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Hawaiian Historical Soc
Annual reports 1940-1956

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Vol. 5
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WILLIAM HOAPILI KAAUWAI:
A HAWAIIAN IN HOLY ORDERS

ANDREW FOREST MUIR

ONLY ONE HAWAIIAN ABORIGINE has ever received holy orders in the Anglican Communion, despite the ninety years that have elapsed since the establishment of the Missionary District of Honolulu. He was ordained in 1864, two years after the arrival of Bishop Staley, the first English bishop. Both of the English bishops of Honolulu were anxious to recruit a native clergy, but neither was successful. The solitary Hawaiian who overcame the educational handicap was William Hoapili Kaauwai, and he received only the diaconate, or the rank of deacon—the lowest order among the clergy of the Anglican Church.

William Hoapili Kaauwai was the son of Zorobabela Kaauwai and a chiefess, apparently a woman of the family of Hoapili, a high chieftain of the Island of Maui and trusted advisor of Kamehameha I. The elder Kaauwai was born about 1806, before the period in which Americans and Europeans in great numbers settled in Hawaii. Because he grew up at a time when the islands were relatively unaffected by Western civilization, he was considered, in later years, as something of an expert on the old Hawaiian culture. Although not a chief himself, he belonged to the "old class of chief's right-hand men." As such, he was a retainer of and an assistant to Hoapili during the latter's governorship of Maui. Apparently he bettered his position by his marriage. At least he soon came to occupy a number of political offices. For a while he served as judge of the circuit court¹ and then as a member, from 1846 to 1850, of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles.² Later he sat for four terms in the House of Representatives of the Kingdom.³ His wife bore him four children, three sons who reached maturity and a daughter who died in infancy.⁴ He acquired property, much of it taro patch land on Maui; and he became successful as a farmer, receiving first prize for his taro and second prize for his bananas at a fair sponsored by the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society in 1851.⁵ He was regarded as "a man of sage experience, great moderation, and well known liberality,"⁶ although he was said to have held "peculiar views." He died at Makawao, Maui, August 8, 1856.⁷

William Hoapili Kaauwai was born in 1835.⁸ He received a good primary and secondary education, probably at some Congregational school, but the details of his schooling are lacking. He apparently was baptized into the Congregational Church, for in 1861 he was one of the trustees of the Wailuku Congregational Church.⁹ On July 1, 1856, in Honolulu, he was married to Mary Ann Kiliwehi,¹⁰ who was described as a tall woman with an imperfect knowledge of English.¹¹ They had no children. Kaauwai stood for election as

representative of the Wailuku, Maui, district in January, 1862, and he defeated his opponent by a vote of 510 to 286.¹² He took his seat on May 1 and was soon appointed to four standing committees and to one select committee.¹³ Following the example of his father and brother, he rapidly became known as an eloquent orator.¹⁴

Apparently Kaauwai's service in the Legislature brought him to the attention of King Kamehameha IV, who appointed him aide-de-camp with rank of major in the Household Guards.¹⁵ Upon the arrival in 1862 of the Anglican mission under Dr. Thomas Nettleship Staley, first bishop of Honolulu, Kaauwai like the King, became interested in the Church. As aide-de-camp to the King, he carried a banner at the latter's confirmation¹⁶ and accompanied the King to the Island of Hawaii on a trip designed to determine whether a mission should be planted at Kona.¹⁷ Very soon, Dr. Staley appointed him a catechist and licensed him to preach. For a while he assisted the Reverend William Richard Scott, at Lahaina, Maui.¹⁸ At this time, Dr. Staley described him as a "man of high Character, imposing presence, an English Scholar and excellent preacher,"¹⁹ who expounded Holy Scripture with "wonderful power and eloquence."²⁰ Kaauwai immediately began studying for holy orders, and Dr. Staley petitioned the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for funds with which to pay his stipend when he should be ordained.²¹ In May, 1864, there was a vacancy in the circuit judgeship of Maui, and Kaauwai was suggested for the position.²² Apparently he was offered the job, but he refused it.²³ Shortly afterwards, however, he accepted a position as district magistrate in Maui.²⁴ Dr. Staley's applications to the S.P.G. were fruitless, but he decided to ordain Kaauwai and to find his salary elsewhere.²⁵ The ordination of Kaauwai to the diaconate was celebrated in Lahaina on September 25, 1864.²⁶ Thereafter, Kaauwai remained at Lahaina, assisting the Reverend George Mason, who had succeeded Scott. Not only did he assist with the native services, but also he read services in English for the English-speaking congregation.²⁷ In May, 1865, Kaauwai preached in English at a service of the English-speaking congregation of the temporary cathedral in Honolulu. This, according to a newspaper, was the first time that a native Hawaiian had preached in English to a foreign congregation. The effort was eminently successful, for it was said that the "sermon was delivered with clearness, solemnity, and proper emphasis, and evidently made a most favorable impression on all who heard it."²⁸

King Kamehameha IV died in 1863, and his widow, the Dowager Queen Emma, decided to visit England in order to solicit money with which to erect in Honolulu a cathedral to the memory of her husband. She selected Kaauwai as chaplain and his wife as lady in waiting. The royal party left Honolulu on May 6, 1865,²⁹ and went by ship to Panama, crossed the isthmus by railroad, and then reboarded ship for Southampton, where it arrived on July 13.³⁰ During a five months' visit in England, Queen Emma and her entourage traveled extensively. Both the Queen and Kaauwai addressed a number of meetings called for the purpose of creating interest in and attracting financial support to the Queen's plans. Kaauwai addressed one meeting at Brighton in August, 1865, and a spectator wrote that "though he pronounced English very well, yet he

seemed to have a difficulty in fitting his words to his ideas."³¹ It would also seem that he addressed a missionary meeting in William John Butler's parish at Wantage.³² During a four-day visit to Alfred Lord Tennyson's home at Farringford, Kaauwai and his wife sang Hawaiian songs for their host. Tennyson was particularly impressed by a *mele* in honor of Queen Emma's deceased son.³³

On December 5, 1865, Queen Emma and her party left for the Continent, where they spent some time in Italy and on the Riviera.³⁴ At Florence, Kaauwai received the Queen's permission to return home. On April 6, 1866, Queen Emma wrote from Florence to Bishop Staley as follows:

"You will have seen Hoapili and been surprised at his sudden appearance before you can read this. I write in haste to tell you some of the reasons why he starts so suddenly for home before my own departure. Both he and I are quite in unison concerning this movement I have made. He is, and has been for a long time, very anxious to be at home working, instead of doing nothing but traveling about all these months, and when Mr. Ibbotson's letter arrived stating he was coming back to England and one from the Masons telling of the King's anxiety to have a church and school opened at Wailuku, I felt it his duty to return, especially as there will be one the less in your staff of Clergy, from Mr. Ibbotson's return. So he goes back for that object and be once more under the immediate influence of his Church which he has felt the want of for some time. His trials and failings overcome him at times and he says it is because he is idling, and has nothing to occupy him so is very strong in desiring to be at home and in its bosom (the Church's) again. He and I quite agree on all this. He leaves me at my wish. He will tell you more about himself, of me, and all about our travels . . ."³⁵

Somewhat later, at Turin, Kaauwai received the Queen's permission for his wife to accompany him. On April 23, 1866, the Kaauwais were in London, where he wrote to Charles C. Harris, the Minister of Finance in Honolulu, as follows:

"My Dear Sir: You will be surprised to learn that the Queen has consented not only to my coming home, but my wife also; and further to learn that instead of coming home by the same way we came out, we are taking a rather long round-about, and slow way toward home, that we may be able to see all we possibly can of different countries. I am not quite sure I shall have another favorable opportunity to write you, as we are about to leave England for the East day after tomorrow (April 25, Wednesday)."³⁶

They took passage aboard the ship *Norwood* and arrived in Auckland, New Zealand, on August 11, 1866.³⁷ Kaauwai's purpose in visiting New Zealand was to encourage the emigration of Maoris to Hawaii. At the time the Maoris were engaged in a war with the British, and Kaauwai thought that under the circumstances they might be willing to move to Hawaii, where the government was in the hands of fellow Polynesians.*

* Kaauwai does not appear to have made clear to Queen Emma that he proposed to return home by way of New Zealand; nor is it clear that Kamehameha V or Mr. Harris understood or authorized this trip or its purposes. [Ed.]

After some delays, Kaauwai apparently was accepted by the Maoris, for sixteen years later, in 1882, there appeared in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* an account of his negotiations, probably written by the then-editor of the newspaper, Walter Murray Gibson. The account reads as follows:

... in 1866 the Hon. Wm. Hoapili Kaauwai went to New Zealand to open a negotiation for the emigration of Maoris to the Hawaiian Archipelago. ... He discussed with the editor of this journal** in 1865, the scheme of establishing communication between the two cognate branches of the Malayo-Polynesian family, between the peoples of the Hawaiian and New Zealand Archipelagoes. Kaauwai had this great object in view, when he and his lady, Kiliwehi Hoapili, sailed from their native islands in company with Her Majesty Queen Dowager Emma, who was proceeding on a visit to the Court of England. This young Chief and his wife, after receiving distinguished attention in Europe, sailed from London on board the ship *Norwood* for New Zealand, and arrived in Auckland, August, 1866. They proceeded at once to visit the Maori Chiefs of the North Island, or Ika na Maui and were entertained by the Prince Tamehana, and other high Maori Chiefs. Hoapili found little difficulty in carrying on conversation with his Maori friends. He was an enlightened man and a zealous student, and readily adapted his Hawaiian-Maori language to the New Zealand Maori language. His views in regard to Maori migration to Hawaii were cordially entertained by Tamehana. Many patriotic Maoris objected to the scheme, deeming it almost a sacrilege to abandon their fatherland, but a large number took another view, saying that their country was virtually lost to them; the whites, who so far outnumbered them, were in complete possession of it; but that in Hawaii, an ancient sister land, there were their own blood and lineage, ruled by a Maori-Polynesian King. After a time Hoapili wrote home to Minister Hutchinson and to the editor of this journal** that he was prepared to lead an emigration of several thousand Maoris, if the Hawaiian Government would enable him to carry out his negotiation. But the King—Kamehameha V—had taken umbrage at the action of Hoapili. He had proceeded as a volunteer, independent Commissioner, and it was supposed would arrogate to himself too much consequence in case he should return to Hawaii with a colony of Maoris under his guidance and influence. So this volunteer Hawaiian Negotiator received letters from home disapproving of his independent action, and warning him not to attempt to promote any migration of Maoris without the full sanction of the Government of his country. Hoapili was undoubtedly indiscreet in his action in this matter, and reasonably provoked the objection of his Sovereign. It was understood when he set out from Hawaii that he would proceed to New Zealand for information solely, and by a favorable report induce the Government to take some action, but he was so much affected by the sympathy and good will of the Maoris and their eager desire to become compatriots with him in his own country, that he took in hand at once a plan of emigration, which would, as he gave assurance in his letters, be carried out entirely at the expense of the Maoris themselves. However, Hoapili had to dismiss his plan for the time...³⁸

* * *

** These references are undoubtedly to Walter Murray Gibson who was editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in 1882, and not to Henry M. Whitney who was editor in 1865. [Ed.]

Kaauwai did not fail to inform the bishop of Auckland of his presence in his diocese, but it is impossible to determine whether he sought a cure. Both Kamehameha V and Dr. Staley wrote urging his return.³⁹

The Congregationalists in Hawaii were ever ready to criticize the Missionary Bishopric, and they did not abstain from using Kaauwai's absence as a handle. The *Maile Quarterly*, organ of a Congregational society, wrote that the Kaauwais' "absence requires some explanation, as all sorts of vague rumors are being circulated respecting them."⁴⁰ A secular paper whose editor, Henry M. Whitney, was a Congregationalist protagonist, went even further:

... Rev. Mr. Hoapili and wife ... for some cause, not yet made public, were turned adrift on the charities of the cold and unfeeling world. It seems very strange that they should have gone to that distant colony, almost as far from their home as England is. It will give rise to various speculations. Perhaps they were inveigled on board some emigrant ship, bound they knew not and cared not where. Or, perhaps, they were induced by the Bishop of Oxford (Samuel Wilberforce) to emigrate as Missionaries of the new Reformed Catholic Church to convert the *Maories* of that distant colony. Strange things do sometimes happen in this world, and not the least so are some of the denouements of this Mission. The story of the trials of this unhappy couple, and the causes that led to their separation from the embassy, will cause the ears to tingle, and shame the pseudo-philanthropists of the Hawaiian people, whenever they are made public. Why do not the Ministers give *some* statement of this affair, when they are so pushed for news to fill their organ? Are they afraid to publish the facts? If not, let us hear the truth.⁴¹

This account appeared a full month after Queen Emma's return to Honolulu. The Ministry made no response, as indeed no response was required, but the government newspaper did publish that portion of Kaauwai's letter to Mr. Harris quoted earlier in the present paper, together with certain facts of the case including the statement: "Mr. Harris was puzzled at this [reference to Kaauwai's plan to leave England for the East], for he did not imagine that they were actually going East from London, and supposed they were really going to America, using the word east as meaning the Eastern States of the Union, locating himself mentally at the Hawaiian Islands in writing of going East ... thus carrying out an earnest wish which Mr. Hoapili had often expressed to his friends, of visiting the southern islands of the Pacific Ocean, and seeing the different families of the Polynesian race in their several homes..."⁴²

The Kaauwais left Auckland on June 15, 1867, aboard the bark *Kate* scheduled for San Francisco,⁴³ where they boarded the *D. C. Murray* which put them in Honolulu on September 3.⁴⁴ Six days later they took ship for Maui.⁴⁵

Bishop Staley had sailed for England prior to Kaauwai's return to Honolulu. Kamehameha V wrote the bishop on September 24, 1867: "Mr. Hoapili & wife arrived here some fortnight ago. He called but I did not see him. I do not know what he proposes to do."⁴⁶

On January 20, 1868, the King wrote further to Bishop Staley: "... Hoapili and his wife had arrived. I would not receive him, as I considered that his

conduct towards the Queen has been despicable. Since his return he has been put under bond to keep the peace. He had been drinking, which made him crazy and quarrelsome. Since that he has had another family fight, he pointed a gun to his wife's head and offered to shoot her. She is stopping now with Mrs. Bishop. You know my feeling of Hoapili: his conduct has justified my views."⁴⁷

It is difficult to determine whether Kaauwai ever returned to the prosecution of his clerical duties. The priest in Wailuku charged that he engaged in some "schismatical act" in that place and then went to Lahaina, where he got into a drunken brawl.⁴⁸ These accusations, however, cannot be accepted at their face value, for Dr. Staley disciplined the priest for "showing an entire want of tact & judgment" in the matter.⁴⁹ Whatever the reason, Kaauwai soon reentered politics. In February, 1870, he stood for election as representative from Wailuku. At the time, the native Hawaiians were much exercised over a proposal to import a large number of coolies to work as laborers on the sugar plantations. Kaauwai announced as an anti-coolie candidate and led the field by a vote of 304 out of 825.⁵⁰ He took his seat on April 30,⁵¹ and soon he was actively engaged in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. He was appointed a member of the committee on foreign affairs; he opposed an amendment to the rules that required a roll call vote on the first passage of each bill; he moved an amendment to a divorce bill that would have punished the guilty party by imprisonment at hard labor for a year; he criticized the Minister of Foreign Affairs for intemperate language; he voted that the Hawaiian version of any document be the definitive one; and he proposed an increase in the real property tax so that the personal and animal taxes might be abolished.⁵² Before the end of the assembly he was regarded as one of its prominent members.⁵³ In 1872 and 1874, he was spoken of as a candidate for reelection to the Legislature, but he did not stand.⁵⁴

In the meantime, Kaauwai's domestic life was far from satisfactory. On April 22, 1872, Mrs. Kaauwai filed suit for divorce. Kaauwai answered her petition on May 29. In his replication, he made no attempt to answer her charges but rather entered upon an enumeration of complaints against her.⁵⁵

Despite his answer, Kaauwai did not contest the divorce. The cause went to trial on September 12, 1872, when Mrs. Kaauwai was granted a temporary decree, made absolute on June 18, 1873. Kaauwai was required to pay her ten dollars a month alimony and the costs of the suit.⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that Mrs. Kaauwai did not accuse her husband of infidelity. Perhaps he had not been guilty of this offense during the marriage, but on January 31, 1874, there was born to Keauookalau, the wife of Lihilihi, of Kauai, a boy, whom the mother claimed to be the son of Kaauwai and whom she named Hoapili.⁵⁷

Mrs. Kaauwai did not long survive the divorce. She died at the home of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, in Honolulu, on November 3, 1873, aged thirty-three,⁵⁸ and the burial service was read over her remains in the Pro-Cathedral on the following day.⁵⁹

Despite Kaauwai's splendid physique — he was in excess of six feet in height and had a barrel of a chest — he seems to have fallen a victim to pulmonary

tuberculosis, a disease that plagued Hawaiian natives. With the opening of the year 1874, his health became critical. Beginning on January 31, and continuing until his death, he was visited daily by his physician.⁶⁰ Despite his illness he took an active part in the election of a successor to King Lunalilo who had died without heir on February 3. Deserting the standard of the Dowager Queen Emma, he supported David Kalakaua who was elected. Kalakaua immediately rewarded him by appointing him Court Chamberlain on March 27. Following the election, the King made royal progresses to the islands of his dominions. On March 30, the day that the King was scheduled to leave for Lahaina, Kaauwai, despite the precarious state of his health, was directing the packing of his trunk in order to accompany the King when he was attacked by a heart ailment and died almost instantly.⁶¹ The opposition that had existed to Kalakaua's election made inadvisable the postponement of the progress, and the King left as he had planned and remained away until April 14.⁶²

Kaauwai's remains, preserved in alcohol in a wooden coffin lined with lead,⁶³ lay in state until the King's return. The funeral services were read at the Pro-Cathedral on Sunday afternoon, April 19, after which the remains were buried in an underground brick vault in Kawaiahao Churchyard,⁶⁴ the principal burial place of native Hawaiians in Honolulu. There, under a hau tree, they await the resurrection.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

RHAS: Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society.

LR-SPG: refers to Letters Received from New Zealand, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch, Melanesia, Honolulu, 1859 - 1867; being MSS. in the Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London.

NOTES

¹ *Polynesian* (Honolulu), Aug. 16, 1856.

² R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778 - 1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu, 1938), p. 280.

³ R. C. Lydecker, compiler, *Roster Legislatures of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1918), pp. 32, 35, 55, 61; *New Era and Weekly Argus* (Honolulu), Feb. 8, 15, 1855. He served April 30 to June 21, 1851; April 7 to July 9, 1852; April 8 to Aug. 12, 1854; April 7 to June 16, 1855.

⁴ Deposition of W. H. Halstead, Aug. 21, 1876, in Probate (MSS. in Office of Clerk of Supreme Court, Honolulu), file 1355.

David Kaauwai served in the House of Representatives, April 8 to Aug. 12, 1854; April 7 to June 16, 1855. He was married but had no children. In 1854 and 1855 he was an annual member of the RHAS. He was considered "one of the finest Hawaiian orators" and died in Honolulu, Jan. 26, 1856. Lydecker, *Roster*, pp. 55, 61; *RHAS Transactions, Fourth Annual Meeting, 1854* (Honolulu, 1854), p. 170; *RHAS Transactions, Fifth Annual Meeting, 1855* (Honolulu, 1855), p. 93; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), Jan. 16, 1862; *Polynesian*, Feb. 2, 1856; *Friend* (Honolulu), XIII (March 1, 1856) p. 24.

George Kaleiwohi Kaauwai was born about 1843; he married Ulalia Muolo Keaweheulu, by whom he had one daughter; and he died in Honolulu, Feb. 16, 1883. Petition of Ulalia Muolo, Sept. 8, 1883, and deposition of Kanahahaha, in Probate, file 1356. Tombstone in Kawaiahao Churchyard, Honolulu, shows terminal dates incorrectly as 1831 and March, 1881.

The daughter died before 1848.

⁵ *Polynesian*, Aug. 16, 1856; *RHAS Transactions, First Annual Meeting, 1851* (Honolulu, 1851), p. 14. Kaauwai was an annual member in 1851 and 1852. He was appointed to the committee on swine in 1851 and to the committee on taro and garden vegetables in 1854. *RHAS Transactions, 1851*, pp. 17, 124; *RHAS Transactions, Second Annual Meeting, 1852* (Honolulu, 1852), p. 142; *RHAS Transactions, 1854*, p. 160.

⁶ *New Era and Weekly Argus*, Feb. 8, 1855.

⁷ *Polynesian*, Aug. 16, 1856; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Aug. 14, 1856.

⁸ Dr. T. N. Staley to W. T. Bullock, Dec. 22 [1863], *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 15. On his tombstone in Kawaiahao Churchyard appears the erroneous statement that he was born in 1824.

⁹ Kuaana to trustees, April 29, 1861, *Records of Conveyances* (MSS. in Bureau of Conveyances, Honolulu), XIV, pp. 111-112; Kamehameha IV to trustees, May 15, 1861, *ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

¹⁰ Petition of Mary Ann Kiliwehi Kaauwai, April 22, 1872, in Divorce (MSS. in Office of Clerk of Circuit Court of Second Circuit, Wailuku, Maui), file 80.

¹¹ *Weekly Dispatch* (London), July 16, 1865, quoted in *Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu), Sept. 23, 1865; letter of the Rev. George Mason, Jan., 1864, in *The Net, Cast in Many Waters* (London), April 2, 1866, p. 57.

¹² *Polynesian*, Nov. 30, 1861; Jan. 18, 25, Feb. 8, 1862; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 16, 1862.

¹³ *Polynesian*, May 10, 17, 1862.

¹⁴ Staley to the Rev. E. Hawkins, Sept. 19, 1864, *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 26.

¹⁵ Although there appears to be no record of this commission, Kaauwai was generally known as major. See letter of George Mason, Jan., 1863, in *Net*, April 22, 1866, p. 57; *Polynesian*, Feb. 28, 1863; Manley Hopkins, *Hawaii: The Past, Present, and Future of the Island-Kingdom. An Historical Account of the Sandwich Islands (Polynesia)* (2d ed., London, 1866), p. 466; "Hawaii and its Church" in *Colonial Church Chronicle*, XIX (1865), pp. 396-397; *The Kingdom and Church of Hawaii . . .* (London, 1865) p. 27; Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 9 [1863], *LR-SPG*, Honolulu No. 12; Staley to Bullock, Dec. 22 [1863], *ibid.* No. 15; Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., undated, *ibid.* No. 10; Staley to Bullock, July 21, 1865, *ibid.* No. 16. The photograph accompanying Andrew F. Muir, "Ordinations of the Bishops of Honolulu, 1862-1902" in *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XX (Sept., 1951), shows Kaauwai in a major's uniform.

¹⁶ Bishop of Honolulu [T. N. Staley], *Five Years' Church Work in the Kingdom of Hawaii* (London, 1868), p. 26.

¹⁷ *Polynesian*, Feb. 28, 1863.

¹⁸ Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 9 [1863], *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 12; Staley to Bullock, July 21, 1864, *ibid.*, No. 16; Hopkins, *Hawaii*, p. 466.

¹⁹ Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., Sept. 5, 1864, *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 24.

²⁰ Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 9, [1863], *ibid.*, No. 12.

²¹ Letter of Mason in *Net*, April 22, 1866, p. 57; Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., July 24, 1863, *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 13; Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 9 [1863], *ibid.* No. 12; Staley to Bullock, Dec. 22 [1863], *ibid.*, No. 15; the Rev. Edmund Ibbotson to Secretary, S.P.G., *ibid.*, No. 24.

²² Privy Council Records (MSS. in Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu), XI, 177.

²³ Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., undated, *LR-SPG*, Honolulu, No. 10.

²⁴ Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., Sept. 5, 1864, *ibid.*, No. 24; Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 19, 1864, *ibid.*, No. 26. Later, however, Kaauwai became a missionary of the S.P.G. Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., Jan. 15, Feb. 24, 1866, *ibid.*, Nos. 34 and 43.

²⁵ Staley to Hawkins, Sept. 19, 1864, *ibid.*, No. 26.

²⁶ D. W. Kalaeloa to Editor, Lahaina, Sept. 28, 1864, in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (Honolulu), Oct. 8, 1864; letter to Staley, Oct. 12, 1864, in *Colonial Church Chronicle*, XIX (1865), p. 119; *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 6, 1865; *Missionary Herald*, LXI (1865) p. 26.

²⁷ Letter of Staley, Oct. 12, 1864, in *Colonial Church Chronicle*, XIX, p. 119.

²⁸ *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 6, 1865.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, May 13, 1865.

³⁰ *Evening Mail* (London), July 13, 1865, and *Weekly Despatch*, July 16, 1865, quoted in *Hawaiian Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1865.

³¹ Mother Kate, S.S.M. (Katherine Anne Egerton Warburton), *Old Soho Days and Other Memories* (London, 1906), p. 58. Courtesy of the Rev. T. J. Williams of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

³² [Arthur J. Butler], *Life and Letters of William John Butler, Late Dean of Lincoln and Sometime Vicar of Wantage* (London, 1898), p. 113.

³³ [Hallam Tennyson], *Alfred Lord Tennyson: a Memoir* (London, 1906), pp. 439-40.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

³⁵ Letter in the Queen Emma Museum, Honolulu.

³⁶ *Hawaiian Gazette*, Nov. 24, 1866.

³⁷ *Southern Cross* (Auckland), Aug. 13, 15, and Sept. 1, 1866. Courtesy of Mr. R. Duthie, reference librarian, Auckland Public Library.

³⁸ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 21, 1882. See also *ibid.*, July 28, 1877.

³⁹ Staley to Secretary, S.P.G., May 1, 1867, *LR-SPG*, Honolulu No. 51. There is no mention of Kaauwai in the records of the Diocese of Auckland. The Right Rev. William John Simpkin, bishop of Auckland, to writer, Jan. 7, 1947.

⁴⁰ *Maile Quarterly*, II (1866), p. 21.

⁴¹ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 24, 1866.

⁴² *Hawaiian Gazette*, Nov. 24, 1866.

⁴³ *Southern Cross*, June 17, 1867.

⁴⁴ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Sept. 7, 1867. The return of the Kaauwais did not put an end to this journal's vicious comments, for a short while later, it stated: "The unexpected return of Rev. Mr. Hoapili and wife, from England via New Zealand, was hinted at as having had something to do with . . . [Charles Gordon Hopkins'] departure." *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1867. Hopkins, brother of Manley Hopkins, Hawaiian consul general and charge d'affaires in London, and uncle of the Rev. Gerald Manley Hopkins, S.J., the poet, had held several offices in Hawaii and had accompanied Queen Emma to England in the capacity of private secretary.

⁴⁵ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Sept. 14, 1867.

⁴⁶ Letter in the archives of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

⁴⁷ Letter in the archives of the University of Hawaii Library.

⁴⁸ The Rev. G. B. Whipple to Staley, Aug. 29, 1868, in Henry Benjamin Whipple Papers (MSS. in Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.).

⁴⁹ Fragment of letter of Staley to G. B. Whipple, *ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Feb. 12, 1870; *Hawaiian Gazette*, Feb. 16, 1870.

⁵¹ *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 4, 1870.

⁵² *Ibid.*, May 4, 11, 18, 25, June 29, and July 3, 1870.

⁵³ H. Holstein, "A Memorial to the Hon. Messrs. Hitchcock, Boyd, Bishop, Thompson, Kaauwai, and other prominent members of the Legislature, who are willing to devise measures and enact laws with a view to correct as much as possible the abuses and errors of the past, and to prevent, as much as lies in human power and wisdom, the impending ruin of these islands" in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 25, 1870.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1872; Jan. 17, 1874.

⁵⁵ Petition, April 22, 1872, and answer, May 29, 1872, in Divorce, file 80.

⁵⁶ Decrees, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Petition of Edward Preston, attorney for Hoapili, filed Aug. 14, 1876, in Probate, file 1355.

⁵⁸ *Friend*, XXX (Dec., 1873), p. 101; *Hawaiian Gazette*, Nov. 12, 1873.

⁵⁹ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 8, 1873; *Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger*, I (1873), p. 96; Burial Register of St. Andrew's Cathedral (MSS. in Office of Canon Pastor, Honolulu).

⁶⁰ O. S. Cummin's bill in Probate, file 1355.

⁶¹ *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, April 4, 1874; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 4, 1874; April 16, 1944. On Kaauwai's tombstone, the date of death is given erroneously as "APRIL 1874."

⁶² *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 4, 18, 1874.

⁶³ C. E. Williams' bill, Sept. 3, 1874, in Probate, file 1355. The costs were: wooden coffin, \$20; lead coffin, \$35; thirty gallons of alcohol and attendance, \$150; total, \$205.

⁶⁴ *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 22, 1874; *Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger*, May 1, 1874, inside front cover; Burial Register of St. Andrew's Cathedral.