

SIXTY-FOURTH
ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
HAWAIIAN
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR
1955

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HONOLULU, HAWAII
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The scope of the Hawaiian Historical Society as specified in its charter is "the collection, study, preservation and publication of all material pertaining to the history of Hawaii, Polynesia and the Pacific area."

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THE HISTORY OF MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT IN HAWAII¹

By EMERSON C. SMITH

Let us try to gain a better understanding of Hawaiian music by discussing the way in which it developed from the ancient chants, and the important part that the *ali'i*, or chieftains of the Hawaiian people, played in that change. The several steps in the development will be illustrated by representative chants and songs.

ANCIENT CHANTS

The ancient *mele*, or chants, of the Hawaiian people were a very early form of Eastern music. The music of the East has always been primarily vocal music, and the Hawaiian *mele* were vocal, for they were simply poems chanted to a rhythmic accompaniment. The primitive nature of this accompaniment is proof that the Hawaiians left their traditional home in *Hawaiki* before they were exposed to the influences which moulded the music of the Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, Hindus, and Chinese. Where and when the Hawaiians departed from an origin land is controversial, but some students might infer, solely from the evidence of the complex rhythms and primitive melodies of their music, that they may have left the Mediterranean area and the date of their departure may have been not later than about 4000 B.C., and that they may have left the Asiatic mainland not later than 1000 B.C.

We know that rhythm preceded melody, and that the more complex rhythms were the earlier. When music developed to the point where it was written in musical notation, the kaleidoscopic rhythms gave way to regular rhythms in the familiar 2/4, 3/4, 4/4, 6/8, etc. time. Helen Roberts, in her book *Ancient Hawaiian Music* has shown some old chants in musical notation. One of these shows the time signature changing from measure to measure as follows: 4/8, 4/8, 6/8, 4/8, 4/8, 5/8, 6/8, 4/8, 5/8, 4/8, 3/8, 4/8, 6/8! The first persons who tried to reduce Hawaiian songs to musical notation attempted to force these constantly changing rhythms into a single time signature. We can see evidence of this in early song collections, where many songs are only 13, 14, or 15 measures long, instead of the natural 16 measures.

The melodies were likewise primitive. The Hawaiians had no scales, in the sense we think of scales. Their chanting was on a few tones, usually only two or three, but when the chanter had chosen the tones to be used, they were used faithfully throughout the chant. If one is willing to say that the repeated use of a selected small group of tones establishes a scale, then the Hawaiian people had a large number of scales.

The people of the East have the ability to hear, use, and enjoy very small tone intervals, and the use of small intervals was a characteristic of ancient

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This article is based on a talk on "Music of the Ali'i" given by Mr. Smith at the 64th annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Hawaiian chants. If we define a "half-tone" as a minor second, then you will understand when we say that Hawaiian music used intervals as small as "one third-tones" and "quarter-tones."

Though the musical accompaniment was primitive, the *mele*, or poems, were highly developed and complex. The real meaning, or *kaona*, was frequently expertly hidden in figurative language. Some writers have led us to believe that *mele* have as many as half a dozen hidden meanings, and that one could strip the outer more obvious meanings to reveal other and more devious meanings, much as one would peel an onion. That is not true. Not all *mele* had hidden meanings — indeed most of them did not — but there was never more than one hidden meaning. That was difficult enough. It would tax the ability of any modern poet to conceal the real meaning in beautiful similes, while at the same time using the difficult Hawaiian type of rhyme which is now called "linked assonance."

These *mele* were very important, for through them the Hawaiian people preserved their entire history and genealogy right up until the 1820's. The same thing happened in Europe during the Middle Ages where minstrels, troubadours and minnesingers recorded all events of that day in song.

It is axiomatic that the oldest history of every nation is found in its folk songs, its nursery rhymes, and its chants. The chants of Hawaii are excellent examples of the preservation of ancient lore for incredibly long times. All people have legends relating to dragons, and the Hawaiians are no exception, though their dragons were beneficent creatures called *mo'o*. All nations have a legend of a great flood, which the Hawaiian people know as the *Sea of Ka-Himalii*. Many nations have a remembrance of the sun standing still, as recorded in Joshua 10:13 and in Isaiah 38:8. The Hawaiian people have a similar legend, which tells how Maui lassoed the sun and held it until his mother's *kapa* dried.

Many of you know of the *Kumulipo*, the Hawaiian creation chant composed about 1700 A.D. Its first four lines are:

At the time when the Earth became hot,
At the time when the heavens turned about,
At the time when the sun was darkened
To cause the moon to shine.

Parallel passages found in the legends of many other lands describe an event which some believe was a world-wide catastrophe that occurred in 687 B.C.

For every epic poem of the stature of the *Kumulipo* there were thousands of lesser *mele* of every sort — *mele oli* for narratives, *mele inoa* to recite the genealogy and achievements of a person, *mele kanikau* or dirges, *mele kaula* or war chants, and *mele hula* to accompany dancing. There were *mele* for every possible occasion.

One of these was the *Mele Kabea*, or chant of greeting. When a beloved friend or relative came to visit, one of the older members of the household would come to the doorway and call or chant a greeting to the visitor. Mrs. Mary Kawena Pukui has given us this example:

MELE HEAHEA

Call of Welcome

Onaona i ka hala me ka lehua

Fragrant with hala and lehua

He hale lehua ia na ka noe.

Is the mist-laden home of lehua.

'O ka'u no ia e 'ano'i nei

This I've looked forward to

E li'a nei ho'i 'o ka hiki mai.

That makes me look with eagerness to see you.

A hiki mai no 'oe

Now that you have come

Hiki pu mai no me ke aloha.

Love comes with you.

Aloha e-----!

Greetings!

In the old days, the Hawaiian people had either very sensitive ears or a simple faith for they were able to hear the song of the tree snails on the quiet upland ridges. These tree snails are called *Kabuli*, and there is a beautiful little *mele* about them which Hawaiian mothers used to sing as a lullaby. The Hawaiian words are sheer poetry:

Kabuli aku, kabuli mai.

Kabuli lei 'ula, lei 'akolea.

Kolea, kolea — ki'i ka wai; wai 'akolea.

which means:

Trill afar, trill near.

Kahuli with scarlet stripe, lei of 'akolea.

Plover, plover — fetch the water;

Water from 'Akolea (pond).

EARLY SONGS

The development of music in Hawaii was very different from that in Europe or the Orient. It came much later, and it was much more rapid. We tend to forget that the entire change, from ancient chants to the songs of today, has occurred in the last 140 years.

We know that the Hawaiian music resulted from the mating of the ancient chants with the hymns which the missionaries taught. The whole class of songs which used to be known as *mele oli* have come to be known as *himeni*—the Hawaiian word for hymns.

There has been much controversy as to whether the Hawaiians had melodies and used harmony before the white people came. Unfortunately, the first white persons to visit the islands were musically untrained, so their descriptions of the ancient music are ambiguous and contradictory. Miss Helen Roberts, who studied the accounts of all of the early travelers, had this to say: "According to the general description of travelers who had the advantage of visiting the islands

while they were practically untouched by outside influences, there was no singing as we understand the term. Instead of free, spontaneous melody which could be appreciated for its own sake — there was merely an intoning or chanting on two or three pitches as principal tones, so that the resulting melody was at best rudimentary and monotonous." Please understand that this lack of melody and harmony was not due to any lack of intelligence or ability, but was simply their musical heritage. Probably the first real harmony the Hawaiians ever heard was in the singing of the missionaries. They were much impressed by these hymns, and found their simple, methodical melodies an easy step from the old chants.

The Hawaiians took pride in learning new things: a new language and a new way of singing, and in exhibiting their new-found knowledge at public exhibitions called *ho'ike* — an institution which the Hawaiian Congregational churches have kept alive to the present day. The Rev. Bingham, who held the first *ho'ike* in 1820, would be amazed if he could hear Mr. Kalama's present-day Kawaiaha'o church choir sing Handel's Messiah in Hawaiian!

The *ali'i*, or chieftains of the Hawaiian people, composed a large percentage of the *mele* and early songs. Why were the *ali'i* such prolific composers? Because both their education and their heritage made them better fitted for composition than either the *kahuna*, or priests, or the *maka'ainana*, or common people. In contrast to the kings of feudal Europe, who were largely illiterate, the *ali'i* were very well educated. In addition to a superb physical education they learned the traditions of their people, the religious rites of the *kahuna*, and the traditional chants. Since a large percentage of the first arrivals in the canoes from the South Seas were *ali'i*, a relatively high percentage of the Hawaiian people are of *ali'i* stock. So it is no accident that they are musical, or that the *ali'i* composed a large percentage of the songs.

One of the early *baku mele*, or composers, whom we know about is Ululani, the maternal great-grandmother of Queen Lili'uokalani. It was Ululani who immortalized in verse the feat of the young Kamehameha in overturning the six-thousand pound *Naha* stone. The *ali'i* continued their composition of *mele* after the white people came. Lord Byron, in the 1826 journal of the H.M.S. Blonde, recorded a song by Liholiho, or Kamehameha II. We know that Kamehameha III, maintained a band of native musicians and that he sponsored song contests. We know too that in 1862 Alexander Liholiho, or Kamehameha IV, was very active in translating hymns and litanies for the Church of England. It is possible that he translated the first Christmas carols into Hawaiian.

NATIONAL ANTHEMS

When the Hawaiian National Anthem is mentioned, most persons think only of *Hawaii Pono'i*. Few persons, either *malibini* or *kama'aina*, know that there were three other anthems, and that all four were composed by *ali'i*.

The first was *E Ola Ka Mo'i*, which was composed in January 1862 by the 27 year old Lunalilo, who was destined to become the sixth king of all Hawaii just eleven years later. Lunalilo had visited the office of the *Kuokoa* newspaper,

and editor Henry Whitney persuaded him to enter a contest to write Hawaiian words for "God Save The King." Lunalilo sat down, and in fifteen minutes wrote the four verses which won Whitney's ten dollar prize. His anthem is a faithful translation of "God Save The King" into Hawaiian, yet it fits the music perfectly. The newspaper accounts of the contest seem amusing to us today. One might expect the headline to read *Mele Aupuni*, or something similar, but Henry Whitney knew what was important and used his largest type to shout "*Umi Dala*," or "ten dollars." Lunalilo's new anthem was sung first on the birthday of Kamehameha IV, and was used for years afterward.

In 1868, Kamehameha V asked *ali'i* Mrs. John Dominis to write an Hawaiian anthem. Mrs. Dominis, whom we know now as Lili'uokalani, complied with the beautiful and reverent *Mele Labui Hawaii*. Lili'u was then the leader of the Kawaiaha'o church choir, which introduced the new anthem in a public service. Although this anthem is very beautiful it is difficult to sing, which accounts for its being practically unknown today. You'll agree that the words are both beautiful and reverent.

HE MELE LAHUI HAWAII

The Hawaiian People's Song

1. *Ka Makua Mana Loa,*
Almighty Father,
Maliu mai ia makou
Heed us
E haliu aku nei
Who turn to Thee
Me ka na'au ha'aha'a.
With lowly hearts.
E mau ka malubia
May peace abide
O nei Pae 'Aina
In these Isles
Mai Hawaii a Ni'ihau
From Hawaii to Niihau
Maloko o Kou malu.
Under Thy protection.

Hui. E mau ke ea o ka 'aina
Long may the life of the land abide
Ma Kou pono mau
By Thy eternal righteousness
A ma Kou mana nui,
And by Thy great power,
E ola, e ola ka Mo'i.
Grant life, life to the King.

2. *E ka Haku, malama mai*
 O Lord, care for
I ko makou nei Mo'i.
 Our King here.
E mau kona nobo 'ana
 May his reign be long
Maluna o ka nobo ali'i.
 On the throne.
Ha'awi mai i ke aloha
 Give love
Maloko o kona na'au,
 Within his heart,
A ma Kou abonui
 And by Thy patience
E ola, e ola ka Mo'i.
 Grant life, life to the King.

About a year ago I found a completely forgotten anthem buried in the church news of a June, 1874 issue of the *Kuokoa*. The paper reported an *ho'ike* in the Siloama church at Kalawao, Molokai. The fifth song on the program had no title, but was listed simply as "*He Himeni I Hakuia No Ka Mo'i David Kalakaua*" (A hymn composed for King David Kalakaua). As soon as one reads the words it becomes obvious that they were intended to be sung to the tune of "God Save The King." A more egoistical anthem you've never heard. It deserved to be forgotten!

Sometime between then and November 16, 1874, King Kalakaua composed the anthem he called "*Hymn to Kamehameha I,*" and which we know as *Hawaii Pono'i*. It, too, was written to be sung to the tune of "God Save The King," but bandmaster Henry Berger, while retaining the same rhythm, subtly changed the melody so that it sounds to most persons like a completely original anthem. Berger was evidently irked by the fourteen measure length of "God Save The King," for he made *Hawaii Pono'i* a perfect sixteen measures long, thereby forcing King Kalakaua to add the phrase "*Ke Ali'i*" to fill the extra two measures. The whole thing is so obvious that one can almost reconstruct the steps in their thinking.

SINGING CLUBS

In the late 1860's the Hawaiian people began to form singing clubs for their own amusement. This activity reached its peak during the reign of King Kalakaua and, as usual, the *ali'i* were the leaders. Many of the *ali'i* had their own clubs and there was much friendly rivalry between them. King Kalakaua's brother, Prince Leleiohoku, though only nineteen years old, had attracted to himself a number of congenial (and convivial) companions. This group formed the *Hui Kawaihau*, which was acknowledged to be the best of the singing clubs. They must have thought it hilariously funny to call themselves the *Ice Water Club*, for it certainly wasn't their favorite drink.

King Kalakaua's songs of the period were written under the pseudonym of Figgs. We remember him for 'Akahi Ho'i, 'Alekoki, Ninipo, Sweet Lei Lehua, and many others. One of the more beautiful is *Wailana* (Still Water), which he composed while visiting at the Waimanalo home of John Cummins.

Kalakaua's younger sister, the Princess Miriam Kapili Kekauloahi Likelike, who was then Mrs. Archibald Cleghorn, composed seventeen songs that are remembered today; among them 'Ainabau and *Maika'i Waipi'o*, and signed them with her first name *Kapili*. Her *Ku'u Ipo I Ka He'e Pu'e One* (My Sweet-heart Who Surfs Toward the Sand Bar) is a favorite today.

Their younger brother, Prince Leleiohoku, was the composer of the love song *Kaua I Ka Huabua'i*, which has since been perverted to the *Hawaiian War Chant*. He is remembered for many others, including *Adios Ke Aloha*, *Ke Abe Lau Makani*, *Aloha No Wau I Ko Maka*, and *Nani Wale Libu'e*.

SONGS FOR THE ALI'I

The great activity of the *ali'i* in composing songs stimulated a like activity among the *maka'ainana*. Since the *ali'i* were greatly beloved by the common people, many of their songs were dedicated to the *ali'i*. At this late date it is often difficult to determine whether songs attributed to the *ali'i* were composed by them, or whether they were simply dedicated to the *ali'i* by their composers. One of the best-known songs composed for (and by) an *ali'i* is *Makalapua*, which High-Chiefess Konia composed as a chant for her adopted daughter Lili'u Kamaka'eha, whom we know as Lili'uokalani.

MAKALAPUA, LEI O KAMAKA'EHA

1. 'O *makalapua ulu mabiebie*
The full-blown perfect flowers
O ka lei o Kamaka'eha
Are for a lei for Kamaka'eha
No Kamaka'eha ka lei na Li'a-wabine,
For Kamaka'eha is the lei of the goddess,
Na ka wabine kibene pua.
Of the woman who gathers the flowers.

Hui. E lei ho'i, E Lili'u lani e,
Wear your lei, O chiefess Lili'u,
E lei ho'i, E Lili'u lani e.
Wear your lei, O chiefess Lili'u.

2. *Ha'iba'i pua kamani pauku pua kiki*
Kamani blossoms placed in a flower basket
I lei ho'owehiwehi no ka wabine
For a lei to adorn the woman
E walea ai i ka waokele,
Who enjoys the wet mountain region,
I ka liko i o maunahale.
The leaf-buds of the mountain nook.

Some years later Eliza Holt composed a tune for the chant, and in that form it is often heard today.

TWILIGHT OF THE ROYAL ERA

The most troubled period in the history of the Hawaiian kingdom was the latter part of Kalakaua's reign, and the reign of Queen Lili'uokalani. Many harsh things have been said about these two *ali'i*. It is unfortunate that some biographers have sought for material which is sensational without caring whether it is truthful. We should remember that most *ali'i* were intelligent, kindly, reverent persons who did what they thought was best for their people.

Kalakaua was a brilliant man, but one torn between admiration for the accomplishments of the *haole* and a love for the simpler pleasures and carefree life of his ancestors. There was much political maneuvering for favor and power, much selfishness and greed evident during his reign, but we must thank him for transcribing the *Kumulipo*, for his book *Legends and Myths of Hawaii*, and for the *hula* he helped to preserve.

When Lili'uokalani came to the throne she hoped to regain the respect and authority which her brother had lost. She was much concerned over the poverty of many of her subjects, and with the deterioration of her race under the burden of the white man's diseases and liquor. She lost her husband soon after she came to the throne, and without his advice proved to be no match for the political factions which were maneuvering for power.

After the establishment of a Provisional Government, a few Hawaiians staged an abortive revolt which resulted only in the arrest of Lili'uokalani and her friends. She was kept for eight months in a room on the second floor of Iolani Palace under circumstances which must have been very humiliating to a Queen.

While she was imprisoned Lili'uokalani kept busy by writing music, making the music paper she needed by ruling staves on her personal stationery. Most of this music has been lost, but an index survives to show that she planned ten folders, each to contain twelve songs. In the folder marked *Mabele 'Ekolu*, or Part III, is a song she wrote there on June 4, 1895, and dedicated to her niece, Princess Ka'iulani. Though she called it *Ke Aloha O Ka Haku* (The Lord's Mercy), every Hawaiian now knows it as *The Queen's Prayer*. It reveals the forgiving nature of the deposed Queen.

KE ALOHA O KA HAKU

The Lord's Mercy

1. 'O Kou aloha no
O Lord, Thy loving mercy
Aia i ka lani;
Is high as the heavens;
A 'o Kou oia'i'o
It tells us of Thy truth
He hemolele ho'i.
And 'tis filled with holiness.

2. *Ko'u nobo mibi 'ana*
 Whilst humbly meditating
A pa'abao 'ia,
 Within these walls imprisoned,
'O 'Oe ku'u lama,
 Thou art my light, my haven,
Kou nani, ko'u ko'o.
 Thy glory my support.
3. *Mai nānā i na 'ino*
 O look not on our failings
Na bewa o kanaka.
 Nor on the sins of men.
Akā e huikala
 Forgive with loving kindness
A mā'ema'e no.
 That we may be made pure.
4. *No laila e ka Haku;*
 For Thy grace I beseech Thee;
Malalo Kou 'ehou,
 Bring us 'neath Thy protection,
Ko makou maluhia
 And peace will be our portion
A mau loa aku no. 'Amene.
 Now and forevermore. Amen.

A most beautiful and reverent prayer by Hawaii's greatest composer and beloved Queen!

HAWAIIAN POLITICS — 1900

INTRODUCTORY NOTE: The following documents are intended to illustrate in part Hawaii's first year in national politics. They deal entirely with the Republican and conservative side of the picture. Long weeks before the Organic Act was passed by congress the political mash in Hawaii was in an active state of ferment. All citizens of Hawaii became citizens of the United States with the establishment of the Territory and the franchise was given to all male citizens twenty-one years of age or older who could speak, read and write either the English or the Hawaiian language. The very thing that the Hawaiian Commission which drafted the Organic Act had tried to prevent had come to pass. The Hawaiian masses had been handed the political power. In the first letter below William Howard Taft clearly reflects the McKinley Administration's views and shows why Sanford B. Dole was named the first governor of the Territory of Hawaii.

There was little success in getting the native Hawaiians to follow one or the other of the two major American parties. In their statement, below, to the Republican National Convention, the Hawaiian delegates show why that was true. Indeed a majority of the natives chose to follow Robert W. Wilcox into what the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* called the "Independent-Home-Rule-Republican-Any-Old-Thing-Party" and were supported by Edmund Norrie's *Independent*, an anti-missionary, anti-Dole newspaper which the *Advertiser* said, apparently "knows no more about American politics than one of its kahuna friends does about the nebular hypothesis."

Although the Republicans and the Democrats, combined, outnumbered the Home Rulers the former split their vote and enabled the "natives" to elect the delegate to congress and a majority of the territorial legislature. The Republican candidate for delegate, Samuel Parker, in three letters following, tells why he ran, why he expected to win and, after the election, why he lost. President McKinley's secretaries faithfully acknowledged receipt (and no more) of each communication but unfortunately the President himself appeared never to write or dictate a personal reply to anyone — preferring to deal with each man face to face or not at all.

C. H. H.

April 27, 1900

William Howard Taft² to President McKinley:

"We have spent three very delightful days in Honolulu while the transport has been coaling. It is quite probable that before this letter reaches you the question of the governorship of these islands will have been settled³ in which case this letter will serve no useful purpose; but on the possibility that there may be some delay, I write to give you such bits of information in regard to the matter as I have been able to pick up. They may not be reliable that as all sides have been most hospitable and courteous to us, I think I can form an impartial opinion on such facts and reports as have come to me. There is undoubtedly considerable opposition to President Dole from the old Monarchical party which is largely made up of the leaders of the native element. They do not forgive Mr. Dole's part in breaking up the monarchy. In order to defeat Mr. Dole, these leaders have united on Mr. Sewall⁴. To us the Monarchical and native element is the one which is likely to give the most trouble. It is the intriguing and least stable of all the factions. Dole, it is true, belongs to the Missionary element but he is a man of the highest character and most catholic and kindly in his disposition toward every one. Sewall has cultivated the native element and has attempted to formulate some plans for their benefit which are likely to be troublesome should he attempt to put them into practice. Sewall is a bright energetic and courageous man and undoubtedly for a time would give the government a kind of vim that is desirable but I fear a lack of conservative judgment on his part. The changes to be effected by the new annexation act are radical and will need patience and conservatism to avoid friction in their inception. I should think Dole's more intimate knowledge of the islands and their peoples and his eminent conservatism and high purpose better adapted to the emergency than Sewall's vigor, less thorough knowledge, and leaning toward native support. Mr. Sewall has been most kind to us here and nothing but a desire to aid you if possible in an important duty would induce me to attempt to defeat his honorable ambition to be governor of these beautiful islands. It is the custom to decry the missionary element here, but it is that which gave us these pearls of the Pacific and which has really made them what they are. I do not think a missionary Governor would be a bad balance wheel for a probably native majority in the legislature.

"I am glad to say that thus far we are all in good health . . .

(signed) Wm. H. Taft

¹The following documents are from the McKinley Papers in the Library of Congress.

²From on board transport USS *Hancock* on the way to the Philippines.

³Taft was correct. McKinley sent Sanford B. Dole's name to the Senate on May 4; he was confirmed May 9.

⁴Harold M. Sewall was the Special Agent who received the cession of Hawaii on August 12, 1898. He continued as President McKinley's representative until the Organic Act went into operation in 1900. He was so eager for the governorship that his reports to Washington must be used with care.

II "STATEMENT¹"

(By the delegates² from Hawaii to their first Republican National Convention)

"We are here the first delegates of Hawaii to a Republican Convention. We were chosen by a convention which was elected in response to a call to those who wished to affiliate with the Republican Party, in all the Islands of the Group.

"The Republican Party is now organized. The Democrats have perfected their organization by this time so that they can send delegates to the convention at Kansas City.

"From personal knowledge we are bound to confess that a very large majority of native Hawaiians and the Old Time Royalists are inclined to join the Democratic Party. There are some Hawaiians who are regarded as leaders who declare that the Republican Party will always be looked upon with suspicion for the reason that the Republican Party is credited by the Hawaiian people as being responsible for the loss of their government and their independence as a nation among the family of nations, and finally annexing the Islands, thus destroying any vestige of a hope of restoration.

"Further this class of Hawaiians blame the Republican Party for obstructing and frustrating the efforts of Cleveland in carrying out his policy of restoration and thus making amends for the wrong claimed to be done them, by a Republican Administration.

"This statement suffices to show why these Hawaiians feel friendly to the Democratic Party and are inclined to look upon the Republican Party with caution.

"Moreover at present many Royalists, foreigners, and natives, propose to hold aloof from joining either of the two great American organizations and strongly favor starting an independent Hawaiian Party.

"An added cause of discontent and distrust and one which is going to be most difficult to overcome is the recent appointment of Dole as first Governor of the Territory. This appointment has aroused all the old animosity on the part of the Hawaiians and is looked upon with disfavor not only by them, but equally by the majority of foreigners and especially by those annexations [sic] who have in the past been his chief supporters, who helped put him in power and have supported his government from the very Commencement.

"In the face of these discouragements we feel hopeful of the future and the ultimate success of the Republican Party in Hawaii. The force of their arguments that appeal so strongly to the Hawaiians must be admitted, who can blame them for the noble stand they have taken under extremely trying circumstances.

"We who have been with them through their misfortunes could if it were necessary sympathize with them, but feel that to let what has gone before govern our actions now and in the future would secure no beneficial result.

¹Undated, but probably June 1900.

²The newly organized Republican Party in Hawaii named Samuel Parker, W. R. Castle, Judge A. N. Kepoikai, and B. F. Dillingham to attend the National Party Convention in Philadelphia, Pa., on June 19. The Convention, however, accepted only two: Parker and Kepoikai. H. M. Sewall was named National Committeeman from Hawaii.

"We who have been *true Royalists* [sic] and strong adherents of the Hawaiian Monarchy, have individually after mature deliberation considered what was for the best interests of the future of the Hawaiian Islands, and have concluded to accept the inevitable [sic], fall into line and pledge ourselves to the Republican Party, as we believe under a Republican administration the prosperity of the Territory of Hawaii lies, and by so doing setting an example to our fellow Islanders.

"We believe in forever forgetting the past, and in looking forward to our future in the new order of the things [sic].

"We consider it the first duty of the Republican Party to give our Hawaiian Brethren all the information possible to enable them to become good American Citizens. This accomplished, when they have been educated to a full knowledge of American Institutions, they will learn to forget the past and the future brighter by taking heed and profit from its experience.

"The Native Hawaiian not being informed of the fundamental and broad principals [sic] of American Institutions, cannot readily [sic] realize that President McKinley with a Republican Administration has endeavored to make amends for the injustice which they feel has been done them by a former Republican Administration, and also to right the wrong done, by annexing the Islands as a part of the United States, although we believe its ultimate consummation [sic] was precipitated by the breaking out of the Spanish-American War.

"Under the Republic of Hawaii the native Hawaiians, practically had no voice in its affairs, for he was not allowed the privilege of the right of manhood suffrage unless he abjured his allegiance to the Sovereign of his native land and took an oath to bear true allegiance to a government not of his making, The Republic of Hawaii.

"It is natural that the Hawaiians should have opposed the Republic and looked upon the political affairs of his native land with indifference, as they were taught from their childhood to love, to respect and to obey their Aliis (Chiefs) by their ancestors for ages back; but as a Territory of the United States of America the Hawaiians are given Manhood Suffrage unrestricted, save by a slight educational qualification, which we believe would be a worthy example to be followed by all nations.

"And every proposition for the imposition of a poll or any other tax as a prerequisite for voting has been rejected by the present Republican Congress. Thus we owe to the Republican Party that although under its administration took away from us our Monarchy and independence, it has given us a blessing much greater in permitting us to govern our country by the power of our votes as free American Citizens. And we trust and believe that as the prejudices [sic] of the pass [sic] wear away our Hawaiian Brethren will exercise this high privilege with discretion and give the Republican Party the majority of the votes, as it already has the majority of the brains, wealth, and ability of the country."

[unsigned]

III

September 15, 1900

Samuel Parker (Honolulu) to President McKinley:

"As a steamer leaves today for the coast, I take this opportunity of advising you upon the political outlook here, and as you expressed a desire to me while in Canton [Ohio], for me to run for Delegate to Congress in order to defeat Mr. Wilcox, I take pleasure in telling you that I have consented to do so and beg to state that I have just returned from the Island of Hawaii, and have pretty well felt the pulse of the people of that Island on the political outlook. The Island is divided into two districts and both of them have endorsed me for Delegate. The Islands of Maui and Oahu have also unanimously instructed their delegates for me. As the Islands of Lanai and Molokai are included in the district of Maui, this leaves only the Island of Kauai to be heard from, and I have assurances from the influential men of that Island that they will be for me also; so that there is no question but that I will be nominated at the Republican convention to be held here in Honolulu on the 24th and 25th of September.

"Mr. Wilcox has made a tour of all the Islands, but has made very little impression upon the people, in fact, I believe that the only place where he will show strength will be in Honolulu. I feel justified in saying that Mr. Wilcox stands no chance of election. There is an attempt on the part of the Democrats to have Prince David run for delegate on their ticket, but he has not as yet given his consent, and I think that his friends will dissuade him from accepting the nomination.

"The Republicans are well organized and every indication points to their victory.

"I find that Judge Silliman has resigned from the Circuit Court in the First Circuit, and has recommended George D. Gear for appointment in his place. I understand that Mr. H. M. Sewall, our national committee man has also recommended Mr. Gear, as have also many others. I take this opportunity of adding my own individual endorsement to those already made by others. Mr. Gear is a pronounced and prominent Republican and I know from personal knowledge of the man, as well as from his general reputation, that he is eminently qualified to fill the position. He has the endorsement of leading lawyers and citizens, and any opposition he may have has been started and fostered by members of the Democratic party. Mr. McClanahan, one of the leaders of the Democratic party here, started a petition in support of another candidate, but it has not the support of the Republicans. I think you will make no mistake in appointing Mr. Gear to the position.

"Hoping that you will receive at the hands of the people in November the success you so richly deserve, and with assurances of the deepest respect to Mrs. McKinley and yourself, I remain,

Yours sincerely,
[signed] Samuel Parker

IV

September 28, 1900

Samuel Parker to McKinley:

"I wrote you some days ago in regard to the elections down here and the prospects for my nomination upon the Republican ticket for delegate to Congress. The Republican Convention was held here on the 24th of this month, and I was nominated and my nomination unanimously carried in the Convention for the First Delegate.

"I had thought that Prince David would not accept the nomination for the Democratic party but he has done so and it leaves the matter with David and myself in the field and Robert Wilcox running as an Independent. I cannot tell what the result will be and the Republicans have started in and are doing some good hard work and I hope that we may be successful.

"As we have never had the party lines drawn heretofore, it is impossible to even conjecture with any certainty the outcome but I hope in my next letter to be able to report success.

"One of our Republican leaders, and one of our best workers in the party, Mr. A. B. Loebenstein of Hilo, Hawaii, tells me that he has applied for the position for his son David A. Loebenstein, as one of the cadets to West Point. I have known Mr. Loebenstein and also his son for many years, and he is one of the influential men in the community and the success of the Republican Party if we are successful will be largely due to his influence and hard work. Mr. Loebenstein has been a member of the House of Representatives for the Island of Hawaii for a number of years past and has been nominated by the Republicans of that district as a Senator to the next Territorial legislature, and I have no doubt will be elected. I think it no more than justice to him if it can be done, to have his son appointed as a cadet and I want, therefore, to not only personally but as a delegate to the last Republican Convention and the Republican nominee for delegate to Congress to most heartily recommend that the appointment be made by you if you see your way clear to do so.

"I shall keep you informed from time to time of the status of things here politically and otherwise.

"Hoping that you and yours are well and wishing you every success,

Yours most sincerely,

[signed] Samuel Parker

V

November 21, 1900

Samuel Parker to "My dear Mr. McKinley:"

"The news of your splendid victory at the polls reached here on the 17th instant and I cordially congratulate you and the republican party on the result.

"The people of these Islands feel certain that prosperity and good government is assured for the next four years. As the standard bearer and candidate of the party for Delegate to the house of representatives I was unable to obtain the majority of all the votes of the Territory but we carried the City of Honolulu and the Island of Oahu by 264 votes. The commercial community and the intelligence of the Islands supported me in the contest and if we had been

properly organized on the other Islands as we were on this the narrow majority obtained by Wilcox would have been overcome and Hawaii would have been added to your laurels. The Hawaiians in the country districts were misled by the unfair and improper canvasses used by Wilcox and his lieutants [sic] during the campaign. They made the most of the unfair canvass that the supporters of the late Republican government was supporting and to be found controlling the counsels [sic] of the party on every occasion they accused them of 'stealing the country' they even went so far as to state that in case of the success of the Independents and Wilcox they would restore the Queen. You can readily understand the uphill work that we had in the contest and why we failed to win. Some of my supporters have filed a protest against the seating of Wilcox on the ground, 1st, that he is disqualified to sit in the House on account of his political and private character and 2nd, that the election is null and void, there being now law passed by the Territorial Legislature fixing the time place and manner of holding the election as provided for in and by section 85 of the Territorial Act and they hope to have the support of the party in preventing him from disgracing the Territory¹. We conducted an aggressive [sic] and active campaign during the short time we had and endeavored by all proper and lawful means to educate the natives and make them understand the issues before the country but were seriously embarrassed by disagreements in our own ranks and the unscrupulous acts of our opponents. Wilcox and his active canvassers went so far so I am informed by reliable persons as to assure the unfortunate lepers confined on Molokai that if elected he would set them free.

"It is my intention to visit Washington at an early date and I will be pleased to explain in detail why we were unable to successfully combat the Independent forces.

"The news of your election was received in this City with every manifestation of joy on the part of the people and the enthusiasm was unbounded & sincere. There was no mistaking the genuine sentiment and satisfaction of the people on this memorable occasion. We have learned much from the late campaign and with wise and careful management by the party leaders will be able to gain the support and confidence of the Hawaiian people and lead the Territory in the Republican fold.

"I hope that you may long be spared to preside over the nation and that your next presidential [sic] term may be even more successful than the one that is soon to close.

"With feelings of the greatest respect and confidence and with my aloha to you,"

I remain your friend and supporter,
[signed] Samuel Parker

¹The Republicans with Parker and the Democrats with Prince David Kawanakoa polled 3,845 and 1,656 votes respectively or 58% of the whole but they refused to combine and Wilcox, with 4,108 votes, became the first Territorial delegate with 42% of the vote. Wilcox's election was challenged but in Washington a House Committee on Elections were agreed that inasmuch as a Territorial delegate had no legislative power and could influence no legislation applicable to the States, Wilcox had no power to be feared. They also concluded that his opposition had been to the Republic of Hawaii and not to the Territory.

CAPTAIN JULES DUDOIT, THE FIRST FRENCH CONSUL IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, 1837-1867, AND HIS BRIG SCHOONER, THE *CLÉMENTINE*

(Translated from the original French manuscript of
L. A. Jore,* by Dorothy Brown Aspinwall**)

As an extension of the great Island of Madagascar there stretches out as far as the equator a vast underwater plateau which supports the Archipelago of the Seychelles. Agriculture had been the main occupation of the colonists in the Seychelles, but the necessity of exporting the products of the plantations and of fishing in order to provide food for the inhabitants had given rise to the construction of some little ship-building yards. One of these, established on Praslin Island, where wood was plentiful and good, belonged at the end of the first third of the nineteenth century to a well-known builder, Jean Mathiot, otherwise known as Gentil.

By a deed drawn on July 6, 1832, and witnessed by Amable Lefébure-Marcy, a Notary on Mahé, Jean Mathiot sold to a captain of trading vessels, named Jules Dudoit, a resident of the city of Port-Louis, on the Île de France, or Mauritius, who was then present on Mahé, a brig-schooner, the *Clémentine* which had only its masts and yards and no other rigging, and which had not yet been registered since it had been launched only the month before. This vessel of about eighty-eight and seventy-six eighty-fourth tons measured sixty-eight feet from bow to stern by seventeen feet ten inches in the beam, and had a hold eight feet eight inches deep.

Captain Jules Dudoit had doubtless taken in advance all measures necessary to prepare the *Clémentine* to sail with little delay, since on July 28, 1832, the brig-schooner, with a crew of twelve recruited in the Seychelles, arrived at Port-Louis. After disembarking three passengers, the ship was duly registered with the Navy and received papers authorizing it to sail under the British flag.

Born in Port-Louis on January 28, 1803, Jules Dudoit was perhaps of Breton stock. His grandfather, Pierre François, was indeed born in Saint-Malo on the 12th of March, 1731¹, and his grandmother, Andrée Françoise Neveu (or Le Neveu), at Saint-Servan on November 12th of the same year.² It is important, however, to notice that neither of these surnames is Breton. The name of Dudoit is found in the north of France, and Neveu in almost any part of the country.

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¹Son of Joseph Dudoit and of Laurence Henry, he died at Port-Louis in 1773.

²Having become a widow, she married a gunner of the garrison of Port-Louis.

The origin of the maternal grandparents of Jules Dudoit is scarcely more certain. Doubtless his mother, Jeanne Barbe Clou, was born in Brest about 1750, but it is possible that her father, Louis Clou, a soldier in the Regiment of Lally, and her mother, Marie Louise Rochart³, simply happened to be stationed at the time in this garrison.

However that may be, Pierre François Dudoit and his wife, who had been married at Saint-Servan on August 21, 1753, left for the Île de France about 1765. Their eldest son, Jean-François⁴, joined them in 1768, having taken passage on the ship, *Saint Jean-Baptiste*. Three more sons were born later at Port-Louis, Joseph⁵, Jacques-Marguerite⁶, and Jean-Joseph⁷.

The motives which induced the Dudoit family to settle in the Île de France are not known, but considering the consistent intercourse which existed at this time between Saint-Servan and Port-Louis, one is not unduly surprised by this decision.

We know, on the other hand, that the arrival of the Clou family on the Île de France, in 1757, had been determined by the fact that the head of the family was assigned to the troops maintained in this possession⁸. Ten years later, Jeanne Barbe Clou had married, on November 10, 1767, a certain Claude Rejembar, an upholsterer⁹, whom she divorced during the French Revolution¹⁰.

On the 22nd of Messidor in the year VIII (July 11, 1800), Jeanne Barbe Clou married Jacques Dudoit. Since she had been born about 1750, her second husband was thus seventeen years younger than she!

There is no explanation of the fact that the birth of their son, Jules Dudoit, was not officially registered when it occurred. It was only by a decree of the Lower Court of Port-Louis, dated February 15, 1826, that, at the request of Jules himself, his status as a legitimate child was recognized. His mother had certified that he was indeed born of her union with Jacques Dudoit and that he had never ceased to be considered as their child, and, finally, that for the census of 1814 Jacques Dudoit had reported the young Jules as issue of his marriage with his wife, Jeanne-Barbe Louise Clou¹¹.

The same decree specifies that Jules Dudoit "after having had his elementary schooling in the lycée of Mauritius, had left the colony at the age of thirteen

³Marie Louise Rochart died at Port-Louis in 1758.

⁴Born in Saint-Servan October 28, 1754. Having set up in business at Port-Louis, he married November 4, 1783, Françoise Mallet, who had been born at Port-Louis on October 19, 1770, and was the daughter of Pierre-Louis Mallet, a tailor, and of Marie-Françoise Bazerques.

⁵This child died at Port-Louis May 9, 1769, at the age of three.

⁶Born in Port-Louis on November 26, 1767, he died May 12, 1816. He was first a goldsmith and then a grocer.

⁷Born at Port-Louis on February 16, 1770, and died at an early age.

⁸The soldier Louis Clou, his wife and their two children, Jeanne Barbe and Jean Baptiste-Laurent, had made the trip together.

⁹Born in 1743 at Maresel. (Would it not be Maresquel in the Pas-de-Calais, since no township named Maresel exists in France?) He had arrived in the Île de France in 1759.

¹⁰This information about the ancestry of Jules Dudoit was furnished by A. Toussaint, former chief archivist of Mauritius Island, to whom we wish to express our sincere gratitude.

¹¹We recall with pleasure the very kind help of M. Lambert, secretary of the French Consulate at Port-Louis, who, in 1936, procured for us various important documents on Jules Dudoit.

to go to America to become a sailor, and that he had been a sailor until that date, and that since his trips had always kept him at a distance from his birthplace, he had been for a long time without news of his parents who had believed him dead until the moment of his sudden appearance at Mauritius."

It is likely that Jules Dudoit had left Mauritius immediately after the death of his father on one of the numerous American ships which crossed the Indian Ocean. Perhaps he left secretly and without the consent of his mother. We shall probably never know anything about the ten years of his life between 1816 and 1826. When he returned to Mauritius he probably planned to remain in closer touch with his native land. He was lucky enough to become the captain of a brig belonging to a fellow citizen who had settled as a trader at Tamatave on the island of Madagascar — a fine job for a young man of twenty-three years. The vessel, named *Le Courrier de Tamatave*, made regular crossings between the big island and the Mascareignes. *Le Gazette de Maurice*, a newspaper published at Port-Louis, mentioned the arrival of the ship with a cargo of rice and four passengers on June 5, 1826.

On February 3, 1829, he married in Port-Louis Clémentine Labat, who had been born in this city March 11, 1807, the legitimate daughter of a landowner, Jacques Labat, and of his wife, Jeanne Françoise Sollier. According to the marriage certificate, Madame Jacques Dudoit was not present at the ceremony and her consent was given by a notarized instrument. Since she was seventy-nine years old, perhaps the state of her health had prevented her from being present.

The union of Captain Jules Dudoit and Clémentine Labat was to be of very short duration; on December 11, 1829, five weeks after having given birth to a daughter who was given the name of Fanny-Clémentine, the young woman died at Port-Louis¹².

Oddly enough, from this moment we lose track of the mother and the daughter of Jules Dudoit. Despite intensive research, neither their death certificates, nor a marriage certificate for Fanny-Clémentine, have been found in the records of the Register General's Office at Mauritius¹³.

It is surprising also that Jules Dudoit embarked on December 26, 1830, as a passenger on the brig *Children*, Master Durocher, which was going to Marseilles. Having left France on July 19, 1831, on the French ship *Thérence* (*Térence?*), Captain Caillol, he was back again in Port-Louis by the tenth of the following October¹⁴. What could have been the purpose of this trip?

One clause in the contract drawn up at Mahé between the shipbuilder, Jean Mathiot, and Jules Dudoit on July 6, 1832, provided that a longboat should be delivered to the latter upon his return from the first trip of the *Clémentine*. This clearly indicates that Captain Dudoit intended to return to the Archipelago very soon.

¹²On February 15, 1830, at the request of Jules Dudoit, the presiding Judge of the Civil Court of Port-Louis convoked a Family Council for the purpose of choosing a deputy-guardian for his child, who had been born November 5, 1829. The Council, which met on February 17, appointed to this function, the maternal grandfather of the little girl, Jacques Labat.

¹³This information was supplied by H. Adolphe, chief archivist of Mauritius.

¹⁴This information was supplied by H. Adolphe, chief archivist of Mauritius.

Another clause in the same contract, stipulating that the purchaser of the *Clémentine* should undertake to pay at Port-Louis on June 1, 1833, into the hands of certain specified persons, the remainder of the purchase price, that is, 1500 piastres, permits us to believe that Captain Dudoit would be in Port-Louis at this date.

Actual events foiled these conjectures. On September 14, 1832, seven weeks after his arrival on Mauritius, Captain Dudoit was setting sail for Sydney in the *Clémentine*, having agreed to transport thither a cargo of sugar. On November 14 she entered Port Jackson on which Sydney is situated.

Jules Dudoit very well knew when he left Mauritius Island that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to find a return cargo at Sydney. In 1832 the colonization of Australia had hardly begun. At this time Port Jackson was only a trading post where ships that had come from England loaded with convicts contended for whale oil and sealskins as return cargo.

Since he had to procure at once the sums necessary for the payment of the repairs which he had had made on the *Clémentine*, and for the maintenance of his crew, Dudoit agreed to transport to Tasmania a cargo of food for the Administration of the Penitentiary. He left for Hobart on January 1, 1833, carrying also five passengers. On the very day of his arrival, the 17th of the same month, he announced his intention of sailing back to Sydney ten days later and offered space for freight and passengers on "the beautiful and swift *Clémentine*." But it was not until February 5th that he set sail with a cargo, not specified (another source says "ballast") and seven passengers, and cast anchor at Port Jackson on the 26th.

Lacking anything better, the brig-schooner went to get coal at Newcastle, a little port situated north of Sydney where some convicts were exploiting a lie of coal. Having returned from this trip, the *Clémentine* left again on the Sunday preceding the 19th of March for Hobart with provisions and one passenger. Leaving Tasmania on April 12th, she returned to Sydney on the Sunday preceding the 20th of the same month in ballast but with six passengers. Three months' study of the situation had convinced Jules Dudoit that there was no profit to be gained by settling in Australia. He decided therefore to leave this country. On June 2, 1833, he left on the *Clémentine* for Singapore.

At least that is the destination given to the local administration. However, research conducted at our request by His Excellency the Governor of the Strait Settlements and the Archivist of the Raffles Museum at Singapore has definitely established the fact that the *Clémentine* does not figure on the list of ships calling at this port in 1833. In addition, His Excellency the Governor of Macao was kind enough to inform us that no ship named *Clémentine* entered the Portuguese Colony during the same period. The lack of any administration at this time in the islands of the Pacific and the destruction of the archives of the British Consulate at Canton, as well as those in the port of Manila¹⁵ in the Philippines, may well prevent the discovery of any information about the possible arrival of the *Clémentine* in these places.

¹⁵There was no British Consulate at Manila in 1833.

It is in Batavia, where she appeared November 11, 1833, that we find her again, but once more the damage done to the archives by the Second World War accounts for the loss of the documents which would have enabled us to learn at least her preceding port of call. Everything is mysterious during this absence of five months. The striking fact at the very beginning is that, upon his departure from Sydney, Jules Dudoit had not resumed the command of his ship which he had entrusted to a certain Captain Walker; he himself shipped as a passenger, as did a Lieutenant O'Keden. Upon her arrival in Batavia, the *Clémentine* was still under the command of Captain Walker, but we do not know if O'Keden was on board. It is noteworthy, moreover, that the *Clémentine* had left Sydney loaded with ballast and that she arrived in Batavia without any cargo and without any other passengers. We must believe that this expedition had not been profitable, since as soon as he arrived in Java, Jules Dudoit tried to get rid of his ship.

On December 14, 1833, Douglas MacKenzie, a merchant, established in Batavia, wrote to two people in Port-Louis, Messrs. Pierson and Chassman, to inform them that Captain Dudoit had offered to sell him the *Clémentine* in order to be able to pay the creditors who had a mortgage on the ship, but since the ship's papers were not in order, the deed of sale had remained with the Customs of the Island of Mauritius according to Captain Dudoit. MacKenzie begged his correspondents to inquire into the matter and to send him either the deed of sale or an official document proving that everything was in order. He added that he knew that there existed two mortgages on the ship, one in favor of a certain Mr. Sibbald and another person of Port-Louis, the other in favor of Mr. Mathiot of the Seychelles, the builder. Finally, he insisted on the fact that it would be desirable, in the interests of the creditors, that he should be put in possession of the documents safeguarding their interests.

As a reply could reach Java only after a rather long delay, Dudoit, four days later, that is on December 18, wrote to the Governor General to ask his permission to fly the Dutch flag on the *Clémentine*, of which Captain Clunes, probably under the Jurisdiction of the Netherlands, would take command.

The petitioner added that the *Clémentine's* papers cited him as being owner of the ship, but that the deed of ownership had remained at Port-Louis because he had not yet completely reimbursed the ship's builder and because he owed the price of provisioning the ship to Messrs. Sibbald and Sérendat. In closing, he asked if the Resident of Batavia could certify on his ship's papers that he owed the builder, Mathiot, 1500 piastres and Messrs. Sibbald and Sérendat 1313.20 Spanish piastres. After having the matter studied by competent people, the Governor General replied on March 13, 1834, by a refusal.

On the other hand, Jules Dudoit by a second letter dated also December 18¹⁶, had asked the Governor General for permission to settle in the Dutch East Indies and to establish himself in Batavia as a maritime merchant. This request was supported by two merchants of Batavia, William MacKenzie and Nicolas Sigisbert Cézard, who declared that they knew him to be a man of good character and

¹⁶Both of Dudoit's letters were written in Dutch.

that they undertook to pay all his maintenance expenses if he should find himself without resources.

Having been consulted, the Resident of Batavia replied to the Governor General on December 31, that Messrs. MacKenzie and Cézard were acquainted with Jules Dudoit only since his recent arrival, but that he had learned that the correspondent of W. MacKenzie at Sydney had warmly recommended Captain Dudoit, a former sub-lieutenant in the French navy. Personally, the Resident of Batavia saw no objection to granting the request. Two councilors of the Indies gave a similar opinion, with the provision that the permission to stay should be temporary in conformance with a current regulation. This restriction caught the attention of the Governor General, and on February 10, 1834, Dudoit learned that the permission had been granted to him, but on a temporary basis only.

One wonders on the strength of what information the Australian merchant had been able to write that Jules Dudoit had served with the rank of officer in the French navy and if the Resident of Batavia had seen his letter or if he had contented himself with an oral declaration by MacKenzie. If the letter really was written and contained such a fantastic piece of information, it is surprising that Dudoit, who could not be ignorant of its existence, did not hasten to undeceive MacKenzie.

Since it is difficult to imagine that MacKenzie had invented this evidence, we should have to think, if the letter from the merchant at Sydney had not been written, either that Dudoit must have taken advantage of the credulity of his protector in Batavia, or that the latter was a party to the fraud, a very unlikely possibility¹⁷.

The lack of documentation prevents us from knowing what became of Captain Dudoit and the *Clémentine* during the period between March 1834 and the first months of the following year. The only indication that we have is a declaration made by Dudoit twenty years later in which he mentions his call at Strong Island in 1834¹⁸. This island, sometimes called Ualan or Kusaie, is part of the Caroline Archipelago.

It would not be rash to imagine that Dudoit had called at Strong in the course of a voyage from Java to China. At this time commerce between Batavia and Canton was quite active and among the chief products introduced into the Celestial Empire by Dutch ships were sea-swallows' nests and trepangs or sea slugs (holothurians) which abounded in the Carolines. The rest of the cargo could have consisted of Java rice, which was much appreciated in the markets of Canton. Taking advantage of the recent repeal of the monopoly which until then had been held by the East India Company and which forbade ships flying the British flag, except those of this powerful company, from trading in the Pacific Ocean and the China Sea, Captain Dudoit may have been induced to

¹⁷All the information concerning the sojourn of Captain Dudoit and the *Clémentine* in Batavia was kindly furnished to us by Dr. W. Ph. Coolhaas, former archivist of the General Government of the Dutch East Indies and former Professor of History at the University of Indonesia.

¹⁸This declaration appeared in an issue of the *Friend* for May 1853, a periodical published in Honolulu. Dudoit said that the natives of Ponape and Strong appeared to welcome strangers when he had called there in 1834-1835.

undertake some operations which the Dutch ships, which were not under the same restrictions, had found highly profitable.

However that may be, it was from Batavia that Jules Dudoit set out in February 1835 for the Hawaiian Islands by way of Ponapé in the Carolines, and perhaps, for the second time, Strong Island.

According to a notice found in the Hawaiian newspaper *Ke Kumu* on April 1, 1835¹⁹, he had arrived in Honolulu on the 29th of March preceding. We know, on the other hand, from a document deposited in the archives of the Hawaiian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that the *Clémentine*, an English ship of 88 tons and carrying a crew of 16, coming from Java, had called at Honolulu in 1835, with a cargo (of undisclosed nature) valued at 1600 pounds sterling. According to the same document, the ship had departed for Monterey, in California, with a cargo valued at 2000 pounds sterling²⁰.

From his stay in the Carolines Captain Dudoit had brought back the conviction that visits to this archipelago would be very advantageous for his business. Therefore, it is not surprising to find him at Ponapé again in 1836²¹.

According to evidence given three years later by an officer of the Royal British Navy, P. L. Blake, commander of the sloop, *Larne*, Dudoit was involved in some serious incidents during his stay on this island at the time mentioned above. "Captain Dudoit," wrote Commander Blake in his report²², "was then in command of the *Avon*²³, a ship flying the flag of the Sandwich Islands, and said to be his property. He was at Ponapé²⁴ at the time of the murder of Captain Hingston and a number of men from the English whaler, *Falcon*."

Captain Hingston and his ship had arrived in the port of Métalinim (Matalanim) in April, 1836. The *Falcon*, delayed for a long time in the harbor by unfavorable winds, had aroused the hostility of the natives who had attempted to capture it and to put its crew to death. The discovery of the plot, which was

¹⁹The notice reads thus: Maraki (March 29). *Clémentine* — Dudro (Dudoit). Mai Kakahi aine mai, o Ascension, Ka inoa. (Coming from a foreign country named Ascension.)

²⁰Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sandwich Islands. Miscellaneous — 1819. 1837 folio 91.

²¹In a document found in the Official British Archives in London there is question of a trip which the *Clémentine* made from Honolulu to Kikini whence she brought back a cargo of tortoise shells. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to ascertain if the trip was made in 1835 or much later. Similarly, we have been unable to identify the island of Kikini; could it be Bikini, one of the Marshall Islands that has recently become famous?

In 1837 Dudoit sailed to Ponapé a schooner which he had recently bought, the *Honolulu*. When R. P. Bachelot bought the ship from Dudoit, he renamed it *Notre-Dame de la Paix!*

²²The report of Commander Blake, dated February 5, 1839, has been printed in *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. 20. We wish to take this opportunity to thank our colleague, His Excellency the Governor of Fiji, British High Commissioner in the Pacific, for having told us about the document and also Miss Phyllis Mander Jones, of the Mitchell Library in Sydney, for having communicated to us its contents.

²³According to Bancroft, *History of California*, III, 366, 381, a brig named *Avon*, of 88 tons, flying the American flag and carrying a crew of 16 men, had called at Monterey, California, in 1835. This ship belonged then to John C. Jones, of Honolulu, and had for captain, W. S. Hinckley. This is probably the same ship that Dudoit later bought.

²⁴Surrounded by a coral reef, the island possesses several very safe anchorages which attracted numerous whalers.

thwarted, had determined Hingston to set sail, but the whaler, which was heavy and difficult to maneuver, had grounded on a reef while negotiating the channel.

When Captain Dudoit, who had left Métalinine a few days before on board the *Avon* for Kiti, another harbor of Ponapé, learned about the shipwreck, he returned alone to Métalinine. There, it seems, he tried to acquire various provisions and merchandise saved from the wreck of the *Falcon*. These things had been transported to a little neighboring island, Narbally, (Napali?) where Captain Hingston and a number of his crew had taken refuge. It appears that he offered to exchange a keg of tobacco for Hingston's chronometer, a proposition which vastly annoyed the owner of the instrument. Hingston, doubtless feeling that his chronometer was much more valuable than a keg of tobacco, replied that he did not intend to let himself be "jewed." Dudoit asked what he meant by that, threatened him in a loud voice, saying that he would regret having used this expression, and left for Kiti once more. Shortly after the departure of Dudoit, the natives of a tribe, whose chief bore the name of Ishapow, and who had never ceased to manifest a great desire to get hold of the goods saved from the *Falcon*, attempted again to execute their project. Captain Hingston foiled the plot a second time, but made the mistake of striking, or perhaps only shaking, one of the sub-chiefs of the tribe, a certain Nanawah. This gesture produced a scuffle in the course of which Hingston and his men were massacred.

A few days later an English cutter, the *Lambton*, commanded by Captain C. H. Hart, and a schooner, the *Unity*, from Woahoo (Oahu), one of the Hawaiian Islands, commanded by another Hart, arrived at Métalinine. Here a veritable state of war existed between the tribe headed by Chief Ishapow and his assistant Nanawah on the one hand, and the Whites who lived on the Island as well as the sailors surviving from the *Falcon* on the other hand. Four hundred natives who were hostile to Ishapow's tribe took sides with the Whites.

The two Captains Hart immediately took up the cause of those who wished to avenge the murder of Captain Hingston and his men, but, thinking probably that their strength was not sufficient, they sent a messenger to Kiti to ask Dudoit to come to help them. It seems that Dudoit consented only on condition that all the goods saved from the *Falcon* should be turned over to him. This demand was granted since the *Avon* possessed a strong crew and was well armed.

Dudoit then came with his ship to Métalinine where the combined forces won a complete victory. Chief Ishapow died in the battle and Nanawah was made prisoner and then hanged.

Peace having been restored, Dudoit took possession of all the goods from the *Falcon* and made an agreement with the Captains Hart by the terms of which, in exchange for the payment of 800 dollars and the delivery of 70 pounds of tortoise shells, the latter undertook to transport the surviving members of the whaler's crew to Guam, Manila or China²⁵. The blocks, tackle, sails, rigging and movable objects, as well as 400 barrels of cachelot oil, were loaded aboard the *Avon*, which sailed for Honolulu under the command of Dudoit, then returned to Ponapé. On the latter trip the ship was commanded by the second officer

²⁵Five of these preferred to stay at Ponapé.

who took aboard the remaining 750 barrels of oil and set out for Valparaiso where the *Avon* was sold along with its cargo.

In his report Captain Blake believed it just to write that the seizure and the taking possession of all that had been saved from the *Falcon* exposed Dudoit to the appellation of pirate.

To be perfectly truthful, we must admit that he takes care to note that the accusations brought against Dudoit, the one which we have just spoken about as well as those which will be mentioned later, are so atrocious and diabolical that he wonders if he should put faith in them.

As a matter of fact, the accusations were instigated by some very untrustworthy individuals, that is to say, two sailors of the *Falcon* who had refused repatriation, Messrs. George Salter and James Headley, three others whose origin he does not state, Pat Gorman of Kiti, Edwin Roland and a certain James Hall, nicknamed "Jem the Cooper." The names of the other informants are not known.

According to their story, Dudoit, while at Métalinine, at the same time as the *Falcon*, declared that this ship would never succeed in getting out of the lagoon, and that he would have its oil. It is possible that Dudoit, who had definitely foreseen the wreck of the ship, had formed the project of buying all, or at least a part, of the *Falcon's* cargo when the captain of this ship should have recognized the necessity of getting rid of it. There seems to be nothing reprehensible in the occurrence.

But the accusers of Dudoit had gone farther. They had not hesitated to insinuate that after the wreck of the *Falcon* Dudoit had plotted with Chief Ishapow, with whom he had spent two or three days before returning to Kiti, to murder the captain, some of the officers and crew of the whaler and to share the cargo.

Blake writes: "He had already obtained, for a certain consideration, from one of the officers and part of the crew their signatures on a paper in which they made over to him their share and their interest in the supplies and the cargo."

As time was passing and Ishapow was taking no action, Dudoit may have begun to manifest the urgent desire that Ishapow should be "despatched" that is, put to death, because he feared that the Chief might reveal the plot. "James Hall, otherwise known as Jem the Cooper, declared and swore to me that he was ready to take oath that Captain Dudoit had proposed to poison Ishapow and had asked him to do it by means of a bottle of rum and a vial of arsenic." Hall pretended to accept, and received the two containers after which he went to find a comrade named William Grant, with whom he agreed that, since Ishapow and his people had saved their lives a short while before, which was true, they ought not take his. As a consequence, they threw away the arsenic and drank the rum.

It is rather peculiar that Commander Blake should have lent credence to the words of an individual who, by his own admission, would not have hesitated to poison Ishapow if the latter had not saved his life! One can only be surprised also that Blake did not ask James Hall what price he had demanded for the accomplishment of such a contract, and why he could have been led to commit this crime. Blake did not notice either that Dudoit had not left Kiti between

the time when he had rejoined the *Avon* and the time that he had returned to Métalinine after the murder of Captain Hingston; at what moment could he have been able to make this sinister proposition to Jem the Cooper? Furthermore, since according to Blake's own report, only a very short time elapsed between Dudoit's departure for Kiti and the massacre of the Captain and some of the sailors of the *Falcon*, one does not see how Dudoit could have become anxious about the supposed delay of Ishapow.

Before concluding his report, Blake stated also that a discussion had arisen between Dudoit and Lieutenant Lands (or Sands) who had supposedly contracted to abandon his rights and who accused Dudoit of not having kept his share of the bargain. Lands passing about this time near the *Avon* in a small boat, barely escaped the bullet from a pistol fired by Dudoit.

Such serious accusations should have aroused more wariness on the part of Commander Blake. There was no proof of accuracy, and the character of the accusers, on which it is better not to dwell, rendered them suspect a priori. Furthermore, Dudoit had not been permitted to defend himself. Is it necessary to add that nothing in our knowledge of the life of Dudoit allows us to think, or even to postulate, that he could have been guilty of the crimes imputed to him? Finally, we wish to point out that such criminal deeds could not have failed to be known in Honolulu, if they had been committed, and to have been exploited by Dudoit's enemies.

In order to show how little faith should be placed in the evidence presented by Blake, we note that in one of the depositions Dudoit is supposed to have represented himself to the Europeans of Ponapé and of other islands as an agent of the King of France, provided with an official document according him vast power over an extensive zone. Exploiting the credulity and ignorance of these Europeans, he spread great terror among them during the voyages that he made in the Archipelago on board the *Avon*.

We shall limit ourselves to stating that it is indeed very unlikely that Dudoit made a single other trip to the Carolines than the one described above, with the *Avon*, between April, 1835, the time at which he became owner of the ship, and the middle of 1836, the time of its sale. It is equally unlikely that he boasted of being an agent of the King of France since it was in July 1837 that he was appointed by Post-Captain Dupetit-Thouars as Consular Agent for the Hawaiian Islands.

As for the terror that he is supposed to have spread among the Europeans dwelling in the Pacific islands, anyone who knows the brutal manners of these "bad boys" who feared nothing and nobody is not likely to believe a word of it.

Regarding Dudoit's seizure of the goods and merchandise from the wreck of the *Falcon*, let us state first that they were located on an island which had no government at all, were outside all control of a civilized state, and inhabited by several tribes which were savage and at war with each other.

Dudoit alone was in a position to prevent pillage by the natives of the goods which had been saved and to organize the repatriation of the surviving members of the whaler's crew.

It was he who assumed the expenses of their transportation to a point where these sailors could find passage on ships returning to Europe and he who negotiated a contract with the two Captains Hart for this purpose²⁶. We can also be sure that the sums of money due to the officers and men of the *Falcon* as wages and for the loss of their personal effects were disbursed by him, since otherwise the men would have refused to leave on the *Lambton* and the *Unity*. It is also proper to deduct from the funds that he got from the sale of the salvaged goods the expenses of transporting them to Honolulu and Valparaiso which, naturally, he had to pay.

Finally, it would be interesting to know what the British Consuls in these two ports did about it. Neither of them, and especially Captain Charlton, could be unaware of the origin of the equipment and merchandise transported by the *Avon*. In all probability the rules of British Maritime Rights were applied in the circumstances and Dudoit was allowed to keep for himself only what was normally his due.

Towards the middle or the end of the year 1837, Captain Jules Dudoit married in Honolulu a young Irish girl named Anna Corney, the daughter of a captain of the Merchant Marine who lived in Hawaii²⁷. From this time on, he did not go to sea again but concentrated his activity on his commercial enterprises and continued, as he had constantly done since his arrival in the Hawaiian Islands, to charter the *Clémentine* to Honolulu businessmen without, however, giving up his right to have the ship make trips from time to time on his own account.

On June 3, 1835, the ship had left for California under the command of Captain Handley. This voyage was to be filled with incidents.

While the *Clémentine* was at Monterey at the end of July, the Governor of Northern California, Mariano Chico, took refuge on board. He was being pursued by people under his jurisdiction who were furious over the scandal which he had caused by attending certain official ceremonies as the escort of a supposed niece and by appearing with a woman who was serving a prison sentence. Captain Handley had had only time to leave the harbor with his passenger whom he transported to a safe place.

Three months later, this same Captain saw himself forced to give in to the rebelling inhabitants of Northern California and to conduct to the port of San Lucas Governor Gutierrez and a number of officers and employees who had remained faithful to the Mexican government. Upon his return in December,

²⁶It is likely that Captain Hart, commander of the schooner *Unity*, is the man who sailed the *Clémentine* to the Windward Hawaiian Islands in 1837.

²⁷The Rev. Father Eugène T. Morin, of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Picpus was kind enough to search in the Archives of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii for the marriage certificate of Jules Dudoit and Anna Corney, but without success. Dudoit being a free-mason and a British subject may have been married by a Protestant clergyman or by the British consul.

Two sons were born of this union, Jules, on September 15, 1838, and Charles Victor on an unknown date. He was baptised on July 11, 1841. Madame Jules Dudoit long survived her husband; she died in June, 1903.

some of the rebels used the *Clémentine* to get from Monterey to another point on the coast named El Cajo, whence they rejoined a group of people belonging to their party who were at Purissima Conception. These incidents were to be surpassed in gravity the following year.

On April 17, 1837, returning from Santa Barbara which she had left on the 28th of March, the *Clémentine* entered the port of Honolulu. Two passengers disembarked immediately. They were none other than the Prefect Apostolic of the Sandwich Islands, a Frenchman, Father Alexis Bachelot and his Irish colleague, Father Short. They were the members of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Picpus who had been expelled from the Hawaiian Archipelago in December 1831 and officially transported to the coast of California. They had stayed there since that time, as, respectively, the priest of Los Angeles, then a very modest village, and assistant to the "Padre" of the Mission of San Carlos Borromeo, near Monterey²⁸.

The Fathers had decided to return to Honolulu upon receipt of a letter from another member of the same Congregation, Brother Columban Murphy, who had recently come from California where he had spent a year with Father Bachelot²⁹. Through this correspondence the Prefect Apostolic of the Sandwich Islands had learned in detail the circumstances under which Captain Vaillant, commanding the French ship, *Bonite*, had interceded and had obtained from Kamehameha III, King of the Archipelago, revocation of the order of expulsion which had been issued against another member of the Sacred-Hearts, Father Walsh. The latter had disembarked at Honolulu eight days before the arrival of Captain Vaillant³⁰. Kamehameha promised further that he would make especially welcome all Frenchmen whom business brought into his lands. At the very time that the *Bonite* was leaving port, Lord Edward Russell, Commander of His Majesty's warship, *Actaeon*, arrived in Honolulu and obtained confirmation of the action taken by King Kamehameha III against Father Walsh, an Irishman and therefore a British subject.

Contrary to the promise made by the King to Commander Vaillant, which had not been put in writing, the local authorities, as soon as they learned of the arrival of Fathers Bachelot and Short, ordered them to return immediately to the *Clémentine*. When the fathers refused to do this, they were escorted to the ship "manu militari."

As owner of the ship, Captain Dudoit lodged a complaint against the Government, claiming that the *Clémentine* had been chartered by him to an American businessman, William French, established in Honolulu. When his protest was

²⁸See Jore's study of the "Fathers of the Sacred Hearts in California." *French American Review (Institut Français de Washington)* (January-March, 1950).

²⁹Brother Columban Murphy, having been charged by Msgr. Rouchouze, Vicar-Apostolic of Central Oceania to inquire into the possibility of re-establishing the Catholic Mission of the Sandwich Islands, had arrived in Honolulu August 28, 1835. Not being a priest, he had been able to disembark without opposition on the Island of Oahu, where he had stayed three weeks before returning to California.

³⁰Father Walsh had disembarked from the sailing vessel, *Garissilia* on September 30, 1836, and Commander Vaillant had arrived with the *Bonite* on the 8th of the following October.

rejected, he immediately hauled down his colors (the British flag), and drew up a deed of surrender of the brig. When the British Consul, Captain Charlton, received this deed, he claimed that the flag had been insulted and burned it in the street.

Three months later, on July 6, 1837, His Majesty's ship *Sulphur* and its consort, the *Sterling*, dropped anchor in the harbor of Honolulu. Two days later the French warship *Venus* arrived in its turn.

Under the protection of Belcher and Dupetit-Thouars who commanded these ships, Fathers Bachelot and Short landed, but they were unable to obtain authorization to establish themselves. King Kamehameha, whom the *Clémentine* had gone to get from a neighboring island, refused to grant permission³¹.

Before leaving the Hawaiian Islands Post-Captain Dupetit-Thouars, thinking it necessary that France should have a representative on the spot offered the post of Consular Agent to Captain Dudoit, who accepted the offer. The French Government later confirmed the appointment and Dudoit received besides the title of Honorary Consul (Royal Ordonnance of October 26, 1839).

After the departure of the English and French warships³², Jules Dudoit took possession of the *Clémentine* again and sent it to Christmas Island under the command of Captain Benson in order to pick up the cargo of the *Briton* which had been shipwrecked recently. The brig-schooner left Honolulu on August 14th and returned October 3rd with its mission accomplished. Then she made two voyages in the archipelago and was next chartered by William Sturgis Hinckley to transport a rather large number of passengers (who must have found the quarters cramped) to Panama under the command of Captain Blinn.

We know nothing about three of these: Captain S. Puga, Don V. Urbilendo and Captain Pablo Huerta. Five others were Americans: Peter A. Brinsmade, a member of the firm of Ladd and Co., who was going to Washington for the purpose of urging recognition of Hawaii's independence; John Coffin Jones, who had been for 17 years the American agent for commerce and seamen in Honolulu, a sort of American Consul, and who was hostile to the Protestant missionaries; Sherman Peck, who had set up a silk worm farm at Koloa on the Island of Kauai, and who proposed to buy some machinery for his factory; James Jackson Jarves who was returning to Boston to get married; and finally, J. E. Kilham, who was perhaps an officer of the Merchant Marine, and J. W. Mackintosh whose purpose in making the trip is not known to us.

The group of Americans planned, once they had arrived in Panama, to cross the isthmus and to reach a United States port on the Atlantic coast. Events were to force them to modify their plans: About the 10th of January, 1838, the

³¹Father Short left Honolulu on October 30, 1837, bound for Valparaiso on the American freighter *Peru*. As for Father Bachelot, he embarked on December 5th with Father Maigret, also a member of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, who had arrived in Honolulu on November 2, on a schooner that Dudoit sold to the Catholic Missions and which Father Bachelot baptized *Notre-Dame de la Paix*. Seriously ill at the time of departure, Father Bachelot died aboard this ship a few days later and was buried on the Island of Ponapé.

³²It is not within the scope of this account to deal with the incidents resulting from the intervention of Captains Belcher and Dupetit-Thouars. These incidents have remained famous in the history of the Hawaiian Islands under the title, "Affair of the *Clémentine*."

Clémentine was becalmed off Acapulco and for three weeks scarcely advanced at all. On the twenty-fourth day she dropped anchor in the roadstead of Acajutla, the port of San Salvador, where, demoralized and impatient, the passengers disembarked, determined to cross that country and then Guatemala.

We have not succeeded in learning what became of the *Clémentine* after her call at Acajutla. On April 18, 1838, coming from San Blas, in Mexico, she was back in Honolulu. Chartered by a businessman there, she left again on May 9th under the command of Captain Dominis for Kamstchaska (Kamchatka) and Sitka in Alaska in order to take supplies destined for establishments of the Russian American Company. She returned to Honolulu on the 15th of September.

At this time Captain Rhodes took over the command and very likely retained it until the end of the year and perhaps even until April 1839. During this period he provided regular service between Honolulu and the Island of Hawaii.

Did Dudoit think then of selling his vessel? J. P. Zollinger in his work, *To the Conquest of California*³³, asserts that he did, but without giving the source of his information. However that may be, no contract was made, and on April 20, 1839, the *Clémentine* sailed again, chartered by William French, a well-known Honolulu merchant, for Sitka and California, again transporting supplies to Alaska and passengers to Monterey. Captain Blinn had resumed the command.

After a very difficult crossing the *Clémentine* reached Yerba Buena, a little village on San Francisco Bay, which was then almost uninhabited, on July 1st, and two days later arrived at her destination where her passengers went ashore, the famous "Captain" John A. Sutter, A. Thompson, two German cabinet-makers and nine kanakas of whom two were women, all recruited by Sutter in Honolulu³⁴.

The date of the *Clémentine's* return to Honolulu is not known exactly; it must have been about the end of July 1839. Three months later the brig undertook a long voyage.

At the suggestion of Father Columban Murphy³⁵ of the Congregation of the Sacred-Hearts of Picpus, whom we have already mentioned, Captain Jules Dudoit, Consul of France, had agreed to facilitate the re-establishment of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii. This had become possible by the treaty between the Government of this country and Commander Laplace, made July 12, 1839, by the terms of which the Catholics had been given the same freedom as the Protestants.

Since neither Dudoit nor the Congregation of the Sacred-Hearts was in a position to underwrite the expenses of a trip from Hawaii to the Gambiers where

³³French translation, Payot, Paris, 1939.

³⁴At this time the self-styled "Captain" Sutter had not yet acquired the notoriety which is attached to his name. He arrived in Honolulu on December 9, 1838, and discovered at once that he could not make an advantageous place for himself in the Archipelago. Therefore he resolved to return to California.

³⁵Having left Honolulu in March 1837 Father Columban Murphy had returned on November 2nd of the same year with Father Maignret and had taken advantage of the ignorance of the Hawaiian authorities of his recent ordination to establish himself in the Archipelago.

the Vicar-Apostolic of Central Oceania resided, and from the Gambiers to Hawaii, Dudoit had the idea of sending the *Clémentine* to Valparaiso with a load of merchandise and of having her bring back a full cargo from Chile. For the return trip she would take aboard Msgr. Rouchouze, and the missionaries that the prelate would like to establish in Hawaii.

Under the orders of a Danish officer, Captain Grombeck, who had previously commanded the schooner, *Notre-Dame de la Paix*, the *Clémentine* set sail on November 3rd with one passenger, Father Columban Murphy. After calling at Tahiti, she arrived in Valparaiso in December and left Chile on February 15, 1840.

A few days later Captain Grombeck fell ill. When he became worse he informed Father Murphy of his desire to renounce Lutheranism and to be converted to Catholicism, a religion to which he felt drawn, he said, by the edifying death of Father Bachelot which had occurred aboard *Notre-Dame de la Paix*.

The funeral of Captain Grombeck, who died before the *Clémentine's* arrival in the Gambiers on March 26, 1840, delayed the departure of the ship which did not sail until April 5th, under the orders of the second in command, Captain Walker, who was probably the same officer to whom Dudoit had entrusted the command of the *Clémentine* when she left Sydney. After having taken aboard Msgr. Rouchouze and Fathers Maigret, Chosson, and Murphy, the brig sailed for the Marquesas where the last named fathers were exchanged for their colleagues, Heurtel and Desvault, and then left for Honolulu which was reached on May 15th³⁶.

From this time until October 1841, the *Clémentine* was used exclusively for interisland service. Then, under the command of Captain Molteno, she made two trips to Alaska, the second of which was to be disastrous. The ship, returning in December 1841 toward California, was caught in a violent tempest in the course of which she lost her small boat and part of her rigging. She had to return to Oahu without having completed her expedition. This occasioned a loss of two to three thousand dollars³⁷.

We have not been able to find out what happened now to the *Clémentine* during two and a half years. On June 14, 1844, we find a record of her return from Tahiti where she had transported supplies destined for French troops, with Molteno still in charge. After this she resumed her service between Oahu, Maui and Hawaii.

At the end of 1845 when she was sold to a businessman of Honolulu, J. R. K. Pfister, she lost her name. Registered as the *Ann*, she made a voyage to Fanning Island, then disappears from our sight until May 1846 when, on the 27th, she was shipwrecked on the coast of Kauai. Fortunately, the passengers and crew were saved, but the vessel herself was destroyed, and the greatest part

³⁶Msgr. Rouchouze left Honolulu on January 3, 1841 on the *Don Quixote* for Chile and France. He disappeared in the wreck of the ship that was bringing him back to the Pacific.

³⁷Diary of Stephen Reynolds, an American merchant in Honolulu, Feb. 1, 1842. (Privately owned).

of the cargo lost, including some church ornaments and a sum of money belonging to the Catholic mission³⁸.

Although Dudoit had not commanded his ship for a long time, he must have been sincerely sorry to lose her. Did she not remind him of his first wife who died ten months after he had married her and to whose memory he had remained faithfully attached since he had given her name to the brig which he had bought two and a half years later? Did the ship not remind him also of his daughter, likewise named *Clémentine*, who too had probably disappeared?

Was it not on this little sailing ship that he had come from Mauritius to Hawaii, looking for a land to welcome him, a land where he could remake his life? Doubtless he remembered the long hours spent on board in the course of his mysterious wanderings. She could not fail also to evoke the serious incidents which followed the return to Honolulu of Fathers Bachelot and Short and the intervention of Captains Belcher and Dupetit-Thouars with the local authorities, in short, the whole "affair of the *Clémentine*," which was forever woven into the history of the Archipelago. Finally, she must have brought back to his mind the re-establishment of the Catholic Mission by Msgr. Rouchouze, Vicar-Apostolic of Central Oceania, and the missionaries whom the *Clémentine* had brought from the Gambier Islands.

It was long before—twenty years earlier—when he had returned after a long absence to his native island of Mauritius to settle there, that fate had led him to another distant island of Oahu where he was to figure in important events and to become there the first of the Consuls of France.

Thus ended dramatically the career of the *Clémentine*; it had been short—only fourteen years—but filled with incidents³⁹.

³⁸The detailed movements of the *Clémentine* between April, 1837 and April, 1839 and between June, 1844 and June, 1846 were traced with meticulous care by Professor Kuydendall of the University of Hawaii to whom we wish to express our gratitude.

³⁹The *Clémentine* has sometimes been confused with a schooner of the same name which was wrecked at Port Phaeton, on the Island of Tahiti, in April, 1844.

Editor's Note: Jules Dudoit was French consul from 1837 to 1847, when he was replaced by a career consul; but at that time he was rewarded for his services to the French government with the Cross of a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. He acquired Hawaiian nationality, settled permanently in Honolulu, and engaged in business until his tragic death on July 20, 1866, when he was murdered in his sleep by his Chinese cook.

MINUTES OF THE 64th ANNUAL MEETING OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held in the Mission-Historical Library on Thursday evening, March 15, 1956 at eight o'clock. President Meiric K. Dutton presided.

Reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting was waived as they had been printed in the last annual report.

Mr. Donald Mitchell read the report of the Treasurer, Mr. Robert Midkiff, who was unable to attend. Mrs. Willowdean Handy, Librarian, and Mr. Meiric Dutton, President, read their reports.

The Nominating Committee (Dean Arthur Keller, chairman, Miss Janet E. Bell and Miss Dolla Fennell) recommended the following names for election: President (for one year) — Charles H. Hunter

Trustees (for two years) — Simes T. Hoyt, Bernice Judd, Robert R. Midkiff and Eva Anita Rodiek

This report was adopted and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot which unanimously elected the officers nominated by the committee.

Dr. Hunter, the incoming president, then took the chair. He introduced the speaker of the evening, Mr. Emerson C. Smith, whose subject was "Music of the Ali'i." Mr. Smith's talk was delightfully illustrated by a trio of singers, Mrs. Alice Kalahui, Mrs. Alice K. Namakelua, and Mrs. David (Meali'i) Kalama. Their voices blended in haunting melodies from Hawaii of long ago too seldom heard today.

A social hour followed, during which fruit drink and cookies were served. Miss Margaret Titcomb, chairman, Mrs. Reginald H. Carter and Miss Dolla Fennell were hostesses.

BERNICE JUDD, *Recording Secretary*

MEETING OF JUNE 2, 1955

An open meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held on Thursday evening, June 2, 1955 at the Mission-Historical Library.

The microfilm reader recently purchased by the society through the generosity of five local foundations and trusts was demonstrated by Dr. Charles H. Hunter and Professor Ralph S. Kuykendall.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

It is a matter of keen regret to your president that circumstances beyond his control have made it impossible for him to be as attentive to your interests during this, his third year in the office, as he should have liked. However, the splendid participation of your other officers and trustees has more than compensated for this condition.

Our Treasurer, Mr. Robert Midkiff, has reported the generous gift of \$1500 by the Samuel N. and Mary Castle Foundation. He also notes progress toward increasing the endowment fund of the Society. Your attention is particularly directed to this portion of his report in the hope that substantial progress may be made in this field at an early date.

It is distressing to note from the detail of his report that income from dues declined to \$1070 from the previous year's all-time high of \$1398. A greatly increased membership continues to be our urgent need.

During the past year, the Kauai Historical Society discontinued its affiliation as a branch of the Hawaiian Historical Society, — a relationship which had been in effect since 1927. It continues in the role of a regular member of the Society at a considerably reduced fee.

Our microfilm project is progressing satisfactorily. A reader and a storage cabinet have been installed, and some newspaper films have been secured. Work on the newspaper films will continue in cooperation with the University of Hawaii over a period of years. It is under the guidance of our Vice President, Dr. Charles Hunter, ably assisted by our Librarian, Mrs. Willowdean Handy. An interim meeting of the Society was held on June 2, 1955, to introduce the microfilm reader to our members.

It is a pleasure again to report the increasing influence of our library. The number of students of Hawaiiiana using it continues to grow each year. The exceptionally competent services of our Librarian in restoring order to our valuable collection can not be praised too highly. I wish also to express deep appreciation to two of our members, Miss Dolla Fennell and Mrs. Agnes Bickerton, for their very real contribution in assisting our Librarian one morning each week.

We are grateful to the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society for the splendid relations existing between the two Societies, but more particularly for the devotion which we receive from its librarian, Miss Bernice Judd.

It is a privilege to use my office as President of your Society as a platform from which to extend sincere congratulations to our sole Honorary Member, Ralph S. Kuykendall, upon the announcement by the Board of Regents of the University of Hawaii that he is to receive, on March 24th, the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters. This is a well-deserved distinction for an eminent historian.

Respectfully submitted,
MEIRIC K. DUTTON, *President*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

TO THE PRESIDENT,
 THE TRUSTEES AND MEMBERS OF
 THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Last year the Society received from dues, contributions, and other sources a total income of \$6,647.53. \$4,496.58 of this might be considered extraordinary income, consisting of special donations for the Sanford B. Dole project, Maude Jones Memorial, and a special grant for the purchase and rebinding of books for the library. Consequently, our "normal" income might be considered to be \$2,150.95.

Gross disbursements last year were \$7,860.42. Of this total \$5,568.16, made up of expenditures on the Dole project, investment in microfilm and in cabinets, totaling \$938.58, and a temporary investment in Savings and Loan of \$2,000 should be deducted, leaving a total of normal expense of \$2,292.26.

Once again, your Treasurer must confess that this is a pitifully small amount to carry on the work of the permanent preservation of the records of Hawaii's fascinating history.

We are happy to report that some progress has been made towards our goal of increasing the endowment of the Society. We respectfully suggest that any members who are historically minded might well consider gifts of stock to this worthy Society. Any funds so contributed will be used to make available the material which is lying at hand in our magnificent historical collection.

We should like to especially acknowledge the generous gifts of the Samuel N. & Mary Castle Foundation of \$1,500 towards rebinding our books and the purchase of additional historical material.

We also owe a great debt to the many friends of Maude Jones who contributed \$367 towards a memorial for her.

Very truly yours,
 ROBERT R. MIDKIFF, *Treasurer*

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE CALENDAR YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1955

INVESTMENTS

75 shs. Von Hamm-Young 4¼% Pfd.	
50 shs. Pacific Gas & Electric 6% 1st Pfd.	
\$500 U. S. Savings Bond — Series G	
Bishop National Bank — Savings Account	\$2,238.95
First Federal Savings & Loan — Savings Account	2,040.15

MICROFILMING FUND

Balance January 1, 1955	\$2,300.00
Disbursements	938.58
Balance December 31, 1955	<u>\$1,361.42</u>

MAUDE JONES MEMORIAL FUND

Contributions 1955	<u>\$ 367.00</u>
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PURCHASE AND REBINDING BOOKS FUND

Contribution 1955 \$1,500.00

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS CALENDAR YEAR 1955

<i>Receipts</i>		
Dues		\$1,070.00
Contributions		4,887.58
General	\$ 391.00	
S. B. Dole Research	2,629.58	
Maude Jones Memorial	367.00	
Purchase and Rebinding of Books	1,500.00	
Dividends		138.75
Interest Earned		79.60
Research Fee		10.00
Sale of Books and Publications		461.60
TOTAL RECEIPTS		<u>\$6,647.53</u>
<i>Disbursements</i>		
Salaries	\$1,100.00	
Less Social Security	\$22.00	
Territorial 2%	22.00	
		\$1,056.00
Dues — Calif. Historical Society		10.00
Dole Research Program		2,629.58
HMCS — Share of Upkeep		360.00
Meeting Expense		15.05
Telephone		126.72
Printing, Stationery and Postage		481.70
Purchase of Books		77.70
Microfilm Expense		765.58
Filing Cabinets		173.00
Investment — First Federal Savings & Loan		2,000.00
Miscellaneous		22.96
To record interest earned		73.35
Taxes Paid:		
Territorial 2% Divid.	\$ 2.78	
Territorial 2% Comp.	22.00	
Social Security	44.00	
		68.78
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		<u>\$7,860.42</u>
Cash in Bank January 1, 1955		\$3,460.72
Less: Excess of Disbursements		1,212.89
Cash in Bank December 31, 1955		<u>\$2,247.83</u>

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

Our library's potential for service has been increased in several ways during the past year. Opportunities for aiding research workers on a world-wide basis will undoubtedly come as a result of requests which we have received for information regarding our facilities.

From the National Archives and Records Service in the Office of National Historical Publications Commission, Washington, came a request for a summary of our holdings of hand-written manuscripts. The list will appear in a one-volume guide to manuscript depositories in the United States.

Sixteen items in our works in the Gilbertese dialects will appear in the Bibliography of Pacific Island languages which is being compiled by the Mitchell Library of Sydney, Australia. They include primers, readers, geographies, arithmetics, hymnals, bible stories, New Testaments and whole Bibles. Many of them are translations of Mr. and Mrs. Hiram Bingham, issued by the Hawaiian Board of Missions, and printed in Honolulu by various commercial firms.

From the International Directory of Archives, Paris, came a request for operational data on our library services, including our schedule of open hours and days, arrangements for use of records, for research by mail, for microfilming and photo-copying.

A similar questionnaire relating to the objectives and functioning of our Society was filled out for Dr. Benjamin F. Gilbert, Professor of History at San Jose State College, California. The data was to be included in his paper on "Research techniques in localized history," which he gave last June at the annual convention of the California conference of Historical Societies at Monterey.

Another form of expansion of services is gradually growing as we acquire microfilms of old newspapers published in Hawaii. During 1955, the following were converted into this medium: the first English weekly, *Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce*, 1836-1839; the monthly *Sandwich Island Mirror and Commercial Gazette*, 1839-1840, the subsequent weekly, *Sandwich Islands News*, 1846-1848, and the later English daily, *Honolulu Republican*, 1900-1902; the Hawaiian, or Hawaiian-English dailies and weeklies of 1892-1895 called *Hawaii Holomua*, *Hawaii Progress Holomua* and *Hawaii Puka La Holomua*; and finally the long file of the Hawaiian weekly, *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 1861-1922. We are indebted to the University of Hawaii for this exchange of material and services — we furnish the newspapers, they make the negatives from which we have our positives made.

A gift of a microfilm of particular interest tonight is that of a volume of published songs composed by Queen Lili'uokalani, which she gave to the Library of Congress. This film was given to us by Mr. Emerson C. Smith, tonight's speaker. It includes several songs not to be found in Hawaii today, either in manuscript or published form.

Thanks to the financial aid of five local foundations, which was reported at our last annual meeting, we are now equipped with facilities for showing

these microfilms as we acquire them. We have purchased a Kodagraph Microfilm Reader, a convenient table on casters to carry it, and a cabinet with humidifier in which to store the microfilms. Possession of these facilities puts us in the forefront with libraries able to use original source material which can only be acquired in microfilm form.

A generous gift from the Samuel N. and Mary Castle Foundation for operating expenses now makes it possible to put the library in better physical shape, so that it may be more completely used. A sum has been set aside for rebinding volumes badly in need of repair and for binding continuances. Twenty-eight books have been shipped to the bindery. Others will follow as time allows.

Nearly two hundred items have been added to our shelves during the past year as gifts from twenty individuals and twelve institutions. Half of this material came to us on an exchange basis, chiefly as a result of our offerings of our duplicate and extraneous material to local libraries. Responding with their duplicate material, the Archives of Hawaii, Kamehameha Boys' School Library, and the Library of the University of Hawaii have generously filled in gaps in our files.

Of the books given to us this year, perhaps the following are outstanding: The most impressive is *Journal of a Cruise to California and the Sandwich Islands in the United States Sloop-of-War Cyane, by William H. Meyers, Gunner, U.S.N., 1841-1844*. John Haskell Kemble edited this beautifully printed and illustrated publication, limited to 400 copies; the Book Club of California published it; Kenneth K. Bechtel of San Francisco, who owns the original manuscript and paintings, gave us our copy.

A book likely to prove useful to our readers is *American Biographies*, volume IV, issued by the Editorial Press Bureau of Washington, D.C. It contains good biographies of Miss Mary P. Winne and of nine other local people. It came to us as a gift from Miss Jane L. Winne.

Mr. and Mrs. Wade Warren Thayer were the largest contributors of material to us, with some thirteen books and pamphlets by local authors. The University of Hawaii Press continues to send us its fine publications, three of which have been selected for the Rounce and Coffin club's 1956 Western Book show, which is made up of the best books published in 12 western states, Alaska, Hawaii, Alberta and British Columbia.

We are indebted to the Maude Jones estate and to the Bishop Museum for valuable additions to our collection of pictures. Mrs. Corbett brought us six paintings of the ancestors of Miss Jones, which were done by Mary Derby of Salem, Massachusetts, in 1858. Miss Titcomb and Mr. Bryan turned over to us 13 Edgeworth negatives of Fathers Damien and Dutton and their Molokai leper settlement.

Among the papers which came to us, a set which may prove useful was given some time ago by Dr. Kenneth P. Emory and has just been absorbed in our catalog. They are the background correspondence and mimeographed reports of the Advisory Committee on Education of the U.S. Navy used during the Navy's administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Aside from being rare—few were issued and probably fewer continue to exist, the papers

are by experts and they cover all aspects of Micronesian conditions subsequent to the Second World War.

Thirty-two donors have now built up a sum of \$342 with which to purchase a memorial to Miss Maude Jones, which is to take the form of books to enrich our collection. Our first choice is a folio of plates by Jacques E. V. Arago illustrating the volumes called "Historique" in Louis de Freycinet's voyage around the world in the *Uranie* and the *Physicienne*, 1817-1820.

In closing this report of the activities of 1955, I want to tell you that much more was accomplished because of the generous volunteer service of two of our members, Mrs. Agnes Bickerton and Miss Dolla Fennell. Mrs. Bickerton devotes her Monday mornings to our clipping file and to sending out publications that have been purchased, when occasion arises. Miss Fennell helps on Tuesday mornings with clerical work and expert typing.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLOWDEAN C. HANDY, *Librarian*

LIST OF MEMBERS

October 1, 1956

HONORARY

Kuykendall, Ralph S.

LIFE

Alexander, Mary C.
Ashford, Marguerite K.
Baker, Ray Jerome
Beckwith, Martha W.
Burns, Mrs. Fritz B.
Cades, J. Russell
Cades, Milton
Cooke, Mrs. Maud B.
Cooke, Mrs. Theodore A.
Cox, Joel B.
Damon, Ethel M.
Damon, Mary M.
Hoyt, Simes T.
Hoyt, Mrs. Simes T.
Judd, Bernice
Judd, Walter F.

Luahine, Iolani
Midkiff, Frank E.
Midkiff, Robert R.
Mitchell, Donald D.
Moses, Alphonse L.
Phillips, James Tice
Pukui, Mrs. Mary Kawena
Schubert, Anthony R.
Sinclair, Gregg M.
Spaulding, Thomas Marshall
Von Holt, Mrs. Herman
Walker, Charles D.
Waterhouse, John T.
White, Mrs. Robert E.
Wilcox, Gaylord P.
Young, Alfred C.

SUSTAINING

Brown, Zadoc White
Castle, Alfred L.

Rawlins, Malvina F.
Towill, Roswell M.
Ward, A. L. Y.

CONTRIBUTING

Anthony, J. Garner
Awai, George E. K.
Bell, Janet E.
Bent, Mrs. Charles
Bickerton, Mrs. Agnes C.
Bond, B. Howell
Brooks, Dorothy
Budge, Alexander G.
Caldwell, Mrs. Henry
Castle, Harold K. L.
Cooke, George P.
Cooke, Mrs. George P.
Damon, Cyril Francis, Jr.
Dutton, Meiric K.

Greene, Ernest W.
Greenwell, Mrs. Arthur L.
Handy, E. S. Craighill
Harding, George L.
Hunter, Charles H.
Korn, Alfons L.
MacIntyre, Mrs. Malcolm
Morse, Marion
Mowat, Mrs. Jan
Russell, John E.
Sevier, Randolph
Smith, Arthur G.
Soares, Oliver P.

Steadman, Mrs. Alva E.
Walker, Margaret J.
Warinner, Emily V.

Wiig, Mrs. Jon
Williams, Mrs. Edith B.
Wilson, Mrs. Clarence H.

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Ahrens, Wilhelmina I.
Ai, C. K.
Akee, Mrs. Howard
Anderson, Mrs. Eleanor
Anderson, Robbins B.
Armitage, George T.
Ashford, Clinton R.

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Bailey, Richard B.
Bergin, Mrs. W. C.
Billson, Marcus K.
Bird, Christopher
Bird, Mrs. Christopher
Bowen, Mrs. Alice Spalding
Bown, Helen May
Bradley, Harold W.
Brown, George II
Brown, Ronald
Bryan, Edwin H.
Bushnell, Oswald

Carlsmith, C. Wendell
Carney, Mrs. J. J.
Carter, A. Hartwell
Carter, Reginald H.
Carter, Mrs. Reginald H.
Cartwright, William Edward
Charlot, Jean
Christian, Mrs. George R.
Cloward, Dr. R. B.
Cogswell, W. O.
Collins, George M.
Conrad, Agnes
Cooke, Mrs. Harrison R.
Cooper, Bryant
Corbett, Mrs. Gerald R.
Correa, Genevieve
Cox, Mrs. Isaac M.
Cross, Ralph H.
Cummings, John E.

Day, A. Grove
Day, Josephine
Dillingham, Walter F.
Dillingham, Mrs. Walter F.

Doyle, Mrs. John F.
Dunkhase, Mrs. Carl
Dutton, Mrs. Meiric K.

Ecke, Gustav
Ecke, Mrs. Gustav
Edwards, Webley
Elbert, Samuel H.
Emory, Kenneth P.
Ewart, Arthur F.

Fennell, Dolla
Field, Harry M.
Field, Mrs. Harry M.
Fielder, Kendall J.
Fisher, Mrs. Gerald W.
Fitzpatrick, Floyd W.
Fraser, Juliette May
Fraser, Mabel
Frowe, Mrs. Chester

Green, Caroline P.
Greer, Richard A.
Griffing, Robert P., Jr.
Guard, Mrs. J. B.

Hague, James D.
Hall, Charlotte V.
Handy, Mrs. E. S. Craighill
Handy, Mrs. Willowdean C.
Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Ass'n
Herman, F. B.
Hinkley, Mrs. Vern
Hoskins, Charlotta M.
Houston, Victor S. K.
Hull, Lonnie
Humme, Charles W.
Henry E. Huntington Library

Jabulka, Mrs. Jan
Jaggar, Mrs. Thomas A.
Jansma, Marvin
Jenkins, Mrs. John T.
Jenks, Mrs. Livingston
Johnson, Donald D.
Judd, J. Robert
Judd, Lawrence M.

Kahale, Rev. Edward
 Kamehameha Schools Boys' Library
 Katsuki, Dr. S. S.
 Kauai Historical Society
 Keller, Arthur R.
 Kent, Harold W.
 Kimball, Mrs. Clifford
 Kimball, George P.
 King, Davis N. K.
 King, Pauline
 King, Samuel P.
 King, Samuel Wilder
 King, Mrs. W. H. D.
 Krauss, Noel L. H.

 Larsen, Dr. Nils P.
 Larsen, Mrs. Nils P.
 Lee, Shao Chang
 Lee, Mrs. Vivian K.
 Leebrick, K. C.
 Lincoln, Mrs. William Ames
 Loomis, Albertine
 Lucas, Mrs. Clorinda Low

 MacArthur, D. M.
 MacNaughton, E. B.
 McClellan, Edwin North
 McClellan, Mrs. Esther
 McNeilly, Mrs. Mildred M.
 Maier, Mrs. Martha M.
 Mann, Mrs. James B.
 Marcus, A. G.
 Marshall, Mrs. Donald C.
 Marx, Benjamin L.
 Miho, Katsuro
 Milne, Robert Scott
 Miranda, George Halualani
 Mist, Herbert W. M.
 Molyneux, Mrs. Jane K.
 Moore, Francis J.
 Morgan, Mrs. James P.
 Morris, Penrose C.
 Murphy, Thomas D.

 Newberry Library
 Nickerson, Thomas
 Norwood, William R.

 Ohrt, Fred
 Oliphant, C. T.

 Peterson, Margaret L.
 Pleadwell, Dr. Frank L.

 Podmore, Geoffrey
 Podmore, Mrs. Geoffrey
 Poole, Mrs. Alice F.
 Prendergast, Eleanor K.
 Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.
 Punahou School, Cooke Library

 Radford, Arthur W.
 Reist, Birdie
 Rodiek, Eva Anita
 Ross, Mrs. E. A. R.

 Sakamaki, Shunzo
 Schaefer, Gustav E.
 Shower, Hazen
 Sinclair, Miriam
 Smith, Emerson C.
 Smith, Gordon
 Smith, Mrs. Gordon
 Soper, William H.
 Sousa, Mrs. Esther F.
 Spoehr, Alexander
 Stokes, John F. G.
 Stroven, Carl G.
 Sultan, Mrs. Edward D.
 Summers, Mrs. Richard L.
 Swenson, Mrs. Eric P.
 Sylva, Edward N.

 Taylor, Mrs. Clarice B.
 Taylor, Stanley S.
 Thurston, Lorrin P.
 Titcomb, Margaret
 Tracy, Clifton H.
 Trent, Robert T.

 University of Hawaii Press
 Van Dyke, Robert
 Voorhees, George N.

 Walker, Dr. Hastings H.
 Watanabe, Shichiro
 Waterhouse, N. Warren
 Watson, Mrs. Lorna K. Iaukea
 Wheeler, Richard H.
 Wiig, Jon
 Williams, Robert T., Sr.
 Winne, Jane L.
 Withington, Mrs. Arthur
 Wodehouse, Cenic N.
 Wodehouse, Ernest H.

 Young, Chester R.

DECEASED

Kay, Mrs. Harold T.
Lee, Dr. Robert C. H.

Scott, Mrs. Ranney
Taylor, William Bishop

SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

Members of the Society are entitled to receive the current Annual Reports and to purchase all publications at one third discount.

Non-members receive one third discount on bulk purchases of \$15.00 or more.

Sets from 1893 to date, except for a few missing numbers which are now out of print, can be made up. Address inquiries to The Librarian, P.O. Box 2596, Honolulu 3, Hawaii, or telephone 5-7271.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Through the kindness of the authors, the Society is privileged to offer:

The Kumulipo, by Martha W. Beckwith, for \$3.00.

Na Himene Hawaii, by Ethel M. Damon, for \$1.00.

MEMBERSHIP DUES

Life Member	\$100
Sustaining Member	25 a year
Contributing Member	10 a year
Regular Member	5 a year

Make checks payable to The Hawaiian Historical Society and mail to P.O. Box 2596, Honolulu 3, Hawaii.

Names of persons whose dues are in arrears by more than one year do not appear in the Membership List. Reinstatement may be effected by contacting the Membership Committee.

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