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## Ka'iana, the Once Famous "Prince of Kaua'i"

KA'IANA WAS SURELY the most famous Hawaiian in the world when he was killed in the battle of Nu'uaniu in 1795, at the age of 40. He was the first Hawaiian chief who had traveled abroad, having in 1787–1788 visited China, the Philippines, and the Northwest Coast of America. In China, according to Captain Nathaniel Portlock, "his very name [was] revered by all ranks and conditions of the people of Canton."<sup>1</sup> Books published in London in 1789 and 1790 by Portlock and Captain John Meares about their voyages in the Pacific told of Ka'iana's travels, and both included full-page engravings of the handsome, muscular, six-foot-two chief arrayed in his feathered cloak and helmet, stalwartly gripping a spear (figs. 1 and 2). Meares, on whose ships Ka'iana had sailed, captioned the portrait as "Tianna, a Prince of Atooi" (Kaua'i) and made Ka'iana "brother to the sovereign" of Kaua'i, a central character in his narrative.<sup>2</sup> In the early 1790s, it was Ka'iana whom many foreign voyagers had heard of and sought out when visiting the Hawaiian Islands. Islanders from Kaua'i to Hawai'i knew Ka'iana personally as a warrior chief who had resided and fought on the major islands and who shifted his allegiance repeatedly among the ruling chiefs of his time.

Today, when Ka'iana is remembered at all, he is likely to be

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mentioned as the chief who brought back from China a load of weapons and ammunition which made him a great asset in Kamehameha I's conquests, and who was the cause of a marital rift between Kamehameha and Ka'ahumanu that resulted in the young Queen's returning home to her parents. Both of those assertions have the weighty authority of Captain George Vancouver, whose five visits to the Islands in 1778-1779 and 1792-1794, with Captain James Cook and in command of his own vessels, afforded him a close association with the principal chiefs. Nevertheless, there are reasons to question whether Ka'iana did in fact bring back a stock of weapons or have an involvement with Ka'ahumanu. This article will consider those points.

Much is known about Ka'iana, for one who left the scene so early. He appears prominently in native accounts of Hawaiian history, and at least 12 European visitors wrote of him during the last decade of his life. Foreigners spelled his name in various ways, including Tianna, Tyaana, Ty-e-a-naa, Tianner, and Tayanah.

Ka'iana was born about 1755, and thus was perhaps a few years older than Kamehameha I.<sup>3</sup> Little has been recorded about his early life, but his family connections throughout the Islands are known. His father, 'Ahu'ula, was a younger son of King Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku of the island of Hawai'i, making Ka'iana a young first cousin of that island's most powerful *ali'i* (nobility), including King Kalaniopu'u, Keoua Kupuapaikalani (father of Kamehameha I) and doughty Keawema'uhili of Hilo. Ka'iana's mother was the Chiefess Kaupekamoku, who on her father's side was descended from the ruling houses of O'ahu and Hilo, and on her mother's side was a member of the Maui royal family, being a half sister of King Kekaulike. Ka'iana was thus a first cousin to Kekaulike's numerous children who included King Kahekili of Maui, King Ka'eo of Kaua'i, Nāmāhana (mother of Ka'ahumanu), Kekuamanohā (father of Kalanimoku),

FIG. 1. "Tianna, a Prince of Atooi." or Ka'iana, lithograph by Spoilum, 1787. in John Meares. *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789*. . . (London, 1790: rpt. New York, 1967).



*Tianna, a Prince of Atofi,  
One of the Sandwich Islands.*

*Publ'd, J. Aug. 16. 1790. by J. Wallcut & Son, Printers &c.*



TYAANA

*From a drawing by Mr. Gouling.*

*H. Parson*

and Kalanihelemai'iluna (grandfather of Bernice Pauahi Bishop).<sup>4</sup>

On March 8, 1779, a chief named "Taiana" hitched passage from Kaua'i to Ni'ihau aboard H.M.S. *Resolution* as Captain Cook's ships were making their final departure from the Islands after Cook's death. The Chief begged to be taken to England on Cook's ships but had to be refused.<sup>5</sup> Whether or not this was Ka'iana, son of 'Ahu'ula, will probably never be known. Possibly it was his first cousin Ka'iana Ukupe, born on Kaua'i, whose son Kaikio'ewa was Governor of Kaua'i from 1824 to 1839.

Ka'iana had two younger half brothers, Namakehā and Nahiolea, sons of his mother by two chiefs of the Maui royal family. The brothers were closely allied throughout their lives; all three were acclaimed warriors who were destined to meet their early deaths in rebellion against Kamehameha I.

In 1783, the three brothers were war chieftains in the invasion army of their cousin, Maui's King Kahekili, who sailed from Maui to Moloka'i to O'ahu to attack and vanquish the O'ahu King, Kahahana. A number of the Maui victors remained on O'ahu as occupying chiefs, including the brothers, who resided at Kāne'ohe and He'eia on the Windward Coast. Two years later, restive O'ahu chiefs plotted to ambush and kill their Maui occupiers to free the island from the conquerors. A few of the Maui chiefs joined the O'ahu conspiracy, Ka'iana, Namakehā, and Nahiolea being prominent among them. But the plot was discovered, and Kahekili took bloody vengeance on the would-be rebels. The three sons of Kaupekamoku, however, made good their escape, fleeing O'ahu for refuge on Kaua'i. Kaua'i was ruled by their cousin Ka'eo, a younger half brother of Kahekili, and his wife Kamakalei, of a Kaua'i chiefly family.<sup>6</sup>

The following year, Captains Portlock and George Dixon, who had been with Cook's expedition, were the first Europeans to visit the Hawaiian Islands since Cook. On Christmas Eve of 1786, they were greeted at Waimea, Kaua'i by Ka'iana, "brother to the

FIG. 2. "Tyanna." lithograph by Joseph Woodcock, 1787, in Nathaniel Portlock. *A Voyage Round the World* . . . (London, 1789; rpt. New York, 1968).

king." He was by then a wealthy, powerful chief with an impressive entourage of attendants and was in charge at Waimea in King Ka'eo's temporary absence. With him was

his daughter, a fine child about seven years old; . . . he treated her with a fondness truly paternal, carrying her for the most part in his arms, and when fatigued, his attendants anxiously strove which should have the honour of bearing little Miss, till the father again reassumed his pretty charge.<sup>7</sup>

Presumably, the wives and children of the three brothers had accompanied them from Maui to O'ahu and then to Kaua'i.

Eight months later, on about August 27, 1787, Ka'iana sailed away from Kaua'i on the Bengal ship *Nootka*, Captain John Meares, which was bound for Canton with a cargo of otter and beaver skins from Northwest America. Ka'iana's desire was to go all the way to England.

The reasons for Ka'iana's leaving are not clear, but at the time of his return to the Islands a year later, King Ka'eo was his "deadly foe," and Ka'iana's family had moved to a distant part of Kaua'i to keep out of Ka'eo's way. Captain Meares wrote that the *Nootka* sailed from Kaua'i, "leaving behind us, as we have every reason to believe, the most favourable impressions of our conduct and character with the inhabitants." Portlock and Dixon, however, were given to understand differently when they passed through again a month later. Dixon was told that Meares was "a bad man, and had not given any present whatever, though he had been plentifully supplied with every refreshment the island offered." Portlock reported that Meares had "parted on bad terms" with the Kauaians and had, in fact, fired on them.<sup>8</sup>

After a stop at Ni'ihau, the *Nootka* headed for Asia. Six weeks later, severely damaged in a gale, the ship reached Macao. On shore, Ka'iana was taken in tow by the *Nootka's* first mate, David Ross, and later, 70 miles upriver at Whampoa, the foreign port for Canton, by an English trader and sea captain, John Henry Cox. The ships of Captains Portlock and Dixon arrived at Macao, and Ka'iana was happy to see members of their crews whom he



had met before at Kaua'i. Macao and Whampoa were aswarm with activity. There were seamen and traders from England, Portugal, France, Holland, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, and America, as well as from the Asian coasts.<sup>9</sup> There were factories for processing and packaging all kinds of goods. There were Chinese markets, shops, farms, temples, sampans. These were sights no Hawaiian before had seen and returned home to describe.

From Portlock, Meares, and Cox, we have charming vignettes of Ka'iana's adventures during his three months in China. Striding through the streets clad in *malo* (loincloth), feathered cape, and helmet, and carrying his spear, Ka'iana was a gigantic figure who terrified the Chinese. His English friends outfitted him in a satin waistcoat and a pair of trousers, which he soon wore with the "habitual ease" of a European. In Macao, he liked to attend Catholic Mass, where he carefully copied the worshipers in their standing, sitting, and genuflecting. He tried to make purchases in the markets in exchange for iron nails. He "expressed great concern" upon seeing beggars asking alms and persuaded his English companions to donate liberally to them. Posing for his portrait to be painted "by Spoilum, the celebrated artist of China," Ka'iana watched with fascination as the painting progressed and was delighted with the result. For hours at a time, he would play with two white rabbits that Cox had given him, "running after them, and imitating their motions by crouching and squatting upon his hams."<sup>10</sup>

In China, Captain Meares acquired two new ships, the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia*, and set sail in January of 1788 for Northwest America. Between them, the vessels had 90 crew members, just over half of them Chinese and the rest Europeans. With him on the *Felice*, Meares took Ka'iana and three other Hawaiians, a woman from Hawai'i and a man and a boy from Maui, who had been stranded at Macao, to return them to their islands. Meares had decided against letting Ka'iana travel on to England by another ship, fearing he might never find his way back home. For his part, Ka'iana was certain he had already reached "Britannee" upon his first sight of the wonders of Macao, and apparently was

content to head homeward after his stay on the China Coast. As Ka'iana took his leave, his English friends in Canton, "desirous to give him lasting proofs of their friendship and esteem," as Portlock put it, furnished him

with whatever could be useful or acceptable; such as bulls, cows, sheep, goats, rabbits, turkies, &c. with oranges, mangoes, and various kinds of plants; so that his safe arrival with his cargo would prove of the utmost value to his country. . . .<sup>11</sup>

All of those gifts were loaded on board Meares's ships.

The return voyage began badly, however. There was a mutiny attempt, and sickness broke out among the crew. All four Hawaiians became ill. The woman and the man died, and the boy, not mentioned again in Meares's narrative, presumably did not survive the voyage. As the woman, "Wynee," lay dying, she gave to Ka'iana a part of her possessions: a looking-glass, a China basin and bottle, and, for his wife, a gown, a hoop, a petticoat, and a cap. The rest of her belongings she put into Ka'iana's care to deliver to her parents in Hawai'i.

In a storm in the South China Sea, the *Iphigenia* sprung a mast, and Meares's two vessels put in to the Spanish fort at Zamboanga, on the Philippine island of Mindanao, to make repairs. Meares soon left in the *Felice*, transferring Ka'iana to the *Iphigenia*, Captain William Douglas, to proceed on it across the Pacific when it was again seaworthy. During the two weeks in February at Zamboanga, Ka'iana had a chance to observe how people of so-called civilized nations treat each other. The Spanish graciously hosted their visitors with every courtesy and assistance until the *Iphigenia* was about ready to sail; but then, they threw all the officers and crewmen who were ashore into a dungeon, and soldiers seized the ship. The Spanish confiscated half the cargo of iron bars before the *Iphigenia* was allowed to leave. This was Meares's version of the event. Perhaps it was a case of the English Captain trying to slink away without making fair payment for goods and services received.

Leaving the Philippines behind, Ka'iana had the chance to see Pacific island peoples of Melanesia and the Palau group. Then the



*Iphigenia* headed northeast to the Aleutian Islands and hugged the arc of coastline for 2,500 miles along Alaska and Canada before coming to port at Nootka Sound, on what is now Vancouver Island, British Columbia. On that long trip, Ka'iana saw numerous Alaskan and Indian tribes of those shores and a few Russian traders. In Ka'iana's honor, Captain Douglas gave the name "Tianna's Bay" to the place where the *Iphigenia* anchored overnight on August 5, 1788, in sight of Alaska's Mount St. Elias. It was perhaps the first foreign place to be named for a Hawaiian person, but the name apparently did not stick, for modern maps show that site as Icy Bay. The account of the voyage records that Ka'iana, with "as much cloathing on him as he could well carry, . . . was . . . very impatient to return to Owhyhee" [Hawai'i].<sup>12</sup>

Ka'iana spent the months of September and October at Nootka where Captain Meares had his "factory." Meares had arrived earlier on the *Felice*, and his crewmen, particularly the Chinese, were constructing a 40-ton schooner, the first ship ever built in Northwest America. Ka'iana occupied his time watching the carpenters at their work. When the schooner was launched, in a festive ceremony attended by all the neighboring inhabitants, Ka'iana was on board. As it slid down the ways into Nootka Sound, he was "capering about, clapping his hands, and exclaiming, *Myty, Myty*" [*maika'i, maika'i*: wonderful, wonderful]. Meares commented that "there was not a seaman in either ship, that did not love Tianna as himself."<sup>13</sup> At Nootka, Ka'iana also had occasion to observe white men in an unusual, and most ignominious, circumstance. Eight of Meares's crewmen tried to mutiny and were turned loose on the land to fend for themselves. Unable to sustain themselves in the hostile environment, in desperation they went to live among the local Indian tribesmen who made household slaves of the Englishmen and gave them the most degrading tasks to do. Eventually, the mutineers were allowed, with penalties, to rejoin the crews.

Meares sailed for Canton in late September of 1788, stopping in the Hawaiian Islands long enough to send notice to Kamehameha I at Hawai'i, and to Ka'iana's wife and brothers at Kaua'i, that

Ka'iana would be returning shortly on the *Iphigenia* with Captain Douglas.

On December 6, 1788, the *Iphigenia* and the newly-built schooner, the *North West America*, reached Wailuku, Maui where Ka'iana was greeted cordially by "Harwallence, his brother-in-law," the ranking *ali'i* then present. The same day the ships pressed on for the island of Hawai'i. They touched at Kawaihae and Kailua, where friends and relatives of Ka'iana crowded on board to see him, before coming to anchor at Kealahou Bay on December 10th. Kamehameha I, in great state, went on board, and "after crying over Tianna for a considerable time, the King presented Captain Douglas with a most beautiful fan, and two long feathered cloaks."<sup>14</sup>

Within a few days, Ka'iana had decided to remain on Hawai'i, as Kamehameha, recognizing the advantage of having in his train a chief familiar with foreign ways, had granted him a large property on the island. Ka'iana's "treasures" were then unloaded into five canoes from the *Iphigenia*. Mostly gifts from Englishmen at Canton, these were itemized by Meares as:

saws of different kinds, gimblets, hatchets, adzes, knives and choppers, cloth of various fabrics, carpets of several colours, a considerable quantity of China-ware, and ten bars of iron.<sup>15</sup>

Apparently, the live animals and plants that had been loaded in China were casualties of the early tribulations of the voyage. Meares made no mention whatever that Ka'iana had any firearms, powder, ammunition, or other foreign weapons.

But Meares did go on to say that Hawaiian chiefs were given arms during that visit by his employee, Captain Douglas. Leaving Ka'iana at Hawai'i, the *Iphigenia* proceeded on to O'ahu, where Douglas gave King Kahekili, then Kamehameha's archenemy, "a pistol, a musquet, and a small quantity of ammunition." Douglas sailed on to Kaua'i where he picked up 13 of Ka'iana's relatives, including his wife, child, brothers, and their families, to take them to join Ka'iana at Hawai'i. Stopping at O'ahu again on the way back, Douglas discovered that arms had become the

medium of exchange and was obliged to barter with Kahekili "no inconsiderable quantity [sic] of powder and shot" for his provisions. After Douglas had returned to Hawai'i, Kamehameha, accompanied only by Ka'iana, told Douglas of his own urgent need for weapons. Thereupon, Captain Douglas presented Kamehameha with a swivel gun and sent his carpenter to build a platform on one of Kamehameha's largest double canoes to receive the swivel. Four days later, just before sailing from Hawai'i, Douglas presented "some arms and ammunition to the King and Tianna."<sup>16</sup>

Only four months after that, in July of 1789, Douglas was again in the Islands, *en route* from Nootka to China. A month after he left, John Henry Cox, who had been Ka'iana's host at Canton, came through in command of the *Mercury*. Lieutenant George Mortimer of that vessel reported that two swivels and two two-pounder cannons that were mounted in front of Kamehameha's house had been given by Captain Douglas on his second visit, and he added that Kamehameha "was continually teasing us for guns and gunpowder."<sup>17</sup> In 1790 and 1791, Captains Douglas, James Colnett, Thomas Barnett, and Joseph Ingraham were recorded as providing arms to Hawaiian chiefs. Edward Bell, with Vancouver's expedition in 1792, wrote that the weapons Ka'iana then had—four swivel guns, six muskets, and three barrels of powder—"were given him by Douglass, Collnet & Shame on them all!"<sup>18</sup>

The earliest written statements that Ka'iana brought back weapons from China seem to date from the first visit of Captain George Vancouver's expedition in March 1792, more than three years after Ka'iana's return. Vancouver himself wrote, deploring the fact that by then Hawaiians could "use these weapons with an adroitness that would not disgrace the generality of European soldiers":

Their great avidity for procuring these destructive engines may possibly have been increased by the success of Tianna, who, it should seem, is principally indebted for his present exaltation, to the fire arms he imported from China, and those he has since procured from the different traders.<sup>19</sup>

Archibald Menzies, naturalist and surgeon with Vancouver, expressed the same idea:

The firearms and ammunition which Kaiana landed with, and the increase he has obtained since from different vessels, were no doubt looked on by his countrymen as the principal means which had risen him to his present greatness. . . .<sup>20</sup>

It is, of course, entirely possible that Ka'iana did acquire some weapons in China and that Meares and Portlock did not see fit to mention them among his possessions. However, the written record before Vancouver's visit indicates that the firearms in the Islands were furnished by captains of visiting ships. References to Ka'iana by 19th century writers, such as Kamakau's statement that "he gave to Kamehameha a quantity of muskets and cannon,"<sup>21</sup> and Abraham Fornander's mention of "his large and miscellaneous property of guns and ammunition, acquired while abroad,"<sup>22</sup> seem to say more than can be substantiated. King Kalākaua wrote that Ka'iana spent some months in Canton studying the arts of war and returned directly to Kaua'i with a considerable supply of muskets, powder, lead, and other munitions of war, but that King Ka'eo refused to let him land at Kaua'i, so that the ship proceeded on to Hawai'i and Kamehameha. To pay for the arms, Kalākaua added, "we are constrained to believe that he [Ka'iana] must have taken with him to China a quantity of sandal-wood."<sup>23</sup> But that is unlikely, as the first known interest in sandalwood as a Hawaiian trade commodity was in 1790, and it was still later before actual cargoes are known to have been shipped to China.<sup>24</sup>

When Ka'iana and his brothers took up residence on Hawai'i, they were again embroiled in the events of the times. As war leaders under Kamehameha, they joined in his battles on Maui against Kahekili and Ka'eo. On Hawai'i, where leading chiefs were jockeying for power, Keoua Kuahu'ula, a cousin of both Kamehameha I and Ka'iana, was in arms to assert his claims to sovereignty of the island. Kamehameha chose Ka'iana as his commander in campaigns against Keoua in Kona, Ka'ū, and Puna. Amidst this turmoil, changes in traditional ways of life were

being forced on the Native Hawaiian people as increasing numbers of European ships visited the Islands, bringing their demands for provisions, wood, and women, bringing foreigners who stayed on shore in the retinues of the chiefs, and bringing foreign tools, cloth, animals, and firearms. Many of the visitors had heard of Ka'iana before they arrived in the Islands, and he had dealings with most of the vessels passing through.

Ka'iana's name was attached to many occurrences of those years, sometimes fairly, sometimes not. In contemporary writings, he was reported to have plotted to seize no fewer than eight ships that put in to Hawai'i during the period 1789-1792. But similar stories were circulated about most of the chiefs. For example, the American captain Ingraham of the Boston brig *Hope*, on his arrival in 1791, asked the first Hawaiian he met if he knew Ka'iana. A few days later, both Kamehameha and Ka'iana were on board the *Hope*, and Ingraham was certain from their "mysterious" behavior, including winks, that the two chiefs were conspiring to attack his ship. Later at Maui, as Kahekili and Ka'eo left the *Hope*, Ingraham fired on their attendants in the belief that he was about to be attacked by them.<sup>25</sup> The only vessel actually seized was the schooner *Fair American* off North Kona in 1790, when all the crewmen except Isaac Davis were massacred. Although history names Kame'eiamoku of Kohala as the chief responsible for that episode, at least three captains visiting during 1791-1792 were told it was Ka'iana. It was Ka'iana who foiled the plan of John Young and Isaac Davis to escape the Islands aboard Captain Colnett's *Argonaut* in 1791. Learning by chance of the plan, Ka'iana informed Kamehameha who intercepted the two Englishmen as they were making their way to the ship. Then Ka'iana offered to murder them for making the attempt, an offer that Kamehameha firmly rejected but which gained Ka'iana the enmity of Young and Davis.<sup>26</sup> Another report said Ka'iana threatened to kill his old friend, Captain Douglas, during a stop he made at Hawai'i in 1790.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, between 1789 and 1791, Ka'iana collected certificates attesting to his good character from Captain Cox of the *Mercury*, Captain John

Kendrick of the *Lady Washington*, Colnett of the *Argonaut*, and Lieutenant Manuel Quimper of the *Princess Royal*.

Captain Vancouver, who had been to Hawai'i as a midshipman with Cook, commanded a five-year expedition from England to the Pacific to chart the Northwest Coast of America and look for a navigable passage to the Atlantic Ocean. Vancouver's vessels visited the Hawaiian Islands three times, in 1792, 1793, and 1794, for stays of two, six, and ten weeks. The first chief Vancouver met on his arrival at Hawai'i in 1792 was Ka'iana, who came offshore in a double canoe paddled by 42 men. Vancouver knew of him from Meares's writings, and the meeting was friendly. Ka'iana's entire family dined and slept on board Vancouver's ship, the *Discovery*. Later, while at Kaua'i, Vancouver was told of the *Fair American* massacre and given to understand that Ka'iana was behind it. On his second visit, Vancouver met Kamehameha and talked with Young and Davis. From them and others, and from his own observations, Vancouver gained impressions of Ka'iana and his brother Namakehā that led him to write of "their turbulent, treacherous, and ungrateful dispositions" and of Ka'iana's "crimes and misdemeanors." Vancouver's journals, published in London in 1798, provided the world with an extensive, valuable portrayal of the Hawaiian Islands and Northwest America in the early 1790s. Later writers about Hawai'i have drawn heavily on Vancouver, so that his depiction of Ka'iana as villainous has largely replaced the amiable, capricious, perhaps foolhardy chief presented earlier by Meares and Portlock.

The story of the Kamehameha-Ka'ahumanu-Ka'iana marital spat was told by Captain Vancouver in a few sentences dated January 10, 1794. Presumably, the two chiefs were then in their upper 30s and Ka'ahumanu in her upper teens. Ka'ahumanu was Kamehameha's favorite wife and, in Vancouver's estimation, "one of the finest women we had yet met on any of the islands." When Vancouver arrived at Hilo on his third visit to Hawai'i, Kamehameha went on board the *Discovery* without Ka'ahumanu. Upon asking after her, Vancouver was told that she and Kamehameha had separated because of a report "that too great an intimacy had subsisted between her and Tianna"—although "the infidelity of

the queen was by no means certain," and that Ka'ahumanu was "then residing with her father at, or in the neighbourhood of Karakakooa" [Kealakekua].<sup>28</sup> King Kalākaua, writing Ka'iana's story in 1888, expanded on that brief mention to make a no-win romance between Ka'iana and Ka'ahumanu a major theme of his narrative. He went so far as to say that Ka'ahumanu returned to her father for more than a year in consequence of the affair.<sup>29</sup>

Two other members of Vancouver's expedition told the story in fuller detail in their journals, which were not published until years after Vancouver's. These were Archibald Menzies, naturalist, and Edward Bell of the armed tender *Chatham*. From their accounts, it appears that there was indeed an affair, the man involved was not likely to have been Ka'iana, and Ka'ahumanu had not returned to her parents.<sup>30</sup> Although both Menzies and Bell knew Ka'iana, neither mentioned his name in connection with Ka'ahumanu. Menzies said the man was "one of her male attendants;" Bell said he was "a handsome Young Chief." Both said the man, for punishment, was deprived of his rank and all his property. No such thing happened to Ka'iana. Both accounts said that Ka'ahumanu was "discarded" from Kamehameha's presence. At Vancouver's peremptory insistence, Kamehameha and his retinue, then at Hilo, embarked on board Vancouver's ships to sail around the island to Kealakekua Bay. But Ka'ahumanu was "left at Hilo in disgrace," as Menzies phrased it. Her parents, Ke'eaumoku and Nāmāhana, meanwhile, were at Keauhou, a few miles north of Kealakekua Bay, where Wākea, 25-year-old son of Ke'eaumoku's, was lying near death from a wound he had received in spear play three months earlier.

Kamehameha, aboard Vancouver's *Discovery*, arrived at Kealakekua on January 12, 1794. Three days later, Ka'ahumanu's parents came into the bay from Keauhou and were surprised and disappointed to learn that Ka'ahumanu was not with Kamehameha's party. The following day, Ka'ahumanu arrived in Kona and was met by her mother. Ka'ahumanu was at her brother Wākea's bedside when he died on January 21st. On January 30th, Ka'iana and Keli'imaika'i, Kamehameha's brother, arrived from Puna in response to Kamehameha's summons of the chiefs for a



conference with Vancouver. On February 21st, Vancouver contrived to get both Kamehameha and Ka'ahumanu on board the *Discovery* at the same time, where they finally met face to face, and a reconciliation was effected between them. On February 25, 1794, when Kamehameha and his councilors met with Captain Vancouver to discuss placing Hawai'i under the protection of Great Britain, Ka'iana, as the district chief of Puna, was one of the group.

Whereas Vancouver spoke of a suspected affair between Ka'iana and Ka'ahumanu, the Hawaiian historian S. M. Kamakau intimated that Ka'iana was involved with Ka'ahumanu's mother, Nāmāhana, one of Ka'iana's several first cousins. Kamakau named Ka'iana as the father of Nāmāhana's second and fourth sons, both named Kuakini. In other places, however, Kamakau attributed the same two sons to Nāmāhana's two successive husbands, King Kamehamehanui of Maui and Chief Ke'eaumoku.<sup>31</sup>

In 1795, a year after Vancouver's departure and soon after the deaths of Kahekili and Ka'eo, Kamehameha sailed from Hawai'i with his vast war fleet to subjugate the leeward islands. Ka'iana and his youngest brother, Nahiolea, with their contingent of canoes and warriors, were a part of Kamehameha's invasion force. After devastating Lāhainā, the fleet sailed on to Moloka'i. There, Ka'iana was pointedly excluded when Kamehameha's war council convened at Kaunakakai. Ka'iana feared for his life, concluding that the Hawai'i chiefs had turned against him. He had interviews with his cousins Nāmāhana and Kalanimoku, and Kalanimoku, in turn, consulted with Ka'ahumanu, trying to learn what the chiefs were secretly discussing.<sup>32</sup> But Ka'iana was not reassured. Accordingly, he and Nahiolea made their decision, that when the fleet set sail to attack O'ahu, they and their warriors would separate from the fleet and go to join the O'ahu King's defending army. The King of O'ahu was their cousin Kalanikupule son, of the late Kahekili.

Ka'iana told his wife Kekupuohi of his intention. She sadly wished him well but told him her choice was to remain with her chief, Kamehameha. Thus they parted, with a farewell embrace.<sup>33</sup> This is the only place in Ka'iana's story where his wife's name is

given. Can it be possible that she was the same chiefess Kekupuohi of whom the American Protestant missionaries were so proud 40 years later? That Kekupuohi (1746–1836) was called the greatest beauty of her time. She was the seventh wife of King Kalaniopu'u; Reverend Hiram Bingham said she "had been the wahine [woman] of some 40 men." At an advanced age she learned to read and write, and at age 84 she wrote a poem entitled, in Reverend Lorrin Andrews' translation, "A *Mele* on the Creation," based on the Biblical account.<sup>34</sup>

According to plan, when Kamehameha's fleet sailed to the O'ahu beaches of Wai'alae and Waikiki, the contingent led by Ka'iana and Nahiolea diverted to the Windward side of the island, landed at Kailua, and made its way over Nu'uanu Pali to join forces with the O'ahu army. There are differing versions of Ka'iana's final battle, but it seems certain that both he and Nahiolea were killed early in the famous battle of Nu'uanu Valley, near a stone wall in the vicinity of the present Queen Emma Summer Palace. A well-known version has it that Ka'iana was felled by a cannon ball fired by his old enemy John Young. Other versions say that he was struck by a spear, then clubbed on the head, and that he was killed by a priest. Captain William Broughton, who was in the Islands in early 1796, reported that 300 of Ka'iana's warriors were also killed. The indisputable outcome was that Kamehameha triumphed, though with the loss, according to Broughton, of some 6,000 of his 16,000 men.<sup>35</sup> By that victory, Kamehameha secured his rule over all the Islands from Hawai'i to O'ahu.

There are a few epilogues to Ka'iana's story. One concerns his remaining brother, Namakehā, who was still on Hawai'i. By Kamakau's account, Namakehā declined to respond to Kamehameha's call to arms to join in the leeward invasion campaign.<sup>36</sup> By Captain Charles Bishop's account in 1796, Namakehā and Isaac Davis were appointed by Kamehameha I as co-regents to govern the island of Hawai'i during his absence.<sup>37</sup> At any rate, by February of 1796, Namakehā had fomented an uprising in his own behalf, taking advantage of the fact that a great many able-bodied men of the island were away at O'ahu with Kameha-

meha. Isaac Davis attempted to stop Namakehā but without success. Namakehā had seized control of Ka‘ū, Puna, and Hilo by the time Kamehameha returned from O‘ahu in August to quickly put down the rebellion. Namakehā was slain in sacrifice at a *heiau* (a place of worship) in Hilo in January of 1797. That was the final military action of Kamehameha’s career. Thereafter, his efforts would be devoted to promoting the well-being of the kingdom he had united.

When Nahiōlea, Ka‘iana’s youngest brother, was killed fighting against Kamehameha at Nu‘uanu, he left behind a three-year-old son, Kekūanaō‘a. That son grew up to become closely tied to children of Kamehameha born after the conquest of O‘ahu. As the King’s treasurer, Kekūanaō‘a accompanied King Kamehameha II and Queen Kamāmalu, son and daughter of Kamehameha, on their trip to England in 1823–1824. Almost all the members of the Hawaiian party contracted measles in London, including Kekūanaō‘a. The young Queen and then the King died there of the illness; all the others recovered. After returning to O‘ahu, Kekūanaō‘a married Kamehameha I’s daughter Kīna‘u and fathered five children; their two youngest sons, reigning as Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V, carried the Kamehameha Dynasty to the end of 1872. Kekūanaō‘a also fathered Princess Ruth Ke‘elikōlani, heiress of the vast Kamehameha lands, who at her death bequeathed them to Bernice Pauahi Bishop. Unlike his father and uncles, Kekūanaō‘a lived a long life full of honors. He was Governor of O‘ahu for more than 30 years.<sup>38</sup>

We are not told what became of Ka‘iana’s wife and child who were mentioned by Meares, Dixon, and Vancouver. A genealogy printed in *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘okoa*, August 30, 1901, however, said Ka‘iana had a son, Ka‘elele, by a wife, Hāloa.<sup>39</sup> A son of this Ka‘elele, named Keamalu, married Ka‘aipulu, descended from King Kaumehe‘iwa of Kaua‘i, and they had two daughters. *Husted’s Directory of Honolulu* for 1902 listed this wife, “Mrs. Keamalu,” and the two daughters as living in former Queen Lili‘uokalani’s household at her home, Washington Place (now, of course, the Governor’s residence for the State of Hawai‘i). The elder daughter, Miss Lillian Kalahiki Kamohailani Keamalu,

was listed from 1907 to 1929 as residing at 232 'Ōhūa Lane, Waikiki (on Lili'uokalani's property) and later at Kalihi Boys' Home where she served over the years as nurse, superintendent, and matron. By the genealogy given, she was a great-granddaughter of Ka'iana, that first Hawaiian to return from China to tell about it, exactly 200 years ago.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Portlock, *A Voyage Round the World . . . in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788* (1789; New York: Da Capo Press, 1968) 363.
- <sup>2</sup> John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America . . .* (1790; New York: Da Capo Press, 1967) xxxix.
- <sup>3</sup> Meares said Ka'iana was about 32 years old when he went to China in 1787. Kamehameha I's birth year was possibly 1758. See Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, vol. 1, 1778-1854 Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: U P of Hawai'i, 1938) 429-30.
- <sup>4</sup> Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961) 153; Abraham Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race . . .* 3 vols. (1878-85; Rutland, Vt.: C. E. Tuttle, 1980) 2: 222 and 230. The term "king" is used here in the same sense it was used by foreign visitors from the time of Captain Cook, to refer to the principal chief of an island.
- <sup>5</sup> David Samwell, "Journal," *The Journals of Captain Cook . . .*, by John C. Beaglehole (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1967) 1228-30.
- <sup>6</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs* 135-140; Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race* 2: 222-27.
- <sup>7</sup> George Dixon, *A Voyage Round the World . . .* (1789; New York: Da Capo Press, 1968) 119-20.
- <sup>8</sup> Meares, *Voyages* xxxix, 7, 9, 223, and 279-80; Dixon, *A Voyage* 257-58; Portlock, *A Voyage* 303-06.
- <sup>9</sup> Dixon, *A Voyage* 307
- <sup>10</sup> Meares, *Voyages* 4-8; Portlock, *A Voyage* 359-63; Dixon, *A Voyage* 290 and 307-08. George Mortimer, *Observations and Remarks Made during a Voyage . . . in the Brig Mercury commanded by John Henry Cox, Esq.* (Dublin: for P. Byrne et al., 1791) 83-4.
- <sup>11</sup> Portlock, *A Voyage* 362.
- <sup>12</sup> Meares, *Voyages* 322.
- <sup>13</sup> Meares *Voyages* 208 and 220-21.
- <sup>14</sup> Meares, *Voyages* 337.
- <sup>15</sup> Meares, *Voyages* 342.
- <sup>16</sup> Meares, *Voyages* 349-56.
- <sup>17</sup> Mortimer, *Observations and Remarks* 85-6.

- <sup>18</sup> Edward Bell, "Log of the *Chatham*," *Honolulu Mercury* (Sept. 1929) 111.
- <sup>19</sup> George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World*. . . 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795 . . . 3 vols. (1798; New York: Da Capo Press, 1967) 1: 186.
- <sup>20</sup> Archibald Menzies, *Hawaii Nei 128 Years Ago*, ed. W. F. Wilson (Honolulu: New Freedom Press, 1920) 15.
- <sup>21</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs* 153.
- <sup>22</sup> Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race* 2: 322.
- <sup>23</sup> His Hawaiian Majesty King David Kalākaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawai'i*, ed. R. M. Daggett (1888; Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1972) 402-03. See, too, Eleanor Harmon Davis, *Abraham Fornander: A Biography* (Honolulu: U P of Hawai'i, 1979) 254-56.
- <sup>24</sup> Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 1778-1854: 434.
- <sup>25</sup> Joseph Ingraham, *Journal of the Brigantine Hope* . . . 1790-92 (Barre, Vt.: Imprint Society, 1971) 66, 71-7, and 85-6.
- <sup>26</sup> Vancouver *A Voyage of Discovery* 2: 140-42; Edward Bell, "Log of the *Chatham*," *Honolulu Mercury* (Nov. 1929) 76.
- <sup>27</sup> Ingraham, *Journal* 83.
- <sup>28</sup> Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery* 2: 122 and 3: 6.
- <sup>29</sup> Kalākaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii* 403-08.
- <sup>30</sup> Menzies, *Hawaii Nei* 139, 147-51, and 171. Edward Bell, "Log of the *Chatham*," *Honolulu Mercury* (Dec. 1929) 80-2 and 87-90; Edward Bell, "Log of the *Chatham*," *Honolulu Mercury* (Jan. 1930) 120-21.
- <sup>31</sup> A 129-verse genealogical *mele* for the long-time Governor of Hawai'i, John Adams Kuakini (1791-1844), contributed by Kamakau, was printed serially in the Hawaiian language weekly newspaper *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a* from 4 July to 8 Aug. 1868. The preface to the chant, reprinted each week, stated positively that John Adams Kuakini was the son of Nāmāhana i Kaleleonālani, mother, and Keawe Ka'iana a 'Ahu'ula, father. A year later, Kamakau wrote in the newspaper *Ke Au 'Okō'a* of 18 June 1869 that J. A. Kuakini was the son of Nāmāhana by Ke'eumoku, but that Ka'iana was the father of Nāmāhana's older son, Kuakini (1775?-1804?). However, in *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a*, 5 Sept. 1868, he had identified the elder Kuakini as a son of Kamehamehanui and Nāmāhana. (English translations in Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs* 309 and 388.) Vancouver understood the elder Kuakini to be a son of Kalaniopu'u and Nāmāhana and said he was about 18 years of age in 1793: *A Voyage of Discovery* 2: 161-62.
- <sup>32</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs* 312; Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race* 2: 345-47.
- <sup>33</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs* 172; Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race* 2: 347.
- <sup>34</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs* 310; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford: Hezekiah Huntington, 1847) 400-01 *Hawaiian Spectator* 2 (Jan. 1839) 71-2; *F Apr.* 1877.

- <sup>35</sup> William R. Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean . . .* (1804; New York: Da Capo Press, 1967) 34, 41, and 71.
- <sup>36</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs* 173.
- <sup>37</sup> Charles Bishop, *The Journal and Letters of Captain Charles Bishop . . .* (Cambridge: U P for the Hakluyt Society, 1967) 141-42.
- <sup>38</sup> Both Kekūanaō'a and Ke'elikōlani were said to have "two fathers" because their mothers had two husbands; see John Papa 'Ī'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1959) 146-47.
- <sup>39</sup> Printed in English in Edith Kawelohea McKinzie, *Hawaiian Genealogies, Extracted from Hawaiian Language Newspapers* (La'ie: Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young U-Hawai'i Campus, 1986) 90-1.