

THE POLYNESIAN.

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The Title and Rank of Kaahumanu.

Efforts of late have been made to foist the late Kalaimoku (William Pitt) into a political position not his by birth or rank. If there were not an interested design in these attempts, they would be of little importance in themselves, but they become of moment when brought to sustain ill-founded claims to property, or to justify a public wrong. Hence it is of some consequence that the public should rightly understand who Kalaimoku was, and his relative position in government with Kaahumanu. In the early books on the islands, they have been erroneously styled joint-regents; an error which has been perpetuated by later authors, from not knowing the facts, and from them has been hastily adopted by the public at large. Both the older foreign residents and missionaries, without troubling themselves to get a true insight into the political relations of the high chiefs, applied to them terms denoting their views of their rank, rather than those claimed by the chiefs themselves. History requires the simple truth, and we shall now show from indubitable evidence the proper ranks of each, and what led to the at first unintentional error of those who misinformed the public. Dibble, in his history, has already endeavored to rectify this error so far as the American missionaries were concerned.

"Kalaimoku, (Pitt) son of Kekuanaoah by Kamakuhikilani, born in Hana on East Maui. His parents fled to Hawaii on account of war, where he joined himself to Kamehameha I., distinguished himself in his wars and his counsels, and was noted for energy and despatch. He was not of high rank by blood, but, by his abilities became one of much authority, and even held a prominent place in the government. He assumed in a measure the executive power after Liholiho sailed for England, not as having a prior claim to Kaahumanu, but as her minister.

"A mistake was committed in the early communications of the missionaries, in naming Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku as joint regents of the Islands. The mistake thus originating, found its way into the periodicals of the A. B. C. F. M., and having never been corrected, continues still to exist. Kalaimoku (Pitt) was never regent. Kaahumanu was sole regent, and Kalaimoku was her minister. He died Feb. 8, 1827.

"After his death, Kaahumanu exercised the authority of regent more prominently than before, in her own person. Kalaimoku was a hopeful Christian."

In asserting the fact, he has not quoted authorities except so far as stating generally in his preface that he derived the main facts of Hawaiian History from the scholars of the High School at Lahainaluna, who, as a school exercise, were required to "go individually and separately to the oldest and most knowing of the chiefs and people, and gain all the information they could."

At the present time no fact can be better authenticated than that Kaahumanu was the regent par excellence, the superior of Kalaimoku, who was her minister. Dibble gives the following sketch of Kaahumanu:

"Kaahumanu, a wife of Kamehameha I., and after her death, wife of Kaumualihi; she was a daughter of Keamoku, one of the principal chiefs who aided Kamehameha in his wars and councils; was born at Kawaiapa, in Hana, on East Maui. She was a prominent personage in the affairs of government even from the days of the conquest. In the present constitution of the Hawaiian government the following language is used: 'Even in the time of Kamehameha I., life and death, condemnation and acquittal were in the hands of Kaahumanu.' When Kamehameha I. died, his will was, 'The kingdom is Liholiho's and Kaahumanu is his minister.'

"Kamehameha was wise enough to originate this important feature of government, to operate as a check upon the supreme ruler of the kingdom, against any rash act of authority, and it has existed ever since, and is now made permanent by the constitution; the person sustaining the office being called the Premier of the Government. Kaahumanu sustained that office in the time of Kamehameha I., and during the short reign of Liholiho. When Liholiho sailed for England, and during the minority of the present King Kamehameha III, it fell to her of course—naturally and by common consent—to exercise the supreme power. Some opposers have been bold enough to term her government an usurpation. Such an idea, if there were the least shadow of ground for it, would suit well their purposes. It is well, on account of such assertions, to keep in mind, that the origin of her authority was as far back as the time of the conquest. That the regency devolved upon her, was conceded at once by the whole nation; for any other chief to have assumed it would have been usurpation indeed. Boki, it is true, after he had given himself up to dissipation, denied her right to the regency, and endeavored to raise himself to that office; but there is little reason to believe that such a claim originated in his own thoughts. He was surrounded by foreigners who were ready to poison his mind with such notions. No sober minded chief ever doubted for a moment that Kaahumanu was rightfully regent by the appointment of Kamehameha I. Of her character we have already said much, and shall have occasion to say more. Died June 5, 1832."

We shall now quote from the highest authority, a sufficient mass of evidence to justify Dibble in his assertion of their relative ranks. None can be presumed to know more upon these points than the chiefs themselves, and only the most egregious folly or obstinacy would attempt, after hearing their testimony, to dispute them. With as much propriety might a Frenchman claim for Prince Albert to be King of England, in defiance of Victoria, Parliament and people, as here, for an Englishman to claim the regency for Kalaimoku contrary to the express declarations of King, Chiefs and people. But to the point.

In the investigation at the Palace, in Sept. 1845, upon the subject of the title of Richard Charlton to the land in Honolulu, called Pulaholoho, founded upon an alleged deed from Kalaimoku, twenty-four witnesses, embracing the highest chiefs and some of the most respectable foreign residents, were examined, on oath, and a valuable mass of testimony on many historic points collected. It is from this pamphlet that we shall quote.

1st. Akahi, widow of Kalaimoku, deposes that "Kaahumanu was superior. I know that when he had formed his plans he could not execute them without the consent of Kaahumanu."

2d. Kekuanoah, niece and heir of Kalaimoku, and grand-daughter of Kamehameha I., deposed that "Kaahumanu was his superior, and next in authority to the King. Kalaimoku received his appointment and the directions for carrying on his business from Kaahumanu. Kalaimoku's dying injunction to witness, as his heir and guardian of his son, Leleiohoku, was that she and Leleiohoku should both yield obedience to Kaahumanu as their chief. Kalaimoku could not grant away any land to foreigners without the consent of Kaahumanu. Kamehameha I. transmitted his last orders through Kaahumanu."

3d. Samuel Kanae, former secretary of Kalaimoku, deposed that "Kaahumanu was the superior of Kalaimoku."

4th. W. Pitt Leleiohoku, Governor of Hawaii, and son of Kalaimoku, deposed, "My understanding is that Kaahumanu was my father's superior, he, Kalaimoku, being her executive agent."

5th. Hoani, agent for the chiefs, Keamoku, Piia, Kaahumanu and Kinau, deposed, "Has often been present when Kalaimoku received orders from Kaahumanu."

6th. John Young, Premier of the kingdom, deposed, "From my boyhood I learned in my father's house that Kaahumanu was superior; and for more than twenty years I have lived with the King, and never heard a word from the King or any chief to the contrary. Some of the foreigners perhaps had an impression perhaps that Kalaimoku was superior, because he was the business man of Kaahumanu, and they knew nothing of his communications with Kaahumanu. She could have deposed him at any time."

7th. Kaina, a tenant of Kaahumanu, deposed that Kalaimoku "acted by authority of Kaahumanu. I, myself, know that she gave him her orders, and I used to hear him ask her for instructions."

8th. John Li, privy councillor and guardian of the young chiefs, deposed that Kalaimoku "acted under the authority of Kaahumanu. I heard in the life time of Kamehameha I., that Kaahumanu was the head of the chiefs. It was well known and circulated that Kamehameha told Kaahumanu that she would hold Hawaii, because it was hers; that she should hold Maui, because she was born there; respecting Oahu, he said, it is uncertain; you had better therefore place Kalaimoku there as your man, to hold it for you. Kalaimoku lived on Oahu, under Kaahumanu. Hoopili lived on Maui, under her, and Gov. Adams lived on Hawaii, under her."

9th. Aiki Paki, a high chief, deposed that Kalaimoku "transacted business under Kaahumanu, the same as I did under Liliha, and as Kekuanaoa did under Kinau. I lived under Kalaimoku, but I never knew him to give away lands but by authority of Kaahumanu. All his acts were by her authority. Kaahumanu was next after the King in power, and no chief or native of these islands was ever known to dispute the fact."

10th. M. Kekuanaoa, Governor of Oahu, deposed that Kalaimoku "did business under Kaahumanu; he could not order Hoopili, Governor of Maui—but Kaahumanu could do so, because Kalaimoku had his authority from Kaahumanu, and not from the King."

So much for the depositions of the chiefs themselves. Now for those of foreigners longest in their service, or most intimately acquainted with native customs and ranks.

11th. Wm. Richards, Minister of Public Instruction, deposed Kalaimoku "acted as her minister."

12th. G. P. Judd, Minister of Finance, deposed that "Kalaimoku has often informed him that he acted by authority of Kaahumanu; so have the King, Kekuanaoa, and Governor Adams, and many others, frequently. As Kaahumanu was a woman, and did not act ostensibly herself, but through Kalaimoku, many foreigners thought he was the real regent, and they complained of injustice when she reversed what he did. Never heard any native say that there was any one but the King higher than Kaahumanu; and heard the latter even threaten to depose the King, unless he become temperate."

13. Wm. French, merchant, deposed "in all cases of transactions with foreigners, they were referred to Kalaimoku, but Kaahumanu was always considered as his superior."

14th. John Meek, pilot deposed—"I always understood that he was under Kaahumanu, and could not do anything without her sanction."

15th. Robert Boyd deposed—"It is clear to me from what I have heard from natives as well as foreigners, that Kalaimoku could not exercise power without the consent of Kaahumanu."

16th. Rev. William Armstrong, missionary, deposed—"The language I have always heard amongst the natives was, that Kaahumanu was the chief, and Kalaimoku the kanaka—a subordinate, who does the business. By the custom of the natives, a superior will do nothing of himself; but when anything is to be done, calls his kanaka to do it; and thus inferiors appear to foreigners to be really the superiors."

17th. Levi Chamberlain, Secular Agent of Am. Mission, deposed—"He was next after Kaahumanu; when Liholiho left for England, he left the power with Kaahumanu and Kalaimoku. She was the chief and he was the kanaka; this account was given by Kalaimoku himself. She was the one to give the order, and he the man to execute it."

18th. T. C. B. Rooke, physician, deposed—"In April, 1840, I heard the King disclaim Kalaimoku's having been superior to Kaahumanu, and state that the power was vested in Kaahumanu."

That Kaahumanu's true position was understood by the Government of the United States, is evident from the circumstance that in the treaty negotiated by Commodore Jones, of the United States ship Peacock, in Dec. 1826. Kaahumanu is mentioned as Queen Regent, and signs as Regent first in the list of chiefs.

In October, 1829, Captain Finch, U. S. N., officially addressed Elizabeth Kaahumanu as Regent.

In Sept., 1846, His Majesty, in expressing his

opinion of the genuineness of Charlton's pretended grant, addressed Rear Admiral Sir Geo. F. Seymour in these terms: "Take my word as King, and the assurance of my chiefs, that Kalaimoku never was Regent or Chief Ruler; he acted for Kaahumanu, under her, and by her orders; but as he always did her business for ships, and other matters with foreigners, it was natural they should think he was the chief man, and had the power in himself. How could they know otherwise? Adams is a good man; so are Robinson and Reynolds; but they judge more from outward appearances; they know nothing of what passed between the chiefs; and I cannot allow that what I and the chiefs know truly and positively should be questioned or contradicted by the mere opinion, without knowledge of such men."

Testimony of this nature might be indefinitely multiplied, till it embraced all classes of persons and authentic documents on the islands. Enough has been given to put the matter in its true light. It is taken from the pamphlet quoted, which has been public for some time. If any are skeptical after such a demonstration, they are among those who would not believe Elias the prophet to rise from the dead. It is inconceivable how any one with a particle of honesty or frankness in his composition can, after such an exposition, adhere to an exploded belief, and endeavor to persuade others to adopt similar error. Not even self-justification, on the score of self-preservation, will warrant it, for the truest principle would be to acknowledge an error of opinion and appeal to motives. The fact is as it is, and no sophistry or obstinacy can alter it; as such it must go down to posterity, affecting the right and reputation of whom it may. Kaahumanu was Queen Regent and Kalaimoku was her official "kanaka," chief, agent, or minister, a title of high honor in Hawaiian significance, and equivalent in that sense to the old English titles of Earl and Baron. Earl is derived from the Danish Jarl, which signifies primarily a man; and Baron in its original acceptance, means simply, a man, by way of eminence.

Another absurdity propagated in regard to Kalaimoku, is that he was inimical to the missionaries, consequently they repay him now with interest, by depreciating his rank. Alexander Simpson gives currency to this idea, in his history, by stating that he "strenuously resisted this clerical influence in political matters." But this error, like others manufactured to order, or the offspring of a misappreciation of truth, through want of candor or investigation, must descend quietly into the tomb of all the Capulets. It is a very small ghost to allay after the first. Here is a translation of an original letter of Kalaimoku's, which shows that eminent and sagacious chieftain's views of missionaries and mission influence were very different from what some would have them at this date.

TRANSLATION

Of Kalaimoku's Letter, published in Elele, vol. 2 number 15:

OAHU, December 16, 1825.

Salutations to all the brethren—to chiefs, missionaries, native teachers, pupils, and all people who dwell on these islands; and to the new kingdom which God has given us, that we may belong to the household of Jesus Christ.

Here is my thought to you: let us love the Lord who has given to us the word of life; let us keep his laws; let us turn to the right way, and forsake the evil way. Let us give heed to the good word of Jesus, who gave his precious blood for the salvation of our souls. Let us heartily strive to keep the Word of Jehovah, our Great God in heaven, keeping our minds on the good way.

Let us praise God, Jehovah, and him only; we have no other God. He alone made us and preserves us. Let us pray to him, in the "evening and the morning."

Let us keep the Sabbath, which is the day to think of the Lord our God. Drop other work on that day; that one day is God's own day. During six days we can do our work; but on the seventh day let us attend to our souls; repent of our sins, and worship one God.

Here again is another thought I declare unto you; on the word of God is my heart, my body and my mind. I am striving to keep the word of God. I have forsaken my old heart, and am now after a new heart.

My child, Liholiho, has said to me, to attend to books, together with my wife.

Keopuolani said to me, that I should regard the word of God for the benefit of my soul, that we may dwell together in the good place, that is, the kingdom of God, hereafter.

Keopuolani is dead, and great is my affection for her; I love her command. The King has sailed to a foreign land, and I mourn for him. When Kaumualihi died, he commanded me to take care of Kauai, the land and the people, for the King. I sailed to Kauai, and certain ones made war upon us. God preserved us. I have thought much of God on this account. And when I went to Niihau, great was my thought of God. Then I was afraid on account of my sins. From that time till now I have thought of my God.

I have given my body, soul and heart to Jehovah, that I may be his servant. I exercise repentance also for my former sins. I praise God at the present time; with him is love. He only knows my sins; it is he who knows my body, soul and all my heart.

I greatly desire that all the people and all the chiefs, and our King (King of us two) and the common people from Hawaii to Kauai, should obey God; keep the laws of God, the ten commandments, which God has given us; that is the good law for all lands. I wish also that they may love Jesus Christ, that their souls may be saved by him.

Great love to us all; may God save you.

KALAIMOKU.

CORRECTION.—At the desire of Mr. R. Boyd, we state that the ground assumed by counsel for prosecution in Government vs. Boyd, upon his bond, by which he forfeited \$500, as reported in our last, was not that he sold spirituous liquors to natives contrary to law, but that he furnished them. We give him the benefit of this correction, though we are unable to appreciate the distinction. The Government are equally desirous of shielding their native born subjects from the ruinous effects of alcoholic drinks, whether they may be afforded them by gift or purchase; and no man having the welfare of the Hawaiian race in view, will fail to sustain the government in so laudable a design. It is to be hoped this is the last time the courts will be obliged to notice a case of this kind.

IMPORTANT NEWS!!

From the United States and Europe to Nov. 1 Offer of Peace to Mexico by the U. States—Santa Ana's refusal to negotiate—George Bancroft appointed Minister to England—Issue of Treasury Notes—Oregon Treaty—Fire at Nantucket—European Intelligence—Markets, &c.

By the Xylon, from Mazatlan, we receive U. S. papers to Sept. 5th, and English papers to Nov. 1. Letters from Boston to Nov. 6th have been received, but the only regular American mails received are those up to July. The later mails have been interrupted, though the English have come regularly forward.

United States.

President Polk had offered peace to Mexico on condition of ceding California, for which \$10,000,000 in four instalments would be paid—the Mexican tariff to be reduced one-half—American vessels to enter her ports on the most favorable conditions—Ministers of each country to reside at Mexico and Washington, and sundry minor clauses, of which the most important was that Paredes should be exiled.

Santa Ana declined to negotiate on these terms until the will of the Mexican Congress, to be convened December 1st, 1846, should be known. The American Cabinet, considering this a virtual rejection of offers for peace, resolved to prosecute the war vigorously. The American armies were to advance rapidly upon Mexico, and no longer to pay for supplies—to make the Mexicans feel the real evils of war. A demonstration was to be made on Tampico. Active preparations were making by the Mexicans for resistance, by arming the *rancheros*.

Nothing later from Gen. Taylor since our last advices of the battle at Monterey, has been received.

Geo. Bancroft arrived at Liverpool 28th October, Minister to the Court of St. James. Mr. Mason takes his place as Secretary of Navy at Washington.

President Polk has issued \$10,000,000 Treasury notes.

Mr. Packenham has been visiting Mr. Webster. The Mormons, after some severe fighting, had surrendered Nauvoo, and were to leave Illinois.

OREGON TREATY.—By the courtesy of the Agents of the Hudson Bay Co., we are enabled to give our readers an official copy of this treaty, as printed by order of Parliament. It will be seen that it is more favorable to British commercial interests in the navigation of the Columbia than was first supposed.

Treaty between Her Majesty and the United States of America, for the settlement of the Oregon Boundary. Signed at Washington, June 15 1846.

Ratifications exchanged at London, July 17, 1846.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United States of America deeming it to be desirable for the future welfare of both countries, that the state of doubt and uncertainty which has hitherto prevailed respecting the sovereignty and government of the territory on the North-west coast of America, lying westward of the Rocky or Stony Mountains, should be fully terminated by an amicable compromise of the rights mutually asserted by the two parties over the said territory, have respectively named plenipotentiaries to treat and agree concerning the terms of such settlement, that is to say:—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has, on her part, appointed the Right Honorable Richard Packenham, a member of Her Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, and Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States; and the President of the United States of America has, on his part, furnished with full powers, James Buchanan, Secretary of State of the United States; who, after having communicated to each other, their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:—

ART. I. From the point on the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing treaties and conventions between Great Britain and the United States terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of Her Britannic Majesty and those of the United States shall be continued westward along the said forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island; and thence southerly, through the middle of the said channel, and of Foca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean: provided however, that the navigation of the whole of the said channel and straits, south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, remain free and open to both parties.

ART. II. From the point at which the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude shall be found to intersect the great northern branch of the Columbia River, the navigation of the said branch shall be free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to all British subjects trading with the same, to the point where the said branch meets the main stream of the Columbia, and thence down the said main stream to the ocean, with free access into and through the said river or rivers; it being understood that all the usual portages along the line thus described, shall in like manner be free and open.

In navigating the said river or rivers, British subjects, with their goods or produce, shall be treated on the same footing as citizens of the United States; it being however, always understood, that nothing in this article shall be construed as preventing or intended to prevent, the government of the United States from making any regulations respecting the navigation of the said river or rivers, not inconsistent with the present treaty.

ART. III. In the future appropriation of the territory south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, as provided in the first article of this treaty, the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of all British subjects who may be already in the occupation of land or other property lawfully acquired within the said territory, shall be respected.

ART. IV. The farms, lands and other property of every description, belonging to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, on the north side of the Co-