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January 3, 2000

Mr. John Berry, Assistant Interior Secretary
c/o Document Management Unit
MS-7229 MIB
United States Department of the Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240

Subject: Restoration of the Kingdom of Hawaii

Dear Mr. Berry:

The 1893 overthrow of the monarchy of the Kingdom of Hawaii needs be addressed in the only just manner ----- full restoration of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Our people have suffered much in the past and present owing to the atrocious deed committed by the United States Navy.

The deplorable criminal act perpetrated upon the Hawaiian people by the United States government did not end with the overthrow of our queen -- but continued with annexation.

On November 20, 1897, a 556-page petition containing 21,269 signatures of Native Hawaiian's was delivered to Washington, DC protesting the annexation of Hawaii to the United States Senate. I am proud that my grandparents signed the petition, which was ultimately ignored through a controversial Joint Resolution of Congress.

Also, the Pentagon controls two hundred fifty-nine thousand acres of Hawaiian soil, which makes Hawaii the most militarized state in the United States. Please Mr. Berry convey this correspondence to rectify this inequitable situation. Our queen's wish for her people was upheld ----- no bloodshed occurred during the overthrow. A continued affront to her peaceful nature is perpetuated by the occupation of Hawaii by the United States military. It is time for the full restoration of the Hawaiian Kingdom without the presence of the United States military.

Mahalo plenty

Bernard Keliikoa
Bernard Keliikoa

**A few Examples to Illustrate the Unequal Relationship between Kānaka Maoli and
Americans for Over 200 years: 1790 - 1993**

Testimony by Marion Kelly

Prepared for the hearings, December 10-11, 1999, Honolulu, Hawai`i

Introduction

My testimony will endeavor to summarize, through concrete examples, the unequal relationship between Americans and the Kānaka Maoli o Ka Pae `Āina, the Indigenous People of the Hawaiian Archipelago, between the years 1790 and 1993. It will concentrate on the political, economic and constitutional relations. It will identify the devastating effects of the sandalwood "trade"; whaling fleets; *pulu* traders; missionary influences, including colonizing the minds of the chiefs' children and writing laws for the Hawaiian Kingdom that privatized land ownership, causing approximately 70% of the adult Kanaka Maoli population to become landless. Subsequently, thousands of those who received deeds to land under the Kuleana Act of 1850, joined the landless as a result of the government requiring taxes to be paid in money rather than in kind. These laws, together, prevented the majority of the Kānaka Maoli from retaining their self-sufficiency and increased their dependency on the foreigners, who were proprietors of the newly introduced commercial agriculture. Thousands of acres of land were taken by these foreigners for sugar cane plantations and cattle ranching. The adoption of an adverse possession law in 1870, legalized the stealing of land from its legal owner.

More recently, in 1893, the U. S. broke the 1826 treaty of friendship and trade with the Kingdom of Hawai`i by providing military support to a group of American traitors to the Hawaiian Kingdom to usurp the legal government and set up a dictatorship. With American military support this handful of traitors thereby took over political and economic control, which they translated into greater profits for their private commercial interests by making Hawai`i a part of the United States. The selling of the independent Kingdom of Hawai`i was planned so that the foreigners could receive the monetary advantage of a subsidy from the U.S. government for sugar produced in Hawai`i and sold in America, in spite of the fact that the majority of the citizens of the Kingdom of Hawai`i petitioned the U.S. Congress against annexation.

Even more recently is the 1959 scam of the statehood "plebiscite" forced on the people of the Territory of Hawai`i just months before the United Nations adopted Resolution 1514 (XV) and thereby fulfilled the intent of the United Nations since its formation in 1945 to provide non-self-governing territories the right to self-determine their future. The 1993 so-called Apology Resolution (P.L. 103-150) is not a guide to independence, but merely offers a "longer leash," which might prove to be shorter than the present one.

If there is a lesson to be learned from this testimony, it is that the time has come for the United States, to move beyond its apology, and restore to the Kanaka Maoli people the nation that was taken from them in 1893, 1898 and 1959, and restore to them their land and all that is owed to them for the unpaid use of that stolen land since the Māhele of 1848 and the Kuleana Act of 1850. Only then can the healing process begin.

The American fur-traders used the resources of Hawai`i, 1789 - 1800

As early as 1789, American registered ships were among western trade ships that came to Hawai`i to make their owners rich.¹ Ships loaded with furs from the Northwest Coast of North America stopped in the Islands to get fresh water, firewood and food while on their way to and from China. In China they exchanged the furs for tea, bolts of silk, and other exotic materials that would bring big profits in England and France. Several ships made multiple trips, adding up to a total of at least 21 American registered ships stopping at the Islands between 1789 and 1800 (Judd 1974:3-9).

During the Northwest Coast-China fur trade, barrels were filled with fresh water from Islands' springs. But first they were emptied of their stale water, including live mosquito larvae. In this way mosquitoes and diseases that mosquitoes brought with them were introduced to the Islands.

In addition to the Islands' resources being used to supply fresh water, food and firewood for the foreign ships, these ships also unloaded their sick sailors in the Islands and took on sturdy Kānaka Maoli who proved to be expert crew members for sailing ships.

By the early 1800s, traders complained that food supplies in Hawai`i were expensive. Kānaka Maoli, in exchange for sandalwood, now required guns, cannon and ammunition to support Kamehameha I's rule over the Islands.

In any exchange of resources among Kānaka Maoli, the exchange principle was that of equal value exchange, or value for value. However, the arrival of the foreigners introduced a quite different philosophy. Western ideas of successful trade are based on the premise that, in the exchange of goods, always give less value than the value of what you receive. If not, then you are unsuccessful as a trader, because you are not making a profit. This principle of the western traders was completely foreign to the Kānaka Maoli. Thus, the Kānaka Maoli often gave hundreds of pounds of food in exchange for a six-penny nail, or a few inches of an iron barrel hoop.

Supplies obtained at the Islands during these early years were pigs, fowls, yams, fruits and vegetables, water, and firewood. Salt, too was obtained for the curing of furs on the Coast, and it seems likely to have been the first article of export...In exchange the natives took iron in any form, utensils, guns and ammunition, and tools, such as knives, chisels, and axes (Morgan 1948:59).

While Northwest Coast fur trade continued for a few more years, more traders added sandalwood from the Islands as a basic trade item. Between 1801 and 1820, a total of 43 American registered ships stopped in the Islands (Judd 1974:9-18). This was nearly 50% more American ships than non-American ships, that visited the Islands during those years; a few of them returning two and occasionally three times. Most non-American ships were British, French and Russian, with a few others joining the rush for big profits.

¹ The first recorded American trader was the infamous Simon Metcalf, master of the Brig *Eleanor*. When Metcalf's ship arrived off of Olowalu, Maui, the Kānaka Maoli happily came out to his ship in their canoes bringing food to trade for pieces of metal and other manufacture that they prized. Metcalf, unhappy about some trading incident that had occurred at another port, ordered all canoes to move to one side of his ship and then ordered his crew to fire the ship's canons into the crowd, killing approximately two hundred innocent Kānaka Maoli.

The sandalwood traders

It took a while, but, during the sandalwood trade Kānaka Maoli began to understand that the basic rule of western traders was not giving fair and equal value for the sandalwood. It remains an early, clearly recorded example of uneven trade, coupled at times with outright cheating. The zeal with which the western traders filled their ships with sandalwood resulted in the devastation of the forests of the Hawaiian Islands, and in the poor health and sometimes death of many Kānaka Maoli, particularly during the early years of the trade, 1810 to 1830, and even somewhat beyond that time.

In September of 1817, the Russian Kotzebue expedition came in the harbor on O'ahu and recorded that "seven ships were anchored in the harbor, the eighth came right along with us, and they were all American." His record continued, "Most ships were after sandalwood. For the sake of this trade the chiefs were burdening the people with feudal service that is detrimental to agriculture and industry. There was a bustling activity in Hana-ruru" (Chamisso 1986:183).

In October 1818, Golovnin was in Honolulu on the *Kamchatka* and recorded the following:

The main product sold by Tameamea is sandalwood which is divided into three or four grades. At first they always show the lowest grade, then, if that is not taken, a little higher quality; only when dealing with experts, and after many arguments, will they sell the best grade, otherwise they will mislead one, just as is often done in European trade. This sandalwood is not the kind that we usually call sandalwood. There is a great abundance of this wood on all of the Sandwich Islands, but since it grows in the mountains it is extremely difficult to obtain because it has to be carried down about forty versts² or more. The Americans transport it to Canton and sell it to the Chinese who use it for various boxes, cases, and so forth, but mostly to make coffins and a type of oil for burning in the temples. The Chinese pay from thirteen to fourteen Spanish piasters³ a picul⁴ for this wood, while the Americans buy it from the Sandwich Islanders at ten piasters a picul and, at that, they almost always pay in goods which they quote at very high prices (Golovnin 1974:203).

Golovnin continues to describe the trade carried on by the Americans:

The Americans, on the other hand, who constantly trade in these waters, bring great amounts of various European knickknacks, usually trying to select something the islanders have not yet seen. They will frequently give a Sandwich Islander some trifle costing half a piaster in exchange for a pig, but will quote it at seven or eight piasters. The islander takes the object, not knowing its real value, merely because he likes it and considers it worth a pig (Ibid. 204).

² A Russian verst is equal to 0.6629 miles, thus 40 versts is equal to about 26.5 miles.

³ A British pound equals 100 piastres.

⁴ A Canton picul is equal to about 133 U.S. pounds, or about 60.16 kilograms.

By the early 1800s, traders complained that food supplies in Hawai'i were expensive. Kānaka Maoli now required guns, swords, cannon and ammunition to support Kamehameha I's rule over the Islands.

While Golovnin complained about trading for food in the Islands being expensive, he also admitted that "Tameamea presented me with twenty hogs and large quantities of vegetables" (Golovnin 1974:204). Bountiful gifts were frequently made by chiefs to visiting ships. Such a policy can be viewed as reflecting a different value system. To give freely of such a great wealth of food indicates the power of the giver. This is an aspect of Kanaka Maoli society that can be seen as opposite to western society in which wealth and power of an individual is measured by how much he has been able to accumulate, hold on to and count as his own private property. The wealth that a capitalist accumulates reflects his success as a result of profiting from unequal trade relationships with others, and from paying hired workers less than the value they create.

The Kanaka Maoli value-for-value system of exchange is based on the belief that the gods created all the resources of the earth and sea as their gifts to all the people, not just a chosen few. The rise to chieftomship reflects the support given the chief from the population in the form of their contributions to a chief who then re-distributes that wealth among his followers. A chief's status lies in how much he gives, or redistributes to his followers. If he fails this test, those who supported him leave to attach themselves to another chief who is more responsive and who follows the principle of Kanaka Maoli society, that of sharing the wealth, not hoarding it.

The greed of the westerners eventually resulted in an invasion of the sovereignty of the Kānaka Maoli by the French military in 1839 (Kuykendall 1938:165-167), and by the English military 1843 (Ibid.:213-221). While the American military invasion came a little later than the British and French, American traders were very busy in the Hawaiian Islands as early as 1790 (Judd 1974:4).

Western traders were competing among themselves to load their ships and be the first to set sail for China. The first to arrive received more for their sandalwood than those who arrived later. With this in mind, the traders did not hesitate to demand that the Kanaka Maoli chiefs order their followers into the forested mountains to cut down sandalwood trees. To save the time, sandalwood traders eventually set up resident agents in the islands, to negotiate and oversee the collection of sandalwood for them (Morgan 1948:61-62). Whereas in the early part of the trade the chiefs sent their people into the mountains only when a ship came in, now with the presence of the resident traders, the collecting of sandalwood was more or less continuous.

The people were required to cut down the trees for any number of days, weeks or months that it took to gather the promised amount of sandalwood. Food for the workers had to be carried up to them. Their clothing was inadequate to protect them from the cold nights on the mountains. Nevertheless, with their stone adzes, Kānaka Maoli cut down the trees. Working together, they then cut the tree trunks into manageable length of three or four foot logs and stripped off the bark. When this was complete, they tied the logs on their backs and carried them several miles down the mountain to the harbor where the traders' ships anchored. Once a ship was loaded with this highly valuable wood, it set sailed for China to sell its precious cargo (Ellis 1963:286-287).

The sandalwood-collecting was described by Jacques Arago who was in the Islands with Capt. de Freycinet of the French exploring expedition in 1819, after the death of Kamehameha I:

Commerce has attracted to this place some Americans, who, in the hope of speedily making their fortunes, established themselves here several years ago. I cannot say that they carry on any regular trade here, but rather contraband: they can obtain whatever they want at so cheap a rate. In the morning they take half a dozen bottles of wine to the Governor, and the good soul is soon stretched at their feet: they make presents of a few hatchets and muskets to the principle chiefs; all the rest of the population are then quite at the disposal of these gentlemen. Some strong and active men are sent to the mountains; the forests are examined, and some sandal-wood trees are cut down: these are conveyed to the water's edge at night by about twenty women, who are paid for either carrying or dragging them along with a few ells of European cloth or linen; thence to be embarked on board a vessel that is always stationed in the harbour. On the arrival of spring, their correspondents on the North-west coast of America come here with a cargo of furs, to obtain provisions, and increase their ventures with the acquisitions of their partners; and, sure of an immense profit, they push on to Macao, or Canton, to sell their cargoes to the...Chinese for dollars, sugar, or silks, which they know how to transmit speedily to Europe (Arago 1823:125).

At first, Hawaiian Islands' sandalwood was sold in India. Subsequently, the trade shifted to Canton, China, where sandalwood traders made great fortunes (Bryan 1915:219).

In July 1823, Rev. William Ellis of the London Missionary Society joined several American missionaries on a tour around the Island of Hawai'i. While looking for suitable places to set up mission centers, they experienced some of the consequences of the sandalwood trade. In his journal Ellis described a scene just outside of Hilo:

During the same journey we overtook Maaro, the chief of Waiakea, and three or four hundred people, returning with sandal wood, which they had been cutting in the mountains. Each man carried two or three pieces, from four to six feet long, and about three inches in diameter. The bark and sap had been chipped off with small adzes, and the wood appeared lighter in colour than what is usually sold at Oahu, probably from its having been but recently cut down.

The sandal wood is the same as in the East Indies, and is probably the *santalum album*. It is a tolerably heavy and solid wood, and after the sap, or part next the bark, is taken off, is of a light yellow or brown colour, containing a quantity of aromatic oil. Although a plant of slow growth, it is found in abundance in all the mountainous parts of the Sandwich Islands, and is cut in great quantities by the natives, as it constitutes their principal article of exportation (Ellis 1963:214-215).

Ellis was informed, upon arriving at Waipi'o Valley, in Hamakua that "a short time ago the people of Kohala had received orders from the king to provide a certain quantity of sandalwood, and that they were absent in the mountains, cutting it" (Ellis 1953:283).

Again, when Ellis arrived at Kawaihae in North Kohala, Hawai'i, he wrote about his experiences there in the early morning hours:

Before daylight on the 22d we were roused by vast multitudes of people passing through the district from Waimea with sandal wood, which had been cut in the adjacent mountains for Karaimoku, by the people of Waimea, and which the people of Kohala, as far as the north point, had been ordered to bring down to his storehouse on the beach, for the purpose of its being shipped to Oahu.

There were between two and three thousand men, carrying each from one to six pieces of sandal wood, according to their size and weight. It was generally tied on their backs by bands made of ti leaves, passed over the shoulders and under the arms, and fastened across their breast. When they had deposited the wood at the storehouse, they departed to their respective homes (Ellis 1963:286-287).

The most expensive items offered by the foreigners in trade for sandalwood were ships, usually old ships that were no longer useful to the traders. Sometimes the ships were actually unseaworthy at the time they were offered in exchange for sandalwood. Traders often demanded hundreds of tons of sandalwood in exchange for these ships. If a trader had already gotten the best service out of a ship, and it was ready for "retirement," or even past "retirement age," then the profits made on such a deal would be great (Morgan 1948:65). There were no "truth in packaging" laws. The "laws" of competition allowed cheating, tricking the buyer, using force, exploiting resources to the limit, and in general, doing what ever a trader needed to assure himself the biggest profit he could get. His competitors were each doing the same things.

Selling old trading ships to the Hawaiian kings and chiefs was a popular way to make a fortune. The *Albatross*, [an American ship], was sold to Kamehameha I for 400 piculs (a picul weighed 133 1/3 lbs) of sandalwood in 1816 (Alexander 1909:20-23). Thus, Kānaka Maoli collected over 26 tons of sandalwood, which, at that early date, was said to be worth close to \$5,000. In November, 1820, *Cleopatra's Barge*, a yacht [American owned] of 191.5 tons, was sold to Kamehameha II for \$90,000 payable in sandalwood, although its cost to build was probably only one-third of that amount (Thrum 1890:68, cited in Kelly, ed. 1978:114, note 47). One estimate of the value of this deal to the trader was "at least 200 percent net profit" (de Freycinet 1839, cited in Kelly, ed. 1978:114, note 48). Another ship, the *Kneo*, belonging to the American resident merchant, William French, was reported to have been sold in 1819 to King Kamehameha II (Liholiho) for \$51,750 worth of sandalwood (Thrum 1890:69, cited in Kelly, ed. 1978:114). First grade sandalwood sold for between \$8 and \$10 a picul in the market in Canton (Morgan 1948:65). This sale undoubtedly made William French a very wealthy man.

An example of an unseaworthy ship that was offered in exchange for many tons of sandalwood was the American owned *Thaddeus*, the ship that brought the first missionaries to Hawai'i (Kuykendall 1938:91). It was sold to the chiefs for "four thousand piculs of sandalwood valued at eight dollars a picul" (Sullivan 1926:14). Its hull was already riddled with sea worms. The resident American merchant, James Hunnewell, was given the responsibility to collect the payment. The following quotation is a classical understatement of a gross-cheat arrangement:

This proved a tedious and exasperating process, as full settlement was not made until twelve years later. The delay in payment was not alone due to the many obligations that had been generally incurred by the native chiefs, but to their

knowledge of Captain Blanchard's shortcomings when making the bargain. The "Thaddeus" did not prove satisfactory to her purchasers. They repeatedly offered to return the vessel to Hunnewell, Captain Blanchard's representative, if he would cancel the balance due. Hunnewell was in a delicate situation. He felt the justice of their offer; but, nevertheless, in the interest of the owners, he was obliged to insist on a compliance with the letter of the contract. For a period of twelve years, a part of which time he was absent from the Islands, he patiently pressed for the payment of the debt (Sullivan 1926:14).

The first national debt

Chiefs were obviously reluctant to complete their payments for ships that had sunk while tied up to the dock in the harbor. This and other similar situations led to a series of unpaid I.O.U.s and threats made by traders and merchants to take over the Hawaiian nation. To back up these threats the traders called on their countries' gunboats. Gunboat diplomacy was the order of the day. These gunboats were cruising the Pacific Ocean, going from port to port, seemingly just waiting for a chance to demonstrate their firepower, intimidate native peoples and provide assistance to their colonial merchants in their economic exploitation of the peoples of the Pacific (Morgan 1948:65-66).

In 1822 the debt reportedly owed by the chiefs was estimated to be "something between 22,500 and 23,000 piculs...but in the fall of 1826...the *claims* of the traders amounted to \$200,000" (Kuykendall 1938:91).

Observations made by Rev. William Ellis of the London Missionary Society clearly indicated the difficulties posed for Hawaiians when they made an all-out effort to pay off the debt. Each community sent its adult males into the mountain forests for months at a time in an attempt to pay the debt assumed by their national government (please note Ellis' quotations cited above).

The captain of the American gunboat submitted to the King and chiefs a list of claims, demanded payment and threatened that the United States "has the *will*, as well as the power to enforce [the debts]" (Jones to Kauikeaouli, Nov. 4, 1826, cited in Bradley 1968:108). During "negotiations," a re-evaluation adjusted the amount of the debt to \$150,000, or approximately 15,000 piculs of sandalwood, to be paid within nine months, the deadline being Sept. 1, 1827 (Bradley 1968:109 note 310). This is equal to 999.75 tons of sandalwood.

...the dilatoriness of the chiefs in paying their debts may be partially explained and to some extent justified on the ground that some of the ships sold to them--ships being by far the largest items in the accounts--were rotten or nearly worn out at the time of sale and soon became utterly worthless on their hands. Glaring examples were the *Cleopatra's Barge* and the *Thaddeus* (Kuykendall 1938:91).

In a footnote, Kuykendall explains:

The *Cleopatra's Barge* had not been long in the king's possession "when the timbers on one side were found to be decayed, and the ship altogether not seaworthy. He had therefore no alternative but to dismantle and break her up, and in that way endeavour to make the best of a bad bargain." Mathison *Narrative of a visit ...* 463. In

regard to the *Thaddeus*, Hunnewell wrote, "the old Thaddeus has been laying a dismantled hulk for two years before their eyes and they feel unwilling to pay for so useless a tool as the Brig Thaddeus." Hunnewell to Thacher, Jan. 12, 1824, Hunnewell MSS (Kuykendall 1838:91 n33).

This agreement became the "Convention of 1826," between Commodore Thomas AP Catesby Jones on behalf of the United States, and Kamehameha III, King of the Hawaiian Islands and his guardians. Missionary-educated King Kamehameha III and his chiefs bowed to the military power of the United States. The King signed the document on Dec. 23, 1826. This was the first treaty between the Kingdom of Hawai'i and the United States of America. Article I mentions that the "peace and friendship subsisting between the United States and their Majesties the Queen Regent and Kamehameha III, King of the Sandwich Islands, and their subjects and people, are hereby confirmed and declared to the perpetual." (Kuykendall 1938:92).

Using their superior military power, the American traders forced the Hawaiian chiefs to pay, or admit that they owed the American colonial merchants at least \$150,000 in sandalwood. In fact, these debts of the chiefs became the first national debt assumed by the Kingdom of Hawai'i (Kuykendall 1938: Appendix D). Attempts to find enough sandalwood to pay the debt resulted in the loss of an important Kanaka Maoli chief, Boki in 1829 (Bradley 1968:114). An entry in the *Missionary Herald* of a letter from Thurston (Asa) and Bishop (Rev. Artemas) indicates that in 1830 the Kānaka Maoli were still in the mountains collecting sandalwood to pay the debts of the chiefs: The people of Hawaii have, for six months past, been principally employed in collecting sandal-wood to pay the debt of the nation (Thurston and Bishop 1831:145).

Thus, the very earliest experiences of the Hawaiian Nation with foreign investment, and particularly with U.S. sandalwood traders, reveal a direct relationship between foreign investment and local national indebtedness. The real value of the goods received by the Hawaiian chiefs had been paid for, perhaps several times over, but the amounts of sandalwood still demanded by the foreign traders and merchants backed up by the threat of using their military power, placed the Hawaiian Nation into deep debt from which it never really recovered.

Whaling and resident merchants

In a few years the sandalwood forests were gone. The next foreign investment adventure occurred as part of the whale-oil industry. Resident merchants established themselves in port villages such as Honolulu, O'ahu; Lahaina, Maui; and Kawaihae, Hawai'i Island. They built trading stores and warehouses on parcels of land for which they were given *use-rights* by the king (*ali'i nui*) or by lesser chiefs (*konoiki*).

Hundreds of vessels spent their winter months in the Lahaina Roads off of Maui. The antics of their crews sometimes immobilized the town and forced people to hide from the drunken whalers. Large numbers of men flooded the port villages and, as Morgan explained, after having spent so much time at sea, they became

wild for pleasure after months of work and isolation and danger at sea--pleasure which generally meant to them alcohol and women. The saying was, "No God west

of the Horn." Debauchery was conventional, and sanctioned by custom and time. The seamen bitterly resented efforts to deny them their normal diversions.

In addition to the visiting seamen there were the more nearly permanent derelict seamen, who had been discharged for either real or alleged cause, or had deserted at the Islands; these, having no means of support, lived in squalor, often with natives (Morgan 1948: 82-83).

By 1843 there were 383 whalers wintering in the Islands, and by 1844 there were 490. Most years between 1824 and 1844, there were more than 130 ships and their crews in the Islands, waiting out the winter months. Most of these were American owned. Social and economic disruption in Honolulu and at Lahaina were enormous. To feed the crews of these ships and to be able to furnish whalers with beef, the islanders cultivated vegetables and the more ambitious raised cattle, originally brought to Hawai'i by the British Capt. George Vancouver in 1795. Salt required to prepare beef or pork for the use of the ships at sea led to an increased the number of the coastal salt pans throughout the islands. Ships' chandlery stores opened in Honolulu to serve the ships. This provided some of the prominent missionary families with steady incomes.

Serving as crew members, Kānaka Maoli came to be known as excellent seamen and whaler captains learned to depend on them.

Exploiting the tree fern rain forests

As the whaling moved into other areas in the Pacific and fewer whalers used Hawaiian ports, the resident merchants, in order to keep the profits rolling in, were forced to look for other exploitable resources. For a while the merchants used the Hawaiian people as a means of exploiting the native tree ferns of the upland rain forest.

Pulu is the Hawaiian name for the soft fiber that grows at the base of tree fern leaf stalks, where the new leaves begin to form. American merchants and merchants from other nations paid Hawaiians 1/2 cent per pound for *pulu* they collected. The merchants sold *pulu* in Australia, New Zealand or California and British Columbia for 10.5 cents a pound (Thrum 1876:58, cited in Kelly 1980:97, footnote). To motivate Kānaka Maoli to spend months in the cool and damp upland fern forest collecting *pulu*, the merchants encouraged them to charge items from their stores and pay their debt later with *pulu* (Kelly 1980:93-103). In one notorious case, the merchant over-charged store customers so payment in the *pulu* demanded resulted in increasing the merchant's profits (Ibid.). The market for *pulu* eventually disappeared when it was discovered that the fern fibers, used to stuff mattresses and pillows, irritated the lungs of those who used these products. By this time, however, large portions of the indigenous tree-fern forests had already been destroyed as thousands of tons of *pulu* were exported between 1860 and 1880.

Commercial agriculture

Commercial agriculture seemed to be the most profitable answer for foreigners wishing to remain in the Islands and carry on some kind of commercial activity that would increase their fortunes. However, profitable investment in commercial agriculture required much stronger control over the land and its use than that provided by the Hawaiian use-rights

system of land tenure. Growing sugarcane in Hawai'i required large acreages of land with adequate rainfall or other sources of irrigation water. To protect any capital invested in cultivating the land, or building dams, irrigation ditches, or mills on it, the investors demanded ownership of the land. Thus, who had control over and/or ownership of land became an important issue for the foreigners. The ideal situation from the foreign investors' point of view was to have the land available for private ownership. The traditional system of use-rights controlled by the chiefs was seen as an obstacle by the foreign investors. Thus, investors were dedicated to overcome this perceived obstacle.

By the mid-1840s, having gained authoritative positions within the Hawaiian government, several American missionaries and their friends developed a scheme to dispense with the Hawaiian system of use-rights in the land, and in its place they proposed to adopt capitalism's system of private ownership that would serve the needs of the foreigners and any industry they might pursue, such as sugarcane plantations and mills for processing the sugar. While convincing the King and the ruling chiefs of the advisability of changing the land system, they failed to provide adequately for the large majority of Kanaka Maoli commoners. In the process the majority of the Kānaka Maoli were rendered landless, thereby unable to feed themselves and their families. As a result, many Kānaka Maoli were forced to sell their labor to the sugar plantations in order to stay alive.

Land becomes a commodity, encouraging foreign investment

During the late 1830s and early 1840s, demands on the Hawaiian Government to pay the claims of the sandalwood national debt led to military invasions by France and England. To avoid being taken over by either country, King Kamehameha III, inquired of his friends, the American missionaries how they thought he could best protect the people and his country? They replied that he had to change the ancient Kanaka Maoli land-use system by privatizing ownership of the land, such as operates in the United States.

The American missionaries came in 1820, and were the educators for many of the young Hawaiian chiefs, who played important roles in the Hawaiian Kingdom government of the 1830s 1840s and 1850s. The Kanaka Maoli chiefs depended on their missionary teachers for advice and guidance, particularly for decisions involving international affairs. As they had no control over westerners, Hawaiians continued to be exploited.

Dr. Gerrit P. Judd and Rev. William Richard worked together to develop a system for privatizing the land and they had the government hire an American lawyer, William Little Lee, to guide the change over from use-rights in the land to private ownership of the land.

The mechanism to change the land system was a land registration program called the "Great Māhele." It transformed use-rights into private ownership through a series of quit-claims and gave private ownership of 38% of all the land in the Islands to approximately 250 chiefs, and 24% to the King. Lands turned over to the Hawaiian Kingdom as government lands amounted to approximately 37% of all the lands in the Kingdom. Although the program was originally touted to be one in which the land would be divided into three equal parts, with one-third going to the king, one-third going to the chiefs and one-third going to the people, that is not what resulted. Less than 1% of the land in the Islands went to the Kānaka Maoli, the farmers (*hoa`āina*). The great tragedy of this change in land tenure was that it resulted in privatizing the ownership of land among a relatively few people. This prevented those who

failed to receive awards, approximately 70% of the common people, from exercising their former rights to land. No longer did the majority of the Kānaka Maoli have access to land parcels that provided them with food for themselves and their families; no longer were they self-sufficient. This resulted in approximately 70% of the Kānaka Maoli becoming completely dependent on those who owned parcels of land. As the sugar industry grew, it took over thousands of acres of land. As a last resort, many Kānaka Maoli went to the sugar plantations for jobs.

Once these land laws were enacted, and the privatization of land carried out in the mid-years of the 19th century (1845-1855), foreign capital investment in land, sugar mills and size of sugarcane fields in Hawai'i increased dramatically. It might be said that these "land reforms" were used to drive the Kānaka Maoli off of their land and provide a labor force for the sugar plantations. However, as the population of Kānaka Maoli continued to decrease and the rapidly increasing sugar industry required more laborers, arrangements were made to import contract laborers from China and subsequently from Japan, Korea, and after 1898, from the Philippine Islands.

Not only was land made a commodity and available to be bought and sold on the market, but it could also be leased in long-term contracts for very little money, especially the 1.6 million acres of Government Land that became available for leases. It cannot be denied that the missionaries and their American friends in the Hawaiian Government acted to serve the best interests of the foreign sugar planters. Interestingly, this scheme came about during the time that the American missionaries were being asked by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to give up depending on support from the head office in Boston, and to support themselves, or be re-assigned elsewhere.

In 1837, before the Māhele, there were 5 known sugar plantations. By 1861 (24 years later) there were 22 (Lind 1938:71).

Reciprocity and annexation

The biggest leap in investment capital from overseas sources in the 19th century came in the years subsequent to the signing of the 1876 duty-free reciprocity treaty with the United States. Numbers of sugar mills and plantations grew at a much faster pace than previously, once raw sugar could be imported into the United States free of duty. In this way a market for sugar was made secure, at least for seven years, the planned life of the treaty. In the five years between 1875 and 1880, the number of plantations tripled (Morgan 1948:215). The largest sources of foreign capital were United States, England and Germany.

The Reciprocity Treaty of 1876, signaled a new era for exploitation of the natural resources of the Hawaiian Islands. The name, Reciprocity Sugar Co. of Hana, Maui, chartered in 1883, suggests the extent of appreciation some sugar planters had for the treaty. When the first treaty lapsed, the planters tried desperately to get it renewed. They sought a secure U.S. sugar market without the handicap of duty charges on sugar imports.

As the initial Reciprocity Treaty had run for seven years and several additional years of negotiations were added, the sugar planters determined that to achieve an extension of the treaty, the Hawaiian Government had to assure the United States that it had the sole use of Pearl Harbor as a coaling station and ship-repair facility as part of the treaty. This was not a popular proposal among Hawaiians, but with strong pressure from the sugar barons, King

Kalākaua finally acquiesced, amid many objections brought by his chiefs. In 1887, he agreed to allow the U.S. exclusive use of Pearl Harbor as part of the treaty renewal, which treaty was to have ended in 1894; however, the life of the treaty was interrupted in 1893, with the takeover of the Kingdom by the traitors, supported by the United States military.

Pearl Harbor was not the only concession made by King Kalākaua. In 1887 he was forced by members of the missionary party, made up primarily of Americans, to sign a new and highly restrictive constitution. Many missionary family members were also sugar planters, or had investments in sugar and other island industries. For good reason the new constitution was called the "Bayonet Constitution." It disfranchised the great majority of the Hawaiian people by placing large property or money income requirements on otherwise eligible voters. It gave foreigners control over the legislature and over the King's cabinet, while maintaining the outward appearance of a government by and for the Kanaka Maoli population. The scam did not last long.

With the death of King Kalākaua in January 1891, and with his sister and heir, Lili'uokalani, becoming Queen, the sugar planters and their fellow industrialists and merchants were concerned that they might lose their control over the government of the Kingdom. They knew their control was slipping when the Queen declared she would replace the [Bayonet] constitution with a new constitution.

Calling themselves a "Committee of Safety," these foreigners led by the American missionary descendants moved quickly to obtain U.S. support for a takeover of the Hawaiian government. They were successful in getting the United States troops from the gunboat, U.S.S. Boston, to illegally invade Honolulu on January 16, 1893, in support of their acts of treason against the Hawaiian government.

Thus, the Kānaka Maoli had the ultimate experience of "foreign investment." That is, when economic control seemed insufficient to achieve the desires of the agents of foreign investment capital, they resort to direct political control, taken and maintained by force. Not only was this an option, rather, it becomes the preferred action, and it was immediately acted upon.

Meanwhile, the Kanaka Maoli people learned that in order to annex a territory legally by a treaty, the United States Constitution requires a supporting vote of two-thirds of the U. S. Senate. Armed with this knowledge, the Kanaka Maoli people organized a massive petition addressed to the U. S. Congress in 1897. Through their petition, which contained more than 38,000 names, they informed members of the U.S. Congress that a large majority of the citizens of the former Kingdom of Hawai'i did not agree to annexation. The immediate result was that the Senate rightfully decided that it could not legally annex the Hawaiian Islands. However, this did not deter the McKinley administration from ignoring the failure of the U. S. Senate to ratify the treaty. McKinley proceeded with an unconstitutional annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, using a mere "joint resolution," which called only for a plurality of both houses of the U.S. Congress. Initially the scheme was put together by the American sugar interests to protect their profits.

Thus, the sugar industry advocates in 1898, finally succeeded in taking over the Hawaiian islands with an illegal, unconstitutional annexation scam. Because of its military strength, the U.S. was able to take Hawai'i and designate this former Kingdom of Hawai'i as a U. S. Territory, or colony of the United States in 1900, with an "Organic" Act by Congress. The

Islands had become a coaling station for American troop ships and war ships on their way to take over the Philippine Islands, which was yet another act of colonialism. Thus, since 1898, U.S. capital investments are no longer identified as "foreign investments."

Primarily as a result of consolidation and mergers, 21 plantations without mills in 1890 declined to six by 1930 (Lind 1938:181). Meanwhile, acreage planted in sugar cane increased from 64,149 in 1890 to 199,460 in 1906, and to 235,100 by 1938 (Lind 1938:75). In 1900 there were 52 sugar plantations with 128,000 acres under cultivation, and by 1930, there were 47 plantations with 225,000 acres under cultivation. As a result of cannibalization and expansion, the number of plantations dropped rapidly after 1930, but the acreage continued to increase. In more recent years this action represents the consolidation of economic power in the hands of a few sugar "factors," locally called "the big five." These were Castle and Cooke, Theo. H. Davies (British capital), Alexander and Baldwin, C. Brewer and Co. and American Factors, which was the former Hackfeld & Company (German capital). Hackfeld was taken by the U. S. government in 1918, and subsequently sold to American interests and renamed (Morgan 1948:186). With nationalism running high in the Territory throughout WW1, the new owners of Hackfeld renamed it American Factors, and its retail store was renamed "The Liberty House."

In the early stages, capital for the sugar industry came from overseas, primarily from the United States, Great Britain and Germany. The California and Hawaiian Sugar Refining Corporation at Crockett, California, to which all the unrefined sugar was sent, was owned by 33 Hawaiian sugar plantations. The directors consisted of the managers of the sugar factors in Honolulu (Lind 1938:183).

The Kānaka Maoli were dying

The Kanaka Maoli population was rapidly decreasing, while the western population was increasing. Here are some figures for Kānaka Maoli and Part-Kanaka Maoli population between the years 1823 and 1910.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>Population</u>		
1823	142,052**		
1832	130,313**		
1836	108,570**	13.4% decline	23.5% decline
1840	103,790*	in 4 years	in 13 years
1845	90,000*		
1853	71,019***		
1896	39,504***		
1910	38,547***		

* Estimate
 ** Missionary Census
 *** Official Census

If one compares these census figures with the estimated population at the time westerners first arrived, the decline is even more drastic. It has been estimated that there were 800,000 people living in these islands, feeding themselves, caring for the land, the sea, the forests, the water so that the resources would continue to be available for their children, grandchildren and great grand-children and on and on for generations to come (Stannard 1989). If we were to accept the estimate of 800,000 in 1778, then the decrease between 1778 and 1823 (the year of the first missionary census) would be 52.6%. This is possible, given the rapacious nature of the Sandalwood trade and foreign diseases. Crew members of American ships and from other countries infected Hawaiian women with venereal diseases. Not only do these diseases prevent women from having healthy children, it also kills whomever they infect.

If we estimate the decrease in the population to 1836, we find that the overall decrease in the Hawaiian population up to 1836 dropped by 76.1%. This is genocide of an entire people, most of which was the result of western society's greed and disregard for the welfare of the Kānaka Maoli. It must be understood that Americans played a major role in this genocide of Kānaka Maoli.

Importation of laborers for the plantations

The sugar plantations exploited Kanaka Maoli labor in the early years. After the initial years, and following a rapid expansion as the result of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1876, the plantations needed more workers than could be supplied locally. As the Hawaiian population was still decreasing--dying is a more appropriate word--labor was imported for the plantations. The so-called "Reciprocity" Treaty was not reciprocal, but very much one sided. It allowed the U.S. to send to the Hawaiian Islands 650% more items duty free than were allowed into the U.S. duty free. Of the approximately 22 items allowed into the U.S. duty free, at least 17 were connected with sugar plantation production (Thrum 1879:16).

The great majority of field laborers came from Asia: first from China, Japan, and Korea and later from the Philippines. American capital invested in the cheapest labor resources, holding the workers to oppressive contracts, poverty wages and poor living conditions. Some additional labor was imported from Portugal, Spain, Puerto Rico, and a few from Norway, Scotland, and countries on the European continent. But, by far the majority of workers were from Asian countries.

The pineapple plantations and Filipino laborers

With the sugar industry well entrenched in the islands, American capital was looking for other commercial opportunities for investment. Thus began the Dole empire based on Pineapple fields in the Islands.

One of the worst ecological disasters in the islands was the attempt to grow pineapples in Ko'olaupoko in the late 1890s and early 1900s. The clearing of every shred of plant life from approximately 2,000 acres surrounding Kane'ohē Bay resulted in tons of soil being washed into the bay. All white sand beaches were destroyed and replaced with mud that is still evident today.

As with the development of the pineapple plantations in the Territorial period during the 1920s and '30s, most of the capital came from the United States, thus, it was not called "foreign" capital, although very little of it, if any, was generated locally. The two American

corporations, Libby, McNeil and Libby, and California Packing Corporation, both invested heavily in Hawaiian pineapple plantations.

The pineapple industry made great strides in this period with American capital. Its approximately 600 acres in 1900, grew to approximately 79,000 acres in 1930 (Lind 1938:75). Some of the profits of the already-present sugar industry factors, primarily Castle and Cook (Dole Pineapple Company) and Alexander and Baldwin (today, Maui Land and Pine), were also sources of some investment capital for pineapple cultivation. In addition, over "90 percent of the small retail stores distributed over the Islands purchase their supplies through one or another of the sugar factors" (Lind 1938:183). The lands used by commercial agriculture under the control of American capital were thousands of acres taken from the Kānaka Maoli in the 1850s and subsequently.

Kanaka Maoli rights to land

In 1910 the U.S. Congress enacted a law providing first priority to groups of at least 25 persons in Hawai'i who would join together to petition for leasing public lands that were soon to become available. Many acres of land, previously "Hawaiian Government Land" and "Crown Land," had been taken from the Hawaiian Kingdom and designated "Public Lands." They were "ceded" by the Dole Republic to the U.S. government in 1898. Much of this land had been taken by the large sugar plantations on cheap leases, which were soon due to come to the end of their terms.

The Waiākea Sugar Plantation in Hilo is a case in which a 30-year lease of Public Land ended in 1918, causing the land to fall under the 1910 homesteading laws. The plantation was forced to divide a total about 700 acres of land into cane lots (between 10 and 76 acres each), and house lots (between 1 and 3 acres each) for their workers who would be willing to raise sugar cane. The efforts of the plantation to retain control over its lease of Public Land and at the same time comply with the law resulted in many problems.

Ensuing years were filled with litigation over the matter of contracts; homesteaders became heavily involved in debt, the total obligations to the government aggregating more than a half million dollars (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 5/18/35, No. 12, cited in Kelly Nakamura and Barrère 1981:121)

The sugar plantation owners devised a plan they believed would protect their leases from being taken by the government after the original leases came to an end. They had the U.S. set aside approximately 200,000 acres of land for the exclusive use of Kānaka Maoli who could prove that they had at least 50% Kānaka Maoli blood quantum in order to qualify for a house lot (1/4 acre), or agricultural, or pastoral lots. The homesteading lands were to exclude any land that was presently being cultivated--i.e., all land planted in sugar cane including most, if not all lands that had water readily available for irrigation of crops. Without such a law to support the thousands of landless and homeless Kānaka Maoli who were suffering, it was expected that Congress might refuse to permit the sugar plantation leases of government land to be renewed. Under the guise of helping the "dying race" of Kānaka Maoli, the sugar industry managed to protect its own interests. Unfortunately, by 1991, only 17.5% of the

original 200,000 acres were awarded. Today there are still over 20,000 names on the waiting list.

Tourism replaces agriculture

The tourist industry in Hawai'i began spreading its wings during WW1, with broadsides circulated in Europe, inviting affluent people to visit Hawai'i to get away from the war. WW1 was seen as "Hawaii's Golden Opportunity!" by the Hawaii Promotion Committee in the summer of 1914. The Committee expected the war in Europe to have a positive effect on Hawaii's "tourist crop" (Kuykendall 1928:91). Editorial support by the Honolulu Star Bulletin was effusive: "Hawaii now faces a golden, a stirring, an unprecedented and never-to-be-repeated opportunity to go after and get a large share of the world's tourist traffic" (Cited by Kuykendall 1928:91). The chance to capitalize on the war was not missed by the committee members. A. P. Taylor, secretary of the Hawaii Promotion Committee announced:

A very large part of the \$200,000,000 spent for tourist travel in Europe will be directed to the Pacific coast. ... This augurs well for our own business, as Hawaii is now the only safe tourist resort in the world, as I am advertising (Kuykendall, 1928:91).

The Honolulu Ad Club moved into high gear to support the Hawaii Promotion Committee,

using the slogan "Hawaii's Golden Opportunity is at hand and must be grasped." The Ad Club wishes to impress upon the public of Honolulu that its efforts are for the benefit of all and that the proper time to strike is NOW (Ibid.:91-92).

Sensitive to the connection between profits, hopefully to be gained by Hawai'i's tourist industry, and the blood that was being shed by soldiers fighting the war in Europe, it was suggested by Mr. Theodore Richards, editor of *The Friend*, that Hawai'i could promote itself by organizing a large community effort in support of volunteers for the American Red Cross and by placing some of the "blood money" in the hands of the Red Cross. The article continued: "it will be the best advertising idea for Hawaii ever put forth. Hawaii the great Peace center! HAWAII THE SYMPATHETIC, with gifts extended to war-cursed suffering and homeless ones. We submit that here most signally is HAWAII'S GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY" (cited in Kuykendall 1928:95).

The growth of the tourist industry in Hawai'i, from WW1 to WW2 had its ups and downs, expanding when the world economy was on an up swing, and slowing down when it slumped. It began to increase substantially after the Islands were endowed with statehood in 1959. As a result, the possibilities increased for obtaining greater returns on dollars invested than could be obtained in commercial agriculture.

The development of industrial unions in Hawai'i during and after WW2, the reduction in the labor available during WW2, and several post-war strikes, forced the sugar and pineapple plantations to mechanize and cut back on hand labor. The planters eventually developed and implemented their survival plans. After WW2 they went elsewhere to purchase

or lease large acreages of land where there was a more-than-adequate supply of cheap labor. With the help of Marcos in the Philippines, Somoza in Nicaragua and government of the Republic of China in Taiwan, agricultural production on overseas land holdings operated to reduce sugar and pine production in Hawai'i. As additional capital became available, primarily from foreign sources, agricultural lands were urbanized and the number of resort-hotels and golf courses in Hawai'i began to increase.

Some local development in tourism was initially financed by local or U.S. capital made available as a result of lucrative WW2 contracts. Dillingham and Rockefeller (Dilrock) built the luxury resort Maunakea Hotel in South Kohala, Hawai'i Island in the mid 1960s. In the 1960s and 1970s the possibility of a plantation or a ranch increasing its cash flow by providing a few hundred acres of land to an overseas corporation that had the necessary financial resources for hotel development became a reality. Land rich and capital poor sugar "factors" negotiated "marriages" with land poor and capital rich foreign investors, most of whom, at least for a while, were coming to Hawai'i from Japan. An important element in the success of investments from Japan was the ability of the Japanese investors to follow up their resort developments with thousands of visitors willing to spend large amounts of money on vacations in Hawai'i.

The Massie-Kahahawai case

The Massie-Kahahawai case of 1931 clearly exposed how the U.S. military was in complete control over the civilian government in Hawai'i in the 1930s. A Navy Lieutenant's wife wandering off from a drinking party in anger one night claimed to have been raped on her way home by a gang of "local boys." The military leadership took the unstable woman's story for truth, even though there was no evidence that she had been raped nor that the five men charged with the attack had been anywhere near the site of the crime. When the jury in the ensuing case failed to find the five defendants guilty, Admiral Sterling, the U.S. Navy's representative in Hawai'i, was clearly upset and added his racist views in support of continued racial hatred against Hawaiians.

Tragically, Mrs. Massie's mother, Lt. Massie and a friend took justice into their own hands and killed Joe Kahahawai, one of the five defendants. When the murderers of Joe Kahahawai were charged with manslaughter, with a plea for clemency, the Admiral was again clearly upset. The killers of Joe Kahahawai were taken to the office of Governor Judd (as a Territory, governors of Hawai'i were appointed by the U.S. President) where they were held for one hour and their sentences "commuted." Lt. Massie was re-assigned to Washington, and the Navy made certain that the rest escaped to the U.S. Indeed, as Princess Kawanakoa summed up the feelings of most Islanders: "Are we to infer from the governor's act that there are two sets of laws in Hawaii--one for the favored few and another for the people in general?" The Massie-Kahahawai case is an example of the outrageous inequality and extreme racial bias with which the people of Hawai'i were treated by the U.S. military.

The statehood scam

After World War II, the United Nations (UN) was formed, and one of the first actions it took in 1946, was to agree on a list of Non-self-governing Territories, with the intention that the best way to insure world peace was to support the right of colonies to self-determine the

relationship they preferred with their colonizer(s). Subsequently, the UN produced Resolution 1514 (XV) in 1960, the intent of which was to give Non-self-governing Territories clear choices: independence, free association, or integration on equal terms with the colonial country, i.e. becoming a state, equal with all other states in a union, etc.

Although Hawai`i had been on the UN List of Non-self-governing Territories since 1946, it was made a member state of the United States only in 1959, just before Resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted by the UN General Assembly. The ballot created for the population of the Territory of Hawai`i to use in the 1959 "plebiscite," did not have any real choices. What it said was that the people (including the occupying military) could vote for or against statehood. If one voted against statehood, it meant that territorial status would continue. Clearly, no one in their right mind wanted to remain a territory (colony) of the U.S., and without any other alternative, the vast majority voted for statehood in 1959. This opinion poll took place thirteen years after the development of the UN List of Non-self-governing Territories. It is apparent that certain elements in the United States did not wish to take any chances by providing the population of Hawai`i with a choice of independence. The U.S. was clearly maintaining its control over its Hawaiian colony by making it a state and continuing its overwhelming military occupation. Even in 1959, the U.S. (with the two other major colonial powers, France and Great Britain) refused to vote to approve U.N. Resolution 1514 (XV). After all, it still had American Samoa and Guam under its military control as Non-self-governing Territories.

Conclusion

It is clear, given the history of the Kānaka Maoli, that Hawai`i has been and continues to be colonized by the United States.

Neither annexation in 1898, nor statehood in 1959, provided any real self-determination.

The hearings held at the East-West Center in December 1999 revealed the anger and frustration by articulate Kānaka Maoli, who are concerned that the rights of their people have been suppressed by the U.S. for over a hundred years. They are asking the U.S. to begin to support their rights as human beings and as the indigenous people of Ka Pae`āina, the Hawaiian Archipelago, the former independent nation of the Kingdom of Hawai`i.

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