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THE BICENTENNIAL

OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

BY CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

1778-1978

PART II

The Western Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands

18 January 1778

Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands was an accidental if not serendipitous occasion for the command of Captain James Cook. The discovery occurred during the third of his three voyages of exploration into Oceania while in search of a northwest passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. On 12 July 1776, two ships sailed out of Plymouth, England, on this third and final voyage. One was HMS Resolution which weighed 462 tons (2,053,333.3 kg.);

* Hawaii place names which have been verified as being correct appear with an asterisk preceding them the first time they appear in each issue.

** Hawaiian terms spelling in accordance with recommendations of the 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i spelling project of 1978.

carried a complement of 102 men, eight officers, and artist John Webber; and was commanded by Captain James Cook. The other was HMS Discovery which weighed 298 tons (1,324,444.4 kg.); carried a complement of 61 men, five officers, and astronomer William Bayley and his servant; and was commanded by Captain Charles Clerke (Greenhill 1970:23).

Nearly sixteen days at sea, after departing Christmas Island on or about January 2, Cook's crews sighted the outlines of the islands of *O'ahu ("Woahoo") and *Kaua'i ("Atooi") on January 18. Their latitude at the time of discovery was 21°12' north, and longitude, 200°41' east. Because of the trade winds, the ships were unable to sail toward O'ahu; thus, they plied northward toward Kaua'i and made another discovery, the island of *Ni'ihau ("Oneeheow"). The prevailing easterly trades and currents once again worked to prevent the ships from exploring the northeast coast of Kaua'i and forced them to seek anchorage and shelter off the leeward shores. The ships spent Monday evening, 19 January 1778, "standing off and on" the leeward coastline. On the morning of the next day, three armed boats were sent to survey the coast in search of a suitable harbor or anchorage and a source of fresh water. By noon, the boats returned and reported a suitable site, which was to be the anchorage of *Waimea ("Wymea"). Anchoring in 25 fathoms (150 ft., 45.72 m.), the Resolution was located one mile (1,584 m.) NE by E from the "hamlet" of Waimea, while the Discovery anchored a little eastward of the Resolution; both had their bows facing seaward.

The Hawaiian Point of View

Generally, any account of Cook's discovery of Kaua'i is based on the journals produced at that time. Kamakau (1961:92-96), however, has accounts of Cook's discovery from the Hawaiian point of view. Kamakau's narratives, when compared with Cook's, leave a number of questions as to their accuracy and chronological sequences, but, even so, portions of Kamakau's accounts will be described to provide another perspective.

On the night when Cook's ships lay somewhere off Waimea, two fishermen sighted the ships with their lights on. Frightened, they hastened to tell the chiefs of this strange apparition. Morning light revealed both ships outside of Waimea, and the gathered throng of people from the south coast were astounded by the sight. "What are those branching things? . . . They are trees moving about on the sea, . . . a double canoe of the hairless ones of Mana!" Kū'ohu, a priest, remarked, "That can be nothing else than the heiau of Lono, the tower of Keolewa, and the place of sacrifice at the altar." The natives were amazed when they saw these foreigners. They remarked that the men had "white foreheads, sparkling eyes, wrinkled skins, angular heads, spoke a strange language and breathed fire from their mouths." It was evident that the Hawaiians had to determine whether these were gods or men. Greatly amused by the sailors rowing ashore, the natives remarked, "They must be nursing babies the way they lean over . . . they row their canoe swaying back and forth and they seem to be bending back the tips of their paddles." Water and food were items of trade for which the natives eagerly sought iron in exchange. The abundance of iron, as well as the particular mannerisms of these men-gods, astounded the natives. Word sent to O'ahu of Cook's visit quickly spread to *Maui where, by the end of that year, the return of Cook was anticipated.

Landing at Waimea

Between 3:00 and 4:00 on Tuesday afternoon, January 20, Cook went ashore with three armed boats and twelve marines. According to Kamakau (1961:92-96), Cook landed at *Luhi near the mouth of Waimea River. The shores of Luhi and La'auakala were crowded with natives who all fell "flat upon their faces until asked to rise" when Cook and his men landed. No high chief was present, but the chanting of a priest proclaimed the auspicious occasion to be the return of Lono, one of the major gods of the pantheon of gods in *Hawai'i. Trade was quickly established; the main products were water, pigs and hogs, sweet potatoes and salt. These supplies seemed to be in unending abundance and, combined with the friendly nature of the Kaua'i natives, were to be the prime factors which placed Waimea on the admiralty maps as a major supply port in the Pacific.

In 1778, only sixty houses were located on the sandy beach area of Waimea. Cook describes forty more structures back of the beach extending inland for nearly 3/4 mile (1,188 m.). Waimea was principally an agricultural village, and Cook describes the "plantations" as flooded fields divided by narrow, raised pathways. Ditches brought fresh water to these ponded fields. Taro (Colocasia esculenta) was observed growing in these fields and under drier conditions, while sweet potatoes grew in higher areas. These averaged 12 to 14 pounds (5.44 to 6.35 kg.), with very few under 2 or 3 pounds (0.90 or 1.36 kg.). Waimea was described as being fairly barren with mostly koa ("etooa," Cordia sebastina) and scraggly coconut trees growing near and about the village. Groves of kukui (Aleurites moluccana) could be seen growing farther up the valley. The ground from the interior to the sea was covered with clumps or tufts of grass which were nearly 2 feet (.60 m.) tall.

The Temples of Waimea

From the archaeologist's point of view, Cook and Anderson's description of a Kaua'i temple, complemented by the excellent sketches of Webber, is of great importance to the prehistorian. In his search for a suitable anchorage off Kaua'i, Cook was interested to see "at every village one or more elevated white objects, like pyramids or rather obelisks; and one of these, which I guessed to be at least 50 feet (15.24 m.) high." Cook was anxious to inspect these curiosities, and his principal purpose for venturing inland at Waimea was to inspect these "pyramids," or 'anu'u.

The first 'anu'u was located across the "pond" of Waimea River and was inaccessible. This location is probably in the vicinity of the present Fort Elizabeth. Cook decided to walk to a second temple nearly 1/2 mile (792 m.) from the shore on the west bank of Waimea River.

Ke'a'ali'i Heiau

The temple that Cook visited was Ke'a'ali'i heiau, which he called a "morai," or marae, from his experiences in the Society Islands. He also noted that parts of the temple were called by the same names as those of Tahiti.

The temple "was an oblong space of considerable extent, surrounded by a wall of stone, about four feet high." (Fig. 1.) Bennett (1931:104) says the temple, which still remained in 1928, measured at least 150 feet (45.72 m.) by 100 feet (30.48 m.) and was loosely paved with small stones. The temple grounds could have been much larger in 1778. The features of this temple were:

1. An oracle tower ("he nananoo," or he 'anu'u) which measured 4 feet (1.21 m.) square at its base and stood about 20 feet (6.09 m.) high. It was once covered with "a thin, light, grey" bark cloth which had been torn, possibly by the winds, leaving its structure plainly visible. (Fig. 2, item 1.)
2. A "hereanee" (hele ani?) was located on each side of the oracle tower. These were long pieces of wicker-work. (Fig. 2, item 2.)
3. "Herairamy" (he lele) was located at one corner of the temple. (Fig. 2, item 3.) The structure, on which bananas were placed, was made of "two slender poles, inclining to each other, . . . fixed at the height of 5 or 6 feet (1.52 or 1.82 m.)."
4. Wooden images carved into human figures, were positioned in front of the oracle tower. (Fig. 2, item 4.) Webber's prints show these to be slabs of wood on which faces and body parts were carved.
5. "Hoho" (?) were stone uprights nearly 2 feet (0.60 m.) high and covered with pieces of bark cloth. These were consecrated to Kanaloa. (Fig. 2, item 5.)
6. Near the middle of the temple, three more enclosed square areas were noted. On each side of these spaces were erected two pieces of carved wood; ferns were heaped upon each of these. Before these three graves was another oblong, enclosed space; the priest said that three human sacrifices were buried there. A human sacrifice was made upon the death of a chief. Within the temple, several plants were growing, including koa, or kou, ti and noni (Morinda citrifolia).

Outside the temple, the following were noted:

7. A "hareepahoo" (hale pahu), or drum house, was a small shed no bigger than a dog kennel.
8. A grave of a woman was noted before the drum house.
9. "Hemanaa" (he mana) was an image house. (Fig. 3.) "On the farther side of the temple, stood a house or shed, about 40 ft. (12.19 m.) long," 10 feet (3.04 m.) wide in the middle, and narrower at the ends. The house stood nearly 10 feet high and was thatched with the leaves of the ti (Cordyline terminalis). The entrance into the house was at the middle of one side. Within this house and opposite the entrance stood two wooden images about 3 feet (.91 m.) high. These were "Eatooa no veheina" (akua no wahine), or gods for woman (Fig. 4, item 1). Both images had bark cloth tied about their waists (Fig. 4, item 2). At one side of each image was a tall, carved wooden pole, and around each were tied bark cloth strips (Fig. 4, item 3). Before the images lay a heap of ferns, quite likely offerings (Fig. 4, item 4).

10. "Heneene" (he ilina?) was within the same house before the images. This was an oblong, kerbed stone area which was covered with shreds of bark cloth. Upon inquiry, the site was explained to be the grave of seven chiefs. (Fig. 4, item 5.)
11. Other graves were also noted in the area. Outside of the "hemanaa," just to the side of the entrance, were two square areas. In one was a "Tanata taboo," or human sacrifice, and in the other, a hog.

The priest who chanted to Cook and who led and explained the structures within Ke'a'ali'i was probably Kū'ohu. He was described as being the head priest of this and other temples in the area at the time of Cook's arrival.

Afterthoughts

After Cook left Kaua'i and Ni'ihau, he spent some time compiling his own and possibly his crew's thoughts on the recent discovery. His journal (Cook 1784, Vol. 2, Chap. XI) has these topical headings:

The situation of the Islands now discovered.--Their names.--
Called the Sandwich Islands.--Atooi described.--The Soil.--
Climate.--Vegetable Productions.--Birds.--Fish.--Domestic
Animals.--Persons of the Inhabitants.--Their Disposition.--
Dress.--Ornaments.--Habitation.--Food.--Cookery.--Amusements.--
Manufacturers.--Working Tools.--Knowledge of Iron Accounted
for.--Canoes.--Agriculture.--Account of one of their chiefs.--
Weapons.--Customs agreeing with those of Tongataboo and
Otaheite.--Their language in the same.--Extent of this Nation
throughout the Pacific Ocean.--Reflections on the useful
situation of the Sandwich Islands.

A few of the entries in Cook's journal are of particular importance to the prehistorian. One of these is the topic of numbers. Cook estimated that Kaua'i supported a large population. However, he also agreed that whatever figure he derived was purely conjectural. His computation was based on a guess of sixty villages on the island. Using Waimea as his base, he counted 100 "houses." Using this as the normal complement per village, and allowing five persons per house, the data reads thirty thousand as the rough count for Kaua'i. Cook says that "this number is, certainly, not exaggerated; for we have sometimes 3,000, at least, upon the beach; when it could not be supposed, that above a tenth part of the inhabitants were present."

Concerning the decorated gourds of Ni'ihau and Kaua'i, Cook writes that "they stain their gourd-shells prettily with undulated lines, triangles, and other figures of a black colour, instances of which we saw practised at New Zealand. And they seem to possess the art of varnishing; for some of these stained gourd-shells are covered with a kind of lacker; and on other occasions, they use a strong size, or gluey substance, to fasten their things together."

Cook's visit in January 1778 and the subsequent revisit in February 1779 by Clerke resulted in a sizable collection of native material culture. The picture of Kaua'i's material culture becomes somewhat sharper when the

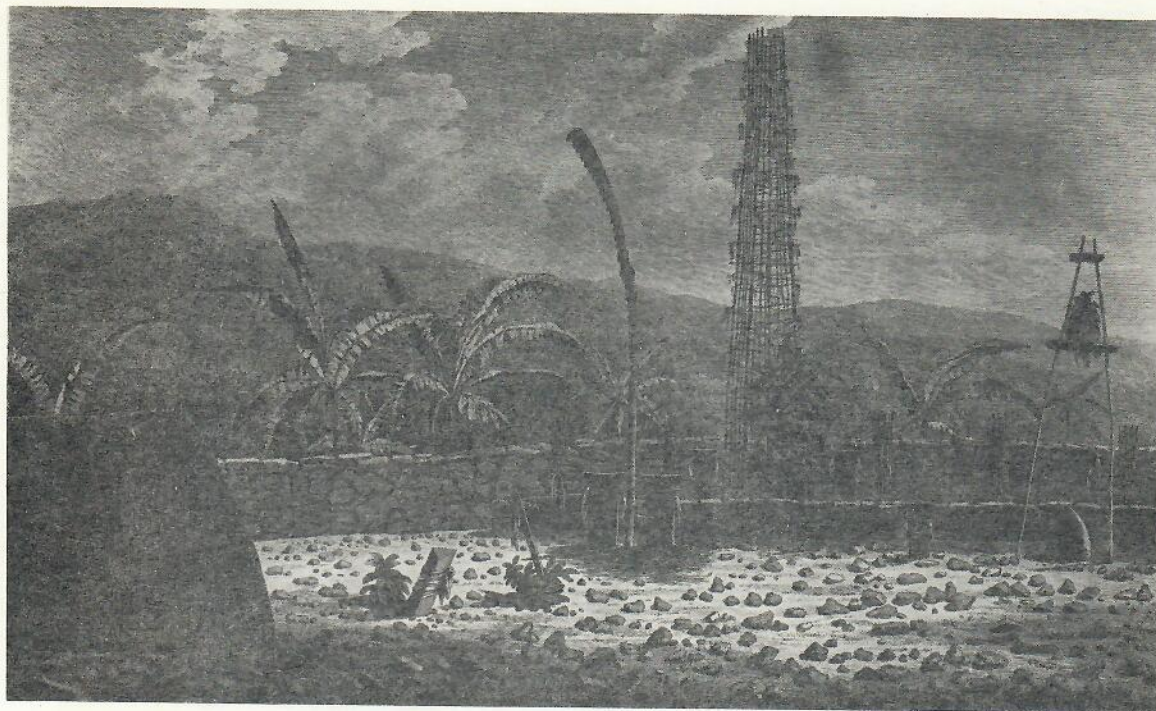


Fig. 1. "Morai, in Atooi." Ke'a'ali'i Heiau, Waimea.
CPBM 39919.

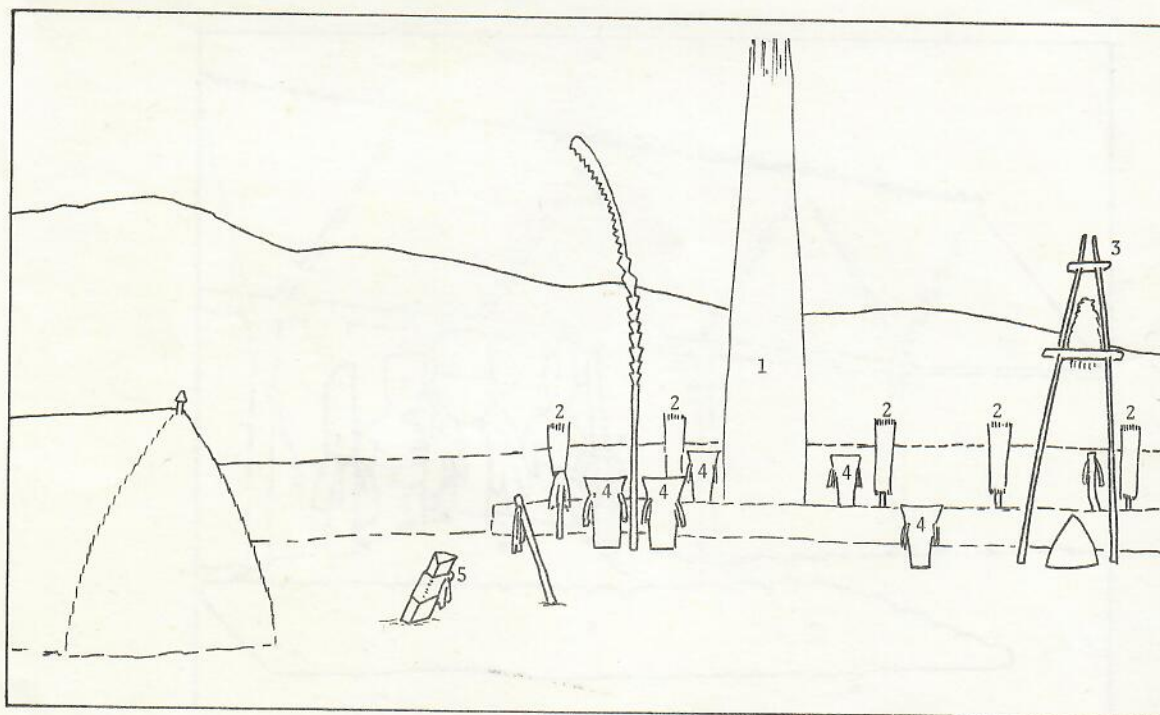


Fig. 2. Overlay of Fig. 1.

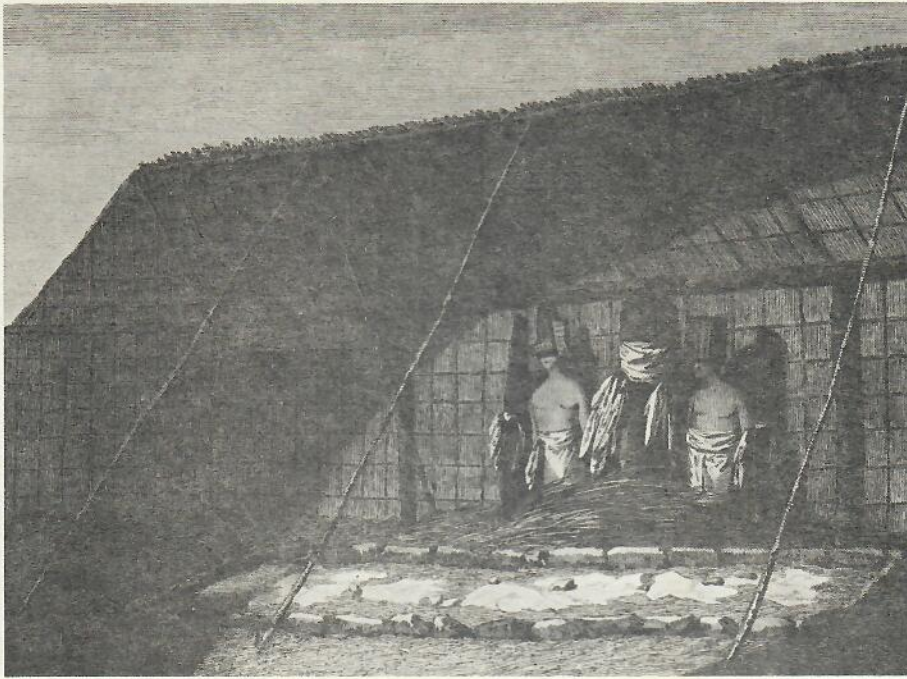


Fig. 3. "The Inside of the House, in the Morai, in Atooi."
Ke'a'ali'i Heiau, Waimea. CPBM 39920.

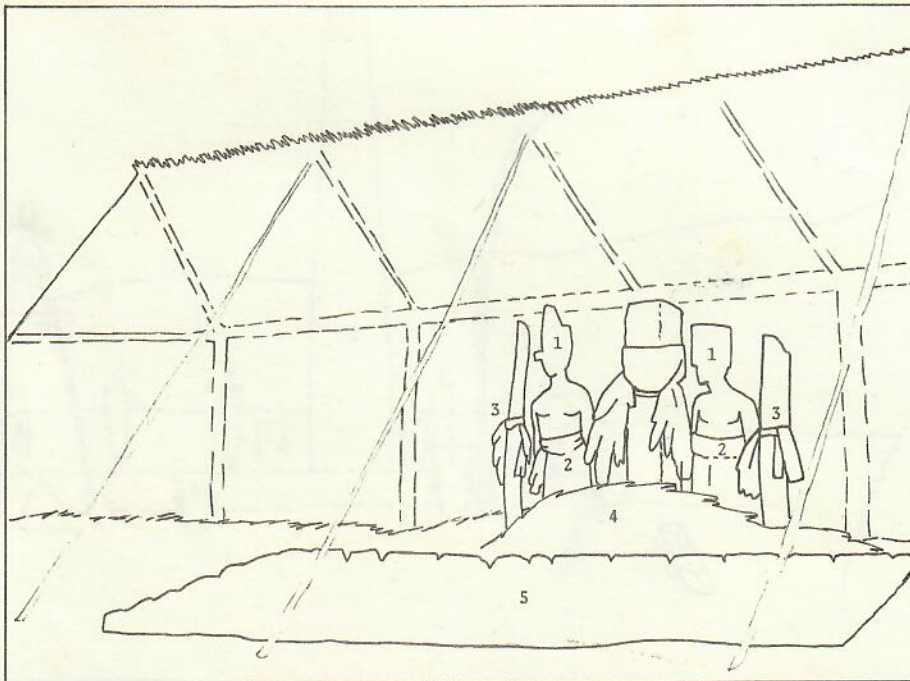


Fig. 4. Overlay of Fig. 3.

items are examined. The spectacular display of the artifacts collected by the third exploration of Captain James Cook at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu and the resulting guidebooks (Kaepler 1978, Mitchell 1978) have given the scholar and student an extraordinary glimpse of Hawai'i two hundred years ago. Therefore, a brief synopsis of the Kaua'i material seems to be of importance as it was all collected at Waimea. The following items are of particular interest:

1. Feather capes ('ahu'ula). Four feather capes were from Kaua'i and were trapezoidal in shape. Each had a bark cloth band at the top edge on which pieces of bird skin, still covered with feathers, were glued (Kaepler 1978:63). In contrast, Hawai'i did not practice gluing.
2. Feather helmets (mahiōle). At least six helmets were collected. The Kaua'i form had a low, wide crest, and the fiber foundation was covered with long strips to which feathers were attached. In contrast, Hawai'i helmets had high, narrow crests and were primarily covered with feathers (Kaepler 1978:67).
3. Feather helmet bands (lei hulu mahiōle). Five known specimens exist. These bands were noted only on Kaua'i (Mitchell 1978:35).
4. Feather standards (kāhili). Only two are known to have been collected. Each was short and had a handle of pieces of human bone. Large feather standards were seen only on Hawai'i (Mitchell 1978:38, Kaepler 1975:3-9).
5. Gourd containers (ipu pāwehe). Three specimens were collected. The gourds were decorated, and these are found only on Kaua'i and Ni'ihau. Speculation as to a resist-method of design making is hypothesized by Ferdon and Sinoto (personal communication).
6. Stone mirrors (kilo pōhaku). Five basalt mirrors, each having a hole drilled at the top, were collected. These were worn as ornaments. Similar stone mirrors on the other islands were not worn (Beaglehole 1967:1231).

The Revisit

Before leaving Waimea on 23 January 1778, Captain Clerke was visited by a young chief named Kaneoneo. Up to this time, no chief had come to see either Clerke or Cook. After Cook's death in January 1779, Captain Clerke sailed both ships back to Waimea and anchored there on 1 March 1779. On March 7, Kalanikoa, brother of ruling chief Keawe, paid a visit to one of the ships (Beaglehole 1967:38). When the ships departed Kaua'i and sailed to Ni'ihau, Clerke learned that the animals left on the island had become a matter of dispute, and a civil conflict between Kaneoneo and other chiefs resulted in the death of the animals and beginning of the reign of Ka'eokulani and his wife Kamakahahei in February 1779 (Beaglehole 1967:100,148).

Clerke's description of Kaua'i had much to do with establishing Waimea as a supply port. "This is the most extraordinary Hog Island we ever met with, take them for number and size . . . in the course of this fore noon my people

have purchased onboard here 70 head weighing an average at least a 100 lb. (45.35 kg.) apiece . . . here is likewise plenty of salt so that an immense quantity of meat might be purchased and cured among these islands" (Beaglehole 1967:575). Dale (1969:304) estimates that 60 puncheons (4,200 gallons) of pork were salted for sea store.

Notwithstanding all the niceties of Kaua'i's supply, the natives at Waimea showed a marked hostility toward the returnees. It is evident that the natives knew of Cook's death, but the change in attitude was not expected, and the reasons seem to be an interesting matter for speculation. Cook's discovery of the Hawaiian Islands, the first landing and supply of the ships, and Clerke's revisit were to irrevocably put Waimea on the map for all the world to see. Future issues of AOK will document the consequences of these events.

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1778 - 1978

PART III

Early Post-Cook Visitors

Seven years passed before the people of *Waimea again saw foreign ships. Then, in June 1786, two English trading vessels, the King George and the Queen Charlotte, attempted to come to anchor, but a southwest wind made it too dangerous. Captains Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon, who had been with the Cook expedition, knew that hogs and other food products could be procured at Waimea and *Ni'ihau, so the visitors then sailed for an anchorage on the west side of Ni'ihau. The ultimate success of their fur trading venture on the northwest coast of North America depended upon securing fresh food in the islands to insure the good health of the ships' complements.

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On Ni'ihau, Chief "Abenoce" was governing in the name of Ka'eokulani (also called Ka'eo), King of *Kaua'i. Some trade was established, and the chief induced the captains to stay for a few days, promising to send to Kaua'i for more supplies (Portlock 1789:86). One day later, several large, double canoes arrived with hogs and produce from Kaua'i. A messenger brought news that Ka'eo himself wanted to see the foreigners, but it was necessary that he remain on Kaua'i for religious ceremonies connected with the death of one of his wives (Ibid., p. 87). This might have been the Chiefess Kamakahahelei who had been ruling Kaua'i in her own right when Cook arrived in 1778 and who had recently accepted Ka'eo as her new husband when the Cook expedition visited in 1779. None of the records of the Portlock-Dixon expedition, nor those of later visitors, mention this paramount chiefess, mother of Keawe and of Kaumuali'i, last king of Kaua'i.

The English purchased about thirty hogs, weighing approximately sixty pounds (27.2 kg) each, most of which had been brought from Kaua'i (Ibid., p. 88). Ni'ihau yielded eighteen tons (16,500 kg) of yams (Ibid., p. 89), salted fish and calabashes of water (Ibid., p. 88). Portlock mentioned that "curiosities" were offered, and he purchased two fly flaps (kahiki) whose handles were of human bones inlaid with tortoise shell. The tops were composed of beautiful feathers (Ibid.). The natives were also eager to acquire foreign curiosities: metal and nails. Among Portlock's gifts to Ka'eo were pieces of red baize (coarse woolen fabric), "towes" (iron pieces), a light-horseman's cap (part of a military uniform) and an armchair from Portlock's cabin (Ibid., pp. 86-87). After victualing, the ships departed for a summer of fur trading on the northwest coast of North America.

December 1786 saw the return of this expedition to Waimea. Captain Dixon anchored about a mile and a half to the west of Waimea settlement opposite a coconut grove; Portlock anchored to the east about two miles (3.219 km) from shore (Ibid., p. 170). Canoes came from shore with information that the king and his chiefs were at "Apocnoo . . . (Puna - Wailua?) where Ka'eo usually resides" (Ibid.). The royal party intended to visit the foreigners who established trade in the meantime.

Portlock went ashore to explore westward, looking for a safer anchorage. On this hike he met "Tianna" (Ka'iana) whom he understood to be the king's brother. He reached the northwestern part of Kaua'i without finding an anchorage and then turned back towards Waimea. Night overtook his party, so they lodged in a house belonging to "Abenoce." Early the following morning, nearly a hundred curious women and children surrounded the house. Mothers taught their children to call Portlock Popote, and he distributed small gifts to them. Portlock decided to remain at Waimea to recruit the ships (Ibid., p. 173). This was December 25, Christmas, and Dixon's comments (Dixon 1789: 110, 111) on this first Christmas in Hawai'i referred to food (roast pig, sea pie) and drink (punch mixed with coconut juice) instead of the usual grog.

Regular trade in hogs and vegetables progressed, and a new native product, rope made of "bass and grass," was introduced to the market. When it became evident that this was acceptable to the foreigners since it could be used in ships' rigging, natives went to work making large coils of it (Portlock 1789: 175).

On December 28, a number of canoes arrived from the east, and shortly the chief Abenooe visited Portlock and Dixon, giving each ship a canoe-load of produce (Ibid., p. 175). Inclement weather prevented the king's visit until December 30, at which time Ka'eo and his most important chiefs came on board. Again, Ka'eo was generous with gifts of produce and several feather cloaks (Ibid., p. 176). The foreigners made ample return, but neither captain described the gifts. Ka'eo assured good trade and ordered Abenooe to remain on board the vessels to guarantee peaceful conduct.

On the following day, the king returned with an elderly chief, "Neeheowhooa." Portlock understood him to be the king's uncle, a famous warrior, who had been responsible for establishing Ka'eo as king of Kaua'i (Ibid., p. 177).

A tabu on trading was ordered on 1 January 1787, and few canoes were on the sea. On this day, the king levied taxes, and the local natives brought to him portions of what they had produced. These offerings were divided into two heaps and then given as a gift to the two captains. After that, trade was resumed (Ibid., p. 178).

Ka'eo's home lay to the east of Waimea River, while the native village and gardens were to the west. Portlock explored Waimea village and was impressed by the productivity of the land. He described taro planted in trenches in about six inches of water (15.24 cm) (Ibid., p. 179). The taro patches were divided by raised, stone footpaths.

Ka'eo was accompanied by "his eldest son Taaevee" on his land visit to the ship. This boy, Keawe, about twelve years of age, was the son of Kamakahelei and one of her former husbands, Kiha. The king ordered Abenooe to remain with the English and to supervise their trade for yams on Ni'ihau; on January 7, the king and his attendants left for Apoonoo. Portlock attempted to sail on January 10 but was forced to return to Waimea Bay. The following day, with clearing weather, the ships left.

The expedition was unable to procure yams at Ni'ihau; for, since their last visit in June, when eighteen tons of yams had been traded, the natives had neglected their gardens, planting just enough for their own use. In fact, some of the people had left Ni'ihau and taken up residence on Kaua'i. Heavy seas set in, and the expedition returned to Waimea Bay nearly abreast of the river and town of Waimea. In this anchorage, the ships were refitted and trade resumed.

Again Portlock explored Waimea Valley. He was curious about a string of four or five very large houses, well kept, about three hundred yards (274.32 m) from the beach. Abenooe (Ibid., pp. 189, 190) said they belonged to the king and could not be occupied by anyone else when he was away. The king had given orders that a house be built for Portlock, and the latter chose a spot to the west of the king's house and marked the spot with a flat stone etched with his initials and "England, 1787" (Ibid., p. 190).

Harry Humphreys and a few of his companions from the ships crossed the river to the east intending to view the morai (wooden structure called a burial place), but this was tabu. They continued along the shore where a large house stored the double canoes of the chiefs (Humphreys n.d.).

Both ships left the islands in early March. A season of trading was spent on the northwest coast.

Shortly before the fall visit of Portlock and Dixon in 1787, Captain John Meares of the Nootka, owned by the Bengal Fur Company, visited Waimea and took as a passenger, the chief Tianna (Ka'iana), who wished to visit Britain (Meares 1967:4; Stauder 1975:2-4).

Dixon returned to Kaua'i in September 1787 and was informed of the previous visitors who had mistreated the natives (Dixon 1789:258). Though every food product Kaua'i produced had been given them, no return gifts had been made. "Tyheiri" (son of "Abenoee") named one of his sons Popote for Portlock and Ditteana for Dixon (Ibid., p. 259). On September 18, Dixon left for China leaving a letter for Portlock in Abenoee's care.

Portlock arrived off Waimea in October and found that the chiefs were on Ni'ihau. He bore off for that island. Once again the story of the Nootka was related, and Abenoee sent to Waimea for Dixon's letter. After the arrival of the letter and after procuring taro, potatoes and water, Portlock left for China (Portlock 1789:308). One can assume from these early accounts that communication between Kaua'i and Ni'ihau was not unusual.

Fur trading captains James Colnett in the Prince of Wales and Charles Duncan in the Princess Royal visited Kaua'i early in 1788. They anchored at the mouth of the Waimea River, and natives crowded the ships (Colnett n.d.). Stealing of the foreigners' possessions was rampant, and Chief "Abenoee" seemed unable to control this activity. Ka'eo came on board and was pleased with the presents offered him; a daily visit became his practice. The king was generous in returning gifts of native manufacture: tapa, mats, hogs and vegetables. Native women received beads, scissors and ornaments. The ships' fife and drum corps was sent ashore to entertain the natives who were not able to come on board. In trading, the captains tried to keep a standard price for trade items.

Colnett wrote that women were on board the vessels nearly every night and entertained with dancing. One evening, one of the girls reported that the native chiefs were planning to capture the vessels the following day. All of the food brought to the ships was to be poisoned, and, after the foreigners had become sick, natives would swarm aboard and execute them. A strict watch was set on the two ships. A chief, who formerly had been friendly, and a priest of note applied for admission to the ships; when refused, they headed for one of a number of canoes which had been around the vessels for days, apparently fishing. The chief had a drum in his canoe, for he was to have been followed by girls who were to have entertained the visitors by dancing on the ships. The plan was to cut the foreigners' cable during the dance, leaving the anchor on the bottom. There was no dance, but two natives from one of the fishing canoes managed to cut the lee cable by diving, leaving the anchor in forty-four fathoms (83.61 m) of water (Ibid.). The loss of even one anchor by a ship was a serious matter.

Portlock had lost an anchor at Waimea, and Colnett saw it on the beach. He was determined to get possession of it somehow. Colnett had intended to beat to windward for a couple of days, but Duncan recommended he go to Ni'ihau and procure yams before the news of the trouble at Waimea reached that island.

This he did, getting yams, wood, salt, and fish in exchange for nails, beads, fishhooks, and other items. Meanwhile Ka'eo banned trading on Kaua'i, and a native told Colnett that orders had come from Kaua'i to ban trading the following day.

Still determined to procure the anchor at Waimea, Colnett, on March 3, was once again off Waimea River where the natives on shore waved a piece of white cloth. Trade resumed, women stayed aboard, and negotiations began for the acquisition of the anchor. One of the crew went on shore, and two native chiefs remained on board. On March 7, Colnett was told to send one of the foreign chiefs, or ships' officers, to carry on the negotiations; a Mr. Temple, who was known to Ka'eo, volunteered. Three natives remained as security on board the vessel. The following day, Ka'eo sent a chief to inspect the foreign goods offered for the anchor, and Ka'eo's son also came later. After fifteen days of bargaining and suffering bad weather, Colnett had the anchor on board. The price he paid included: 150 pounds (68.04 kg) of iron (5 half bars), 2 muskets and 2 pistols, 1 musket and a box of balls, a powder horn filled with powder, 20 rounds of musket and pistol ball, cooper's beak iron and a cross cut saw, a double headed maul and a ship's trumpet.

Generally Ka'eo had been more friendly to foreigners than the chiefs on the islands to the windward, and hence he acquired quantities of foreign articles as gifts; we do not know, however, exactly what war material he acquired. This wealth caused the kings of *O'ahu and *Hawai'i to prepare to invade Kaua'i, and Colnett himself saw the coming and going of embassies. For this reason, Ka'eo tried to induce some of the foreigners to remain with him. However, all the foreigners could do was to instruct the natives in the operation of the muskets acquired in trading.

One of the island chiefs told the visitors that he had been present at Cook's death and that his share of the spoils had been the shirt Cook had worn. This shirt had been presented to Ka'eo, and Colnett was permitted to inspect it. The markings were "I.C. No. 6"; it was stained, possibly by blood, and near the waist was a hole which may have been made by a dagger-like weapon.

This expedition left Waimea on March 15; on sailing, one of the crew, Samuel Hitchcock, deserted. He had been on shore during the lengthy negotiations and had hoped to marry the king's daughter. Visiting captains, who called at Waimea later, complained that Hitchcock had induced the king to charge higher prices for trade articles (Meares 1967:350).

The Colnett manuscript (Colnett n.d.) contains a profile of the island of Kauai illustrating the Waimea area at this time. That profile clearly shows a heiau with an 'anu'u tower on the ocean shore east of the Waimea River.

Captain John Meares returned to the islands in the winter of 1788 (Meares 1967). His vessel, Felice, was accompanied by the Iphigenia under Captain William Douglas. This latter captain was to return Ka'iana, the chief whom Meares took from the island in 1787 and brought to China, back to Kaua'i. The chief was hesitant about returning to Kaua'i fearing the jealousy of Ka'eo, so he remained on Hawai'i where King Kamehameha I gave him lands (Ibid., p. 341). By this move, all of the tools, metals and manufactured goods which had been given to Ka'iana in Canton, remained on Hawai'i (Ibid., p. 343).

Douglas was to sail to Kaua'i and take Ka'iana's wife and relatives to Hawai'i. He arrived off Waimea in January 1789, only to learn of a rumor that the foreigners were to be poisoned. He threatened to destroy every native in sight if such an attempt were made (Ibid., p. 351). After leaving Kaua'i, Douglas tried to reach Ni'ihau to secure provisions, but adverse winds forced him on to O'ahu and Hawai'i.

Ka'iana was delighted to be reunited with his family, and when Kamehameha and several other chiefs visited Douglas, Ka'iana gave Douglas a feather cape as a gift from the ruler and himself (Ibid., p. 353).

Ka'iana's views of the current political situation were then explained (Ibid., p. 354): Ka'eo, King of Kaua'i, had joined his half-brother Kahekili, King of *Maui, *Lana'i, *Moloka'i and O'ahu, and other chiefs in an attempt to overthrow Kamehameha on Hawai'i, because the latter chief had permitted Ka'iana to live there. Ka'iana accused the visiting sea captains of giving arms to the Kaua'i king, and he in turn requested Douglas to leave several of his men behind with a swivel gun and whatever arms could be spared (Ibid.). The martial activities which Douglas had seen on the other islands had persuaded him that there was some truth to this story, so the swivel gun was mounted on a double canoe with the assistance of the ship's carpenters.

Douglas called at Kaua'i in March of 1789. The king was at Puna and "Abenui," the chief, was at Waimea. The crew began taking on water, and, as the result of a quarrel with a ship's officer, one of the crew deserted (Ibid., p. 357). Douglas took off for Ni'ihau to get yams, and there several of the crew attempted to desert. All except one were returned to the ship by the natives. The quartermaster was left behind because of the high surf (Ibid., p. 358).

It is not known if the Columbia, captained by Robert Gray, stopped at Waimea; but this vessel, the first American ship to circumnavigate the world, arrived in Hawaiian waters on 24 August 1789 (Howay 1969:146). Her portage (a register or account of the names and claims for wages allowed the crew of a ship) shows that she took on board several men who had deserted from other ships. It also indicates that she took the first Hawaiians (from Kaua'i and possibly Ni'ihau) to New England. Jack Attoo is listed as a "seaman," while Opie traveled as a servant to the second mate, Joseph Ingraham. (See Archaeology on Kaua'i, Vol. 4, No. 1 for a resume of their experiences.)

In the portage (Howay 1969:150-151), a familiar name appears, that of Samuel Hitchcock. He was signed aboard as cook. If he is the same Samuel Hitchcock who deserted from Colnett's vessel in 1788, he must have subsequently become dissatisfied with life in these isles. James Jones may have been the deserter from Duncan's ship. Both men apparently had sailed to Boston where the Columbia completed its voyage. The true extent of the influence of the few foreigners on Kaua'i in the 1780s is not known except for the remarks of some of the sea captains who complained that Hitchcock was responsible for raising prices of trade items on Kaua'i.

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