Chamberlain Journal, Volume 2, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.

In an 1829 letter, resident missionary Hiram Bingham writes to Jeremiah Evarts, "the Governor, who collects a regular tax from those women who frequent the ships for the purposes of prostitution." Hiram Bingham to Jeremiah Evarts, September 14, 1829, Missionary Letters to The ABCFM, Volume 2, 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.

<sup>24</sup> Elisha Loomis Journal, November 17, 1824, The Elisha Loomis Journal 1824 – 1826, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 22.



religious experiences that ended when a ship departed. The ABCFM mission brought a continued Christian presence to the Hawaiian Islands. Upon anchoring off Hawai‘i Island, two men, James Hunnewell and Thomas Hopu traveled ashore and were “informed that the King Tamaanaaha [Kamehameha] was dead, that Reherehu [Liholiho] was head chief, Crymakoo [Kalanimoku] was second in power, that they had caused to be burnt all their wooden Gods”.<sup>25</sup> The missionaries rejoiced in this news, but Lucia Holman, a missionary wife, writes that their celebration quickly ended by the “noise and sight of” upwards of thirty canoes filled with “naked creatures” that surrounded their ship, the *Thaddeus*.<sup>26</sup> The lack of clothing mortified missionaries, especially, the wives who adhered to beliefs of modesty and morality.

This encounter with maka‘āinana possibly shaped missionary ideas of Hawaiian attire, or the lack of it. Nudity became such a concern that the newcomers requested for the chiefs to attend an initial shipboard meeting fully clothed because there were “Ladies on board that would be offended to see them come naked”.<sup>27</sup> The high chief Kalanimoku, also known as Billy Pitt, his namesake was William Pitt, the British Prime Minister during the early 1800s, came “well dressed, in the English style” and his spouse wore a dress sewn from Chinese silk and tapa.<sup>28</sup> Other high chiefs in attendance were Liholiho along with four ali‘i wāhine, two of these women were probably Ka‘ahumanu and Kamamalu. Mrs. Holman writes the ali‘i wāhine were dressed in elegant clothing with “one of the Queens in striped calico, and the other in black velvet trimmed round the bottom with an elegant gilt ribbon, and each an elegant wreath of yellow

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<sup>25</sup> Journal by James Hunnewell, March 31, 1820. December 20, 1818 – January 28, 1825. Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Honolulu.

<sup>26</sup> Holman Journal, April 3, 1820.

<sup>27</sup> Holman Journal, April 3, 1820.

<sup>28</sup> Holman Journal, April 3, 1820.

feathers curiously wrought around their heads”.<sup>29</sup> The crown of yellow feathers signified a chief of the highest rank, a meaning that was unknown to the missionaries at this time.

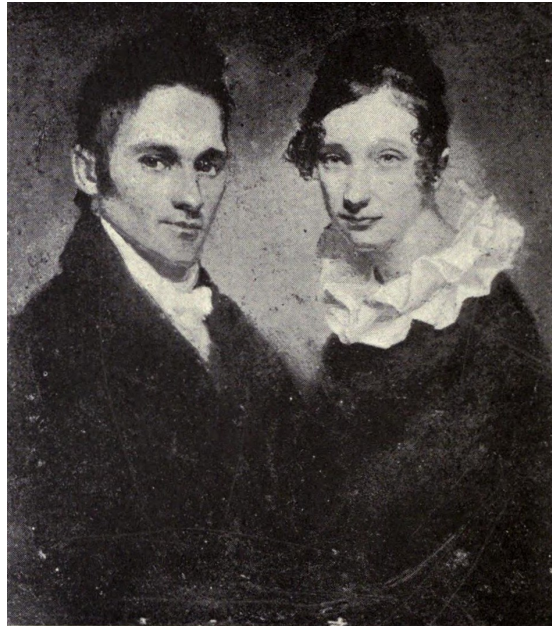


Figure 2.1 Reverend Hiram Bingham & Sybil Moseley Bingham. Photo of a portrait by S.F.B. Morse, 1819 taken prior to their voyage to Hawai‘i. Hawaiian Historical Society

The once “naked creatures” arrived dressed in finery that were recognizable symbols of wealth to the missionary wives who, as depicted in the portrait of Mrs. Bingham, wore ankle length cotton dresses sewn from heavy dark fabric with a Peter Pan collar made from a lighter color material.

Missionaries remained on board for nearly two weeks anxiously awaiting chiefly permission to remain in the islands. It was during this interim period that missionary wives began using their needlework skills to gain chiefly favor. A day after their on board meeting Kalākua, widow of Kamehameha and mother to several of his children, “brought a web of white cambric to have a dress made for herself in the fashion of our ladies and was very particular in her wish to have it furnished, while sailing along the western side of the island, before reaching

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<sup>29</sup> Holman Journal, April 3, 1820.

the king.”<sup>30</sup> On April 3<sup>rd</sup>, four days after reaching Hawaiian shores, missionary wives began a sewing circle to carry out what quickly became large amounts of “sewing [that] came in for the Chiefs.”<sup>31</sup> Within a short period of time, the high chiefs requested for additional clothes to be sewn, such as “a suite of super fine broadcloth, [and] soon a piece of fine cloth to be made into shirts, etc. etc.”, recounted Mrs. Sybil Bingham.<sup>32</sup> Mission wives were surely surprised by chiefly requests for needlework, a valuable craft that possibly factored into the ali‘i’s decision to allow the missionaries to take up residency. But these requests also tested missionary’s sewing ability and adherence to chiefly command.

The journals of missionary wives document the large amount of needlework done during their first few years of residency. After a nearly two-month journaling hiatus, on June 15, 1820, missionary wife Nancy Ruggles resumed writing by apologizing for the “past neglect” of her journal, one of the reasons for this disruption was because “we have been employed a considerable part of the time making garments for the chiefs and nobility”.<sup>33</sup> Around the same time, Sybil Bingham also took a break from her journal writing due to sewing for the chiefs and other duties.<sup>34</sup> Two years later, Mrs. Bingham continued to write about needlework at Liholiho’s house where she worked with the “queen’s women, upon another silk gown for her [the queen]”.<sup>35</sup> Sybil mentioned about the endless amount of sewing conducted over the summer because of the queen’s “increasing desire for dress. She, and some others, much wish to have

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<sup>30</sup> Thurston Journal, 38.

<sup>31</sup> Thurston Journal, 39.; Nancy Ruggles, missionary wife, also mentions this incident. See Nancy Ruggles Journal, April 2, 1820, Journal of Samuel & Nancy Ruggles, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Typescript, 21.; Sybil Bingham Journal, June 20, 1820, Journal of Sybil Bingham, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 40.

<sup>32</sup> Bingham Journal, June 20, 1820, 40.

<sup>33</sup> Ruggles Journal, June 15, 1820.

<sup>34</sup> Bingham Journal, June 20, 1820, 40.

<sup>35</sup> Bingham Journal, October 4, 1822, 82.

bonnets,” a headpiece that was possibly introduced by missionary wives.<sup>36</sup> Her journal details other types of clothing sewn for the ali‘i, such as Liholiho’s request for fine ruffled shirts.<sup>37</sup> Kamāmalu, an ali‘i wahine and a consort of the king, also requested shirts, a dress, and a silk gown.<sup>38</sup> Sewing garments to add to the expanding chiefly wardrobe required skill in needlecraft with knowledge of fabric - how to handle, cut, and sew. For example, silk is a delicate and slippery material that often unravels. Pins leave behind holes, so a pin should be used only near the seam or left-behind holes are visible. Additionally, the mission wives sewn clothing from fabric provided by the chiefs. If there was a mistake, such as incorrect cut or measurement, obtaining extra fabric was highly unlikely and too expensive for missionaries to replace because their own attire was made of inferior quality fabric.<sup>39</sup> To complete all these requests the missionary wives were skilled seamstresses, or quickly learned the craft from a fellow wife.

To “secure chiefly favor at once” was a reason for obliging to ali‘i requests wrote Mrs. Bingham.<sup>40</sup> Although the wives were busy with their household chores, they found the time to complete the overwhelming magnitude of sewing. Needlecraft was a critical skill offered to the chiefs and without it the missionaries could be sent away. “I too have been to pay respect to royalty. We would by all means win their favor and confidence if we could” wrote Sybil after a visit to the chiefs.<sup>41</sup> The attention of Liholiho, in particular, was sought after, but she writes that he “was again locked up in sleep and we did not see him, though we sat upon the mats waiting

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<sup>36</sup> Because missionary women were the first haole women to arrive in Hawai‘i, they would have been the first women to introduce bonnets to the Hawaiian population. In addition, the first time the missionary women went ashore, Nancy Ruggles wrote about wearing bonnets and, “if an old man or woman could run before us and take a peek under our bonnets they appeared highly gratified.” See Ruggles Journal, April 7, 1820, 22. The journal of James Hunnewell mentions that the arrival of missionary women attracted numerous Hawaiians to the ship because they wanted to see white women. See James Hunnewell, April 2, 1820, Journal Bk., December 20, 1818 – January 28, 1825, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>37</sup> Bingham Journal, March 4, 1821, 54f.

<sup>38</sup> Bingham Journal, March 3, 1822, 69, March 14, 1822, October 4, 1822.

<sup>39</sup> Missionary wives “seldom sewed white muslin, silk, crepe, or bombazine for themselves; rather they kept mainly to calico, sometimes a coarse gingham or cheaply figured muslin.” Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty*, 109.

<sup>40</sup> Bingham Journal, June 20, 1820, 40.

<sup>41</sup> Bingham Journal, February 7, 1821, 54b.

nearly two hours.”<sup>42</sup> The missionaries went out of their way to be in the company of the ali‘i, and sewing provided a means to be in their presence.

Another reason to seek the favor was because of the tangible benefits, such as, shelter and food. An examination into the missionary’s living quarters, one-room structure, after they received permission from Liholiho to take up residence shows the importance of chiefly favor.<sup>43</sup> After spending months aboard a cramped ship, their new living situation was especially unpleasant to Mrs. Bingham who described her home after the “preparation of the 39<sup>th</sup> meal done in a room 20 feet square, where all eat, - where two beds are – where thirteen persons stay – where, yesterday, were piled in 30 mats, 100 tapers, 100 cocoanuts, a quantity of calabashes, six chair frames, while numbers were crowding round to look on.”<sup>44</sup> Though the dimensions of the structure might have been slightly larger, their small living quarter is significant when compared to the large tracts of land with multiple structures granted to the foreigners who faithfully and skillfully served the ali‘i, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Needlecraft emerged, as was one of the most valuable services offered by the missionary wives, a possible influencing factor that allowed for missionary residency.<sup>45</sup> Yet, their main reason for seeking approval was to establish the mission and construction of churches and schools.

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<sup>42</sup> Bingham Journal, February 7, 1821, 54b.

<sup>43</sup> Maka‘āinana houses were open single room homes built with a wooden frame that was thatched with bundles of pili grass.

<sup>44</sup> Bingham Journal, June 30, 1820, 45.

<sup>45</sup> Teaching literacy was another sought after skill the missionaries taught to the ali‘i. See Puakea Nogelmeier, *Mai Pa‘a I Ka Leo: Historical Voice In Hawaiian Primary Materials: Looking Forward and Listening Back* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2010). ; Jennifer Thigpen argues that the chiefly requests for clothing were part of a reciprocal and enduring cycle of “gift giving and exchange”. See Jennifer Thigpen, *Island Queens and Mission Wives: How Gender and Empire Remade Hawai‘i’s Pacific World*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014, 66. While both of these groups engaged in gift giving, it begins in the latter half of the 1820s. During their initial years in Hawai‘i, the mission fulfilled chiefly requests that included needlework to obtain favor. Gifts received were few and from a small number of chiefs, such as Kalanimoku who was probably the most generous of the chiefs. Rather, missionary letters and journals reveal that during this period, it was merchants and other foreign residents who primarily gifted the mission, as discussed later in the chapter. Thus, in many cases, the mission wives did not receive a “gift” for most of the needlework completed for the chiefs in the early 1820s.

At times though, the constant requests for clothing were overwhelming for missionary wives, as felt by missionary wife Mrs. Richards who was stationed with her husband at Lahaina on the island of Maui. As part of the newly arrived second company of ABCFM missionaries, she had yet to encounter chiefly requests for clothing. Her first experience might have been with a chief who asked Mrs. Richards to “make her a gown. As soon as this was finished she wished another made, and when this was finished, she desired a third and this being done, a fourth was brought.”<sup>46</sup> Mrs. Richards was surely frustrated by the relentless requests for clothing and after some discussion told the chief

I am now here alone in feeble health - - I make my own cloths & the clothes of my family, & I have no girls to assist me in it - - I have not a company of servants about me to go and come at my bidding & do all my work, but I must do nearly all my cooking and much of my other work myself - - I have a number of scholars to teach everyday, - - I have made you three gowns, and taught your girls to sew, and now I leave it with you to say whether I ought to do anymore at present.<sup>47</sup>

The chief abruptly left without a reply and later the Richards’ were informed about the chief’s anger. Mrs. Richards was settling into her new life and overwhelmed by the workload of household chores, teaching, and sewing. Yet, she assumed a responsibility to guide and teach the Hawaiian people, rather than people who commanded her needlework. After lashing out, she quickly realized the consequences and told the chief “I leave it with you to say whether I ought to do anymore”. She, now, places herself under chiefly command and possibly remembered “with the chiefs here, that we must make ourselves “servants to all”, or we can not expect their favor.”<sup>48</sup> Mrs. Richards withheld needlecraft, the highly valuable skill that provided the newcomers with access to the chiefs, privileges to establish residence and conduct evangelical work, gifts of food and material benefits, and assistance in building infrastructure.

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<sup>46</sup> William Richards to Jeremiah Evarts, Lahaina, June 1, 1824, Mission Letters to ABCFM – Volume 2 – 1824-1830, Mission Children’s Society Library, Digital Archives, Typescript, 709a.

<sup>47</sup> Richards to Evarts, Lahaina, June 1, 1824, 710a.

<sup>48</sup> Richards to Evarts, Lahaina, June 1, 1824, 710a.

## “Richly Dressed”

By the mid 1820s, Western dress was customary at public outings. Every Sunday, the chiefs attended church services “richly dressed” according to Sybil Bingham.<sup>49</sup> The maka‘āinana also donned Western attire. “[O]n Sundays and holidays, and all occasions of ceremony, they [Hawaiians] appear in full dress according to our [Western] fashion; and frequently, of the richest material”, according to Reverend C.S. Stewart.<sup>50</sup> Hawaiians attended church services in their Sunday best while observing the attire of other churchgoers. The chiefs’ clothing would have stood out because of the exceptional quality and brighter colors of red, yellow, and green.<sup>51</sup> The maka‘āinana might have also dressed in colorful materials, which differed from the darker fabrics worn by missionaries. Although separate services were held in English and Hawaiian languages, foreign residents, merchants, and sailors often attended the “native” service in their best clothing.

Hawaiian women became concerned about their outward appearance and even appealed to missionary wives for clothes. This got the attention of Levi Chamberlain who noticed the nicely dressed female worshipers. “Several of the native females for whom the sisters have recently made handsome bonnets, attended [church] arrayed in becoming apparel adjusted with a good deal of taste. O that they would give as much attention to the culture of their mind as they do to the adorning of their person.”<sup>52</sup> It is surprising the mission wives found time in their busy schedules to make bonnets for the maka‘āinana women. The headpieces might have been sewn with the intent for Hawaiian female churchgoers to dress modestly by covering their heads.

Hawaiian women, on the other hand, wanted head coverings because it was fashionable.

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<sup>49</sup> Bingham Journal, February 15, 1823, 98.

<sup>50</sup> C.S. Stewart, *The Private Journal of The Rev. C.S. Stewart*, 72.

<sup>51</sup> Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, Honolulu, Oahu, September 24, 1824. Missionary Letters to The ABCFM, Volume 2, 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.

<sup>52</sup> Chamberlain Journal, August 31, 1823, 8.

Chamberlain's comment speaks to the high value that maka'āinana women placed on clothing and their appearance with church services as a weekly opportunity to dress up in one's Sunday best.

By the 1820s, the chiefs donned Western attire at all public ceremonies. These events included dinner parties often held in honor of a newly arrived ship captain or to celebrate American and Christian holidays, such as Independence Day, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. A resident haole like John C. Jones, Jr. often hosted parties that were attended by other foreigners and the chiefs including Liholiho, Boki, and Hoapili.<sup>53</sup> Shipboard meetings were another event to dress in Euro-American clothing, like when Governor Boki wore a "splendid English major-general's uniform and made a very handsome appearance" aboard the American warship, *Dolphin*, as described by Lieutenant Hiram Paulding in 1826.<sup>54</sup> Although Western attire was worn at public events, it was not a sign of chiefly authority. There were times when wearing a malo or pā'ū was more suitable, as Paulding surprisingly discovered during a visit to Boki's home. The naval officer was caught off guard at seeing the ali'i dressed in a malo, prompting Paulding to ask, why the change of clothes to which the chief replied, "it was too warm."<sup>55</sup> A malo or pā'ū was better suited for Hawai'i's tropical climate, and best fitting for water and outdoor activities like fishing, swimming, surfing, planting, kapa making, or building because they soiled clothing, a valuable item to be well-looked-after.

A highly publicized stately visit to London in 1824 was another occasion to dress in Euro-American fashion. The attention placed on chiefly attire prior to their departure required Mrs. Bingham and Mrs. Ruggles to, once again, take up the needle and thread, sew two new

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<sup>53</sup> Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, 229.

<sup>54</sup> Paulding, *Journal Of A Cruise of The United States Schooner Dolphin*, 203. Boki's uniform was probably acquired during his voyage to London in 1824 where he accompanied Liholiho.

<sup>55</sup> Paulding *Journal Of A Cruise of The United States Schooner Dolphin*, 203.



“rich & elegant” gowns from damask silk and satin materials in colors of crimson, yellow, pink, and black for Kamāmalu.<sup>56</sup> This trip called for their needlework to be of exceptional quality, a concern even for Hiram Bingham who wrote that Kamāmalu’s attire must be “suitable to her state & her rank when she shall appear among strangers [abroad].”<sup>57</sup> Bingham wrote this even though his experiences with those of noble blood were limited to the ali‘i who already possessed fineries, nicer than those worn by the missionaries. But, his concern was confirmed with the newspaper editorials that focused on the ali‘i’s appearance that “conformed in a great degree to the English mode of dress” at highly publicized outings and meetings with British royalty.<sup>58</sup>



Figure 2.2: Kamāmalu, London, ca. 1824  
<https://www.missionhouses.org/virtualexhibit/exhibit3/e33207b.htm> (accessed April 12, 2017)

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<sup>56</sup> Hiram Bingham to (Jeremiah Evarts), November 21, 1823, Honolulu, Missionary Letters to the ABCFM, Volume 1 – 1819 – 1824, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 75. Checked with ABCFM Mission Papers at Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society to verify addressee, but it is unknown and assumed to be Jeremiah Evarts.

<sup>57</sup> Hiram Bingham, November 21, 1823, Honolulu.

<sup>58</sup> *The Times*, (London, England), May 25, 1824, Bishop Museum Archives, Concerning the Visit of Kamehameha II and His Consort, Kamāmalu to London, in 1824, Honolulu, HI, Typescript.



Figure 2.3: Liholiho (Kamehameha II), London, ca. 1824.  
<https://www.missionhouses.org/virtualexhibit/exhibit3/images/e31936b.jpg> (accessed April 12, 2017)

The attention placed on chiefly clothing suggests the British were surprised by the ali‘i’s Western-style fineries and possibly expected to see the chiefs in a loincloth or “native” attire. Their portraits, however, show both of the high chiefs in dressed in elegant attire. Kamāmalu sat for the painting with a large feathered headpiece placed on top of her dark curly hair. Earrings and necklaces adorned her upper body that was also covered in a fine dress and shawl. Liholiho’s picture is of his side profile. A ruffled shirt covers the neck of the ali‘i who wore over it a darker colored suit. The newspapers also wrote that Kamāmalu was “fond of dress, which she changes three or four times a day.”<sup>59</sup> During her time in London, she certainly would have wanted a custom gown and other tailored attire. There were also merchant houses to visit that sold clothing and accessories for the queen and other ali‘i to fashion themselves with.

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<sup>59</sup> “The King and Queen of The Sandwich Islands” *The Morning Chronicle*, (London, England), May 21, 1824, Bishop Museum Archives, Concerning the Visit of Kamehameha II and His Consort, Kamāmalu to London, in 1824, Honolulu, HI, Typescript.

Newspapers articles focused on the elegance of the chiefly attire during their visit to the theater. Before the performance started, the ali‘i, Liholiho, Kamāmalu, Boki, and Liliha received an applause from the audience before bowing and waving to the crowd from a private box that was decorated with silk drapery.<sup>60</sup> The ali‘i’s Western-style appearance included knowledge of Court etiquette, like standing for the song “God Save the King” that was played in their honor before bowing for a second time and taking their seats.



Figure 2.4: Liholiho, front left, at the theatre with Kamāmalu, front center, Liliha, front right. It is unclear which ali‘i were standing in the back row, but it was probably Boki, Kekuanaoa, Kapihe, Manuia, James Young Kanehoa, or John Rives, ca. 1824, Bishop Museum Archives

Liholiho wore a black full suit with a white waistcoat and tilted hat that was richly decorated.<sup>61</sup>

The ali‘i wāhine, Kamāmalu and Liliha, wore satin dresses with shawls that loosely tied around their necks. A strand of pearls adorned Kamāmalu’s neck with hoop earrings and a wreath of

<sup>60</sup> “Covent Garden” *The English Chronicle and Whitehall Evening Post*, (London, England), June 1, 1824, Bishop Museum Archives, Concerning the Visit of Kamehameha II and His Consort, Kamāmalu to London, in 1824, Honolulu, HI, Typescript.

<sup>61</sup> “Covent Garden Theatre” *The Evening Mail*, (London, England), June 2, 1824, Bishop Museum Archives, Concerning the Visit of Kamehameha II and His Consort, Kamāmalu to London, in 1824, Honolulu, HI, Typescript.

flowers that rested on top of her dark curled pulled back hair. A large turban that was decorated with flowers also covered Liliha's hair.<sup>62</sup> This was a publicized event that reported on the attendees' fashions and attentiveness that included the chiefs who appeared like the other nobility in the audience, rather than stereotype depictions of indigenous peoples as "naked savages".

The ali'i returned from their overseas voyage with newly acquired Western-style clothing. "Kauikeouli was very [su]perbly dressed in a regimental suit presented by George the [fo]urth with golden epaulets & sword" as observed by Levi Chamberlain who further commented that "many other chiefs were habite[d] elegantly in new garments received by the Blonde."<sup>63</sup> The *Blonde*, was the ship that transported these fond gifts and the bodies of Liholiho who along with Kamāmalu fell ill and died in London. Kauikeouli, the new king, wore this gift from King George at the funeral procession for the untimely deaths of his elder brother and half sister in the summer of 1824. The funeral was also widely attended by people dressed in their best attire including the chiefs who wore the newest fashions from London to lament the loss of their beloved king. This procession also functioned as a display of pageantry, an opportunity to display their fineries, similar to church attendance or other religious and social gatherings.

#### Discerning Eyes: Attire & Appropriate Station

Missionary clothing during the early part of the 1820s was sewn from inexpensive fabrics, such as calico, coarse gingham, or cheap figured muslin.<sup>64</sup> These materials were noticeably inferior when worn along side the high-quality clothing belonging to the chiefs and some Hawaiian women. The type of outfits purchased were limited by their meager remittances,

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<sup>62</sup> "King's Theatre" Pierce Egan's *Life in London*, (London, England), June 13, 1824, Bishop Museum Archives, Concerning the Visit of Kamehameha II and His Consort, Kamāmalu to London, in 1824, Honolulu, HI, Typescript.

<sup>63</sup> Levi Chamberlain Journal, May 11, 1825, 42.

<sup>64</sup> Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty*, 109.

from the ABCFM headquarters in New England, but monies was even more strained because “every article of provision we consume, is bought at a rate double to what it would cost in Boston” complained Mrs. Bingham.<sup>65</sup> The high costs forced missionaries to be selective, purchasing essentials like food, while forgoing less important items including clothing. Additionally, buying finer quality items was too expensive for their budget. The Hawai‘i mission was forced to make do with their limited means in addition to conserve and maintain the goods they owned. The longer a missionary resided in the islands, the more worn their clothing became. Missionary wives certainly mended damaged clothing, made patchwork garments, and had their children wear hand-me-downs.

Because it was too costly for missionaries to purchase items from retail stores, shipments of cargo were preferred. Daniel Chamberlain, a former ship captain who joined the mission, requested goods be shipped because “they would be much better for us than money, as many kinds of goods are worth double here to what they cost in America – Common axes are worth two dollars – Blue Dung[a]ree (denim), pieces of 18 yds. Are worth 5 or 6 dol. Blankets 1 ½ yd. square \$3.5 – two inch chisels 60 to 75 cts. – Jack knives 50 to 75 cts.”<sup>66</sup> Merchant stores carried these items, but the high cost of goods meant missionaries used more of their dollars to purchase items than if a cargo was sent from New England. Shipments arrived at a lower cost because merchandise in New England was cheaper and ship captains offered to transport goods to Hawai‘i for free.<sup>67</sup> This meant the Hawai‘i mission could preserve their limited resources and minimize their interactions with merchants as their relationship became strained. Another reason shipments were preferred was because missionaries could request for a specific item that might be unavailable or difficult to acquire in Hawai‘i.

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<sup>65</sup> Bingham Journal, October 4, 1822, 82.

<sup>66</sup> Chamberlain to Evarts, Woahoo [O‘ahu], November 17, 1821, 131.

<sup>67</sup> Bingham Journal, October 4, 1822, 82.

Letters to the ABCFM reveal that missionaries frequently asked for new items such as, paper, books, supplies, food, fabrics, tools, needle and thread, and clothing. The goods; however, were rarely received, like the new bonnet requested by Sybil Bingham to replace the one she wore for the past three years.<sup>68</sup> After another year of wearing the tattered head covering, she, then, appealed to friends of the mission asking them to send bonnets promised to the queen while mentioning about her own worn headpiece. Not only did Sybil ask for chiefly gifts, but she also sought a new headpiece for herself. Their inadequate provisions resulted in the missionaries asking family members or ABCFM supporters for goods that the ABCFM headquarters did not provide. Her request is also revealing of missionary wardrobe that was in good condition upon arrival, but became worn out and were rarely replaced, even though there were constant appeals for clothing and provisions.<sup>69</sup>

Sybil's request for bonnets also points to the importance of donations to the mission. During this period, missionaries were gifted new clothing and cloth from overseas friends, foreign residents, visitors, and chiefs. Mrs. Bingham writes on October 21, 1822 that John C. Jones, Jr. presented the mission thirty yards of calico, worth a dollar per yard.<sup>70</sup> A few days later, Captain Norris of the *Mayflower* gave fifteen yards of cotton cloth.<sup>71</sup> Clothing was also sent from friends of the mission in America.<sup>72</sup> These presents were equally divided amongst the families, regardless of the size, but personal gifts belonged to the addressee.<sup>73</sup> Mission wives were certainly delighted to receive fabrics that were sewn into much-needed blankets, clothing, bonnets, and other garments. But ready-to-wear clothing were preferred because sewing a

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<sup>68</sup> Bingham Journal, October 4, 1822, 83.

<sup>69</sup> Samuel Ruggles to Jeremiah Evarts, August 2, 1820, Missionary Letters to the ABCFM – Volume 1 – 1819-1824, 103.; Daniel Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, November 17, 1821, Missionary Letters to the ABCFM – Volume 1 – 1819-1824, 131.

<sup>70</sup> Bingham Journal, October 21, 1822, 89.

<sup>71</sup> Bingham Journal, October 25, 1822, 90.

<sup>72</sup> Levi Chamberlain Journal, October 20, 1823 22.

<sup>73</sup> Bingham Journal, October 21, 1822, 89.; Levi Chamberlain Journal, October 20, 1823, 22.

garment added another task on top of their household chores, childcare, instruction, and needlework. Without these donations of fabric, new clothes might have been inaccessible. Furthermore, during their initial years in Hawai‘i, donations supplemented mission needs, making them reliant on the goodwill of others.

Because of these issues, it was difficult for missionary wives to acquire new clothing during their initial years in Hawai‘i. Their dress was of inferior quality and became tattered over time. Surely, mission wives, like Sybil Bingham grew tired of their worn attire, as they labored tirelessly to morally uplift the Hawaiian population through religious instruction and needlework. But seeing Hawaiians in fine garments angered Mrs. Bingham who wrote about an experience at church. “For many Sabbaths past the native congregation has been very large. Looking upon the multitude, consisting of kings, queens & almost all the rulers of the nation, coming together at the ringing of the bell, many of them richly dressed and imitating the manners of the civilized people, my mind has been filled with emotions not to be expressed”.<sup>74</sup> A large church attendance delighted missionaries whose goal was to Christianize the Hawaiian people. But Mrs. Bingham was angered by the appearance of the ali‘i, many of them were wearing clothing she probably had sewn and displaying behaviors taught by missionaries. Her displeasure with chiefly church conduct was most likely brought about by the lower position missionary wives occupied. These women came with the belief that a white woman was of a higher station, and it was their duty to “civilize” the “naked heathens”. In reality, mission wives were chiefly seamstresses, their work and attire belonging to people of a lower position. Although they needed to complete the needlework requests to gain chiefly favor, resentment developed as Hawaiian chiefs and some maka‘āinana donned fineries that were unattainable to the

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<sup>74</sup> Bingham Journal, February 15, 1822, 98.

missionaries. The chiefly appearances at church also called into question missionary refinement and status with the latter's clothing belonging to those of a lower station.

### Shipment and Cargo Irregularities

Obtaining clothing through trade with sailors was unreliable, even though increased foreign arrivals meant a greater opportunity to acquire clothes. Sailors brought with them a limited amount of possessions that needed to be conserved for a long voyage with few and costly opportunities to obtain additional provisions. Additionally, their outfits were for men, styles that were undesirable to Hawaiian women who, by the 1820s, preferred dresses and bonnets. If a sailor brought women's clothing with him, it was probably limited to a few garments.

Arrivals of cargo from New England were sporadic, resulting in local merchant houses being another unreliable source of clothing. Though an increasing number of mariners visited the Hawaiian Islands, voyaging to the archipelago took several months and due to the seasonal fluctuation of arrivals, that were, at times, unpredictable, the receipt of shipments were infrequent. An urgent request written by John C. Jones, Jr. to Marshall & Wildes on March 8, 1823 illustrates shipping difficulties. His request for a shipment of cloth and other trade articles in demand would only be dispatched on the next vessel willing to carry the correspondence.<sup>75</sup> Because it was unknown when the next ship sailed out of Honolulu, the message was probably composed weeks before being sent off. A direct voyage between Hawai'i and New England took approximately five months. However, letters were often transported aboard ships en route to Canton with New England as the final destination. In this case, the merchant house received the letter up to a year after it was penned. Then, the firm needed additional time to fulfill the request

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<sup>75</sup> Captains possessed the authority to reject the shipment of cargo. By the middle of the 1820s, ship captains often denied carrying letters from missionaries in Honolulu to New England.



and load the cargo for another long journey to Hawai‘i. Up to two years might pass before the goods finally reached the islands. Yet, appeals for specific merchandise did not guarantee delivery as a ship might encounter disaster, or the merchant house decided not to fulfill the request. Arrivals were unpredictable because of the long periods between shipments with a possibility that the cargo arrived damaged or not at all.

The irregularity of shipments affected clothing purchases. Because the same merchandise could be in stock for months, deliveries were highly anticipated with customers wanting the newest clothing styles and patterns. This desire resulted in a willingness to pay higher prices, or possibly out bid one another. Although shipments of new clothing were sought after, it was important for outfits to be of the liking and size of Hawaiian consumers. “Larger figures & gay colors such as red, yellow and green would suit this market better than anything of a gloomy appearance” wrote Levi Chamberlain, the commercial agent for the mission.<sup>76</sup> Unlike missionary women, Hawaiian ladies dressed in brighter colors and were of a larger build, making sure the buyers could fit the merchandise was important when asking the ABCFM headquarters in Boston for clothes to trade with the indigenous population. Levi wanted to exchange clothes because it was a profitable business opportunity that would aid the mission in obtaining supplies. But like other requests, the cargo was not received, adding to the demand of needlecraft provided by the mission wives.

### Needlecraft

Clothing sewn by missionary wives was preferred because it was timelier to have a dress sewn, than wait on a new shipment. But another reason for the chiefly clothing requests was

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<sup>76</sup> Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, Honoruru, September 24, 1824, Missionary Letters to The ABCFM, Volume 2, 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 424. These trade items were intended for the maka‘āinana because the missionaries gifted clothing to the ali‘i to obtain favor.

possibly because these tailored-made outfits were sewn to a person's measurements in addition style and material preference. A dress that properly fit was important to the ali'i, a lesson Mrs. Bingham learned during an unannounced visit to Kamāmalu. Although Mrs. Bingham delivered a newly sewn dress to the ali'i wahine, her arrival went unnoticed, until the mission wife interrupted the chiefs who were engaged in a card game with money spread on the mats. Kamāmalu, however, remained concentrated on her cards and lifted one arm followed by the other to have the dress placed on her body. Surely, the smaller framed Mrs. Bingham encountered difficulties when putting the garment over the larger physique of Kamāmalu who stood nearly six and a half feet tall. When the gown was on the body of the ali'i, she, all of a sudden, commanded "too close, cast off" because the dress was tight-fitting.<sup>77</sup> After spending a lot of time preparing the gown, Mrs. Bingham was certainly disappointed because Kamāmalu ordered for the dress to be removed and remained focused on the card game and gambling, two activities the mission denounced. Even though Sybil's visit was filled with disappointments, she left the encounter with the "satisfaction of knowing some alterations were needed."<sup>78</sup> Needlework provided missionary wives with a reason to call on the chiefs, it was also a unique skill that only missionary wives could offer to gain chiefly favor.<sup>79</sup>

But mission wives also taught needlecraft to Hawaiian women. According to an 1821 published report in the *Missionary Herald*, a publication of the ABCFM, some Hawaiian women received weekly instruction and assisted in sewing European fashioned garments for themselves.<sup>80</sup> The article goes on to state that girls who attended school were taught sewing.

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<sup>77</sup> Bingham Journal, March 14, 1822, 70.

<sup>78</sup> Bingham Journal, March 14, 1822, 70.

<sup>79</sup> Ruggles Journal, June 15, 1820.; Hiram and Sybil Bingham made daily visits to Ka'ahumanu because the ali'i wahine was gravely ill. It was feared that she would die and the missionaries cared and prayed for her. See Bingham Journal, December 16, 1821, 57, December 17, 1821, 57, December 22, 1821, 58, December 26, 1821, 58, December 27, 1821, 58.

<sup>80</sup> Missionary Herald, 1821, Hawaiian Missions Children's Society. Honolulu, HI. Digital Collection., 141.

The intent of missionary teaching was to impress upon Hawaiian women the idea of proper Christian womanhood: appropriate dress, conduct, and a gendered division of labor that tasked women with the sole responsibility of childcare and domestic work. Instruction presented Hawaiian women with a chance to learn valuable needlework skills. But another reason to teach needlepoint was for Hawaiian women to become the domestic help that mission wives so desperately wanted. Yet, this instruction presented Hawaiian women an opportunity to learn valuable needlework skills. Now, they could sew Western-style clothing for themselves, to exchange clothes with other Hawaiians, or as a gift for their chief. Hawaiian women who learned this craft became the producers and sellers of a highly sought after commodity.

#### God In Heaven Is True

Even as sex work, gambling, and drinking emerged as popular and profitable commercial activities, Christian mores became a guideline for proper behavior. By the early 1820s, some of the chiefs sought Christian baptism with Kalanimoku as the first known ali‘i to receive this sacrament aboard the *Uraïne*, a French ship in 1819.<sup>81</sup> The image shows a priest possibly



Figure 2.5: The high chief Kalanimoku (standing near priest) dressed in Western fashions on board the French ship *Uraïne* for his Catholic baptism with of ali‘i (right) are also dressed in the Western-style, ca.1819. <http://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-c1819-baptism-of-kalanimoku-aboard-the-uraine-in-detail-jacques-arago-81356967.html> (accessed April 12, 2017)

<sup>81</sup> The children of European residents were baptized aboard visiting ships as early as 1812, according to the journal of Manini. See Gast, *Don Francisco de Paula Marin*, ed. Anges C. Conrad, 207.

anointing the high chief who was dressed in a green coat and white pants. Some of the other attending chiefs were also fashioned in Western attire, and the ali‘i wahine seated to the far right wore in a yellow gown. According to Native Hawaiian writer Samuel Kamakau, Kalanimoku received the sacrament because John Young told the chief “the God in heaven is true”.<sup>82</sup> By 1823, Keōpūolani who, at that time, was the highest-ranking chief because of her genealogy received a Christian baptism, on her deathbed, by the ABCFM missionaries. After her baptism into the congregation, Kalanimoku sought entrance into the Congregational church and wanted baptism for his son. Soon, other chiefs, including Ka‘ahumanu, Opiia, and Puaiti sought to be baptized.<sup>83</sup> In addition, Ka‘ahumanu along with her two husbands, Kaumuali‘i and Keali‘iahonui, who were punalua (spouses sharing a spouse) and father and son, frequently attended church services and visited the homes of missionaries.<sup>84</sup> Around this time, there was a shift in gift giving with the ali‘i who wanted to be baptized gifting food to the mission. Kalanimoku was especially generous by providing the missionaries with a plot of land and maka‘āinana laborers to aid with the construction of homes, a church house, and schools. The following year while traveling aboard Liholiho’s voyage to London, other ali‘i converted to Christianity, although a different denomination. Governor Boki was baptized by a chaplain and on the return voyage, three other chiefs also received the sacrament aboard the HMS *Blonde*.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> S.M. Kamakau, “Ka Moolelo O Na Kamehameha,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 2, 1867.

To read a discussion about Kalanimoku’s (Kālainimoku) baptism and the image of the sacrament See: Marie Alohālani Brown, *Facing The Spears Of Change: The Life And Legacy of John Papa ‘Ī‘ī* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press), 141-42.

<sup>83</sup> Chamberlain Journal, September 27, 1823. Vol. II.

<sup>84</sup> Ka‘ahumanu attended church services one conducted in the English language and two in Hawaiian. See: Levi Chamberlain, June 22, 1823. Vol. I.

Throughout Chamberlain’s journal, Ka‘ahumanu, Kalanimoku, Kaumuali‘i, and Keali‘iahonui attended church services together. Chamberlain Journal, March 31, 1824.

<sup>85</sup> “After service on the quarter deck, all the Sandwichers [sic] (with the exception of Boki who had already undergone the ceremony) were baptized and received into the Xtian church, the ceremony took place in the Captains cabin and was very interesting, Boki had been previously baptized by the chaplain of French ship when on his voyage round the world” See Diary of A.R. Bloxam on H.M.S. Blonde, 1824, Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu, HI, 112. It is argued the ali‘i including Ka‘ahumanu allied themselves with the ABCFM missionaries for Christian

The ali‘i nui who petitioned for baptism from the ABCFM missionaries were required to prove their piousness and complete extensive instruction prior to receiving the sacrament. The baptismal preparations for the ali‘i who received the sacrament on board is unknown, but due to the nature of voyaging the instruction period prior to baptism would have been brief or possibly none at all. On the other hand, for nearly two years, Ka‘ahumanu and the other chiefs made multiple requests for baptism from the resident missionaries. Then in 1825, missionary Levi Chamberlain wrote that the ali‘i were “placed under a particular course of instruction [to] prepare [for] their baptism & introduction into the Church, and that they should feel themselves under obligations to walk with circumspection – to make the word of God the rule of their life and be more directly under the watch & instruction of the missionaries.”<sup>86</sup> Under the watchful eyes of the missionaries, the ali‘i were expected to make the Christian word paramount in their lives and the land they governed. The chiefs decreed kapu that required the maka‘āinana to attend church services and prohibited fires and baths on the Sabbath.<sup>87</sup> By 1825, the chiefs forbade all forms of vice and Hawaiian women were no longer allowed to go aboard ships for the purposes of prostitution. Although Christian mores appears to have influenced these kapu, the prohibitions

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authority because the “disestablishment of the kingdom’s religion [‘aikapu] threw the Hawaiian people into an unexpected state of transition” this resulted in the ali‘i searching “for a means to re-anchor their people to the cosmos and justify their rule to both the *maka‘āinana* (commoners) and the outside world”. See Jennifer Fish Kashay, “From Kapus to Christianity: The Disestablishment of the Hawaiian Religion and Chiefly Appropriation of Calvinist Christianity,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (Spring, 2008): 18. Rather, chiefly rule and authority was grounded in genealogy not the ‘aikapu. For an in depth explanation of genealogy and the importance of nī‘aupi‘o chiefly relationships See Kame‘eleihiwa *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 40-43. Furthermore, the ‘ainoa (free eating) removed any legitimate religious and political path towards usurpation available to rivals of Liholiho. See Denise Noelani Arista, “Histories of Unequal Measure: Euro-American Encounters with Hawaiian Governance and Law, 1793-1827” (Dissertation, Brandeis University, 2010), 166.

<sup>86</sup> Chamberlain Journal, June 5, 1825.

<sup>87</sup> Meeting to Consider New Laws, With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825, Being Extracts from the M.S. Diary of James Mairal, Scottish Botanist, British Museum. In Government Records Inventories, Historical Commission, Copies of Documents Relating to British Policy toward Hawaii, 1824 – 1894, British Foreign Office Correspondence Relating to Hawaii, folder 375-2-1, Second Series: Reports of Bryon, Paulet, Thomas, 1824-1843, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

were in response to the increasing rate of drunkenness and demands placed on Hawaiian women that are discussed in the preceding chapter.

#### “Blood Suckers of The Community”

By the 1820s, there was a growing male Euro-American presence. Some of these men were residents, such as Anthony Allen, Oliver Holmes, and Manini who were among the earliest foreign settlers in Hawai‘i. Other newcomers included: Captain William Heath Davis, Mr. Warren, Mr. Navarro, Mr. Temple, William French, James Hunnewell, and John C. Jones, Jr. who were traders that sailed on voyages between New England and Canton. They made multiple stops in Hawai‘i before establishing residency, cohabitating with Hawaiian women, and some of them fathered Hawaiian children. The number of foreigners residing in the islands is unknown, but after nearly three months of living on O‘ahu, Sybil Bingham observed “many white residents” lived in the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>88</sup>

Initially, the majority of non-missionary foreigners held a favorable view of the mission. Anthony Allen gifted the group fresh produce, a goat, goat’s milk, and many other things as often as every other week.<sup>89</sup> Visiting ship captains provided the mission with expensive articles of soap and sperm oil and transported correspondences to America free of charge. Even costly and difficult to acquire building materials were donated by Euro-American traders.<sup>90</sup> Because it was difficult for the missionaries to support themselves and establish the mission from the stipends and provisions supplied by the ABCFM, donations were welcomed and essential to the growth of the mission. In addition, resident and visiting foreigners further supported the mission by regularly attending Sunday services and seeking instruction. In a missionary correspondence,

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<sup>88</sup> Bingham Journal, June 20, 1820.

<sup>89</sup> Bingham Journal, June 20, 1820.

<sup>90</sup> Hiram Bingham, A. Thurston, D. Chamberlain, Elisha Loomis, to The Prudential Com, November 25, 1821, Missionary Letters to ABCFM –Volume 1 – 1819-1824, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.

it was thought the “singing drew tears from the aged eyes of Mr. Holmes, who had not heard one of the songs of Zion for 20 years”.<sup>91</sup> His children were among thirty pupils under missionary instruction that also included “the Gov. or head chief of this Island, - his wife, - the daughter of the chief of Harakehooa, & 11 children of whitemen [sic]. One of them [is] George Holmes [who] exhibits a fine genius for painting.”<sup>92</sup> Monetary donations helped the mission build a church and school.<sup>93</sup> A majority of these foreigners shared mutual interests and culture. They operated in the same social networks and often gathered at dinners with incoming foreign visitors or to celebrate American and Christian holidays of July 4<sup>th</sup>, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. Additionally, attitudes about White racial superiority fostered greater connections within the growing Euro-American community. These people socialized together because they were a small group in a distant land who spoke a common language and longed for connections and familiarities of their homeland.<sup>94</sup>

The relationship among sailors, merchants, and missionaries grew strained, particularly as the missionaries came to occupy the chiefs’ time by tailoring their outfits, teaching reading and writing, and religious instruction. The latter’s time spent with the chiefs fostered a greater relationship with missionaries receiving chiefly assistance. Merchants saw these activities as a hindrance because, now, they had to vie for chiefly attention to solicit trade. Both missionaries

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<sup>91</sup> Hiram Bingham to Rev. Samuel Worcester, May 13, 1820, Missionary Letters to ABCFM –Volume 1 – 1819-1824, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.

<sup>92</sup> Hiram Bingham, Daniel Chamberlain, Samuel Whitney, Samuel Ruggles, Elisha Loomis to Rev. Samuel Worcester, July 23, 1820, Missionary Letters to ABCFM –Volume 1 – 1819-1824, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.

<sup>93</sup> Hiram Bingham, Daniel Chamberlain, Samuel Whitney, Samuel Ruggles, Elisha Loomis to Rev. Samuel Worcester, Wahoo, July 6, 1821, Missionary Letters to ABCFM –Volume 1 – 1819-1824, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.

<sup>94</sup> Lucy Thurston who was stationed on Hawai’i Island with her husband writes about living in a distant land and being overjoyed when an American ship visited. “We were in the heart of the nation, shut up to a strange dialect without associations, and without foreigners for neighbors. English words, in cultivated tones, fell with strange power upon the ear, and upon the heart. So it was when an American vessel visited our port. We heard words, and experienced deeds of kindness God bless mariners. They are the links that connect us to the father land.” See Thurston Journal, 1820, 56.

and merchants wanted chiefly favor, to carry out their perspective, but opposing interests.

Similar to missionaries, traders also sought the chiefs' support, John C. Jones, Jr. requested from his employer, the merchant house, Marshall & Wildes to send "the King and Queen a present of some value."<sup>95</sup> Their goodwill was beneficial for trade deals and in petitioning to end chiefly decrees that hindered trade, such as Hawaiian attendance at missionary instruction and observance of the Sabbath. These pronouncements took people out of the sandalwood forests and placed them in front of a missionary. Fewer people cutting the fragrant trees meant a smaller supply of the much-needed commodity that built up merchant profits in Canton. Any trade hindrance, especially those thought to be mission influenced, certainly angered merchants and created discord between these two groups.

Missionaries became the scapegoats for the high prices of goods in Hawai'i. When the price of potatoes increased to the "extravagant sum" of \$2.00 per barrel, sailors held the missionary, Reverend Richards personally responsible for the high price, even though Hawaiian traders sold this crop at a comparable rate.<sup>96</sup> A letter by resident agent John C. Jones, details his displeasure with the missionaries. He states that "trade never will again flourish at these Islands until these missionaries from the Andover mill are recalled, they are continually telling the King and Chiefs that the white people traders are cheating and imposing on them, consequently have depreciated the value of most articles."<sup>97</sup> By informing the chiefs that haole merchants were dishonest and inflating prices, the missionaries would have increased their service to the ali'i in addition to paying less for imported goods. In turn, the merchants lost profits and this angered Jones who called the missionaries the "blood suckers of the community [who] had much better

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<sup>95</sup> John Coffin Jones, Jr. to Marshall & Wildes. Woahoo, October 10, 1822., 43.

<sup>96</sup> Chamberlain Journal, March 28, 1827.

<sup>97</sup> John Coffin Jones, Jr. to Marshall & Wildes. Woahoo, March 9, 1823. In Morison, Samuel Eliot. Boston Traders In The Hawaiian Islands 1789-1823., 46.



be in their native country gaining their living by the sweat of their brow, than living like lords in this luxurious land”.<sup>98</sup> The comment speaks of the ali‘i’s generous gifts of land, food items, and various other resources to the missionaries. These contributions were essential to the development of the mission because, a greater number of non-missionary foreigners disliked and refused to assist the missionaries, like Captain Eldridge, of the *America*, who on October 29, 1825, refused to transport missionary letters.<sup>99</sup> The mission was forced to purchase goods from merchant stores and pay for shipping cargo and correspondences to New England.

For both groups the accumulation of Western goods and clothing emerged as central component in “civilizing” the Hawaiian people. Because nudity was considered inappropriate, immodest, and sinful, missionaries put forth a lot of effort to clothe the Hawaiian body. Dress, on the other hand, was a public display of mission progress. “Our host & his family were well dressed, & furnished with a chair, a writing desk, chest, slat & the books published by the Mission” wrote missionary E.W. Clark during an 1829 visit to a Hawaiian household in a remote district of Hawai‘i Islands.<sup>100</sup> It “surprised” the mission group “to find so much appearance of civilization in this distant & obscure part of the Island.”<sup>101</sup> Clark viewed these Western possessions as outward signs of adapting Christian mores. In an remote area of Hawai‘i Island that was a several day sail from Honolulu and a trek inland, seeing a household with Euro-American style possessions was surprising because Hawaiian people were expected to live like “heathens”.

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<sup>98</sup> John Coffin Jones, Jr. to Marshall & Wildes. Woahoo, March 9, 1823, 46.

<sup>99</sup> Loomis Journal, October 29, 1825, 50.

<sup>100</sup> E.W. Clark to Henry Hill, Sandwich Islands June, 20, 1829, Missionary Letters to ABCFM –Volume 3 – 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 764.

<sup>101</sup> E.W. Clark to Henry Hill, Sandwich Islands June, 20, 1829, Missionary Letters to ABCFM –Volume 3 – 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 764.

Merchants and sailors, too, believed Western appearance was an indication of civilization. When Lieutenant Paulding of the USS *Dolphin* arrived in 1826, the crew was surprised “to find a rabble of naked and half-naked natives, amounting to many hundreds,” because they were informed that “their condition was much improved, and that they were far advanced in civilization.”<sup>102</sup> The lieutenant measured the Hawaiian people based on their clothing, or lack of it, but when spotting the *Dolphin*, the maka‘āinana left shores wearing a malo, pā‘ū, or perhaps nothing at all because it was difficult to swim or paddle out to a ship in wet heavy outfits to conduct trade. Over the next few months, he would have many opportunities at Sunday church services, dinners, and on board meetings to see Hawaiians dressing in Western fashions, that were, at times, of better-quality than haole attire. Although adoption of Western-style dress was a goal of mission and merchant agents, haole positionality was called into question by Hawaiians who appeared in the “English style”.

Yet, taking on a Euro-American appearance was limited to certain occasions and served a purpose even as increased foreign presence facilitated the access of Western-style clothing through needlecraft, the sale of sex, and merchant stores. During the 1820s, Hawaiian attention became occupied with mission instruction that included needlepoint, now, maka‘āinana women could sew clothing for themselves, to sell, or as a gift to a chief. But this did not stop women from participating in the sex-for-goods trade that offered opportunities to acquire money and imports in addition to the enjoyment of entertainment and drink. The selling of sex additionally placed some Hawaiian women in a position to acquire fineries similar to those of the chiefs and better than mission wives. The latter’s inferior quality of clothing was surely noticeable to Hawaiians whose fondness for nicer attire might have been a reason to limit time spent at mission instruction when ships were anchored off shore. As the following chapter demonstrates,

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<sup>102</sup> Paulding, *Journal Of A Cruise Of The United States Schooner Dolphin*, 197.

the acquisition of clothing is a reason why some women continued to be the sellers of sex despite the a kapu (chiefly prohibition) that intended to stop this crucial trade in Hawai‘i.

## CHAPTER 3

### **Impeding Exchanges: The Impact Of A Kapu (Prohibition) on Sex Work**

By the mid-1820s, female bodies became a contested site that represented the advancement of respective, albeit differing, interests. Women sold sexual services to acquire Western-style commodities, particularly clothing, from Euro-American merchant agents who also supplied goods to mariners. Merchants wanted the sex-for-goods trade to continue because they banked on the earnings from the sellers and buyers of sex, two large consumer groups. But sometime around August 16, 1825, the chiefs decreed a kapu (prohibition) that forbade women from traveling to ships for the purpose of prostitution.<sup>1</sup> This kapu blocked the sellers of sex from acquiring Western-style goods and sailors from female company. Violence erupted after mariners' demands for access to Hawaiian women were denied. But the opposition to the 1825 kapu was more than sexual access to Hawaiian women. Non-missionary haole saw the kapu as a furthering of mission chiefly influence with the ali'i's adoption of Christian mores, as a threat to commercial activities. Yet, this chiefly decree was intended to protect Hawaiian women from sailors' aggressive advances, but women still found opportunities to be in the company of haole men even though faced with mounting impositions.

#### Ship Abandonment

Examining the presence of foreign men prior to the kapu of 1825 reveals events that possibly influenced the chiefly decree. John C. Jones, Jr. was a resident agent for the New England merchant house Marshall & Wildes and the appointed Agent for Commerce and

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<sup>1</sup> Hiram Bingham to Jeremiah Evarts, Oahu, September 14, 1829, Mission Letters to American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions - Volume 02 - 1824 - 1830, Digital Archives, Typescript, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu.

Seamen of the United States at the Sandwich Islands.<sup>2</sup> He was “to be useful to the numerous citizens of the U.S. who in their voyages to the Pacific Ocean resort to those Islands for refreshments and trade; during the voyages to Canton”.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Jones was an advocate for American commercial interests, which included his own, in Hawai‘i. Because of Jones’ duties as a merchant and consular agent in relaying, observing, and engaging in commercial activities, his correspondences provide insight into the socioeconomic happenings that includes the threat posed by sailors.

An 1822 letter from John C. Jones, Jr. to his employer Marshall & Wildes highlights labor difficulties. When overseeing the construction of wooden houses, Jones complained about the “immense” problems caused by his fellow countrymen. He wanted the men to be returned to the United States because “there are too many allurements and temptations to lead them astray, perhaps you will not credit it, when I tell you on this Island, seventeen established grog shops kept by white people”.<sup>4</sup> Jones indicates that these men were in the way of business, and the work suffered due to their lack of self-control and enjoyment of alcohol and games of chance while in the company of women. Although Jones doubted that his claims would be believed, he suggested that the conduct of Americans abroad was unacceptable to standards back home.

The letter mentions there were “and not less than one hundred deserters from different whale ships; Woahoo [O‘ahu] is becoming one of the vilest places on the globe, and if something is not soon done, murder and theft will be the order of the day.”<sup>5</sup> Mariners’ disorderly and violent behavior became a social and commercial concern, a significant difference from the turn of the

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<sup>2</sup> John Coffin Jones, Jr. to John Quincy Adams, Boston, October 2, 1820, United States Consulate (Honolulu) Dispatches from United States Consuls In Honolulu, 1820-1903, Volume 1, Oct. 2, 1820 - June 30, 1843, Microfilm, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>3</sup> Jones to Adams, Boston, October 2, 1820.

<sup>4</sup> John Coffin Jones, Jr. to Marshall & Wildes, Woahoo [O‘ahu], November 16, 1822. In Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Boston Traders In The Hawaiian Islands 1798 – 1823*, 44.

<sup>5</sup> John Coffin Jones, Jr. to Marshall & Wildes, Woahoo [O‘ahu], November 16, 1822. In Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Boston Traders In The Hawaiian Islands 1798 – 1823*, 44.

century when safety fears were raised by the presence of Hawaiian people. When disorderly behavior threatened commerce, Jones' source of income, he became concerned and even provided aid "for the relief of destitute seamen" as indicated in a reimbursement request to Secretary of State.<sup>6</sup> Although Jones was an American official, he lacked the resources to reprimand, assist, or return deserters who became dependent on the charity of other foreigners or possibly cohabitated with Hawaiian women in a thatched house.

Sailors who abandoned ship were also a financial burden to merchants. Finding a replacement was required, but it was at expense of the crew's time, resources, and money. American commerce in the Pacific had "met with serious interruption by the frequent desertion of seamen from the ships which visit Woahoo [O'ahu] for trade and refreshment, and that the evil complained of is rapidly increasing," as declared in a letter to Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) by Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones of the USS *Peacock*.<sup>7</sup> His letter demonstrates that ship desertion continued to adversely affect trade into the middle of the 1820s. As detailed in the first chapter, the harsh shipboard experiences might be a reason why some sailors chose to run away. However, enticing factors to remain on land were an availability of liquor, women, and games of chance. The commodore threatened to cease trade between the two countries "unless your Majesty will adopt some plan which will enable the Masters of Merchant vesels [sic] to retain in their service all mariners belonging to their ships in your ports."<sup>8</sup> Realistically, however, stopping Americans from calling on Hawai'i for trade and refreshment could

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<sup>6</sup> John C. Jones, Jr. to United States Secretary of State Clay, Oahu, October 19, 1825, United States Consulate (Honolulu) Despatches from United States Consuls In Honolulu, 1820-1903, Volume 1, Oct. 2, 1820 – June 30, 1843, Microfilm, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

<sup>7</sup> Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones to Kauikeaouli, Woahoo [O'ahu], October 1826, Foreign Office and Executive, folder 402-2-21, Chronological File, 1790-1849, "1826: Aug. 25, Oct.," Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu, HI. After the death of Liholiho (Kamehameha II) in 1824, his younger brother Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) became King of the Hawaiian Islands.

<sup>8</sup> Jones to Kauikeaouli, Woahoo [O'ahu], October 1826.

not be carried out because the islands were an essential port of call. As a naval officer, he knew it was the captain's responsibility to maintain command over crewmembers, yet the blame was shifted on to Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli). Commodore Jones's threats could have been a scare tactic to compel the king into carrying out the demands, which included access to Hawaiian women, of American sailors and merchants in Hawaiian waters.

### Annoyed Inhabitants

The chiefs sought to protect the Hawaiian population, and women in particular, from sailors' unruly behavior. A March 8, 1822 notice from Kamehameha II (Liholiho) called attention to the fact that "disturbance[s] have arisen of late on shore, the peace broken, and the inhabitants annoyed, by the crews of different vessels having liberty granted them on shore."<sup>9</sup> Commotions from drunken sailors were bothersome and angered residents, especially at night. The notice goes on to mention that "any seaman of whatever vessel, be found riotous or disturbing the peace in any manner," will be locked in the fort and "all deserters shall be returned to their respective commanders. No seaman shall be left on shore without permission from the King." The chiefs wanted runaways to remain with their crew and took efforts to return them to their Captains. Clearly, chiefly motive resulted from safety concerns due to the growing violence and disturbance caused by sailors.<sup>10</sup> Requiring consent, additionally, points to an attempt to restrict haole settlement in Hawai'i.<sup>11</sup> Another notice published the same day, states that Liholoho wanted peace and "any foreigner residing on his Islands, who shall be guilty of molesting strangers, or in any way disturbing the peace shall on complaint be confined in the

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<sup>9</sup> King's Correspondence... Notice to Foreigners, March 8, 1822, Foreign Office and Executive, Early Laws & Regulations, folder 418-1-f2, Preconstitutional Laws And Regulations 1822 – 25. Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu

<sup>10</sup> Levi Chamberlain Journal, August 22, 1825, The Levi Chamberlain Journal, Volume 5, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript, 11.

<sup>11</sup> The second chapter discusses that the missionaries required authorization from Liholiho to remain in Hawai'i.

Fort.”<sup>12</sup> Chiefs sought to protect the population, including women who encountered harassment and sexual assault from sailors.

The presence of foreign men exposed women to the sexual advances that were, at times, unwanted and jeopardized female safety, especially when sailors sought accompaniment overseas. Polly Holmes, the daughter of Mahi and Oliver Holmes, received numerous demands from Captain Brooks to escort him on a voyage abroad, according to an April 28, 1825 journal entry by missionary Elisha Loomis.<sup>13</sup> Ms. Holmes was assured clothing and a safe passage home, but these promises were turned down because she sought a marriage proposal, a vow the captain refused probably because he had wife and family waiting at home. Desperate for female companionship, Captain Brooks continued to aggressively pursue Polly who became frightened and fled to Kalanimoku for protection because she feared being forcefully taken on board.<sup>14</sup> The high chief decreed that Polly would go on her own accord, this protected the young woman while leaving her with the decision to sail or not. But looking at the absence of Mr. Oliver Holmes sheds light on this situation. His homeland was the Christian patriarchal society of New England. He later became the Governor of O‘ahu and consul to Kamehameha, and shortly after the missionaries arrived in 1820, he attended church services and sent his children to mission school. As Polly’s father in addition to the serving the king, Mr. Holmes wielded authority to protect his daughter from the advances of Captain Brooks. But seeing the aid of Kalanimoku, indicates that the ali‘i provided Polly with a greater sense of protection, something that her father could not or would not do.

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<sup>12</sup> King’s Correspondence... Notice to Foreigners, March 8, 1822.

<sup>13</sup> Elisha Loomis Journal, April 28, 1825, Copy of the Journal of E. Loomis, 1824 – 1826, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript, 33.; Stephen W. Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds: Volume I: 1823-1829*. ed. Pauline King, (Honolulu: Ku Pa’a Inc., 1989), 77.

<sup>14</sup> Loomis Journal, April 28, 1825, 34.



Kalanimoku's decree was surely influenced by an earlier incident involving Leoiki that occurred only a couple months prior.<sup>15</sup> After Captain Buckle returned to Honolulu on February 23, 1825, Leoiki spent two nights on board before he sent her to ashore with eight dollars. She gave the money to her ali'i nui (high chief), Wahine Pio and said "here is the money of the foreigner, he wishes you to give me to him for his."- the money is yours, but if you take it, I am to go with him to a foreign country'.<sup>16</sup> Initially, the high chief refused the offer, telling Leoiki, "I shall not give you up, for I love you". "Return the money to the foreigner for, lo, it is money to take you forever to a foreign country.'" But after the captain and high chief ate together, she relented upon receiving additional money.<sup>17</sup> The money enticed Wahine Pio who entered a business transaction by accepting the payment, obligating Leoiki to accompany Captain Buckle on a several month overseas voyage. Breaking a trade transaction could bring about unwanted repercussions from merchants and sailors.

Leoiki dutifully acquiesced to her chief's wishes. Yet, Leoiki sorrowful wept "on account of her unwillingness to go – but she was unable to stay" she left on account of the desire of her chief for the money", as recounted in a deposition by Hoapilikane, a high chief and Governor of Maui.<sup>18</sup> The other chiefs, including Nahienaena, who, by this time, was the highest-

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<sup>15</sup> Noelani Arista, "Captive Women in Paradise 1796-1826: The Kapu On Prostitution in Hawaiian Historical Legal Context". *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 35, no. 4 (2011), p. 29-55. This article argues that the prohibition on prostitution is not a new moral code influenced by the ABCFM missionaries, rather it was rooted in an earlier kapu that King Kamehameha placed on the body of Ka'ahumanu. This kapu forbade anyone from sleeping with his wife and is Kamehameha's recognition of her mana (influence) that stemmed from power familial connections, political intelligence, and rank. This decree intended to decrease the possibility of any rivals forming a political alliance with Ka'ahumanu.

<sup>16</sup> "Certificates of several persons respecting Capt. Buckle's purchasing a mistress to accompany him on a sea voyage," Namale, Missionary Letters to ABCFM- Volume 03- 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.

<sup>17</sup> "Certificates of several persons respecting Capt. Buckle's purchasing a mistress to accompany him on a sea voyage," Kaukuna, Lahaina, November 9, 1827, Missionary Letters to ABCFM- Volume 03- 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 869.

<sup>18</sup> "Certificates of several persons respecting Capt. Buckle's purchasing a mistress to accompany him on a sea voyage," Hoapilikane, November 9, 1827, Missionary Letters to ABCFM- Volume 03- 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 868.

ranking chiefess and sister of Liholiho and Kauikeaouli, reluctantly watched on as Leoiki was sent abroad. Her cries must have been heart-wrenching for the other chiefs who watched on, but were unable to intercede.<sup>19</sup> Kalanimoku, the high chief and elder brother of Wahine Pio voiced his disagreement over Leoiki's sale. When his sister arrived at O'ahu, Kalanimoku said, "You have sold Leoiki for gold dollars have you?" Wahine Pio replied, "It is indeed so –I am wicked – the woman has gone to the foreigner – and the money has passed over to me."<sup>20</sup> Hearing the cries of Leoiki and facing the disapproval of the other chiefs might have caused Wahine Pio to regret her actions. Kalanimoku replied, "You are exceedingly wicked – I too, perhaps shall be involved in the crime. Perhaps our souls will both die together on account of this your crime."<sup>21</sup> Like the other chiefs, the sale of Leoiki troubled Kalanimoku who was Wahine Pio's elder brother and a higher-ranking chief, he voiced disapproval and took personal responsibility for Wahine Pio's actions. Certainly the conversation between the chiefs became known to all, including Polly Holmes who sought the protection of Kalanimoku because he was one of the most highest-ranking ali'i residing on O'ahu that would protect her from forcibly being taken abroad.

Protecting females from the forceful advances of haole men who attempted to purchase women like coveted commodities became a growing concern. After Captain Brooks' unsuccessful attempts with Polly, he pursued another young woman, the daughter of a Hawaiian

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<sup>19</sup> Leoiki was a kahu to Wahine Pio. This was a privileged role held by middle to lower ranking chiefs who were tasked to advise and care for their ali'i. For Leoiki to remain in good standing with her chief, the kahu needed to be obedient. Her place in Wahine Pio's home is another reason why the other chiefs, including those of higher rank did not intercede because they could not claim control over Leoiki. See Denise Noelani Arista, "Histories of Unequal Measure: Euro-American Encounters with Hawaiian Governance and Law, 1793-1827" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Brandeis University, 2010), 200-205.

<sup>20</sup> "Certificates of several persons respecting Capt. Buckle's purchasing a mistress to accompany him on a sea voyage," Michael Kekouonolie, November 9, 1827, Missionary Letters to ABCFM- Volume 03- 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.

<sup>21</sup> "Certificates of several persons respecting Capt. Buckle's purchasing a mistress to accompany him on a sea voyage," Michael Kekouonolie, November 9, 1827.

mother and haole father, and offered her parents \$800 for her accompaniment on a long-voyage.<sup>22</sup> The offer was refused by her mother who retorted, “Do you think we will sell our daughter like a hog?”<sup>23</sup> By equating Brooks offer to the purchase of a hog, a desired trade item, points to the dehumanization of his offer. Haole men viewed the body of a Hawaiian woman as a coveted commodity to be purchased, and the decision to sell was not her own, it belonged to her parents or at times a chief. This differed from treatment of women in Hawaiian society that placed the decision to engage in the sale of sex with the seller. Yet, protecting women from the exposure to aggressive sexual advances certainly brought about emotional distress, paranoia, and social unrest.

By August 1825, the chiefs decreed the kapu that forbade prostitution. “Females were not permitted to go on board the ships as formerly for the purposes of prostitution”, as observed by missionary Levi Chamberlain.<sup>24</sup> The prohibition prohibited sex between haole men and Hawaiian women outside of marriage. As mentioned in chapter one, a kapu was observed by Hawaiians, and by this time, foreign residents, yet visitors were affected by chiefly prohibitions. Sailors, including Captain Percival of the USS *Dolphin* grew outraged by denied access to Hawaiian women, he directed protests at Ka‘ahumanu, the Kuhina Nui (Prime Minister) and a primary enactor of the kapu. The captain received her response in a letter that stated, “she had a right to control her own people, that in enforcing this tabu she had not sought for money through such women”.<sup>25</sup> The ali‘i wahine exercised her authority over the Hawaiian people, while separating herself from the other chiefs like Wahine Pio and Boki, the brother of Wahine Pio and Kalanimoku, who collected a dollar tax for each woman leaving the Honolulu fort. This kapu,

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<sup>22</sup> Loomis Journal, April 28, 1825, 34.

<sup>23</sup> Loomis Journal, April 28, 1825, 34.

<sup>24</sup> Chamberlain Journal, October 4, 1825.

<sup>25</sup> Deposition Hiram Bingham, Honolulu, August 18, 1829, Missionary Letters to ABCFM- Volume 02 - 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library. Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript.

however, protected women from the increasing demands to accompany haole men on overseas voyages, a request that became increasingly common.<sup>26</sup> Traveling abroad did offer a chance to visit faraway places and obtain clothing, desirable things for Hawaiians, but remaining off shore offered protection to women who could easily swim to land if trouble arose. Additionally, while overseas women were exposed to a greater risk of sexual coercion and exploitations with no guarantee of returning. Hawaiian men who once sailed overseas certainly shared stories of sex workers living in dangerous and deplorable conditions.

Mariners were outraged by the kapu that forbade women from traveling to ships. Missionaries explained, the men threatened that “if they could not get them [women] by fair means they would catch them where they could find them and drag them on board ship”.<sup>27</sup> On October 4, 1825, seamen from the whaling ship *Daniel*, showed up to the front door of Mr. Bingham’s home demanding the reason why they no longer had access to women.<sup>28</sup> The ship, then, traveled from O’ahu to Maui where on the 7<sup>th</sup>, only a few days later, sailors from the *Spartan and Daniel* threatened to kill missionary William Richards if he did not consent to females going on board ships.<sup>29</sup> The following day, about twenty armed crewmembers from the *Daniel*, showed up to the home of Mr. Richards demanding women or his life.<sup>30</sup> By February of the following year, crewmembers from the USS *Dolphin* also made demands for women, which eventually erupted in violence when they smashed sixty-seven windowpanes and attacked Mr. Bingham at church services that were being held at the home of Kalanimoku.<sup>31</sup> Outraged by the kapu, Jack Percival, commander of the ship, kidnapped a woman from the mission school.<sup>32</sup> The

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<sup>26</sup> Loomis Journal, April 29, 1825, 33.

<sup>27</sup> Chamberlain Journal, October 4, 1825.

<sup>28</sup> Deposition Hiram Bingham, Honolulu, August 18, 1829.

<sup>29</sup> Chamberlain Journal, October 7, 1825.

<sup>30</sup> Chamberlain Journal, October 8, 1825.

<sup>31</sup> Chamberlain Journal, February 26, 1826, 44.

<sup>32</sup> Bingham to Evarts, September 14, 1829, 377.

woman seems to have escaped the clutches of Percival who, then, went to Boki “to demand a young girl- who thro’ fear ran away from him- Boki gave the word and she was sent to him!!!”, as recounted by Stephen Reynolds, an American merchant residing in Hawai‘i.<sup>33</sup> After fleeing what would have been a terrifying experience, only to be returned to her kidnapper undoubtedly caused this woman extreme anguish. This incident would have reverberated throughout Hawaiian society, creating further anxiety and distress over the safety of Hawaiian women.

This confrontation reveals that sailors believed this kapu was a new Christian moral code.<sup>34</sup> Seamen thought by threatening the wellbeing of Mr. Bingham and Mr. Richards, the kapu would be overturned, but Ka‘ahumanu spoke of her chiefly authority. Yet, this anger directed at male missionaries further signifies the decline of friendly relations amongst the foreigners while avoiding conflict with the chiefs because merchants and sailors needed chiefly goodwill to trade, acquire sandalwood, and remain in the islands.

### Rebellion

The sale of sex was significant to the early commercial development in Hawai‘i. “Thousands of dollars are by it thrown into circulation here,” according to Hiram Bingham.<sup>35</sup> Although Reverend Bingham complained about the sex-for-goods trade, he addresses another reason why certain ali‘i, maka‘āinana, merchants, and sailors want women to travel out to shipboard markets. The amount received for selling sex is unknown, but by looking at the cost

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<sup>33</sup> Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, 128. There were several times that haole demands for Hawaiian women resulted in these women being sold for money. “At Lahaina an English Captain recently applied to many females without success. At length a chief (who has never been our friend) for the consideration of \$160.00 dollars, carried on board his ship by force a female. The Capt. Immediately sailed. Several instances of this kind have occurred.” See Loomis Journal, April 29, 1825. Elisha Loomis might have been referring to the sale of Leoiki to Captain Buckle. See “Certificates of several persons respecting Capt. Buckle’s purchasing a mistress to accompany him on a sea voyage,” Missionary Letters to ABCFM- Volume 03- 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript., 868-871.

<sup>34</sup> Hiram Bingham, William Richards, Elisha Loomis, Levi Chamberlain to Jermiah Evarts, March 10, 1826. Mission Letters to ABCFM – Volume 03- 1824 – 1830. Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript. Bingham to Evarts, September 14, 1829.

<sup>35</sup> Bingham to Evarts, September 14, 1829.

of clothing, the money brought in by the sex trade can be estimated. According to William French's account book from 1818-1819, a jacket sold for \$11, trousers were a dollar less, a shirt retailed at \$6, and a vest could be bought for \$4.<sup>36</sup> If a seller of sex received about \$10 of money or clothing and approximately twenty to thirty women remained on board each time a ship anchored, then, these women brought to shore, at least, a couple hundred dollars after every visit. It is estimated that from 1824 to 1829 five hundred and thirty-five whale ships visited Honolulu harbor, and this does not include the merchant and naval vessels that called on the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>37</sup> If Hawaiian women collectively received around \$200 for each ship they boarded, then over a six-year period, the sellers of sex were paid upwards of one hundred thousand dollars for spending time aboard while vessels anchored off Honolulu during the spring and fall months.

Although the intent of the kapu was to prohibit women from traveling to ships, female bodies were prevented from selling sexual labor. Women relied on selling sex for the acquisition of money and Western commodities. Without the sale of sex, it was observed that “[m]any could in no other way obtain fine clothes and other articles of which they were passionately fond.”<sup>38</sup> Prohibiting women from engaging in their primary means of obtaining clothing prevented them from acquiring new clothes to display that was, by this time, a determiner of social station.

The rewards from selling sex were greater than the threat of being caught by observers who watched for women leaving the shore.<sup>39</sup> Elisha Loomis wrote that a woman who attempted to swim off to a ship was pursued and locked in irons before taken to various locations “and

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<sup>36</sup> William French, Account Book 1818-1819, Manuscript Collection, Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>37</sup> Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume I 1778-1854 Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), 307.

<sup>38</sup> Anonymous letter to ABCFM, Boston, June 7, 1828, Missionary Letters to the ABCFM- Volume 03- 1824 – 1830, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript, 988.

<sup>39</sup> Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, Honolulu, August 13, 1829, Missionary Letters to the ABCFM - Volume 02 – 1824 – 1830, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript.

exposed to the gaze of multitudes”.<sup>40</sup> Public forms of punishment, which also included head shaving, were meant to discourage others from committing a crime.<sup>41</sup> A shaved head was a shameful reminder of the wrongdoing, especially for women who decorated their hair with flowers, ribbons, and bonnets that complimented their clothing. Even though faced with these punishments, some females, such as Nakoko continued to travel on board ships. Missionary William Richards wrote that Ka‘ahumanu, spoke of Nakoko by name and knew of her reputation for causing “much trouble” because of “her boldness and perseverance, and by her leading others to visit ships for prostitution.”<sup>42</sup> He continues to mention that Nakoko “eluded all the searches” by Ka‘ahumanu’s men.<sup>43</sup> Nakoko was later captured and imprisoned on the island of Kaho‘olawe for six months. Faced with these punishments, many women stopped participating in the sex-for-goods trade. But for the handful of women that continued to travel out to ships, the high desire and difficulty in accessing sex probably meant a man willingly offered better quality items or more money. Although the punishments were greater, so were the rewards for Nakoko and the other women.

Because opportunities for women, a large consumer group, to earn money were significantly reduced, retail profits declined. A decrease in business meant a loss of revenue for shops and merchant agents like John C. Jones, Jr. and his British counter part, Richard Charlton, the British Consular Agent in the Sandwich Islands, who angrily opposed the kapu of 1825.<sup>44</sup> While providing assistance to their countrymen trading in the region, both consuls were also the

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<sup>40</sup> Loomis Journal, October 1, 1825, 45-46.

<sup>41</sup> Chamberlain to Evarts, August 13, 1829.

<sup>42</sup> William Richards deposition to Jeremiah Evarts, Honolulu, August 14, 1829, Mission Letters to the ABCFM – Volume 03 – 1824 – 1830. Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.

<sup>43</sup> Richards deposition to Evarts, August 14, 1829.

<sup>44</sup> Bingham to Evarts, September 14, 1829.

sellers of dry goods and groceries.<sup>45</sup> The profits paid for a merchant's salary and other business expenses such as wages, maintenance, and goods. The recipients, then, spent their earnings at merchant stores or grog shops, which in turn created more consumers.

Merchants feared that mariners, another large consumer group, would not call on Hawai'i due to prohibition of sex work.<sup>46</sup> These haole businessmen certainly heard sailors' object to the kapu, and feared mariners would stopover at another port city with access to women. A further reduction of consumers would have worried and angered merchants whose employment and income depended on sales. During a visit to Hawai'i in 1826, Lieutenant Hiram Paulding of the USS *Dolphin*, wrote:

The visits of the numerous whale ships has made Onavoora [Honolulu] a place of considerable trade. All of them spend more or less money for their necessary refreshments, and when out of repair, their disbursements are frequently very considerable. For the supplies afforded by the natives, thousands of dollars are annually received by them, which they give in return for silk, cotton, calicoes, cloth, &c. Two or three stores, well stocked with a great variety of goods, are supported in Onavoora [Honolulu] by this interchange commodities; and, from the way in which the trade is conducted, there is but little doubt that proprietors are rewarded with handsome profits.<sup>47</sup>

Paulding's comments reveal that whaling brought a significant, although unknown, amount of money into Hawai'i. In addition to paying for sex, sailors spent their earnings at retail stores and grog shops that were owned by haole men. As mentioned previously, revenue generated by commerce was redistributed throughout society. These financial reasons in addition to an interest in keeping sailors happy and returning to Hawaiian waters were factors why merchants supported the sale of sex.

Additionally, the arrival of ships spurred other business activities, such as ship repair. Expenditures were substantial when ships needed fixing, as mentioned by Paulding. Hawaiian

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<sup>45</sup> Bingham to Evarts, September 14, 1829.

<sup>46</sup> Bingham to Evarts, September 14, 1829.

<sup>47</sup> Paulding, *Journal Of A Cruise of The United States Schooner Dolphin*, 232.



men provided majority of the labor. Because of their knowledge of the uplands, men could cut and transport the wooden logs to the shipyard in Honolulu. Where woodworkers shaped the lumber that was to be mounted on the vessel. These were arduous activities that required a lot of time, physical strength, and skill. The laborers were paid and their earnings were often spent at merchant stores.

Maka'āinana farmers continued to be suppliers of provisions. As discussed earlier, the cultivation of crops such as, white potato, cabbages, citrus fruits, grapes, and other vegetables began shortly after their introduction by Euro-American sailors. Over the next few decades, tobacco, cotton, rice, sugar cane, and grapes were grown in Hawai'i.<sup>48</sup> Hawaiians, now, produced wine and rum, two drinks that were sold to mariners. Lieutenant Paulding writes these farmers received “thousands of dollars annually”.<sup>49</sup> Though the exact revenue is unknown, an increase in the cultivation of cash crops indicates agriculture was a lucrative commercial activity supported by the numerous vessels calling on Hawai'i. Paulding's account further details that merchant stores profited because of Hawaiian trade. The maka'āinana who exchanged agricultural produce for money used their earnings to acquire clothing and other imports from stores. Because sex work, whaling, and commercial agriculture circulated money, created paid job opportunities, and generated revenue for retail stores, opposition of the kapu was in the best financial interest for merchants.

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<sup>48</sup> John C. Jones, Jr. to John Quincy Adams, Woahoo, Sandwich Islands, December 31, 1821, United States Consulate (Honolulu) Despatches from United States Consuls In Honolulu, 1820-1903, Volume 1, Oct, 2, 1820 – June 30, 1843, Microfilm, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>49</sup> Paulding, *Journal Of A Cruise of The United States Schooner Dolphin*, 232.

“Jews of the South Seas”<sup>50</sup>

The reputation of Hawaiians being skilled negotiators spread amongst Euro-Americans trading in the Pacific. Since the late 1790s, foreigners wrote about their difficulties in bartering with Hawaiian traders. When money became the usual form of payment, sailors also took to paper to record their frustrations. “The native have learned the use and value of money; and few people are more avariciously fond of it; or know better how to buy cheap and sell dear. They are the jews [sic] of the South Seas in buying and selling; and for most articles of dress, will seldom give more than the prime cost in England; and very frequently will not offer even that” wrote Robert Jarman a visitor to Hawai‘i in 1831.<sup>51</sup> An entire community bargaining for cheap goods set a standard where sellers expected to receive little compensation and pay high prices. This quote indicates Hawaiian traders continued profitable exchange practices, discussed in the first chapter, throughout the numerous interactions with fur and sandalwood traders, merchants, whalers, and mariners.

Yet, Jarman attributes the frequent interactions with foreigners as the reason for the exchange inequality. He writes that because of the numerous Euro-American visitors, “The natives, consequently, are becoming more enlightened everyday, and Europeans, instead of being, as formerly, considered an order of superior beings, are frequently made their dupes. The change has arisen, in a great measure, from the wild and extravagant conduct of seamen when ashore.”<sup>52</sup> Jarman’s belief of Euro-American superiority was challenged by the trade advantage that Hawaiians held over sailors. He feels Hawaiian

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<sup>50</sup> Robert Jarman, *Journal of A Voyage To The South Seas, In The “Japan” Employed In The Sperm Whale Fishery, Under The Command of Capt. John May*. (London, Longman 1838) Harvard University Library Microfilm, 117.

<sup>51</sup> Jarman, *Journal of A Voyage To The South Seas*, 117.

<sup>52</sup> Jarman, *Journal of A Voyage To The South Seas*, 117-118.

traders were fooling haole men, but rather it was sailors' disruptive misbehavior that caused mariners to appear as dupes.

His comment additionally indicates a shift in exchange from barter, which was formerly, the primary method of trade to money. Retail stores accepting money as a form of payment brought about this recent regard for currency. It also shows that merchants possessed items in demand by Hawaiians.

Lastly, the comment points to a decrease in what Hawaiians were willing to pay for clothing. Even though Western-style fashion was a preferred article of trade, Jarman writes, "for most articles of dress, will seldom give more than the prime cost in England; and very frequently will not offer even that."<sup>53</sup> Negotiations in price indicate that maka'āinana wanted to acquire clothing for cheap, a difference from a few years prior where traders exchanged crops for what was considered a "very trifling article of dress" to missionary wife Clarissa Richards.<sup>54</sup> An increase in the supply of clothing from Hawaiian needle workers and mariners would have brought about a decrease in value. Additionally, Hawaiians returning from trips overseas brought back clothing and other goods.<sup>55</sup> Multiple suppliers meant that Hawaiian consumers could now negotiate and possibly forgo purchasing the item from one seller because of the growing quantity of clothing. A willingness to negotiate price indicates that within a few years the value of clothing decreased as Western-style attire becoming increasingly common.

#### Boki's Commercial Pursuits

During the 1820s Boki carried on Kamehameha's practice of commercial activity. Like the king, Governor Boki supplied ships with produce, such as the taro, pigs, goats, and other

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<sup>53</sup> Jarman, *Journal of A Voyage To The South Seas*, 117.

<sup>54</sup> Richards Journal, April 27, 1823, 39.

<sup>55</sup> Chang, *The World And All The Things Upon It*, 46.

provisions.<sup>56</sup> Exchanges with sailors, especially those with military and political authority, were opportunities for the governor to establish connections. The ali'i used his influence to aid haole mariners, like the time he along with crewmembers of the *Dolphin* sailed to the island of Lāna'i. Once there, the chief ordered Hawaiians to stop plundering of cargo and treasure from the *Loudon*, a vessel from New York.<sup>57</sup> He supplied produce to the *Dolphin*, even after crewmembers became violent over the kapu that prohibited prostitution. They smashed sixty-seven windowpanes and attacked Mr. Bingham at the home of Kalanimoku who was Boki's brother.<sup>58</sup> The governor continued relationships with Euro-American counsels, merchants, and sailors, even as, he upheld a kapu that they opposed.<sup>59</sup> Continuing these affiliations brought about additional trade for the chief. His profits increased, even though the kapu that prohibited the sex-for-goods trade ended his revenue from the dollar tax collected for each woman going on board. Maintaining these relationships had other advantages, such as a greater influence amongst the foreigners, receipt of better-quality gifts, and priority choice of imports at a discounted price.

Throughout the latter half of the 1820s, Boki's commercial activities expanded. While accompanying Liholiho and Kamāmalu along with other ali'i on a worldwide trip exposed Boki to businesses, some of which were not yet established in Hawai'i.<sup>60</sup> For several months in 1824, the chiefs remained in London, they stayed at the O'sborne's Hotel and acquired large quantities

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<sup>56</sup> John A. to Boki, Woahoo, March 18, 1826, Foreign Office and Executive, 1826: Jan 10 – Apr 9, 402- 2-20, Chronological File, 1790-1849, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

<sup>57</sup> Paulding, *Journal Of A Cruise of The United States Schooner Dolphin*, 215-217.

<sup>58</sup> Chamberlain Journal, February 26, 1826, 44.

<sup>59</sup> Boki continued to supply the USS *Dolphin* with taro and other provisions even after threatening chiefs with violence due to the kapu ho'okamakama. See Bates to Boki, Woahoo [O'ahu], March 18, 1826.

<sup>60</sup> Liholiho along with Kamāmalu, Boki, Liliha, and other chiefs traveled on a worldwide voyage. They departed Honolulu in November 1823 and in May 1825. During their time abroad, the ali'i visited London. Both Liholiho and Kamamalu died before meeting King George. The ali'i, later met with King George and other nobility before leaving the country.

of items to bring back with them to Hawai‘i.<sup>61</sup> This trip abroad might have inspired the governor to expand his commercial pursuits. Upon returning home in 1825, he established the Blonde Hotel, which was possibly the first lodge in Hawai‘i.<sup>62</sup> He also established a retail store.<sup>63</sup> This furthered his sale of provisions to ships in addition to other Euro-American and Hawaiian customers. Boki obtained merchandise from haole merchant agents, like when he purchased a cargo of merchandise for \$200 from Dixey Wildes, a New England businessman.<sup>64</sup> The governor also became involved in the commercialization of alcohol. He opened a grog shop that served rum prepared from sugar cane grown at his Māona plantation.<sup>65</sup> This tavern was also a site of entertainment with billiard tables and gambling.<sup>66</sup> With the kapu of 1825 prohibiting “all games of chance” Boki’s business pursuits were prohibited.<sup>67</sup> Because business activities were sources of income for the ali‘i, he would have developed trade interests and networks with other merchants.

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<sup>61</sup> “The King and Queen of The Sandwich Islands” *The Courier* (London, England), May 18, 1824. Concerning the Visit of Kamehameha II and His Consort, Kamamalu to London, in 1824. Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu, HI. Typescript.; *The Times* (London, England), August 14, 1824. Concerning the Visit of Kamehameha II and His Consort, Kamamalu to London, in 1824. Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu. Typescript.

<sup>62</sup> Eugene Sullivan to J.C. Jones, Honolulu, February 9, 1839, Foreign Office and Executive, 1839: Feb 9, 14, 21, 402-5-97, Chronological File, 1790-1849, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

<sup>63</sup> Hiram Bingham to unspecified, Honolulu, November 1, 1828, Missionary Letters to the ABCFM - Volume 02 - 1824-1830, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript, 361. The letter was most likely sent to Jeremiah Evarts because he was the usual addressee of Mr. Bingham’s letters to the ABCFM. Additionally, at the end of this letter Mr. Bingham sends “kind regards to Mrs. E”, a common occurrence in his letters to Mr. Evarts.

<sup>64</sup> Boki’s Note to Dixey Wilder for \$200, Oahu, August 25, 1826, Foreign Office and Executive, 1826: Aug. 25, Oct., 402-2-21, Chronological File, 1790-1849, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

<sup>65</sup> Levi Chamberlain Journal, August 3, 1826, The Levi Chamberlain Journal. Volume 6, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript, 30.

Levi Chamberlain Journal, November 30, 1826, The Levi Chamberlain Journal. Volume 7, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript, 1.

<sup>66</sup> Levi Chamberlain Journal, November 3, 1826, The Levi Chamberlain Journal. Volume 6, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript, 30.

<sup>67</sup> Chamberlain to Evarts, August 13, 1829.

Boki's businesses ventures expanded to land leasing when the British Council paid \$500 to the ali'i for "the full and entire use of the Estate known" as Wyldery Place.<sup>68</sup> Participation in commerce generated income for Boki that furthered business pursuits and helped to obtain additional cosmopolitan status goods. Because Boki was trusted by the American and British consuls, merchants, and haole men, the ali'i's business activities would have flourished.<sup>69</sup> Boki's interactions with foreigners resemble that of Kamehameha who facilitated exchange by securing sailors' safety and obtaining their trust. Yet, by the second decade of the 1800s, his interactions with Euro-Americans conflicted with his obligation to enforce the prohibition of women going to ships.

#### Multiple Parings

Another reason why resident foreigners objected the 1825 kapu was because of multiple partnerships. This kapu included the prohibition of "all lewd practices; husbands were not to forsake their wives, and wives are not to forsake their husbands".<sup>70</sup> After the kapu, a partner was to recognize the other person as a spouse or separate. Multiple partnerships and cohabitation with a new partner were now prohibited, angering many foreigners, particularly men. As mentioned in previous chapters, foreigners such as Anthony Allen, Isaac Davis, John Young, and Manini had multiple unions.

New arrivals, including John C. Jones, Jr. continued to cohabit with several women. Jones lived with Hannah Holmes (the daughter of Oliver Holmes and the elder sister of Polly), but later moved into another home with Lahilahi, the daughter of

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<sup>68</sup> Receipt Boki to Richard Charlton, Woohoo, March 7, 1827, Foreign Office and Executive, 1827: Jan. – Mar. 402-3-23, Chronological File, 1790-1849. Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

<sup>69</sup> S.M. Kamakau, "Ka Mo'olelo O Kamehameha," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, June 27, 1868.

<sup>70</sup> Chamberlain to Evarts, August 13, 1829.

Manini.<sup>71</sup> Yet, the record indicates that Jones was seeing other women, which got the attention of Ka‘ahumanu.<sup>72</sup> After asking Jones which woman he wanted for a wife, he pointed to Hannah, and said ““this one””, Ka‘ahumanu then asked Hannah whom she chose as a husband, and she replied ““this man.””<sup>73</sup> The Kuhina Nui told Jones Hannah is now your wife and you must not see the other women. Once again, the Kuhina Nui, who by this time was Kīna‘u, became informed that Jones was seeing another woman. She inquired with Jones, “which was the woman of his choice. He replied ‘Hannah.’”<sup>74</sup> The chiefess then told Jones “Let her be your wife, you must have but one”.<sup>75</sup> They lived together as a married couple, until 1838, when he returned from California with a Spanish wife.<sup>76</sup> Hannah received a divorce from John C. Jones, Jr. in January 1839.<sup>77</sup> Although the intent of a kapu was to keep order over Hawaiian people, this chiefly decree restricted the sexual relations of haole men. Euro-American men possibly viewed Hawai‘i as a place with greater sexual liberties, that were not restricted by gender or race, than the monogamous life long marriages of their homelands.

Another outcome of the kapu was the marriage of Hawaiian women to haole men. Missionary Hiram Bingham writes that “marriages became frequent -- & Christian marriage was then introduced between foreigners and natives.”<sup>78</sup> It is unsure how many marriages occurred after the decree; however, missionary Levi Chamberlain records that in, October 1825, about two

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<sup>71</sup> Ross H. Gast, *Contentious Consul*, 69.

<sup>72</sup> Kaahumanu II to Martin Van Buren, January 12, 1839, Kinau, Queen of Hawaii, 1837-39, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>73</sup> Kaahumanu II to Martin Van Buren, January 12, 1839.

<sup>74</sup> Kaahumanu II to Martin Van Buren, January 12, 1839.

<sup>75</sup> Kaahumanu II to Van Buren, January 12, 1839.

<sup>76</sup> Kaahumanu II to Van Buren, January 12, 1839.

<sup>77</sup> December 20, 1843, Foreign Office and Executive, file 402-9-230, Chronological File, 179-1849, 1843: Dec m.d., 3,5,16,20,28, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu. This document written in the Hawaiian language details the marriage between Jones and Holmes.

<sup>78</sup> Bingham to Evarts, September 14, 1829.

months after the kapu, six unions between haole groomsmen to Hawaiian women took place.<sup>79</sup> Because existing relationships prior to the kapu of 1825 were honored, these were most likely new couplings. These unions occurred in October 1825, after nearly 20 whalers from the English whaling ship, *Daniel* approached Mr. Richards with knives wanting his consent for females to go aboard or his life.<sup>80</sup> Several of these new grooms were probably crewmembers because this was the only means to have sex with a Hawaiian woman.

Marriage was a means for missionaries to gain authority and make money on sailors' desires for women. Within a few months, a crewmember from the *Dolphin* asked to take a Hawaiian bride. After the church on February 26, 1826, sailors physically assaulted Reverend Bingham who wrote that one of the crewmembers angrily asked "if I would marry him" to which the missionary replied "under proper circumstances".<sup>81</sup> Although the sailor intended to return the following day with a bride, the record does not specify if they were married. Mr. Bingham's remark points to a new mission authority, as marriage officiates, they now influenced couplings by performing or refusing to preside over the ceremony.<sup>82</sup> Seamen probably paid the \$10 fee missionaries charged to preform the marriage, a sum that was nearly the same amount received

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<sup>79</sup> Levi Chamberlain Journal, October 21, 1825, The Levi Chamberlain Journal, Volume 5, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript, 22.; Levi Chamberlain Journal, October 26, 1825, The Levi Chamberlain Journal, Volume 5, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript, 23. ; In the deposition by Hiram Bingham, he writes that soon after the seamen demanded access to women, he received "several applications to marry foreigners, & since that time about a dozen foreign residents have been married to native females of this place." Deposition of Hiram Bingham, August 18, 1829.

<sup>80</sup> Chamberlain Journal, October 8, 1825. The Levi Chamberlain Journal, Volume 5, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript,

<sup>81</sup> Deposition, Bingham, August 18, 1829.

<sup>82</sup> One way missionaries prohibited a union was disapproval of the couple. This happened with the Kauikeouli and Nahienaena, brother and sister and two of the highest-ranking chiefs. Because they were siblings, missionaries opposed their union. However, they lived together with Nahienaena's husband. See Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 161- 165. A second means was mission-established rules that hindered marriages between foreigners and Hawaiian women. Marriage requests were frequently refused because "The missionaries do not like to marry them [foreign husband and Hawaiian wife]." Clarissa Armstrong, November 8, 1832, Journal of Clarissa C. Armstrong Volume 1, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript., 59



by the sellers of sex.<sup>83</sup> Merchants, now, earned money to acquire goods for the mission, while most likely reducing or eliminating the cash or goods the women would have received for traveling out to ships.

Over time, Boki withdrew his public support of the kapu. In a letter to Jeremiah Evarts, Hiram Bingham states that

The chiefs were alarmed for the exposure of the lives of their missionaries – the police was confounded, the governor seeing he could not maintain the tabu without fighting, withdrew his support from it, immediately after the riot, or about that time, & has since said to me that if a man of war should visit Maui – (where the tabu is still in force) they will have to fight to maintain it.<sup>84</sup>

Although violence would have been a concern, Boki's business affairs were surly factors that contributed to the withdrawal of his support because the sex trade generated revenue for maka'āinana women, businessmen, and himself. Furthermore, this statement foreshadows an incident that occurred two years later when cannons were fired at Lahaina town over access to Hawaiian women.<sup>85</sup>

By the beginning of March 1826, the chiefs allowed women to once again travel to shipboard markets for the sale of sex. During the seven months that the kapu was enforced, attendance at missionary instruction increased.<sup>86</sup> The greater number of students would have delighted missionaries who thought Hawaiians wanted mission instruction. But their optimism turned as “the teachers of some of our schools came and told us that their female pupils were scattered among the ships as in former times” as recounted by Reverend William Richards.<sup>87</sup> The greater number of female students

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<sup>83</sup> Reynolds, *Journal of Stephen Reynolds*, 146.

<sup>84</sup> Bingham, September 14, 1829, 379.

<sup>85</sup> Hoapilikane to Ka'ahumanu, Lahaina, October 24, 1827, Missionary Letters to ABCFM – Volume 3 – 1824 – 1830, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu, HI, Digital Archives, Typescript.

<sup>86</sup> Bingham, September 14, 1829, 376.

<sup>87</sup> Richards, Honolulu, August 14, 1829.

aboard ships would have led missionaries to question the effectiveness of their teaching and missionizing efforts. Hiram Bingham wrote that Governor Boki, “since that period allowed such women to go free from tabu, as choose not to marry nor follow the word of God. Some hundreds have pursued that course which it was the object of the opposition, of Percival & the riot to encourage, & continue to practice those vices & crimes which the antitabu party meant to perpetuate at the islands.”<sup>88</sup> By attending missionary instruction, Hawaiian women learned how to sew their own clothing and read, becoming agents in a new market economy. Yet, engaging in the sale of sex was an enjoyable and profitable activity that was not necessary for survival.

The repeal of the kapu also speaks to conduct and the chiefly debt owed to American merchants. A reason the *Dolphin* came to Hawai‘i was to secure payment of these monies. Yet, settling their debt was subject to behavior. “If he [Capt. Percival] comes here with threats as he did to Boki, I will abandon the payment of our debts altogether, the Americans at this moment owe us more than we do them, but if he talks in a peaceable manner, I will do what I can to have the debts paid off as fast as possible” said Kalanimoku who, by this time, was ill with dropsy and confined to bed.<sup>89</sup> His account points to a previous exchange between Percival and Boki where the former threatened for access to Hawaiian women.<sup>90</sup> Percival later, then, forcibly obtained a Hawaiian woman by dragging her from mission school. His actions and disregard for chiefly authority over their own people surely frustrated Kalanimoku who was also

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<sup>88</sup> Bingham, September 14, 1829, 379.

<sup>89</sup> Elisha Loomis, Utica, August 7, 1827. Mission Letters to ABCFM – Volume 03- 1824 – 1830. Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, Digital Archives, Typescript.

<sup>90</sup> Loomis, August 7, 1827.

angered that the kapu was no longer enforced.<sup>91</sup> Yet, haole unruliness and threats toward Hawaiian women's well-being were longstanding issues that the chiefs sought to end. But this time, it was an American naval officer who misbehaved on Hawaiian soil. Kalanimoku wanted the chiefs to be recognized for their authority, and calling for respect was a way the ali'i attempted to establish future relations between the two countries. Additionally, he exercised his authority over sought after resources, such as sandalwood and hogs.

A Hawaiian female body became a contested site. It was a means to acquire imports that altered value systems in Hawai'i. The sex-for-goods trade also spurred a means to obtain status for maka'āinana women that was not associated with genealogy, the basis of chiefly authority. By the 1820s, sex work was a widespread activity that facilitated the acquisition of foreign goods and money, a profitable activity that created customers for merchants and supported the whaling industry. Businessmen, including Governor Boki profited from sales and wanted to retain their consumer base that was primarily women and sailors. Although the kapu of 1825 was only enforced for seven months, merchants and sailors saw this chiefly decree as further adoption of Christian morals that threatened commercial activities. The confining sex inside of marriage was another outcome of this prohibition and missionaries were presented a new authority to expand their influence with beliefs of Christian womanhood, childrearing, sexuality, and hindering the marriage of certain couples.

Women's earnings and trade influence were a threat to missionary teachings. Earnings from sex work provided women with a means to earn money outside of the home. A wife's duty was to care for the household and family according to Christian

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<sup>91</sup> Loomis, August 7, 1827.

marriage and teaching. The sale of sex challenged missionary's teachings of patriarchy where a man's duty was that of a provider because Hawaiian women were the primarily receivers of Western-style goods and money. Missionary teachings of a woman's duty to care for the home and family also hindered their exchange activities that facilitated the acquisition of money, clothing, and other wants. Entering into a life-long monogamous marriage hampered women's commercial activities in addition to placing their property under the control of her husband, additional reasons why sex work would be desirable to Hawaiian women. Although some women performing sex work married, their commitment to a life long monogamous relationship is suspect, since newly married women, like Nakoko continued to travel out to ships.<sup>92</sup>

Over the seven months that the 1825 kapu was enforced, the differing interests converged upon the control of female bodies. As ali'i, missionaries, merchants, and sailors sought to promote their objectives, women found ways to maneuver the impositions to continue selling sex to sailors because of the material and financial gain. Additionally, multi-partnerships was in accordance with Hawaiian epistemologies of multiple unions. But, two years later on December 8, 1827, Kamehameha III) enacted a law that forbade ho'okamakama (prostitution).<sup>93</sup> This was the first of many laws over the 1800s that forbade Hawaiian women from traveling out to ships and having sex outside of marriage. But women continued to engage in sex work because it facilitated the acquisition of wealth and a good time.

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<sup>92</sup> Research demonstrates that traders often married, but had unions with multiple women. Though these relationships were of fur traders and Native American women around the early 1800s, they show a pattern that haoles men also had multiple parings. These relationships further calls into question if the marriages were intended to be lifelong and monogamous. See Tanis C. Thorne, *The Many Hands of My Relations: French and Indians On The Lower Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996), 160.

<sup>93</sup> King Kamehameha III, "He Olelo No Ke Kanawai", December 8, 1827, Honolulu, Foreign Office and Executive, file 418-1-f3, Pre-Constitutional Laws and Regulations 1827 – 29, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

## CONCLUSION

The bodies of Hawaiian women were a site of contention: they facilitated the acquisition of imports and bore the civilizing imprint of mission and merchant interests who attempted to clothe female bodies to serve their own purposes. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Hawaiian women were agents of commerce by mediating and facilitating trade. They were exposed to new opportunities and influences that brought about on board experiences and the acquisition of Western imports. It was Hawaiian desire for Euro-American goods that drove exchanges including sex-for-goods trade with women becoming the primary accumulators of imports. Trade with foreigners was also spurred a change in value system that was based on the possession of Euro-American goods that were worn in public, especially in the company of foreigners on vessels and at Sunday church services after the ABCFM missionaries arrived in 1820.

The arrival of the mission also provided women with another means to participate in commerce and acquire clothing. Needlecraft was a valuable skill that missionary wives provided to the chiefs and also taught to maka'āinana women who became both the consumers and producers of the clothing, a highly sought after item. Like the missionary wives who spent endless hours sewing for the chiefs, Hawaiian women could also sew clothing to obtain chiefly favor. But even though, maka'āinana women learned how to sew tailor-made clothing, the sale of sex was a widespread activity that brought about a fun time in the company of haole men who were considered exotic. Selling sex also provided Hawaiian women with a means to access quality materials like the silk dresses worn by the chiefs. Hawaiian attire was of better quality than the missionaries who wore clothes that became tattered and belonged to those of a lower station performing tasks of domestic help or seamstresses. As Hawaiian women looked on,

surely the maka‘āinana wanted to continue their participation in the sex-for-goods trade to acquire fineries, even as Christian mores emerges as a new moral code.

Selling sex stimulated the advancement of other commercial activities. The availability of women attracted sailors and whalers to recreate in Hawai‘i for extended periods of time, bringing about spending at other retail, food, and drink establishments. These are reasons why merchants strongly opposed the kapu decreed in 1825, even though this prohibition only lasted for about seven months. The two violent outbursts in October 1825 and February 1826 were more than access to Hawaiian women. It represented control over female bodies with the ali‘i, missionaries, merchants, and sailors seeking to promote their objectives. But women maneuvered these impositions to continue selling sex to sailors.

News of these incidents reached New England. The ABCFM published accounts in the *Missionary Herald*, and lodged complaints about Percival’s conduct, or rather misconduct, to the United States Navy.<sup>1</sup> In 1828, nearly two years after Lieutenant John Percival demanded access to women, the United States Navy held a formal inquiry. A Court of inquiry was appointed by the Secretary of the Navy to investigate. The examination took nearly thirty-one days, hearing testimony and the officer’s defense. Percival was cleared of wrongdoing and continued a long naval career.<sup>2</sup>

But the body of a Hawaiian woman was a contested site that represented trade, religious, and political interests. Euro-American sexual desires initiated a sex-for-goods trade in Hawai‘i. Hawaiian women, however, established the terms of exchange. They received clothing, which became a highly sought after trade item and were positioned in a place of authority, as the

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<sup>1</sup> *The Missionary Herald, For The Year 1827*, vol. 23, (Boston: Crocker And Brewster, 1827), 202, 203, 358. *The Missionary Herald, For The Year 1828*, vol. 24, (Boston: Crocker And Brewster, 1828), 225. *The Missionary Herald, For The Year 1827*, vol. 25, (Boston: Crocker And Brewster, 1829), 362, 363.

<sup>2</sup> Mircea Eliade et al, *The Encyclopedia of Religion: Volume 2* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 185.

receivers of large amounts of trade goods. They had significant control over imports that initiated a change in the established value system, resulting to a differentiation in station. The earnings from sex work enabled maka‘āinana women to obtain goods from both the buyers of sex and merchant stores. Some of these goods, such as Western-style fineries were of similar quality to chiefly belongings. Yet, the encouragement by male family members indicates that sex work was beneficial for the household. The sellers of sex were not dispossessed members of Hawaiian society, rather these women wielded commercial, social, and familial authority that challenged the teachings of patriarchy and Christian womanhood expounded by the ABCFM mission.

New prohibitions attempted to stop the sale of sex. Although the 1825 kapu that stopped women from going to ships was rescinded on the island of O‘ahu, enforcement continued on Maui. In 1827, another incident erupted in violence over sexual access to Hawaiian women. During the last year of the decade, laws were enacted forbidding all unions outside of marriage and with the opposite gender.<sup>3</sup> Within a few weeks, another decree was issued reiterating the prohibitions of moe kolohe (adultery); and fornication, in addition to specifying that a Christian marriage was proper for men and women.<sup>4</sup> Life-long monogamous relationships between a man and woman were privileged, therefore making illegal all sexual relations outside of marriage, including the acts between the sellers and buyers of sex. Marriage between Hawaiian woman and foreign men soon became a means to maneuver around these prohibitions. Women acquired Western-style material goods by becoming a bride. These marriages did not adhere to notions of

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<sup>3</sup> Kauikeaouli “Concerning Adultery”, Sept. 21, 1829, Foreign Office and Executive, Early Laws & Regulations, folder 418- 1-f3, Preconstitutional Laws And Regulations 1827-29. Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>4</sup> “Eia ka inoa o ke Alii o keia Pae Aina, a me ka poemalalo iho ona, ma ka ahaolelo:”, Kauikeaouli, October 7, 1829, Foreign Office and Executive, Early Laws & Regulations, folder 418- 1-f3, Preconstitutional Laws And Regulations 1827-29. Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.; “No Ke Kuai” Harieta Nahienaena, November 5, 1833, Foreign Office and Executive, Early Laws & Regulations, folder 418- 1-f4, Preconstitutional Laws And Regulations 1831-37. Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

life long monogamous marriages. Matrimonial guidelines further limited sexual relationships between a haole man and female Hawaiian citizen.

Sex work and moe kolohe persisted despite attempts to stop these acts. Multiple sources from the mid-century indicate that ho'okamakama and moe kolohe were the most common crimes. A January 16, 1839 article in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, states that within a year, over sixty-percent of all offences committed in Honolulu were adultery and prostitution.<sup>5</sup> Prison records reveal that women were most often arrested for these crimes, and were, in some cases, repeat offenders. Violators were subject to fines ranging from \$30 to \$50 or six months hard labor, but this did little to deter offenders. Lilian Hart, a woman from Hilo, was arrested twice for moe kolohe and once for spousal desertion.<sup>6</sup> In many cases, the buyers of sex paid the fine, for example on October 27, 1853, a whaler paid the \$30 fine that was levied against Kili, a married woman from Hilo, for committing adultery.<sup>7</sup> The frequency of these acts into the mid-1850s, nearly thirty years after the introduction of Christianity and marriage legislation illustrates that people continued to follow pre-Christian relationship patterns, and that women continued to participate in the sale of sex.

Women continued engagements in the sale of sex because it facilitated the acquisition of imports and wealth. Additionally, sex work was a means for women to engage in trade and wage labor during a time when domestic work and other professions usually designated for females were unavailable in Hawai'i. As wage labor and a cash economy expanded, sex work shifted from a means of wealth acquisition to familial support. Earnings from this profession supported

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<sup>5</sup> "Honolulu, January 10, 1838." *Ke Kumu Hawaii*. Jan. 16, 1839.

522 total offences, 327 were from moe kolohe (246) and ho'okamakama (81)

<sup>6</sup> May 6, 1885, December 28, 1885, April 15, 1886, Records of The Department of Public Safety, Records of Prisoners' Descriptions, folder 299-3, Commutation Book, Hawaii Prison 1874 – [June 27, 1874-September 15, 1894; includes 298 vol 2]. Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>7</sup> Ahuko vs Kaili, 15 April 1854, Divorce and Supreme Court Records, Supreme Court. Microfilm. Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.



a woman and possibly family to maintain an emergent standard of living with European style clothing, accessories, and tools becoming regular household goods. By the mid-century, additional employment opportunities as domestics and seamstresses emerged for women. However, these positions were commonly of lower pay, discouraging women from choosing them over their current means of income. Expansion of the whaling industry throughout the mid-century continued to create demand for women. Their desires maintained the sex industry and providing opportunities for families to attain a new standard of living where expensive imported European clothing and tools became ordinary items. Even though laws emerged that continued to prohibit ho‘okamakama, sex work continued to facilitate the acquisition of imports.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, each incoming ship provided Hawaiian women with the ability to acquire sought after items. Mariners provided women with a market to exchange sexual services for European imports, merchants imported Western-style clothing, and missionaries taught needlework. Women engaged in these activities because of female desire for imports and European fashions. Although Christian values became a guideline for “proper” behavior, Hawaiian women continued to engage in the sale of sex because it provided an opportunity to maintain social and economic independence in a society that increasingly promoted Western values of domesticity.

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