

A MILLION POUNDS OF SANDALWOOD

THE HISTORY OF *CLEOPATRA'S BARGE* IN HAWAII

by Paul Forsythe Johnston

If you want to know how Religion stands at the Islands I can tell you—All sects are tolerated but the King worships the Barge.

Charles B. Bullard to Bryant & Sturgis,
1 November 1821

Built at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1816 by Retire Becket for George Crowninshield Jr., the hermaphrodite brig *Cleopatra's Barge* occupies a unique spot in maritime history as America's first ocean-going yacht. Costing nearly \$100,000 to build and fit out, she was so unusual that up to 2,600 visitors per day visited the vessel even before she was completed.¹ Her owner was no less a spectacle.

Even to the Crowninshields, renowned throughout the region for going their own way, George Jr. was a bit odd. Unburdened by much of a formal education, the eldest of five sons worked

in his father's shipping firm in Salem, shipping out as a captain by the age of twenty. However, he preferred shore duty and gradually took over the construction, fitting out and maintenance of his family's considerable fleet of merchant ships, carefully expanded from successful privateering during the Revolution and subsequent international trade under the new American flag. In his leisure time, George drove his custom yellow horse-drawn carriage around Salem, embarked upon several life-saving missions at sea (for one of which he won a medal), recovered the bodies of American military heroes from the British after a famous naval loss in the War of 1812, dressed in flashy clothing of his own design, and generally behaved in a fashion quite at odds with his diminutive stature and portly proportions.

Despairing of his sons ever getting along and mindful that the Jeffersonian Embargo of 1807 prevented international commerce from reaching American ports, George Sr. dissolved the firm of George Crowninshield & Sons in 1809. His fleet resumed privateering during the War of 1812, fielding (among others) the ship *America IV*, also built by Retire Becket and the single most successful privateer in that conflict.² He died in 1815, leaving his three surviving sons wealthy and idle.

Soon afterwards, George Jr. headed down to

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Becket's shipyard and ordered up a radical new vessel: a private yacht. At the time, the concept of a ship built for pleasure was unknown on the western side of the Atlantic, where ships were built solely for trade or war, and the yacht attracted considerable local attention. The new ship was a hermaphrodite brig, square-rigged on the foremast and fore-and-aft rigged on the main, and with a hull modeled after *America IV*. No expense was spared, and the final product cost an astonishing \$50,000 to build and another estimated \$50,000 to fit out and furnish in the high style demanded by the owner, who planned to live aboard his private yacht as well as sail in her. Initially named *Car of Concordia*, the brig measured 83' in waterline length and 100' on deck, half an inch under 23' in breadth, 11' 5" deep and 192-41/95 tons. Crowninshield built her using the finest materials available, and he incorporated several innovative ideas he had developed while managing the family fleet into *Car's* fittings, capstan, rigging and other features. She even had plumbing, as noted by one of her distinguished Mediterranean visitors.³ Her lavish furnishings included custom silver, glass, and china services, and her interior decor rivaled that of the wealthiest homes, stimulating several contemporary descriptions.⁴ Her exterior was distinguished by a herringbone paint scheme on the port side and multicolored horizontal stripes to starboard, a life-sized painted wooden Indian on deck, velvet-serve quarter-deck lines, considerable gilding, and the latest patent windlass, pump, and rudder technology. In November 1816, immediately after receiving her passport autographed by (then) Secretary of State James Monroe, the ship was renamed *Cleopatra's Barge*. The reason for this was never revealed but may have been due to a reading of some lines from Act II, Scene 2 of William Shakespeare's romantic tragedy *Antony and Cleopatra*:

The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne,
 Burn'd on the water: the poop was beaten gold;
 Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
 The winds were love-sick with them; the oars

were silver,
 Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and
 made
 The water which they beat to follow faster,
 As amorous of their strokes.

George Crowninshield's love of spectacle was displayed as he launched the *Barge* on Monday, 21 October 1816, fully rigged and with all sails set. That winter was a harsh one in which Salem Harbor iced over, and while waiting for open water, George entertained the admiring crowds with rides in his boat, perched atop a sleigh, out to the *Barge* for tours and other entertainments. Finally, on 30 March 1817, all conditions—personal and meteorological—were adjudged adequate for departure, and *Cleopatra's Barge* cleared Salem on a voyage of pleasure "To one or more ports, places, cities, islands, townes, boroughs, villages, bays, harbours, basins, rivers, creeks, lakes, inlets, outlets, situated in the known world, between the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, and the artic Circle, once or more times."⁵ Accompanying the owner were more than three hundred letters of introduction from the likes of James Monroe, (British) Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, and Commodore William Bainbridge. Also aboard were George's yellow cat Pompey and a crew of fourteen men and boys. Among the latter were George's cousin "Sailor Ben" Crowninshield as master, along with the captain's footloose son "Philosopher Ben." Two African-Americans—the steward and cook—also signed on. In a foreshadowing of Hawaiian things to come, cook William Chapman had sailed to the Sandwich Islands with Captain James Cook and later settled there. One day, it was revealed by a neighbor that shortly after Captain Cook's death on the Big Island, he had been wandering through the woods when he came upon the freshly-slaughtered entrails of a pig. After cooking and eating them, he learned that they were actually Captain Cook's intestines.⁶ All together, the crew was an unlikely and colorful group of individuals, and shortly after the *Barge* cleared Salem, George's sister-in-law Mary Crowninshield wrote



Captain George Crowninshield, Jr.

Oil of George Crowninshield Jr. attributed to Samuel Finley Badger Morse. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum (M8263).

of them, “. . . I am sorry—but they may appear better abroad than at home.”⁷

Despite the *Barge's* boundless sailing plan, she headed straight for the Mediterranean. To the alarm of the crew, the Atlantic passage and sailing directions were guided to no little extent by the owner's dreams. Over the next six months, she visited fifteen ports, undergoing a series of unparalleled adventures and misadventures. One day in Barcelona, a crowd of eight thousand “genteel and well dressed people” was so intent on inspecting the “wonders of Cleopatra's Barge” that “several fell overboard at the foot of the ladder.” A military officer felt compelled to force his way aboard with drawn pistol, and a pregnant woman was so overcome by the experience that she went into labor. That same day, “1800 to 2000 of the ragamuffin class were turned

away.”⁸ In Genoa, Chapman the cook astonished a prominent German astronomer with a discourse on four different methods of deriving lunar distances for determining longitude, delivering this lecture with “a white apron around his waist, a fowl in one hand, and a carving knife in the other.” In late May at Majorca, George Crowninshield embarrassed his crew (and his brother Ben, Secretary of the Navy at the time) by begging supplies from the American frigate *United States*, and then running his hands through a small keg of copper nails he received as though they were golden doubloons.⁹ George's admiration for the Emperor Napoleon was so outspoken at French and Italian ports that a French warship began shadowing the *Barge*, especially after he spent a week in Rome with relatives of the exiled emperor. One of his most ardent wishes had been to find an exotic foreign princess and bring her back on the *Barge* to his hometown Salem, where she would be the source of envy and admiration from all who beheld her.¹⁰ But in none of the countries visited was George able to lure a European princess aboard, much less talk her into accompanying him back to the United States, and he was forced to leave Europe in August without female companionship. *Cleopatra's Barge* arrived back at Salem on 3 October 1817. Her owner died of a heart attack six weeks later, well into plans for his next voyage to the Baltic via England.

Since then, no fewer than three books and dozens of articles have told and retold the story of *Cleopatra's Barge*. However, all of the secondary sources share a significant gap: while they all recount the famous vessel's New England history in great detail, they all end with only a few lines about the four-year interval between the *Barge's* sale to the King of Hawaii in 1820 and her 1824 loss.¹¹ None investigates or recounts the ship's rich Hawaiian history—equally as strange and amazing as the American chapter of her story.

George Crowninshield Jr. would have been proud of his favorite possession's later life, for many of her later exploits echoed his own eccentric ex-

periences aboard her. Despite his unrequited royal aspirations, little could he have known—nor could he have ever imagined—that one day kings, queens, princes, and princesses would walk her decks, or that a king—second in the line of America’s only authentic royalty—would own his yacht before her remarkable loss in a tropical paradise on the other side of the world.

This history picks up where others begin to conclude—with her 1820 registration to new owners.¹² Richard Crowninshield, brother of the first owner, purchased the *Barge* at auction in August 1818 from his late brother’s estate for \$15,400—a fraction of what she had cost only two years earlier. On 27 April 1820, she was re-registered to John Bryant and William Sturgis, principals of the

Boston China traders Bryant & Sturgis.¹³ The price Bryant & Sturgis paid for the famous ship is unknown, but the registration certificate does record that they had a partner who also happened to be her master of record at the time: Captain John Suter of Boston.

John Suter was well suited to the task. Born near Norfolk, Virginia, on 20 March 1781, he and his brother were orphaned and separated at a young age. At eight, John was sent to Boston on a schooner and apprenticed to a Boston pilot.¹⁴ Uninterested in education, he nevertheless flourished in and around the waters of Boston Harbor, surviving a shipwreck aboard a pilot boat when she was run down and sunk one night. Shortly after the Quasi-War with France began in



George Crowninshield Jr. in his yellow curricle, as shown in a detail of the 1806 oil painting of Crowninshield’s Wharf by George Ropes Jr. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum (M3459).

1796, Suter was serving aboard a privateer off the French coast when she was captured in the English Channel; he secured his release and even managed to hold onto his savings of one hundred gold dollars hidden in his clothing.

In 1799, Suter made his first voyage out to the Pacific Northwest as third mate aboard the *Alert*; subsequently, he found himself in the West Indies, where he was captured by the British near Martinique and impressed into service aboard an English frigate. In 1804, he signed on the Boston ship *Pearl* as first mate for a long voyage back to the Pacific Northwest and China; he served in this capacity for three years and returned to Boston from Canton in 1807 as her master. His first documented voyage to the Sandwich Islands was as master and supercargo of *Pearl*, leaving Boston in autumn 1807 and arriving at Hawaii in January 1808. This voyage may have initiated his relationship with Bryant & Sturgis, as they owned one-sixth of *Pearl's* outbound cargo. Suter became master of the Boston ship *Atahualpa* in September 1811 and returned to the Pacific Northwest shortly afterwards, in concern for an impending embargo. Under Suter, *Atahualpa* left Sitka, Alaska, in August 1813 with a large fur cargo and arrived at Oahu in October; in mid-December she was sold to American interests for \$4,700, then sold again to the Russian-American Company and renamed *Bering*.¹⁵ Suter left Hawaii for Canton with his furs aboard the privateer schooner *Tamahamaha*, in which he had a part share, and the cargo brought nearly \$50,000 in Canton. However, the British detained the vessel and Suter in China for nearly a year before they were able to escape and return to Boston.¹⁶

Suter took command of the Bryant & Sturgis ship *Mentor* in July 1816; as with many of his earlier commands, he took her to the Northwest Coast. Although furs were scarce by this time, Suter made a successful and very profitable trip, returning to Boston in June 1819 and then resigning his command.

On 22 June 1820, less than two months after Bryant, Sturgis and Suter bought her, *Cleopatra's*

Barge cleared Boston for the Sandwich Islands under Captain Suter. Although she bore a general cargo of “Axes, Brandy, Cottons, Gin, Hats, Hard Ware, Lead, Looking Glasses, Molasses, Muskets, Swords, Rum, Dry Goods, Sugar, Tea, Wine, Boots,” copper, umbrellas and a wagon, she left New England with a far different purpose in mind than general trade.¹⁷ In their letter of instruction to their partner Captain Suter dated two days before he departed, Bryant & Sturgis wrote:

The *Cleopatra's Barge* of which you have the immediate command is intended to be Sold Vessel & Cargo at the Sandwich Islands . . . in this case you must endeavor to make your agreement with the King in the clearest manner—Stating how many Pikels of wood you are to Receive what the quality is to be & when it is to be delivered to your agent.¹⁸

The partners intended from the outset to sell the famous yacht to Hawaiian King Kamehameha II, son of Kamehameha the Great, who had united the Sandwich Islands and only recently died, leaving his son in power. Although the same letter to Captain Suter contained elaborate backup plans should the *Barge* fail to sell in Hawaii, several subsequent letters to Suter sent aboard other vessels indicated the owners' total confidence that the famous yacht would be irresistible to the king.

Two different logbooks are preserved for the *Barge's* outbound voyage from Boston to the Sandwich Islands; differing only in small details, they tell the tale of an uneventful voyage whose monotony was broken only by frequent sail changes and an occasional squall.¹⁹ The most interesting aspect of these records begins when *Cleopatra's Barge* was about a month out of the Sandwich Islands, as the crew began preparing her for sale. Activities include scraping the masts, unbending old sails and bending newer ones, “ratling & taring the riggin,” painting the spars and hull, scraping the deck, cleaning the hold, and sundry other “jobs of ships

duty.” After 138 days at sea, the *Barge* arrived at Lahaina, Maui, on 6 November 1820; the very next day Kamehameha II, better known as Liholiho, was welcomed aboard along with some family members and attendants.²⁰ The *Barge* must have left for Oahu sometime over the next few days, for on 11 November, Captain Suter sent ashore at Honolulu all of the *Barge*’s spare spars (totaling twelve masts, gaffs, yards, and booms).²¹ The following day the local Christian missionaries were permitted to collect their “61 letters, a box of tea, a bag of coffee, a box of medicines, a box of clothing, &c,” providing they kept secret anything in the letters that could affect Bryant & Sturgis trade. Other items were delivered to the Governor (Chief Kalanimoku) and to Captain Babcock, master of another of the king’s brigs, *Neo*.²² On 12 November, the *Barge* sailed for Maui with passengers, a large boat for the king and some missionary letters. Liholiho was still at Lahaina, and Suter did not want to let his prey stray too far. The next day, he anchored at Lahaina in 15 fathoms and hosted the king for dinner on 15 November, saluting his royal guest’s arrival aboard with a five-gun salute.²³

On the following day (16 November 1820)—just ten days after his first visit to the ship—Liholiho purchased the *Barge* and her (remaining) cargo for eight thousand piculs (1.07 million pounds) of sandalwood, worth \$80,000 at the time.²⁴ Although Bryant & Sturgis had written very detailed “reminders” to Captain Suter regarding contract terms for the potential sale of the yacht, Suter seems to have “broken orders” and ignored them.²⁵ Despite an undated draft sale contract preserved among his papers, no signed bill of sale exists. This absence of a contract for the quality and delivery dates for the sandalwood payments was to haunt Bryant & Sturgis and their agents in Hawaii for the remainder of their enterprise there.

However, the Boston China traders had gauged their royal prospect well. Liholiho’s father Kamehameha I had loved foreign ships; over time he had collected a sizable fleet of Western vessels, which, with guns and training by the *haole* (for-

eigners), were a major asset in creating and maintaining his far-flung kingdom of islands.²⁶ Liholiho inherited his father’s love of ships; one of his childhood companions remembered seeing Liholiho frequently sailing a boat model “like a real man-of-war” on a pond and also recalled that their favorite boyhood pastime was drawing ships in the sand at the beach.²⁷

Liholiho inherited the monarchy upon his father’s death in May 1819. Although he ruled for only four and a half years, his short reign had a greater impact upon Hawaiian culture and society than any other earlier or subsequent monarch. Chief among his royal deeds (backed by his father’s favorite wife and his own co-regent Ka’ahu-manu) was the formal abolition in November 1819 of the *kapu* (taboo) system of political and social power, which created a vacuum in the belief system of Native Hawaiians—already corrupted by considerable contact with Euro-American explorers and traders at least as early as Captain Cook in 1778. Second was his allowance of the Pioneer Company of Protestant American missionaries to stay in his kingdom (initially for a year) upon their arrival from Boston in April 1820. These evangelical missionaries stepped into the breach only a few months after the *kapu* abolition and found fertile grounds for spreading the Gospel and replacing the old beliefs with Christianity.²⁸

The missionaries, informally headed by the Reverend Hiram Bingham, quickly dispersed around the Hawaiian Islands, establishing mission stations and schools. In the course of these efforts, they generated a considerable volume of correspondence and activity reports among themselves, their families, and their central office back in Boston, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).²⁹ These papers, viewed through the filter of early nineteenth century missionaries proselytizing “savage” peoples, provide a wealth of information about *Cleopatra’s Barge* and her movements, as everything from the climate to the geography and people was new to the



Cleopatra's Barge in August 1818; watercolor by deaf-mute Marblehead artist George Ropes Jr. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum (M8255).

missionaries, and their eyes were wide open to every event of even slight interest to themselves and their earthly mission. One of the *Barge's* earliest voyages in the Sandwich Islands transported a missionary, engendering the enthusiastic journal entry by mission printer Elisha Loomis, "The barge has become the vehicle for carrying Christian Missionaries from Island to island!"³⁰ It also established a regular pattern of free passages on the *Barge* that endeared the king to the missionaries, causing them to overlook his astonishing capacity for alcoholic spirits and other perceived foibles.

On 4 January 1821, King Liholiho took formal possession of *Cleopatra's Barge*, appointing his personal secretary, Frenchman Jean-Baptiste Rives, as temporary captain. This opportunistic individual was born in Bordeaux around 1793, son of a merchant ship captain and grandson of a physician. He seems to have hitched a ride to the Sandwich

Islands on a foreign ship sometime around or before 1810, picking up the Hawaiian language quickly. Sharing the nickname *Luwahine* (Old Woman) with Ka'ahumanu (the most powerful chiefess in all Hawaii), his diminutive height of less than five feet was the object of some derision among the tall Hawaiian chiefs. "Liked because of his youth and boyish ways," and perhaps because he and the prince were the same age, he became a member of Liholiho's inner circle, where he made himself useful in a variety of ways. He taught Liholiho, royal courtier John Papa I'i, and two other boys some rudimentary English, but he was rude to the prince and apparently threatened to poison him after Liholiho ended the informal English school. After their falling out, he was taken in by no less a personage than the powerful *kuhina nui* Ka'ahumanu, Kamehameha I's favorite queen, and at some point he acquired a Hawaiian wife (or two); two (or more) daughters, and considerable property on several islands. He also may have inherited his grandfather's healing touch, for he is credited with healing either Kalanimoku or Ka'ahumanu herself of a deathly ailment.³¹

By the time the *Barge* arrived in Hawaii, Rives seems to have been back in favor, as he appeared aboard the vessel as early as 15 December 1820, transmitted orders from the king to sail from Maui to Oahu three days later, and, once back at Honolulu, signed for some cargo from the ship in the king's name on 22 December.³² On the same day that Liholiho took possession of the *Barge* and appointed him captain, Rives received a serious beating at the hands of another foreign captain in the king's service; Captain Pigot, former master of the brig *Forrester*, was threatened with banishment the next day for this violent act and other behaviors unacceptable to the Hawaiians.³³ The following Sabbath, divine services were held aboard *Cleopatra's Barge* at the request of Captain Rives, whose politeness was specifically noted by the Protestant missionaries "though himself a Roman Catholic." The highlight of the service was Rev. Bingham's sermon on Psalm 107:22-24, doubtless

chosen for its familiar words “they that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters. . . .”³⁴ Elisha Loomis’s wife, Maria, plaintively noted how sweet the hymns sounded within the elegant mahogany walls of the *Barge’s* grand salon, recording in her journal, “Our straw houses were not very well calculated to make singing sound well.”³⁵

On 12 January 1821, the *Barge* cleared Honolulu for Lahaina in company with the king’s vessels *Neo* and *Robinson Crusoe*, probably to bring Liholiho and his court back from their alternate residence. The *Barge* remained on Maui around three weeks, during which her activities are unrecorded. However, her arrival back at Honolulu at around 8 P.M. on the evening of 3 February more than made up for the extended absence. Twelve cannon salutes, answered by an identical salvo from the town fort and amplified by echoes off the hills in the background, announced the arrival of his drunken majesty, who nearly ran his new yacht aground in two fathoms of water several miles from the anchorage and had to be towed into port. The consequent noisy preparations for his landing the following morning disrupted observation of the Sabbath to no little degree, provoking Reverend Bingham to describe the uproar:

The shouting of the noisy natives, and the voice of the crier demanding hogs, dogs, poi, etc., to be gathered for the reception of his majesty (who was in his cups), formed a combination of the sublime and ludicrous not soon to be forgotten by the missionaries . . . which was now increased by the yelping and crying dogs, tied on poles, and brought in for slaughter.³⁶

On 9 February, King Liholiho, Kalanimoku and various attendants aboard the *Barge* and *Neo* sailed back to Maui for a few days, ostensibly to gather the rest of the royal family and attendants and return to Honolulu. According to the mission reports, the king instead spent three days intoxi-

cated at Lahaina and then abruptly sailed to Hawaii. While there may have been a perfectly good reason for this detour, it was unknown to the missionaries, so they attributed it (rightly or wrongly) to erratic behavior caused by alcoholic spirits.³⁷

Dozens of other Sandwich Islands voyages of the *Barge* are sprinkled throughout the missionary accounts for the period; however, the purposes of a great majority were unknown to the missionaries and thus are not recorded. Many were undertaken by the king or his chiefs with little or no notice (to the missionaries); as a result, these trips were frequently attributed to the erratic or drunken whims of the young monarch, whose fondness for alcoholic spirits was well-documented among the foreigners and his own people alike.³⁸ However, the missionaries were generally unaware of Hawaiian politics during this critical early phase of their mission, both through their own poor command of the language as well as their narrow evangelical focus. As a result, they were oblivious to the Hawaiian custom of frequent and unannounced trips by chiefs throughout their lands to observe the local populations, direct their activities (such as sandalwood cutting), arbitrate disputes, assess tribute, and the like. The mission’s stance on temperance was in direct conflict with the foreign traders, who preferred dealing with a genial, intoxicated, and generous king with a strong attachment to one of their prime commodities.

A month-long gap ensued, during which the king and the *Barge* dropped out of sight only to reappear at Honolulu on 10 March on a voyage from Maui. By now the discharge of cannon signaling His Majesty’s approach was obligatory, yet still noteworthy. According to more than one source, Liholiho was drunk when he came ashore, and the next day he sent an order out to the *Barge* captain for a bottle of rum.³⁹ Just over a week later, on the Sabbath (18 March), Liholiho asked Reverend Bingham to pray to Jehovah for favorable winds, and the *Barge*, *Neo*, *Atooi Schooner*, and *Thaddeus* cleared Honolulu once again for Maui.

Somewhere in the interim the king had appointed his native Hawaiian fleet commander, "Captain Jack," as the new *Barge* captain. A "Captain Adams" was named sailing master for the king's yacht, but for this voyage and nearly all others when he was aboard the *Barge*, Liholiho himself took command.⁴⁰ The purpose of this particular passage was to transport the royal family and their parties from Lahaina back to Honolulu for an extended period, and a fleet of six sail, now including the *Bordeaux Packet* (another of the king's craft),⁴¹ arrived back at Honolulu on 3 April with Ka'ahumanu, Liholiho's five wives, and their "principal retinue" crowding their decks. The royal party landed, but Liholiho remained aboard the *Barge* that evening. The next day he fired an 8-10 gun salute honoring a newly-arrived party of Russian officers, and subsequently entertained them with a glass of wine in the elegant dining room of his royal yacht.⁴²

The accounts of two of the Russian visitors are preserved, providing the only descriptions of the internal configuration of the *Barge* as a royal yacht. One, Karl Gillesem, provided unique details on the *Barge's* royal armament at the time, although he over counted the gunports:

The king had bought this yacht from some American merchant for 80,000 piastres. Though the vessel was finished internally with gilt mirrors and did mount sixteen brass twelve-pounders, she was certainly not worth that huge sum.⁴³

Lieutenant Aleksei Petrovich Lazarev of the Russian sloop *Bagonamerennyi* observed the *Barge* at greater length than any other contemporary author of any nationality:

There appeared, at about noon, the royal fleet of four brigs and the same number of schooners. . . . Ahead of the fleet entering the harbor went the yacht carrying the king. She fired a five-gun salute, to which the fort and other craft all replied with the same number of

shots . . . the royal yacht having dropped anchor in the harbour, we had sought permission to present ourselves to the king, but the latter told us, through an official, that because of the untidiness and disorder on his yacht he would be unable to receive us that day. . . .

On reaching the yacht, the king informed Captain Vasil'ev that we were to receive a five-gun salute . . . both our sloops should respond to the royal salute with an equal number of guns . . . whereupon the yacht fired off another five rounds, in response. As well as by the yacht, guns were fired by the fort, the flotilla, and even a few minutes later, on several American vessels.

The king invited us into his cabin, where we were asked to be seated round a large table covered with a cloth. He himself sat at the head, placing Captain Vasil'ev at his right hand and Captain Shishmarev at his left, while the rest of us sat without any distinctions of rank. For the king's favorite wife, a chair was placed beside him; and behind them, on the floor, sat a fly chaser and a functionary with a spittoon.

Several chiefs, probably of the highest nobility, likewise entered the cabin but had no place at the table. Conversation began with our praising the royal yacht, which was in fact justified, while an African Negro was bringing several tumblers, wine-glasses and, finally, four carafes full of liquid to our table. . . . He was dressed only in a white shirt. Saying, "Rum, brandy, gin, wine," he went off. The king then began to regale us, offering us our choice of drink and pouring a glass of wine for himself. We followed his example and drank his health.

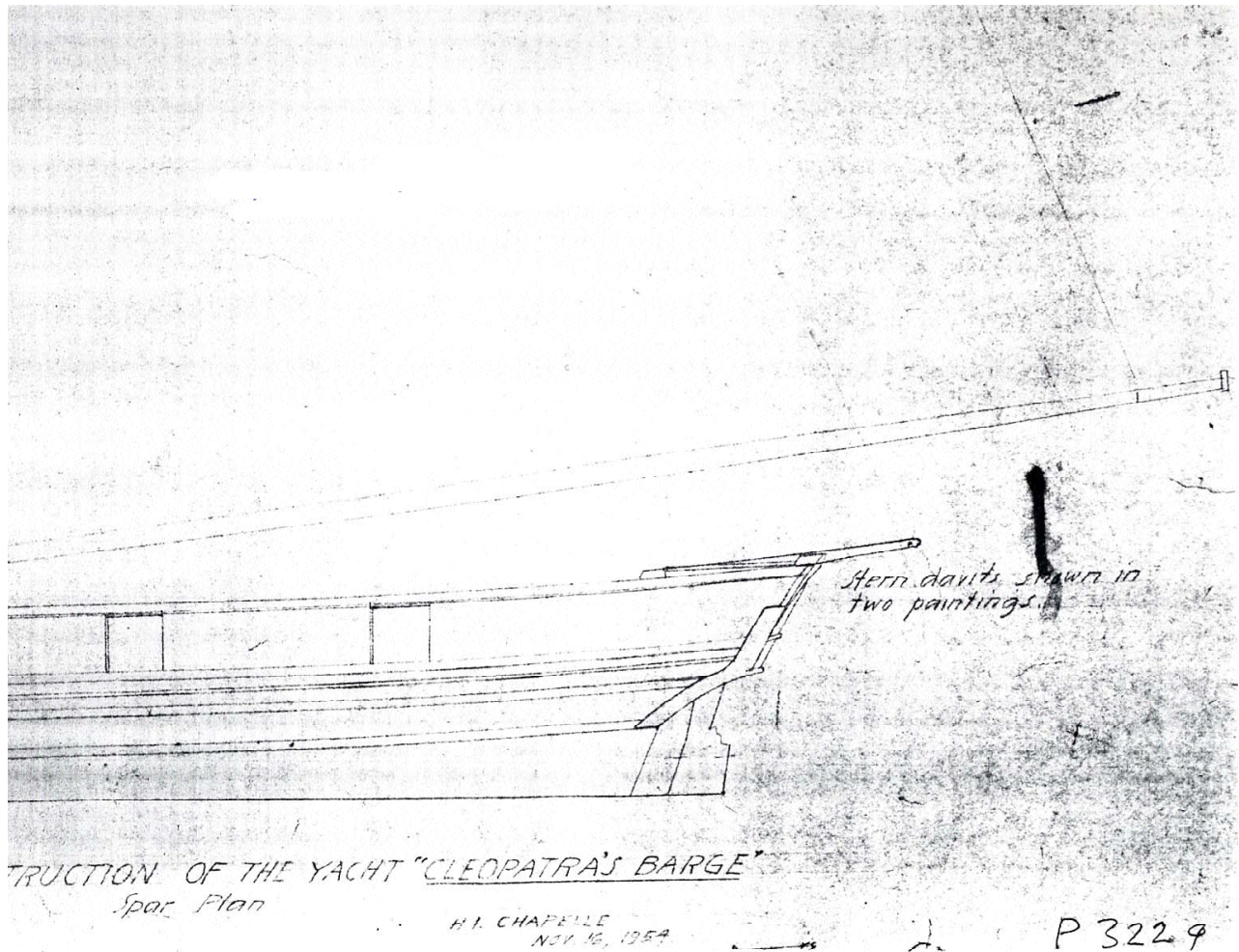
The queen . . . was a woman of unusual height and size. Although a chair had been placed for her, she did not sit on it long. Instead, she constantly paced about the cabin and struck the seated chiefs with her heavy hand. . . .

The yacht on which we found ourselves would have done honour to an owner other

than a half-savage Islander. She had been built in America by a wealthy citizen and, on his death, had been sold to other Americans then trading with the Sandvichane. These new owners in turn then sold her to the local king for 80,000 piastres, or 400,000 roubles. The sum was indeed an appalling one, but it must be noted that the Americans did not receive hard cash for the yacht, but rather sandalwood. . . .

The yacht of which I speak was built of solid oak as a schooner and had all the qualities of a good sea-going vessel. She was armed

simply and well, and beautifully fitted out on the exterior, with fine carving on bow and stern. She had fourteen gunports, only eight of her guns being loaded while we were there. We also much admired her internal arrangements. At her stern were a salon finished with pink and deep blue mountings and gilt, a bedroom, a buffet, and a stairway leading up to her deck. Midships was a captain's cabin and, forward, quarters for a crew, a storage area for tackle and so forth, a galley above and, finally, a spacious lounge containing tables of the finest



Previously unpublished Howard I. Chapelle spar plan for *Cleopatra's Barge*, 1954. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum (P3229).

workmanship, inlaid with palm and lacquered redwood. The walls of this lounge were embellished with a number of carved gilt designs, and the floor was spread with good English carpets. Seeing all this painstaking work and fitting, one could only regret that such a beautiful craft had fallen to the Sandvichane and not to devotees of order and cleanliness; for the interior of that yacht no doubt resembled a stable shortly after our departure.

On the 24th, the king visited both [Russian] sloops at our invitation . . . the Otkrytir . . . like our own vessel, saluted him from five guns. The royal yacht, the fort, and the entire Sandvichanskii flotilla responded with an equal salute.⁴⁴

Either the royal yacht had a somewhat different layout from the original Crowninshield arrangements, or Lieutenant Lazarev mistook a few details (like the *Barge's* brig rig). Crowninshield's grand salon towards the stern remained gilded but was now decorated with pink and blue "mountings" (probably hanging textiles). Liholiho also may have enlarged the space, as the Russian naval officer does not mention the aftermost officers' cabins from Crowninshield's days. Forward of the salon remained the owner's quarters. Many of the other spaces also remained, with the principal exception of a large and opulent "lounge" up forward. This must have been created through opening and joining of some of Crowninshield's smaller forward spaces—possibly the original crew's quarters and adjacent areas, as Lazarev states that the crew now had midships space instead of forward berthing as in the original design. This forward lounge, richly decorated with gilding, expensive English carpets and fancy inlaid tables, presumably served as the royal family's quarters, as the Russians' reception was in another cabin with different, more modest furniture (mere chairs and a covered table). Liholiho displayed his appreciation of Euro-American protocol in seating his foreign guests to either side of himself, leaving room at the table only

for his favorite wife Kamamalu. The exotic African steward and his tray offering choices of strong alcoholic beverages must have made a powerful impression even on Western guests, and conferred high status on the king when among his other chiefs. Lieutenant Lazarev counted the number of gunports correctly and added the detail that only eight cannon were mounted, leaving six ports empty at the time.

Once again the *Barge* dropped out of sight for several weeks; she was sighted off a small island on the south side of Maui on 25 June and then vanished again for a time. It was almost certainly during this interval that Liholiho was developing his bold plot to confirm Kauai as part of his kingdom, unite all the islands under one king, and thereby achieve a goal at which even his illustrious father, Kamehameha, had only partly succeeded. Under the circumstances, it would have been essential for him to confer with the greater and lesser chiefs of all the other islands—perhaps several times—to enlist and maintain their support for his ambition. Moreover, a degree of secrecy would have been desirable, as many of the kingdom's chiefs did not support his abolition of the *kapu* or his reign in general, and several were related by blood or marriage to Chief Kaumuali'i, who ruled Kauai.

Nevertheless, word of Liholiho's possible intentions had leaked as far as the foreign community in Honolulu by 14 July, and three days later the *Barge* sailed for parts unknown (at least to those who wrote about it). Perhaps to disguise his true intentions, on or around 21 July Liholiho set out from Oahu in a small, open sailboat with just two other chiefs and two women, crossing the largest stretch of open water in the Hawaiian Islands and arriving on Kauai at 3:00 a.m. the following morning. He immediately placed himself in the care of Kaumuali'i, the wise, powerful and wealthy chief who enjoyed island-wide loyalty. Declining the opportunity to rid himself of his unexpected and totally unprotected rival, Kaumuali'i reaffirmed his allegiance to Liholiho, as he had done earlier with the king's father. Two days after Liholiho's arrival, the

Barge arrived as well, carrying his wives and others. The two chiefs and their parties then sailed around Kauai in their personal vessels for several weeks, visiting the island's sites of interest. John C. Jones Jr., Commercial Agent for the United States and business agent for Marshall & Wildes (business rivals of Bryant & Sturgis), had a distinctly sour view of this royal junket and the *Barge* in particular, complaining to his employers back in Boston:

The next day they landed at Atooi [Kauai] . . . there they commenced their round of dissipation and put a stop to all business on that Island, every man was recalled, from cutting wood. . . . Had the *Cleopatra's Barge* never have come to these Islands we should in all probability have made as great a voyage as ever was performed in these seas, that vessel is so superior to any of ours, that they will scarce look at them, had the sale of the *Barge* been managed right, she would have sold for 12000 piculs as quick as she did for 6000, they almost adore her; Suter has done everything to injure us, and succeeded in some degree, he has persecuted our concern to an overbearing degree; every foreigner in this country is ready to cut his neighbours throat, truth is a stranger here, the Sandall wood fever will deprive some of their reason.⁴⁵

John Jones was not Captain Suter's only critic. Charles Bullard, Bryant & Sturgis' own agent in Hawaii, echoed his rival's sentiments in a letter written a few weeks later to his employers from aboard their ship *Tartar* en route to Canton from Honolulu:

—as regards that, Capt. Suter acted hastily, both as to *price* and *terms*— . . . I must once more refer to the sale of the *Barge* particularly the terms—Here a most grand mistake was made, but it would require ten pages to go into the particulars, that . . . with such a vessel as the *Barge*, it was not at all necessary to de-

liver her before payment—the King would have “found no rest for the sole of his foot” until he was in possession of her, and had Suter held on, a Cargo [of] Wood would have been brought forward very soon—According to Suter's own interpretation of the contract he was to have no wood until Lewis & Babcock were paid. . . . If you want to know how Religion stands at the Islands I can tell you—All sects are tolerated but the King worships the *Barge*.⁴⁶

Bullard's *ex post facto* condemnation of Captain Suter's conditions of sale is suspect, to say the least. It is difficult to believe that a part owner of the *Barge*, and one of the most successful Pacific sea traders, would not have tried to arrange the very best terms for himself and his partners, under whatever particular circumstances prevailed in the Sandwich Islands at the time. Suter may have believed that the King was overextended in sandalwood payments at the time, and that there was no point or need in demanding full payment prior to taking possession of the *Barge*. However, as later events showed, Suter did make a mistake in the *Barge* sales transaction, as he never obtained a signed contract for the sale.

During their lengthy visit to Kauai, Liholiho, his family, and his chiefs enjoyed the generous hospitality and protection of their royal host. That changed, however, on the evening of 16 September, after Liholiho invited Kaumuali'i aboard *Cleopatra's Barge* after a day sail. No sooner had the Kauai chief settled into a seat in the main cabin around 9:00 p.m. than Liholiho weighed anchor and set sail for Oahu. Perhaps to disguise his intentions, the event occurred on the Sabbath, and Liholiho's wives and a number of his chiefs were left behind on shore.

Suspecting the worst, Kaumuali'i called out to his brig *Tamaholalahna* (*Kamaholelani*) to come after him, but the *Barge* was quickly lost in the darkness and was not seen again for a week. On the

following Sabbath she reappeared at Waianae on the western side of Oahu, where Kaumuali'i was dropped off, presumably under armed escort, to make his way to Honolulu; Liholiho himself did not return to Honolulu until 30 September.⁴⁷ Said Sybil Bingham in a letter to her friends back in East Windsor, Connecticut, "You may judge of the excitement this event produced in the minds of those thus deprived of their King."⁴⁸

Thus in one stroke, *Cleopatra's Barge* kidnapped the ruling chief of Kauai and provided the means by which Liholiho achieved the one goal that even his powerful father Kamehameha the Great had been unable to attain despite repeated attempts. Meanwhile, back on Oahu, Liholiho's co-ruler Ka'ahumanu took a liking (both personal and political) to Kaumuali'i; they were married by 10 November 1821, cementing his exile from Kauai, and the former Kauai chief returned to his former kingdom only once before he died in late May 1824.⁴⁹ However, by that date Kauai already would have avenged the *Barge's* treacherous act.

Around the same time that Liholiho returned to Honolulu, Captain Suter seems to have suffered a moral setback. Both in the Sandwich Islands as well as at home in Boston, he had a reputation as a bible-toting Baptist always ready to lend a helping hand to the missionaries whenever possible.⁵⁰ Just six months earlier, he had earned praise in Mercy Partridge Whitney's journal for giving the Waimea mission "a barrel of hard bread, a barrel of molasses, part of a barrel of beef & pork, a considerable quantity of tea, several hams, a pot of pickles, a large pitcher of cranberry preserves, a bottle of pepper & some mustard seed." He also offered to loan the Whitneys his ship carpenter to build some furniture for their house, and the following month, when the mission was contemplating a trip to the Society Islands, Suter had offered a crew to man the ship offered them by Kaumuali'i.⁵¹ However, around the beginning of October, the missionaries noted in their official record that physician Dr. Blatchely had chastised Mr. Bingham for telling "Manooea (a girl who had lived with the

mission family) that she had done wrong to leave the school to live with Captain Suter."⁵² Although it is within the realm of possibility that the Hawaiian girl left school to serve as Suter's housekeeper, considering the terse language of the official mission's journal entry it seems likelier that Suter succumbed to the allure of the islands like so many other seamen before and after him. Interestingly, no one seems to have said anything to Suter himself, perhaps because he had been so generous and helpful to the mission in the past. Surely by coincidence, he left Kauai for Canton aboard his old ship *Mentor* on 13 October, and he never returned to Hawaii—or the Pacific Ocean—again.⁵³

The next appearance of the *Barge* in the historical record represented a milestone event for the American missionaries. As mentioned above, the Pioneer Company had been granted permission by King Liholiho to remain in his domain for only one year. Seeing fertile and receptive ground for their mission, as the end of the year approached they hoped to extend their stay beyond the initial period. On 15 October, missionary physician Dr. Thomas Holman and an unidentified ship captain ("Captain C.") visited the king "to get land, cows, oxen and horses." Liholiho, Ka'ahumanu, and Kalanimoku received them on the quarter-deck of the *Barge* for what must have been a pivotal moment for the brethren. The request was granted, in effect endorsing an indefinite stay for the missionaries (through the land gift), and the king left for Hawaii Island and Kalanimoku for elsewhere on Oahu respectively, leaving Ka'ahumanu to work out the grant amounts and other details.⁵⁴

Two months later Liholiho and his wives voyaged to Honolulu from Hawaii aboard the *Barge* specifically to visit Ka'ahumanu, who was sick at the time. Although a few other 1821 *Barge* voyages may be inferred from documented Honolulu arrivals, the last mention of her that year was on 27 December, when she arrived at Honolulu from Hawaii bearing the king, his men, and retinue.

The vessel was towed into the harbor with the obligatory cannon salutes “and loud crying” announcing his arrival.⁵⁵

The first 1822 record of the *Barge* was the surrender document of her Boston registration; dated 16 March, it documents the sale and property transfer by William Sturgis, John Bryant and John Suter, “Sold the Natives of the Hawaiian Islands.”⁵⁶ The comparatively late date of this document is probably attributable to the long, drawn-out sandalwood payments that frustrated Bryant & Sturgis agent Charles Bullard so greatly. However, he was about to become even more frustrated and disturbed on the famous ship’s account. On 18 April during a routine overhaul, *Cleopatra’s Barge* was found to be almost completely rotten abaft the mainmast. Bullard wrote a lengthy account of the unfortunate discovery and its remarkable results to his employers in Boston:

My business was in the best possible terms until 18th April when the Carpenters who were overhauling the Barge reported she was *rotten*;—This I could hardly credit, but on examination found it was too true:—From the main chains aft above water, *She was a complete mass of dry rot*.—The effect produced by this can hardly be conceived;—Their disappointment was great in proportion to their previous expectations—When I went to *Court* where I before received every attention, I found nothing but frowns. . . . They informed me that Capt. Suter represented the Barge as a first rate vessel, nearly new, and *guaranteed* she would wear ten years without repair & etc. But *they* said she must be 15 years old, and that she was sent out on purpose to deceive them, and that the concern were a set of liars and villains; . . . A grand consultation of chiefs was held, and it was at first determined not to pay any more wood, on which I took a decided stand, and after three weeks gained the majority in my favor, and I have after much vexation

and *expense* recd. 1984 Peculs—I had the greatest difficulty in obtaining any thing like decent wood or fair weight—Before this took place, they were better pleased with the bargain than any they ever made, and would have given me the best lots of wood. . . . The animosity of the King’s party and some others is so great on account of the Barge, that they are determined if possible that I shall not buy any wood; and I am obliged to keep on as good terms as possible with them on account of the old debts.

About ten days since the King informed me that he should not pay any more wood; That an *allowance* ought to be made for the rottenness of the Barge etc. . . . The rottenness of the Barge while it has operated so much against me, has been of great advantage to other concerns. . . . I am in a bad predicament, the contract for the Barge not being *endorsed* nor half made. . . . The Barge blew up at a most unfortunate moment.⁵⁷

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Bullard’s account is that he was somehow able to persuade the king to resume sandalwood payments for the *Barge* despite her condition and that he was even able to collect another 1,984 piculs for her sale under the circumstances. Exactly how he did this was only revealed later. Rumors and misinformation immediately began circulating among the resident foreigners and missionaries and thence back to the rest of the world. Marshall & Wildes agent John Jones, who only one letter earlier had openly envied the *Barge*, now wrote spitefully to Boston:

The Barge has proved good for nothing, every timber aloft [abaft] her mainmast is so defective that you can pull out any of her bolts with your fingers, her transom, &c. is all punk. she is now hauled up and condemned and will never leave the harbour again. So much for the famous Barge. Sturgis may hang up his fiddle here, it is a fortunate thing that the Barge did not belong to our concern.⁵⁸

English visitor Gilbert Mathison, who must have spoken with Liholiho right after the discovery of the *Barge's* condition, went so far as to state:

She was called the Cleopatra's Barge, and to catch his Sable Majesty had been fitted up in a style of considerable elegance; but she had not been long in his 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 endeavor to make the best of a bad bargain. The King, in allusion to this transaction, told me one day, that the Americans had cheated him, by selling rotten ships.⁵⁹

On 3 May, a group of missionaries went aboard the storied yacht to see her condition for themselves, mournfully recording, “. . . we went together on board the Cleopatra's Barge, or Moku Haheo (The Proud vessel) as the natives call it, to examine this admired flower of the Ocean, now exceedingly defaced & going to decay.”⁶⁰

This journal observation is of interest not only because it indicates the high regard of the missionaries for the ship, but it is also the earliest reference to a Hawaiian name for the *Barge*. On 8 October, agent Bullard informed his employers that he had met with Kalanimoku and was still encountering difficulties collecting the last eight hundred piculs of sandalwood due on the *Barge*, but remained optimistic of the outcome.⁶¹ Just two days later, the missionaries dryly recorded the absolute low point in the working life of the famous ship, writing in the official mission journal for that and the following day:

The brethren went on Board the Ship Wellington now condemned and offered in sale to us. We concluded to purchase her hull at 600 dollars, to accommodate the mission with plank & timber for building & with fuel. . . . The king and Pitt [Kalanimoku] re-

fusing us permission to haul the Ship ashore, because they now wished to buy her for their own use, Capt. G. very readily allowed us to decline taking her. The king takes the ship's hull, main mast, fore mast and bowsprit, in barter for 10 guns which belonged to the Cleopatra's Barge.

The ship referenced was actually a brig that arrived at Honolulu 21 July, discharged her cargo of cloth and timber over the next ten days, and was then surveyed for condition on 7 August. The missionaries needed Liholiho's permission to haul *Wellington* ashore on the high tide to break her up, but the king had finally decided he wanted her for himself. So he bartered ten valuable guns from his erstwhile favorite for portions of a condemned hulk, worthless for anything but firewood and timber suitable for recycling.⁶²

However, just two days after this apocalyptic journal entry, *Cleopatra's Barge* arose like a phoenix from the ashes. In a 13 October letter to his employers, Charles Bullard further analyzed the yacht's condition and the presumed reasons for it: “The rottenness of the Barge was probably occasioned by the close work aft which prevented a proper circulation of the air—she is perfectly sound forward of the Mainmast.” In that same letter, he noted that Captain Thomas Meek had contracted to repair her with “timber and plank from Norfolk Sound” in Alaska, and that Meek “will probably make a profitable job of it.”⁶³

Meek had recently sailed his brig *Arab* to the Queen Charlotte Islands (south of Sitka), arriving there in early August and spending five weeks there cutting “timber” and firewood. He sent boat crews up the Sound to cut the raw logs, which were either loaded onto the boats or rafted down to the shore point nearest *Arab*. There, under the supervision of the ship's carpenter, they were hewn into planks, beams and spars for stowage and return to Hawaii in late September.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, there is no mention of the type of

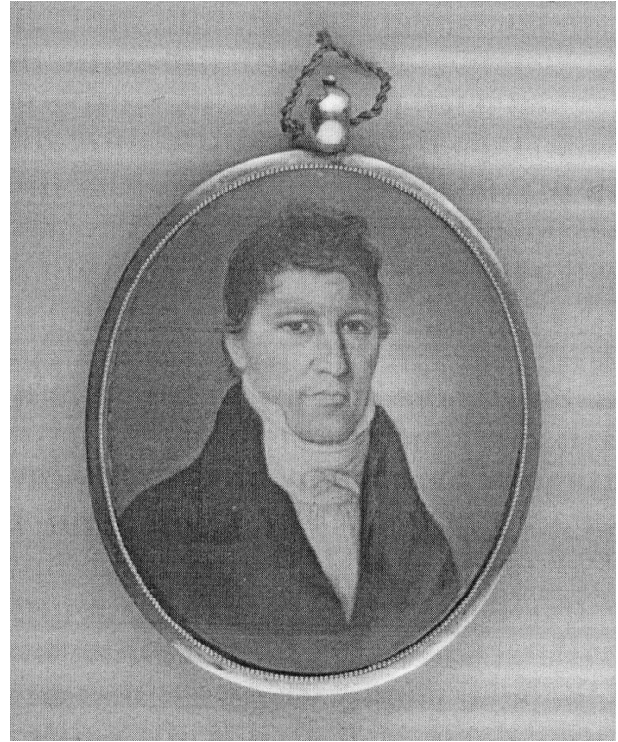
wood cut by the *Arab* crewmen, which would have identified the wood(s) used for the *Barge* repairs.

At this time, Bullard was preparing to sail aboard *Tartar* for Canton, and he left detailed instructions behind in Honolulu for his temporary replacement, James Hunnewell, with particular attention to collecting the remainder of the king's sandalwood debt for the *Barge*:

Enclosed you have the Bond given by the King of the Sandwich Islands for the Brig Cleopatra's Barge & Cargo—balance due thereon 480 peculs Sandal Wood, as per certificate of J^{no} Rives—The vessel having proved Rotten has been a serious injury—The King has pressed hard to have an allowance made—Should this fall into the hands of Capt. J^{no} Suter, he can of course act as he pleases—If any other Person receives it, he is requested to collect the same, provided the King sees fit to pay it, if not, he is requested to leave the Papers with the Missionaries or some safe Person subject to the order of Mess. Bryant & Sturgis.—I have notified the King that the Person who holds the papers would be the authorized Agent to settle the business. The King will no doubt take the balance provided you take Small Wood. . . . Thos Meek has bought timber and plank to repair the Barge, and should he get her in good order again, and not charge too high, they will feel easier about it.⁶⁵

Once he was safely at sea and well away from Hawaii, Bullard revealed his true feelings about the whole *Barge* matter, and his thoughts on the subject remained highly critical of Captain John Suter. At the time he accused Suter of deception, he admitted to a bit of duplicity on his own part:

She was the King's Idol and Flag Ship, and from the representations made to him, he placed great confidence in her—Capt. Suter acted very improperly the whole season after he sold her in continually harping in their ears that



Miniature portrait of Captain John Suter. Courtesy of Deborah Rood Spencer.

she would wear ten years without repair etc. He must have known this to be impossible—I suppose he calculated all the wood would be paid, before she would be out of order, but as it turned out, these representations have fallen heavily on my shoulders—I suppose there are twenty men at Woahoo, who would swear that he *guaranteed* it. Never have had a Copy of the Bond—I was once called on to produce it, but managed to evade—Had I been obliged to bring it forward, the White Men would at once have told the King its faults, and that if he paid “Sandal Wood”, he would fulfil his contract and the only men that I should be obliged to bring forward to say that the bargain was understood to be for merchantable Wood, would also have said that the vessel was guaranteed to wear ten years without needing any repairs—In fact some Person has already done

this. . . . So far as she has been opened or bored (above water) *there is not an ounce of sound timber to be found*—The Iron Spikes can be drawn out by hand—some of the planks are rotten.⁶⁶

Perhaps Bullard's continuing resentment of Suter and his marketing methodology was an attempt to shift blame for his own difficulties in collecting the debt owed his employers, as seen in the new light of the *Barge's* condition. Perhaps Suter had known at the time of the sale that the ship's condition was less than perfect and he justly invoked Bullard's ire for selling out at a low price with easy payment terms. Regardless, in that same lengthy letter, Bullard disclosed how he had finally convinced the king to continue sandalwood payments even after the discovery that the *Barge* was rotten aft: he proposed to Liholiho that he pay off his other debts to Bryant & Sturgis in good wood to fill *Tartar's* hold for the Canton voyage, and leave the remainder of the *Barge* debt in other, later agents' hands. After a ten-day dispute the king finally agreed to this, probably in part just to get rid of his annoying supplicant, and Bullard then put those payments for other debts against the *Barge* account anyway, reducing her payables to only 480 piculs. Although the king had offered to pay off the *Barge* debt earlier, it had been only in inferior, unmarketable wood, and Bullard had refused to accept it. There is no evidence that the outstanding 480 piculs were ever paid. The last reference to *Barge* repairs is also towards the end of this Bullard letter, wherein he observed, "There are several Carpenters at Woahoo and Captain Meek *thinks* he can repair her." The letter concludes with a list of the 1821–22 payments for the royal yacht and even lists 2,149 piculs of her sandalwood in *Tartar's* bottom bound for Canton.

Captain Thomas Meek's log for the brig *Arab* picks up the story just three weeks after Bullard wrote, with an entry for 8 November stating "Began to work on the *Barge*." This unspecified work continued through to 27 November, when the log

added the detail "Carpenter and some hands working on the *Barge*." A 9 December entry named William Nye as one of Meek's workers on the *Barge* without specifying his particular duties; on 18 December the log entry finally clarified what is being done in stating, "Carpenter and caulkers at work on the *Barge*." Clearly, the work begun the prior month must have involved stripping the copper, removing rotten timbers, replacing them with sound wood and caulking the seams. The day after the caulkers arrived Nye became sick, and so he remained until 30 December, according to his daily health report in the log. With Christmas and one other day off, *Barge* work progressed steadily through the end of 1822.

On 3 January 1823 the log of the *Arab* recorded ". . . finished Planking the Barges Bottom," and the following day the crew was employed "sealing the Barge"—probably a reference to caulking or otherwise preparing the hull for coppering. On Sunday, 5 January, work shifted to the *Barge's* interior, where planks (probably rotten ceiling) were cut out of the structure. Carpenters and caulkers worked side-by-side for the next several days; on 13 January a James Barret began work on the project. "Sealing" was finished on 15 January, but the following day caulking was undertaken on the larboard side and interior.⁶⁷ This occupied a few days, after which the cabin floor was laid. This flooring may either have been new to replace rotten wood or perhaps was re-laid after earlier removal to gain access to the rotten timber below. Barret and Nye were both sick at this point, but Barret recovered the next day and resumed caulking. On 22 January the carpenter was optimistically recorded as beginning to "finish up the Cabbin," and a French caulker joined the crew the following day to help the regular crew. Nye finally had recovered enough by 27 January to resume work on the cabin; this and caulking occupied the work crew for the next three weeks. On 30 January, the crew commenced "putting up the Cabbin;" this and similar, slightly later references may indicate that cabin work was more

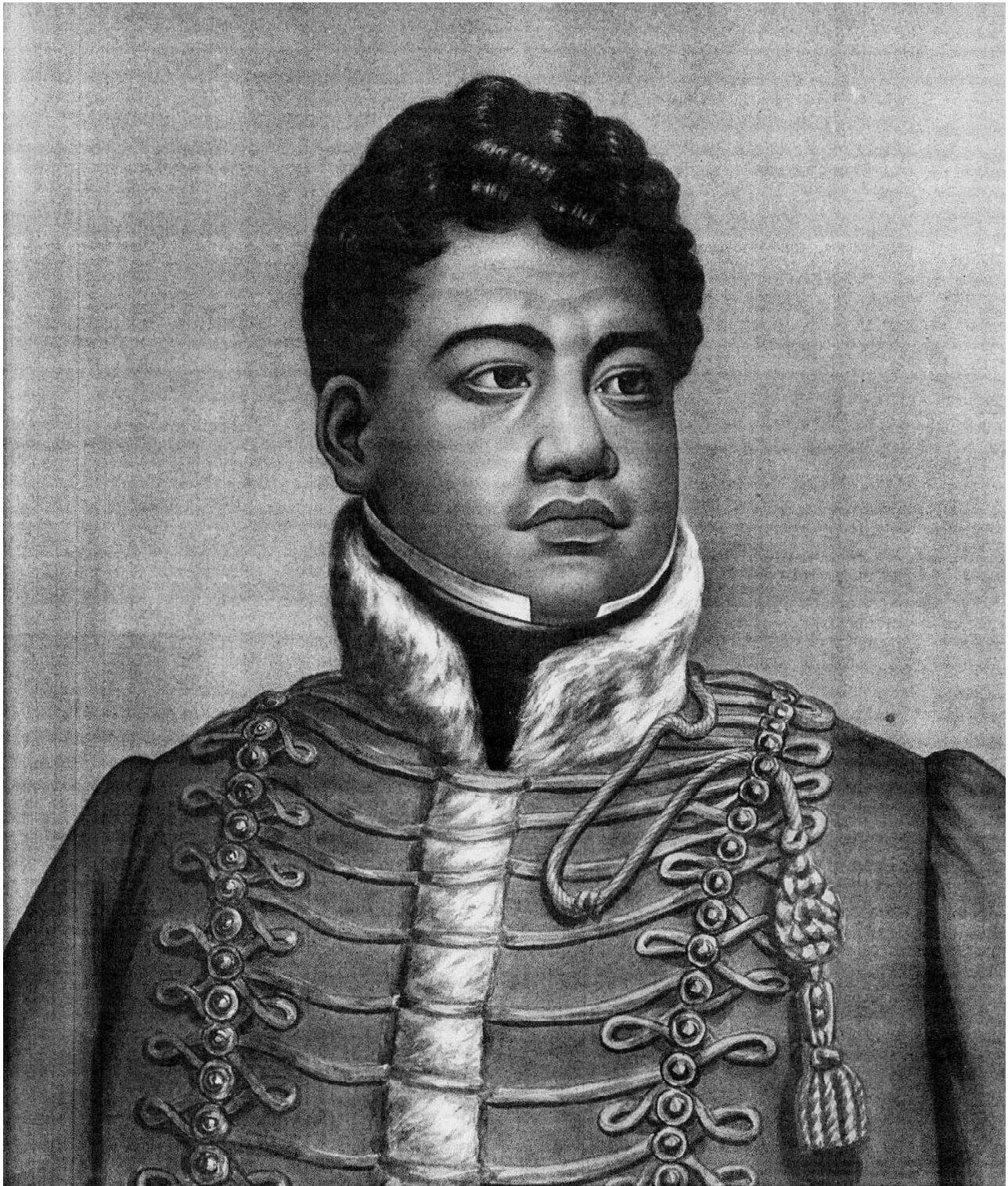
extensive than simply restoring the original floor and walls to their original placements. On 18 February Meeks's carpenters pulled out the *Barge's* keel, and they found it rotten and the false keel so completely gone that they had to begin cutting down a spare spar for a replacement false keel. At the same time, the caulkers kept up their work and coppering started on the bottom. On 26 February, the ship was heaved over on her starboard side, and the same caulking and coppering operations begun all over again. Coppering of the hull and rudder were finished by 4 March, when the pumps were removed and taken ashore for some parts replacement.

Work resumed on the cabin, along with some unspecified deck work, until all of the carpentry on the yacht was completed on 16 March. All that remained in the interior was to "glaze the [S . . .] Doors and Windows in the Cabbin." The following day two armor(ors) appeared to work about the *Barge's* decks—probably to inspect or replace some of the deck rings and bulwark fittings, check the gun-bearing decking, or the like. A few days later, the crew began painting the stern, cabin, and spars, and the log also records the armorer working at the forge. While there are references after 16 April to painting, spar making, sail mending, and other shipboard duties, they are not clearly or directly linked to the five-month *Barge* repair job detailed in the *Arab* log.⁶⁸

Around the same time, in a letter to Boston dated 3 March, John Jones wrote that he was "employed at present in building a 30-foot boat for the King, which he wants for his royal barge."⁶⁹ The next reference of any significance is by the new Bryant & Sturgis agent, Bullard's replacement Charles H. Hammatt, who arrived in the islands on 6 May as supercargo aboard the ship *Champion*. On 10 March, he penned a journal entry indicating knowledge of the responsibility Bullard had saddled him with, although at that point he was unaware of the full story, or the futility of attempting to wrest full payment for the *Barge* from the king.⁷⁰

On 10 May, almost exactly a year after the *Barge* was discovered rotten, more positive news about her condition emerged. In his journal for that date, Hammatt noted that "the *Barge* having proved rotten, and the king having gone to the expense of a thorough repair of her, thinks he is entitled to a large deduction from the price agreed to be paid for her."⁷¹ A day later, the missionaries' official report back to their Boston headquarters recorded that "The king proposes to embark for Hawaii either in the schooner *Waverly* or in his elegant *Barge*, now repaired and called *Ha'aheo o Hawaii—Pride of Hawaii*."⁷² This is significant, not only in indicating that the *Barge* was repaired at Liholiho's expense, but also as the first contemporary usage of the *Barge's* new Hawaiian name. It was clearly given her as the result of her 1822/23 restoration and not earlier (as most later sources indicate). Liholiho certainly would not have paid for the extensive repairs out of his own pocket, had he not been convinced by this time that it was his responsibility to do so. The ship's new name, representing the royal ship of state, now reflected her fine condition, and once again the king could sail aboard her with the pride he had displayed nearly a year earlier before her poor condition was discovered.

Despite these positive indications of the *Barge's* rebirth, all was not well. As Hammatt gradually learned of the circumstances of her sale to the king and other matters pertaining to Bryant & Sturgis's local affairs, a disturbing situation was revealed regarding his predecessor Charles Bullard. In his journal entry for 18 May, he claimed that several sources stated that Bullard had "bought a *large* adventure of his own," and refused to accept two thousand piculs of good sandalwood in partial payment of the *Barge* debt until his own goods had been sold, "thus preferring his commissions to the interest of his employers." The entry continued in this vein for some time, reporting that the *Barge* was discovered to be rotten after Bullard had sold around half of his goods, and the entire two thousand piculs of wood was given to Bryant & Sturgis



Watercolor portrait of Hawaiian King Kamehameha II (Liholiho). Courtesy of the Bishop Museum.

rival John C. Jones, “the best wood that concern ever got here.”⁷³ Of course, Bullard had left for Canton several months earlier and was unavailable to defend himself.

On 28 May, Liholiho’s entire fleet of Western ships cleared Honolulu for various other destinations in his kingdom. Aboard *Ha’aeo* on the first recorded voyage after her refit was not only the king, but his mother, Keopuolani, and a sister, who were under religious instruction by the missionaries and who were going to Lahaina, Maui, for the season. They asked for some missionaries to join them, and their request was readily granted. Missionaries William Richards and Charles Stewart were assigned this important duty, receiving free passage aboard the yacht with the royal family. Packages were secured, *Ha’aeo*’s topsails were shaken loose, a farewell hymn was sung in Hawaiian, and benedictions were made as the ship cleared Honolulu. Traveling easterly from the harbor, in the vicinity of Diamond Head King Liholiho stepped off *Ha’aeo* into his small boat to ride the surf, “steering himself and laughing very heartily at wetting the Queens & their attendants. . . .” The sources for this joyride diplomatically record that Kalanimoku, an accomplished and experienced seaman, served as *Ha’aeo*’s master for this journey rather than the king himself, “in courtesy to the queen mother and missionaries.”⁷⁴

Reverend Stewart recorded that although there were at least two hundred people aboard the royal yacht for this three-day voyage, including many high chiefs and their retainers, the missionaries were given the after cabin for their exclusive use. In addition, he provides further scarce details of the royal brig’s crew and arrangements, saying that shortly after clearing the harbor, the steward appeared to take their dinner orders and inquire as to the time they would like to take their meal. Moreover, after ascending to the quarterdeck, Stewart noted that Keopuolani was “seated on her couch beneath an awning over the main hatch,” indicating how the vessel was furnished to accommodate the royal family.⁷⁵ *Ha’aeo* arrived at

Lahaina on 31 May, disembarked most of her passengers there, and immediately returned to Honolulu, arriving on 4 June with Kalanimoku and Elisha Loomis (who had sailed with the missionaries to help them move and settle in on Maui).

Liholiho apparently left *Ha’aeo* and returned to Honolulu after his surfing adventure, for Hammatt records that on 29 May the king went aboard the brig *Waverly*, “& after getting pretty well soaked with wine & gin, made a bargain with Rutter for the Brig & cargo, for which he gave 4000 piculs wood, and signed a contract accordingly.” However, in that same journal entry Hammatt went on to say that he did not believe the deal would hold up, for by this time Kalanimoku had made it plain to the *haole* that any deal made with them while Liholiho had been drinking “would not stand.”⁷⁶ Hammatt’s prophecy for this particular transaction turned out to be correct, but the king did find a way—a way that directly involved *Ha’aeo*—to purchase *Waverly* the following month.

On 12 June, Liholiho left Honolulu aboard *Waverly* for Waialua on the northwestern side of Oahu. *Ha’aeo* was in attendance, and to the missionaries remaining in Honolulu this was just a few days’ voyage scarcely worth mentioning. Bryant & Sturgis agent Charles Hammatt noted otherwise. In a letter to his employers dated 17 June, Hammatt wrote that Liholiho took out *Waverly* specifically to race her against *Ha’aeo*. If she beat the royal yacht, the king was determined to buy her, and in Hammatt’s mind the conclusion was foregone. “They went out together & the *Waverly* beat the other very much, as every body knew she would. The *Barge* is excessively out of trim & was managed as badly as she could be—probably by some huggemugger work between Rutter and the people on board.” Exactly how Rutter might have been able to influence a Hawaiian crew under the royal eye remains unexplained, and Hammatt’s lament may be nothing more than a sore loss to a competitor. Liholiho bought *Waverly* and her cargo on the 17

June for 3,200 piculs of sandalwood, thus shaving twenty percent off his prior contract.⁷⁷ Hereafter, the king showed a preference for sailing aboard his newest brig over *Ha'aeo*, perhaps because the latter vessel, still larger and more elegant, nevertheless served as a constant reminder of spoiled goods or *haole* deception. The perceived speed and novelty of a new ship also may have been factors in the king's preferences.

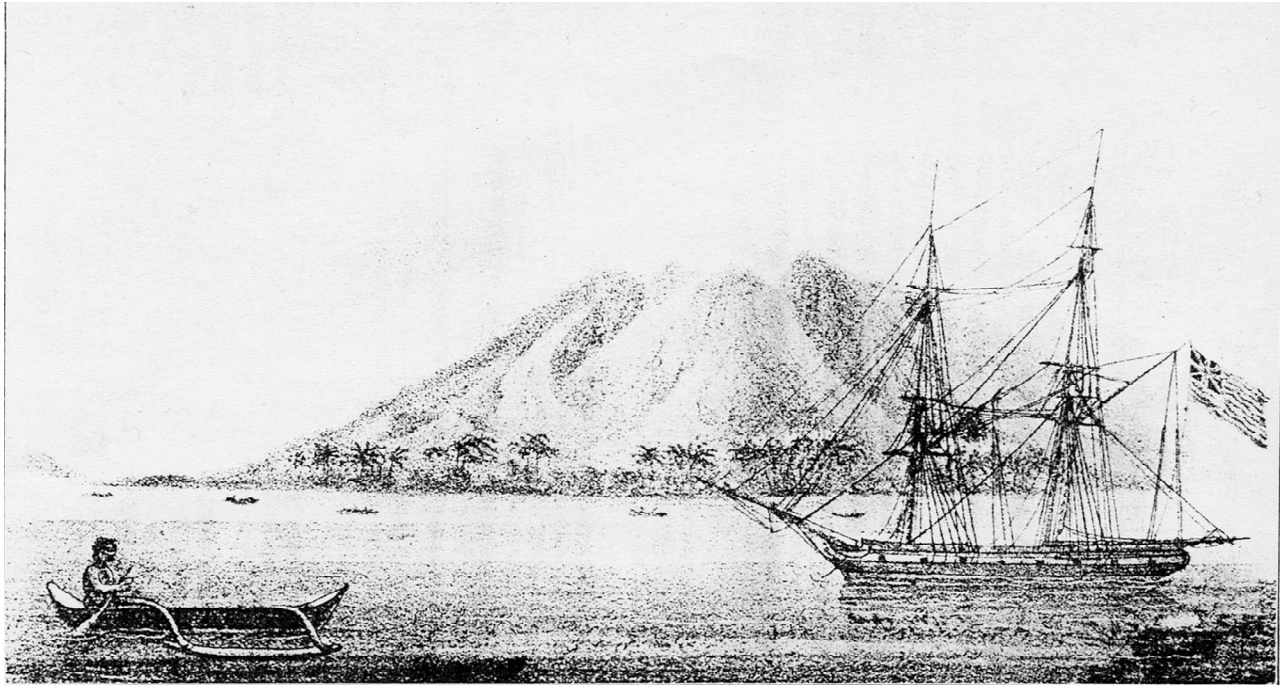
Ha'aeo's next voyage was another trip from Honolulu to Lahaina on 24 June, transporting one of Liholiho's half siblings, his wife, Kina'u, and "two or three hundred attendants" to the seasonal refuge of the royal family. She arrived three days later and may have made another round trip to the same places before returning to Honolulu on 5 July, bringing good news in the form of letters from the missionaries at Lahaina regarding the establishment of a mission there. Several more round trips between the same two places are the only significant mentions of the yacht until the middle of November; during this period she seems to have been demoted to the status of passenger and cargo transport, rather than the royal conveyance. The sole purpose of one of these trips from Lahaina to Honolulu was to locate *Waverly*, which the King, then at Lahaina, seems to have misplaced temporarily. However, a passing reference by Hammatt in his journal for 30 September to the arrival in the Sandwich Islands of the British whaler *L'Aigle*, Captain Valentine Starbuck, signaled a whole new topic of speculation among Hawaiians and *haole* alike regarding *Ha'aeo* and the future of the Hawaiian kingdom.

It seems that sometime during the period between *L'Aigle's* arrival in Hawaii and mid-November, the King had decided to travel to America and England to meet with his counterparts there, respectively, President James Monroe and His Majesty King George IV of Great Britain.⁷⁸ This was a grand, radical, and very impulsive idea, and it excited much discussion, initially among the Hawaiians. Liholiho's purpose, aside from the

gratification of an impulse, seems to have been a desire to study government administration by much-admired and established allies, although some contemporary and modern sources have speculated that he planned to put his kingdom under British rule.⁷⁹ In any event, the Hawaiian chiefs were against this plan; they believed that Liholiho would never return from a voyage of such great distance and that it would further destabilize the kingdom, already decentralized by this time. Complicating the matter even further, Captain Starbuck of *L'Aigle* offered free passage to the king and his party since he was returning to England anyway.

The king was adamant, and by mid-November the *haole* community was aware of his plan. Don Francisco de Paula Marin, the Spanish trader and royal friend, urged Liholiho to take two of his own ships rather than sail aboard a slow, stinking whale-ship, as that "would be more credit to the nation." Two of the English captains in Liholiho's fleet and some of his chiefs further recommended that one of these ships be *Ha'aeo*, and, in fact, the royal yacht was much in use over the next few weeks, ferrying chiefs from all over the islands to Lahaina for high-level consultations on various matters associated with the king's departure plans. However, the missionaries argued against the king's use of his own vessels for the international diplomatic voyage on the grounds of the potential high expense and collateral risk of losing the ship. This opinion, doubtless favored by others, seems to have prevailed, and by mid-November Liholiho had arranged space for himself, his favorite wife (and half-sister), Kamamalu, and an entourage of ten others aboard *L'Aigle* for England.⁸⁰

At the time, the ship *L'Aigle* was twenty-two years old, having been built in France in 1801. British-registered, the two-decker measured only 114' 6" in length and 476 tons. Starbuck, whose connection to British owners is perhaps explained by his English wife, had served as *L'Aigle's* master since 1819, and the ship had been whaling in the Pacific since 1817 with biennial visits back to England.⁸¹ A long transoceanic voyage aboard such



The only image of *Cleopatra's Barge* as the Hawaiian Yacht shows her at Lahaina, Maui. From Charles S. Stewart, *Private journal of a voyage to the Pacific ocean . . . in the years 1822, 1823, 1824 and 1825* (New York: John P. Haven, 1828).

a vessel could not have been a terribly inviting prospect.

Prior to departure, however, one position essential to the royal party remained unfilled, and a strange and unexpected twist to the story once again brought *Ha'aheo* to the forefront of the king's travel plans. Not until the very end of the planning had the need for an interpreter been realized, someone familiar with the Hawaiian and English languages, and someone totally trustworthy, reliable, responsible, and respectable who could help with the inevitable discussions and negotiations attendant upon the royal travels—someone like a missionary, who could be trusted to set others' interests before his own.

It just so happened that such an individual was available and willing in the person of British missionary Reverend William Ellis. Before coming to the Sandwich Islands in February 1823, Ellis had worked in the Lord's service in Tahiti for several

years.⁸² He had come to Hawaii with an unparalleled knowledge of the region's language and culture and immediately impressed the Boston missionaries with his humility, piety, and mastery of the regional languages. Moreover, his wife was ill, and the local physicians had determined that the only suitable course of treatment was for her to return to her native English climate. Ellis offered his services to Liholiho, and they were ostensibly accepted. Liholiho informed Captain Starbuck of *L'Aigle* of this late addition to his party and offered to pay Reverend Ellis's fare but was informed that there was no space available for the missionary, his wife, and two daughters. Although a Nantucketer, Starbuck's response may have reflected the whalers' general dislike of the Sandwich Islands missionaries, whom they perceived as obstructive to their crews' desires to enjoy local female companionship and other earthly pleasures after long months (or years) at sea. Starbuck's response, to which no

solution or response is recorded in contemporary accounts, was temporarily circumvented through the king's tentative decision to have *Ha'aheo* sail with *L'Aigle*, either in company or twenty days later, with Reverend Ellis aboard. The plans were further muddled when Starbuck's surgeon Dr. Williams offered his accommodations to the missionary family, at which point Starbuck declared he was unable to accept paying passengers or overcrowd his ship (presumably packed with whale oil already) for insurance concerns.

Valentine Starbuck had been in the Sandwich Islands at least as early as May 1820; at first, like other Nantucketers, he seemed favorably disposed towards the missionaries, offering to help build them a house and contributing \$10 to a home for orphans. However, by late 1823 his perspective seems to have changed considerably, at least in the eyes of jilted William Ellis, who complained of "his disorderly conduct, his contempt of religion, his mischievous actions" and wrote to the Secretary of the London Missionary Society that Starbuck told the king "that Mr. Bingham and I are poor, mean, indigent persons in our native countries, not proper ministers of religion . . . but self-made self-sent teachers who have come to his country because we cannot get bread in our own."⁸³

As Bingham says, "either skill, courage, cash, or time failed," and the *Ha'aheo* solution also was rejected.⁸⁴ The king and his party seem to have accepted without question or complaint the loss of a reliable translator in need of a ride home. In the absence of further information, it must be presumed that this was their wish, as it seems implausible that the royal party could not have insisted that Captain Starbuck find space for another small group of four and baggage aboard his whaler, or found passage on another vessel. Instead, the king, his party, and \$25,000 in gold for expenses boarded *L'Aigle* and cleared Honolulu on 27 November 1823 for England. There was, however, another individual who seems to have joined the ship secretly at the last minute: Liholiho's former secretary and the first captain of his royal yacht, Jean Rives. And ap-

parently, he came at the invitation not of the king but of Captain Starbuck, for at the time he was out of favor with the Hawaiian chiefs, who mistrusted him.⁸⁵

Rives was unpopular with the Hawaiians for good reason. He had remained in the king's court and was mentioned as having considerable powers over the king's commercial matters up to around Christmas 1821. That day, two of Rives's houses were burned, "probably by an incendiary."⁸⁶ By 5 June 1823, he had lost favor with the foreign community but still served as Liholiho's secretary, as recorded by Charles Hammatt, "Preble [Captain of *Champion*] gave a dinner on board to the white residents of respectable standing. . . . Mr. Secretary Rives . . . & the rest were not thought desirable, & we re not invited." Within a month, even Rives's Hawaiian friends were scarce, as Hammatt recorded "On the 4th Jones [of Marshall & Wildes] gave a dinner. . . . Rives & the Major got essentially corned but the rest of us came off quite strait. Rives is emphatically what is called a "poor bitch" and has lost his influence with the King & chiefs, probably never to be regained."⁸⁷ On 31 October 1823, only a few weeks before *L'Aigle* sailed, a fight between *haole* sailors and Hawaiians broke out at Rives's Honolulu grog shop, near the ship landing. Details are vague, but the altercation seems to have ended with a rout of the sailors into the water, encouraged by a shower of rocks from the Hawaiians.⁸⁸ Clearly, it was time for Rives to seek new friends and new horizons, and he seems to have found both in *L'Aigle's* Captain Starbuck.

So the King and his entourage left for England without *Ha'aheo* after all, and the famed ship was mentioned only twice in passing for the rest of the year. The first was a journal entry by Levi Chamberlain for 2 December, in which he records that the royal yacht traveled from Honolulu to Maui in another mission, "Stephen Pupuhi accompanied Karaimoku [Kalanimoku] in the Barge. He will remain at Lahaina to assist the brethren in their work." Now that the king was away at sea,

Kalanimoku resumed his rank as master of *Ha'aeo*. The year's last reference is a brief and obscure diary entry by American merchant Stephen Reynolds in Honolulu, "Barge came."⁸⁹

With the King gone, the kingdom was left in the hands of co-regent Ka'ahumanu, with Kalanimoku as her Prime Minister.⁹⁰ In early February 1824, *Ha'aeo* resumed transport duties with the carriage of a missionary party to Waiakea (then and now part of Hilo) on Hawaii Island's eastern shore. On 7 February, *Ha'aeo* arrived from Kailua, Hawaii (via Kawaihae) with Hawaiian Chief Kouhou. Reverend Samuel Ruggles and Joseph Goodrich were pleased to find the chief friendly and helpful to their cause, which was further supported by the arrival on 12 February of *Ha'aeo* with all the supplies they were expecting (excepting only some fish).⁹¹ On 15 February, *Ha'aeo* cleared Waiakea for Lahaina, where she spent four days before arriving at Honolulu on the nineteenth of the month, bearing letters from Messrs. Goodrich and Ruggles regarding the latter's house-raising. She also transported 118 piculs (7.86 tons) of "very superior" sandalwood to Honolulu for Captain Blanchard, in partial payment for the sale of the schooner *New York* (to Kalanimoku)—a rare reference to the use of *Ha'aeo* as a cargo ship.⁹² Another followed soon after, when the royal brig cleared Honolulu for Kauai on 21 February. Her arrival there the following day was noted by Reverend Bishop; he and his wife took leave of Reverend Samuel Whitney at Waimea (where they had wintered) and boarded the brig, lying a mile offshore, via a double canoe. The Bishops' new orders were to proceed to Oahu and thence to the Big Island, where they were to join the Thurstons at the Kailua mission. Accompanying the Bishops aboard *Ha'aeo* for the 36-hour journey was a house frame for Kalanimoku, sold him by Mr. Crocker of Marshall & Wildes.⁹³

Kalanimoku originally planned to sail *Ha'aeo* to Waiakea on the Sabbath (29 February), and he had generously offered to alter her itinerary to ac-

commodate the Bishops' plans to go to Kailua. However, Hiram Bingham persuaded him to wait a day to take along the new Hawaiian hymnals, then being printed. A further delay was caused by the death and funeral of Chief Ke'eaumoku, but early in the morning of 4 March a messenger informed the Bishop and Richards parties that the brig was ready to sail. The missionaries hurried down to the waterfront, only to find that the ship had left the harbor and was already out at the roadstead in company with two others of the king's brigs. At first the missionaries thought they had been left behind, but it turned out that Kalanimoku had decided to take advantage of a fresh morning breeze to get out of the harbor, and had left the ship's boat on shore to ferry their baggage out to the brig. Captain Blanchard loaned his boat for the passengers, and by 11:00 a.m. the missionaries were comfortably aboard *Ha'aeo* en route to Hawaii via Lahaina. The brig arrived at Lahaina on 7 March, spent two days there and left for Kailua on 9 March. She arrived there the following morning and disembarked the Bishops. However, the winds were high that day, and consequently *Ha'aeo* stood offshore with their baggage. Bishop proposed to leave most of it aboard, including that destined for Waiakea; however, Kalanimoku urged the missionaries to take everything off the ship that they did not want the crew to pilfer. Another reason that the Waiakea-bound cargo had to be offloaded from *Ha'aeo* was that she was heading back to Honolulu before resuming the Kailua-Waiakea voyage. Also, the brig had anchored some distance offshore due to the high winds, and the missionaries had been unable to find any Hawaiians willing to go out until the late afternoon, when the winds abated.⁹⁴ As a result, most of their effects were offloaded by means of a double canoe. Only a barrel of beef, some bricks, three barrels and possibly a box of *waiwai* (treasure specie) destined for Waiakea were left aboard due to the heavy weather. *Ha'aeo* cleared Kailua the evening of 11 March for Honolulu, arriving there on the late morning of 13 March. This is the last known voyage of the ship,

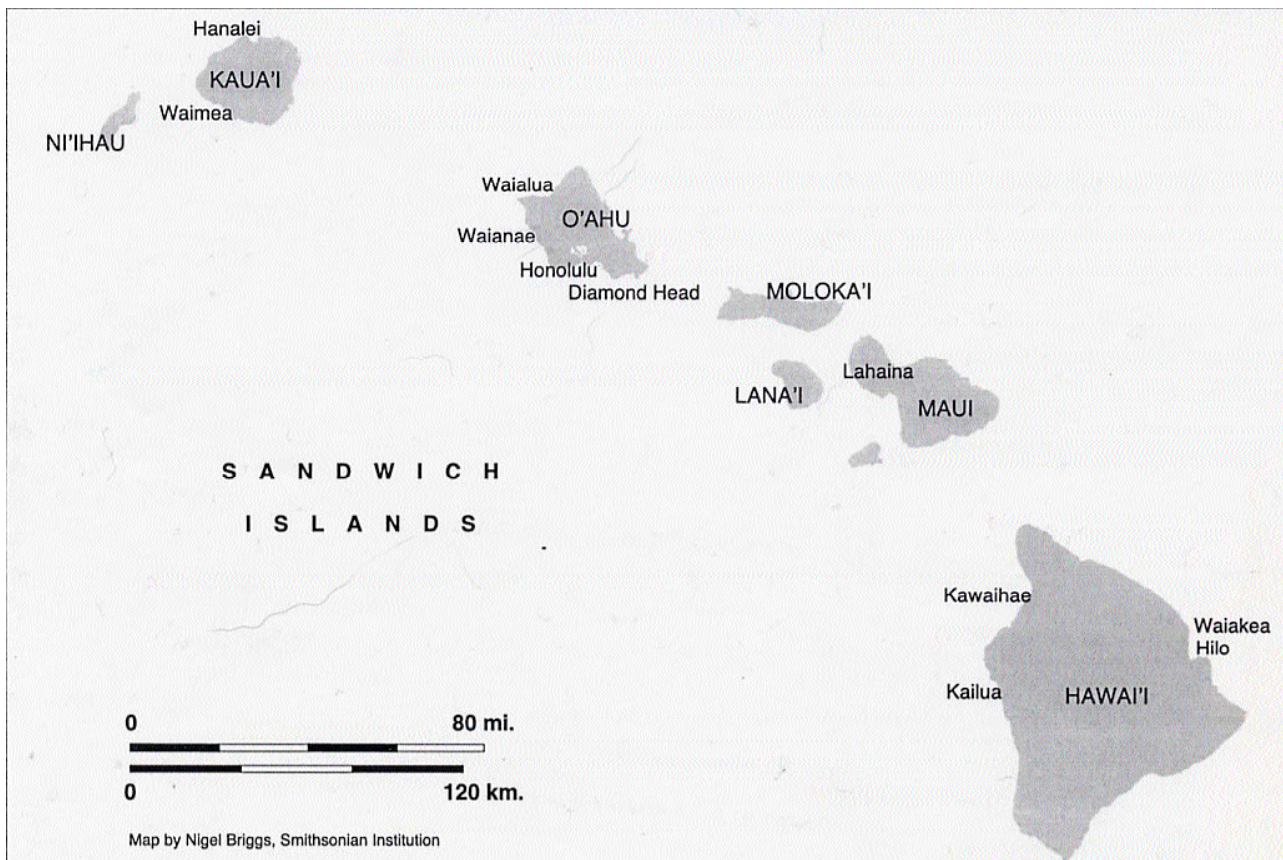
for she dropped out of sight for the next three weeks. When she finally reappeared, she was lost forever.

The next reference to *Ha'abeo* was contained in an 8 April 1824 diary entry by Reverend Whitney, then stationed at the Waimea mission on the south shore of Kauai:

News has just arrived that the Cleopatra's Barge was driven on shore night before last at Hanalei, a district on the northern side of this Isle, and completely wrecked. This beautiful vessel cost king Rihoriho three years ago, eight thousand pickle of Sandal-wood estimated at ten dollars per pickle, eighty thousand dollars. She was managed wholly by natives, all of

whom except the Capt. was intoxicated at the time. She parted her cables, had this not been the case they might have put to sea, and survived the gale.⁹⁵

Whitney attributed the loss to three factors. One was that the ship was crewed by Hawaiians, all but one of whom were intoxicated. Unfortunately, neither he nor anyone else ever identified any of the Hawaiian crew. This indicates that Kalanimoku, who was invariably mentioned by name when he was aboard *Ha'abeo*, may not have been aboard for this voyage. Secondly, the ship parted her cables, possibly indicating that she was secured in Hanalei Bay with more than one anchor.⁹⁶ And thirdly, there was a gale that night,



Map of sites referenced in text. Courtesy of Nigel Briggs, Smithsonian Institution.

which exacerbated and possibly even caused the cable parting. Whitney further suggests that there may have been a connection between the gale and the cable problem—not unlikely—and that had there not been bad weather, the ship might have survived one or more of the other factors. But he offers no insight as to why the brig was at Hanalei, or even on Kauai at all, and he may not have known. By the time any new information about the shipwreck was available, the trail was either cold, invisible or insignificant to the singularly focused missionaries. Perhaps she was on a simple pleasure cruise, and the crew was merely relaxing at anchorage when a squall arose, strained the anchor cable, and snapped it. Under such meteorological conditions—not uncommon on Kauai’s North Shore—the crew’s intoxication might or might not have affected the outcome, depending upon where in the bay they were anchored and how much time they had between losing their anchor(s) and striking the reef.

But there is another, more likely explanation for the brig’s presence on Kauai in early April of 1824. Liholiho’s rule had gradually decentralized, either voluntarily or because he lacked the power to enforce his father’s political will, thereby putting more power into the hands of the chiefs.⁹⁷ Certainly his abolition of the *kapu* had destabilized the old Hawaiian socio-political system. Moreover, Liholiho’s departure a few months earlier had resulted in kingdom-wide unrest among the chiefs, and especially those of Kauai, which had never taken well to the Kamehameha rule. It must have been clear to the ruling chiefs back on Oahu around this time that Kauai needed attention.

It is far likelier that *Ha’aeo* was on Kauai in April for reconnaissance and intelligence-gathering purposes, to see what could be learned about possible unrest there before it actually broke out. Perhaps her crew had heard rumors when they visited the island just a few weeks earlier. The fact that her whereabouts for her last three weeks were unrecorded argues for a Hawaiian mission for the ship; had she been transporting missionaries or en-

gaged in other, more normal inter-island activities, her voyages probably would have been recorded. And if, in fact, the yacht was reconnoitering the local political climate, it is equally possible that people in Hanalei deliberately cut her cables under cover of darkness and a storm, perhaps with some thought of avenging her role in Liholiho’s successful plot to kidnap their chief two and a half years earlier.

Later events advocate a reconnaissance mission for *Ha’aeo*’s last voyage. Chief Kaumuali’i was to die the following month in Honolulu, and some signs of illness may have been evident earlier. As soon as Kaumuali’i died, Kalanimoku’s nephew Kahalaia was appointed Governor of the island over both sons of the late chief. As might be expected, this did not sit particularly well with the people of Kauai. Kalanimoku planned to visit shortly after Kaumuali’i’s death to monitor the island’s affairs, but was unable to make the trip until late July. In August 1824, just four months after *Ha’aeo* sank, Kauai revolted under the nominal leadership of Kaumuali’i’s son George Humehume, and a short but bloody battle resulted in the suppression of this revolt.

On 24 April, Whitney recorded in his journal that all of the chiefs and people in Waimea left for Hanalei that morning to attend to the wreck, blaming their hesitation and delay of nearly three weeks on the “stupidity of their Governess”—Deborah Kapule, Kaumuali’i’s favored wife. A week later, Hiram and Mrs. Bingham left Honolulu for Kauai to join the Whitneys, on account of “the state of the island which they now occupied alone.” Accepting a free passage from Captain Swain on the schooner *Washington*, the Bingham arrived the morning of 3 May and must have learned of *Ha’aeo*’s fate immediately, for Bingham left for Hanalei just two days after his arrival. According to his memoirs, Bingham went to Hanalei not out of curiosity or concern for the safety of the island’s growing Christian flock, but instead to use the loss of the royal yacht as a means for preaching to the

Hawaiians on the dangers of intemperance:

As most of the leeward chiefs, and many of their effective men also, were at that time assembled on the opposite side of the island, being called there for a new lesson on the evils of intemperance; I started soon to meet them, and to explore and preach. . . . The lesson which some yet needed to learn more thoroughly, was, that if the free use of intoxicating drinks is allowed in kings, or commanders of nations, it must be equally allowable in commanders and mates of vessels, and if a ship cannot well be commanded by a drunken captain, much less a nation by a drunken ruler. But who could trust a fine vessel to an inebriate maniac; and what sane passenger could risk himself with him? But through the mismanagement of a drinking captain and crew, the beautiful Cleopatra's Barge, the favorite vessel of the monarch of the Hawaiian archipelago, was wrecked in the bay of Hanalei, and lay not far from the beach, dismantled and ruined. The people had assembled there for the purpose of hauling her up, and saving what could be saved from the wreck.⁹⁸

It is interesting to visualize Bingham sermonizing to the assembled Hawaiian chiefs and commoners—by now, in their own language—on the shore at Hanalei Bay, with the graphic example of the wrecked royal yacht within sight just a hundred yards or so away. He clearly had access to new information in Hanalei that Whitney down in Waimea lacked, for he repeats—three times just in this one short passage—that the captain was as drunk as his crew. His account further strengthens the hypothesis that the officers and crew were anonymous rather than well-known chiefs. Noticeable by their absence is any mention of the gale or cable parting, which Bingham likely would have cited as earthly manifestations of God's wrath upon sinners had they applied. He also mentions that the ship was partially dismantled for her sal-

vageable parts and contents, and in a remarkable passage provides a highly detailed description of the attempted recovery and salvage of the royal yacht on 7/8 May 1824:

After the people had, with commendable activity, brought on shore from the wreck, spars, rigging, and other articles, they attempted to draw up the brig itself. This furnished one of the best specimens of the physical force of the people, which I ever had opportunity to observe for more than twenty years among them—indeed the most striking which I ever saw made by unaided human muscles. They collected from the woods and margins of the river, a large quantity of the bark of the hibiscus, and with their hands without any machinery, made several thousand yards of strong rope, such as is in common use at the islands. Twelve folds of this they made into a cable. Three cables of this kind were prepared for the purpose of dragging up the wreck of the Cleopatra's Barge on shore.

These three cables were then attached to the mainmast of the brig, a few feet above the deck, leading some distance on the shore towards the mountains, nearly parallel to each other. At the sides of these the multitudes were arranged as closely as they could conveniently sit or stand together.

The brig lay in about ten feet of water, and partly on her side which was furthest from the shore, and very near to a reef of rocks rising nearly half way to the surface. Over this reef they first proposed to roll the vessel. Everything being arranged for their great muscular effort, an old but spirited chieftain, formerly from Oahu, called Kiimakani (Wind-watcher), passed up and down through the different ranks, and from place to place, repeatedly sung out with prolonged notes, and trumpet tones, "*Nu—ke—hamau i ka leo*, be quiet—shut up the voice." To which the people responded, "*Mai pane*," "say nothing," as a continuance of

the prohibition to which they were ready to assent when they should come to the tug. Between the trumpet notes, the old chieftain, with the natural tones and inflections, instructed them to grasp the ropes firmly, rise together at the signal, and leaning inland, to look and draw straight forward, without looking backwards towards the vessel. They being thus marshaled and instructed, remained quiet for some minutes, upon their hams.

A man called a *kaukau*, son of a distinguished *kaukau*, whose office it was to rehearse for the encouragement of the drawers, an ancient and popular song, used for a tree when a canoe was to be drawn from the mountains to the shore, rose, and with great rapidity and surprising fluency, commencing with an address to Lono, an ancient god, rehearsed the mythological song, of which the following are the better parts:—

*Give to me the trunk of the tree, O Lono—
Give me the tree's main root, O Lono—
Give me the ear of the tree, O Lono.
Hearken by night, and hear by day,
O Poihihi—O Poahaaha—
Come for the tree, and take to the sea-side.*

*My husband heard at the Pali,
Heard at the Pali at Kailua—
Koolau was filled with the stench of smoke
By burning men to cinders—
The dogs followed the scent.*

*My feet have led on and are weary,
I am come from inland,
From the land of distress where I stayed.
My dwelling was on the mountain height,
My talking companions were the birds,
The decaying leaves of the ki my clothing.*

These passages constitute about one tenth of the whole song, some of which is adapted only to a gross heathen state, and is unfit to ap-

pear in an English dress.

The multitude quietly listening some six or eight minutes, at a particular turn or passage in the song indicating the order to march, rose together, and as the song continued with increasing volubility and force, slowly moved forward in silence; and all leaning from the shore, strained their huge ropes, tugging together to heave up the vessel. The brig felt their power—rolled up slowly towards the shore, upon her keel, till her side came firmly against the rock, and there instantly stopped: but the immense team moved on unchecked; and the mainmast broke and fell with its shrouds, being taken off by the cables drawn by unaided muscular strength. The hull instantly rolled back to her former place, and was considered irrecoverable. The interest of the scene was much heightened by the fact that a large man by the name of Kiu, who had ascended the standing shrouds, being near the main-top when the hull began to move, was descending when the mast broke, and was seen to come down suddenly and simultaneously with it in its fall. Strong apprehensions were felt on shore that he was killed amidst the ruins. Numbers hastened from the shore to the wreck, to see the effects of their pull and to look after Kiu. He was found amusing himself swimming about on the seaward side of the wreck, where he had opportunely plunged unhurt, when he was in imminent danger.

At this time the king of Kauai, then at Honolulu, was dangerously ill. The chiefs and people assembled to recover the lost brig, being apprised of it, soon dispersed, some to hasten to him, and some to return to their dwellings to wait the result.⁹⁹

As Bingham says at the outset of this unsuccessful salvage, he never saw greater human effort expended on a single task in his entire life. The main cables, made of hibiscus fiber, must have been harvested, processed and woven in the two

short weeks between the departure of the chiefess from Waimea and the application to *Ha'aeo's* mainmast.¹⁰⁰ Had the mainmast not broken, the Hawaiians might have been able to draw *Ha'aeo* high up enough onto the reef for repairs. As it was, they recovered the sails, spars, and everything else useful before (and probably after) the unsuccessful salvage attempt, finally abandoning the wreck to the shallow bottom of Hanalei Bay.

Word of the royal loss at Hanalei did not reach the other islands for more than a month, with the return of the schooner *Washington* from Kauai on 12 May. Missionary business agent Levi Chamberlain added further details associated with the loss in his journal entry for that same day, "The loss to government is thought to be considerable not only of the vessel, but of specie on board, of which it is said there was considerable. There were also in her a few articles belonging to the mission." However, he investigated the matter overnight and the following day was able to record that at least the mission's *waiwai* was safe, having been removed at Lahaina.¹⁰¹ Reverend Artemas Bishop summarized the mission's losses on the *Ha'aeo* shipwreck early in June, writing from Kailua to Levi Chamberlain in Honolulu, "The articles left on board of the barge were the barrels destined for Waiakea, bricks for both this & W.[aiakea] station, and a barrel of beef for this place. We had not heard of the loss of the barge until the arrival of our friends. . . . I have had no occasion to use the *waiwai* destined for Waiakea. Shall expect to forward it by the first conveyance."¹⁰²

Kalanimoku did finally visit Kauai in late July aboard his schooner *New York*, but before going to the seat of government at Waimea, he "touched at Waioli first, to look after the wrecked Cleopatra's Barge."¹⁰³ It is unclear what he may have been after with this unusual detour, but it may have been *Ha'aeo's* leftover guns or other armaments, in addition to whatever was left behind on the beach by the Kauai salvors. In any event, there may have been enough salvaged materials to fill his schooner, for he arrived at Waimea not aboard *New York* but

upon the brig *Tamahololani*, formerly owned by Kaumuali'i, to address land settlements and other political activities during this normally unstable political transition. *New York* may have taken whatever remained of value from the *Ha'aeo's* remains back to Honolulu.

Thus ends the contemporary record of the famed ship, for after she wrecked, she was no longer of any use or interest to those in the Sandwich Islands who kept written records. The island of Kauai—possibly with human intervention—had exacted revenge upon the famous ship for her part in King Liholiho's kidnapping of its beloved chief only a few years earlier, and it buried her in the sand at the bottom of a little mile-wide bay on its north shore.

Liholiho never learned of the loss of his most prized possession. After clearing Honolulu on 27 November 1823, *L'Aigle* sailed for England via Rio de Janeiro. By the time of her arrival at Rio ninety-four days later, Rives had been replaced as interpreter by Hawaiian James Young, one of Liholiho's *punahelu* along for the voyage.¹⁰⁴ However, under mysterious circumstances (believed by the Hawaiians to have been engineered by Jean Rives and Captain Starbuck), Young was left behind at Rio with all of the royal party's official papers.¹⁰⁵ *L'Aigle* arrived unannounced at Portsmouth on 21/22 May 1824, but the Hawaiian plans for a royal audience were embarrassingly thwarted until Young's arrival on a coal ship some weeks later, as he carried official proof of the king's identity and mission along with the requisite letters of introduction.¹⁰⁶ The royal party made its way to London, where Liholiho's money chests were opened and found to be missing \$12,000. When questioned, Captain Starbuck indicated only that \$3,000 had been spent at Rio, and apparently the matter of the missing specie was dropped without further question.¹⁰⁷

While awaiting an audience with His Majesty King George, Liholiho and his party amused themselves with sightseeing tours, visits to the opera, tai-

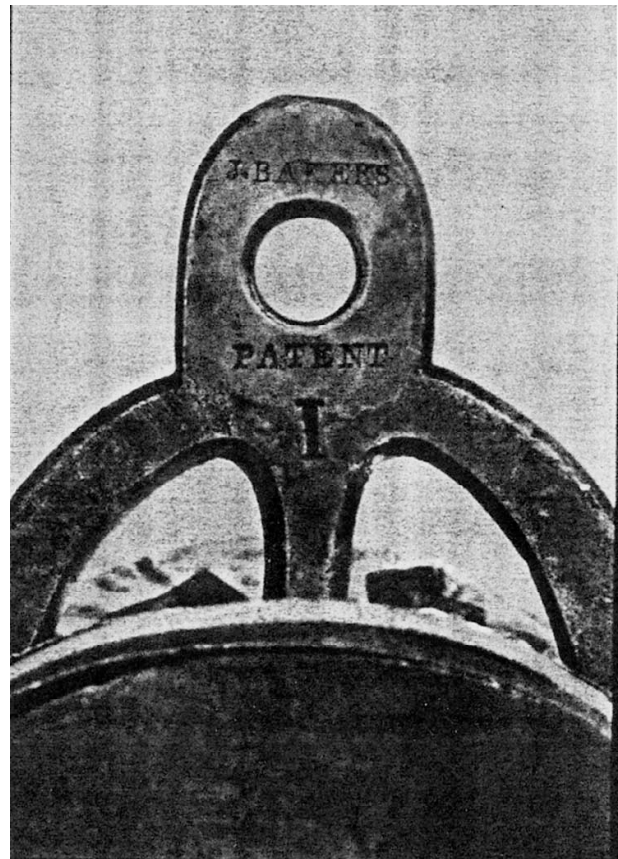
lors and dressmakers, and other diversions. In early July he and Queen Kamamalu contracted the measles, to which the Hawaiian Islands had not been exposed; the Queen died on 8 July, followed quickly by Liholiho on 13 July. Boki, Governor of the Big Island and de facto successor to the royal Hawaiian party, dismissed Rives immediately following Liholiho's death "for repeated ill behavior"; Rives promptly stole the King's gold pocket watch and made off for Paris. After the surviving chiefs returned from England to Hawaii with the Royal corpses on HMS *Blonde*, they revoked Rives's land grants, and he never returned to the islands.¹⁰⁸

Despite her total loss and abandonment, *Cleopatra's Barge* would not stay down. Twenty years after the wreck occurred, the thread was picked up again by a local Kauai correspondent identified as Kekau, who submitted a brief article from Kauai to the Honolulu newspaper *The Polynesian*:

Waioli, Feb. 1st, 1845. To the Editor of the *Polynesian*:—Arrival Extraordinary. On the 30th of Dec. a part of the hulk of the *Haheo* or "Cleopatra's Barge," wrecked in this bay some 15 or 20 years, started from its watery bed and washed upon the shore. Many of the oak timbers are in quite a sound state, except so far as

perforated by the teredo or ship-worm. From the quantity of iron and copper bolts, we judge she must have been framed for *strength* as for beauty.¹⁰⁹

Thirteen years after the 1844 storm that tossed a section of the *Barge's* hull ashore, a serial article on the ports of Hawaii in *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* added a new twist to the story, stating that "The wreck is supposed to have occurred solely through the incompetency or negligence of the master, a foreigner."¹¹⁰ However, this 1857 story offers no source for its supposition and would appear to be suspect, as it is much later and contradicts all of the contemporary accounts. That same year, human agents disturbed the gravesite, as



Baker's patent pump from wreck of *Cleopatra's Barge* (MISC56). Smithsonian Institution photo by Harold Dorwin.

recorded in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii*:

In the year 1824 in the month of April, a ship was wrecked at Wai'oli, Ha'aeo was the name, it was Kamehameha II's ship, and its cannons were found this month. Two guns were retrieved by two men diving at the wreck, and are deposited on shore with some other iron objects, and the divers say two more cannons remain in the sea. The age of this ship, from its sinking to this day, is 33 years. That's how long these guns have stayed in the sea, not the least damage, very good [condition], no parts missing, no dents, no rust, they are both shiny to see. Although the outsides are covered in coral, they were all done, [and are now] truly fine. Written on the outside of these guns is the year 1813, and I believe that's the year they were made. This is a new sight, many natives have come to look, and Haole, too. Some copper plate has also been found, unruined. Some iron and copper nails, too, unharmed.¹¹¹

A 1919 article detailing an oral history taken of A. S. Wilcox, a member of an important *haole* family on Kauai, sheds further light on the 1857 salvage of the wreck. Wilcox, who was a boy in the 1850s, recalled that it was local Hawaiian, A. S. Nu'uanu, who salvaged the wreck from a scow anchored overhead. His divers recovered two iron cannon and some wooden wreckage, "perhaps part of a capstan," from a piece of which his brother Edward made a wooden ruler. He further recollected that the two cannon were around Hanalei for several years, and he tried to find them much later to adorn his own yard but learned from another local *haole* that they had been carried off by a British man-of-war. He then arranged with a local Hawaiian to find and raise the other brass cannon said to be lodged in the reef by the wreck, but was unsuccessful.¹¹² Wilcox's brother Edward, in a 1920 letter from Kauai to his nieces in Connecticut, added yet more detail to the story in remembering

that a vessel was under construction at Waioli in the 1850s, and some Hawaiians were told that there was a brass gun in the wreck. There was a considerable reward if they recovered it, so they hooked the wreck and recovered at least one iron gun, an oak capstan, and the iron post on which it revolved. Edward had an oak ruler made from part of the capstan barrel, blackened (he supposed) from the rusting iron around it, and with a white streak through it. When he had looked for the ruler in 1900, he was unable to find it and wondered rather plaintively if his nieces had seen it.¹¹³

Once again interest in its most famous shipwreck waned on Kauai, where it remained undisturbed for 138 years after the Nu'uanu salvage. However, in 1995 the author, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History, received the first underwater archaeological permits ever granted by the state of Hawaii to search for the wreck of *Cleopatra's Barge* in Hanalei Bay. Using a combination of Hiram Bingham's contemporary account of her loss and modern electronic remote sensing equipment, the wreck was located in the southwest corner of the bay and surveyed for condition and scope. Excavations began that year and were completed in the summer of 2000, yielding more than 1,250 lots of artifacts from the famous ship. These artifacts represent the only material culture from the brief reign of King Kamehameha II, a member of our nation's only authentic royalty. As such, the finds are the property of the state of Hawaii, and at this writing, plans are underway to return and exhibit them on Kauai and at other interested venues.

While a discussion of the archaeology of the royal yacht belongs elsewhere, it may be worthwhile to make a few observations as to how it intersects with the history of the ship. For example, the wreck was found off the mouth of the Waioli River, precisely where Bingham said she lay in 1824 in his passage describing Kalanimoku's first stop on Kauai after the death of its chief

Kaumuali'i. *Ha'aeo* lies in ten feet of water against the reef she struck, on her starboard side at a 30° list. The top of the reef, which extends a hundred yards or so into the water from the beach, is five feet deep, and well-informed visitors can walk out to its edge and step right into the water over the wrecked hull. Since *Ha'aeo*, at least in her original clothes, had a registered depth of hold of 11', it does not take a mathematician to calculate the difference in depth that caused the wreck.

In addition, fragments of several cases of gin bottles were recovered from the shipwreck, supporting the contemporary assertions that alcoholic beverages were a factor in the ship's loss, and perhaps justifying Hiram Bingham's strong words on the dire consequences of indulgence in spirits other than the Christian holy one. Along those same lines, it may be inferred from the large quantity of mid-nineteenth century tiger whiskey jug fragments found on the site, in conjunction with the lack of other mid-nineteenth century historical information for the area, that salvor A. S. Nu'uanu was doing more than merely diving on the wreck; he could well have been emulating rather closely the activity of *Ha'aeo*'s crew on her last voyage.

Nothing is preserved today of the midships section of *Ha'aeo*'s hull, and little remains of her bow beyond a few disarticulated timbers lodged against and beneath the reef eighty feet away. However, a 40' section of the stern, with the copper-sheathed sternpost preserved to the 11' draft mark, was located against the reef in the final season of excavations in the summer of 2000. The timbers remaining from the ship are in exactly the condition reported in the 1845 newspaper article: so teredo-ridden that a single finger easily penetrates even as heavy a timber as the solid oak sternpost.¹¹⁴ Evidence of new (and not very good) construction was found in the stern area, as described by Bryant & Sturgis agent Charles Hammatt in May 1823; however, samples of this green wood were so degraded by teredo that the wood species could not even be positively identified, much less as deriving from Norfolk Sound, Alaska.¹¹⁵ Also paralleling the

nineteenth century accounts, large quantities of copper nails and spikes, iron spikes, and copper hull sheathing were found and have been recovered from the wreck site.

Secondly, it may be definitively stated that there were no cannon left after Nu'uanu's 1857 salvage—either within the wreck environs, which were thoroughly excavated, or the surrounding reef, which was fully surveyed. As built, *Cleopatra's Barge* had fourteen gun ports, half on each side. If Liholiho kept all those gun ports active prior to the 1822 discovery of rot, then when he sold ten of her cannon in exchange for the *Wellington* hulk in October 1822, as many as four may have remained aboard. With two raised by Nu'uanu in 1857, this leaves a maximum of two that could possibly have been recovered by Kalanimoku, since none remain on the site today. Nor are the two guns recovered from the wreck in 1857 known to be on Kauai's North Shore, in any Hawaiian museum, or in the possession of anyone in the state of Hawaii by the name of Nu'uanu. Thus far their whereabouts remain a mystery, perhaps lending credibility to the Wilcox story that a British warship carried them off.¹¹⁶

In the hopes that parts of the *Barge* that washed up or were salvaged might be found on shore in the modern village of Hanalei, a comprehensive survey of the local buildings was undertaken at the same time as the underwater excavations. The only nineteenth century structure in the entire community is the upper portion of the original Waioli Mission Church bell tower, preserved on cinder blocks behind the modern church. This mission was founded in 1834, and the bell tower is believed to date to the 1840s. Unfortunately, none of its interior construction contains anything resembling ship timbers. Similarly, considerable effort over the past several years was devoted to "talking story" with the elders of the local Hawaiian community to see if there were any folk tales or memories of the loss of the royal yacht, disappointingly without result.

One of the most consistent categories of finds on the wreck site throughout the five seasons of ex-

cavations was bricks. Nearly every season yielded broken and intact examples. At first, it was hypothesized that they represented portions of the cookstove, scattered about the wreck site by winter seas, storms, and the multiple tsunamis known to have struck Kauai's North Shore since the 1824 wrecking. However, over time it became clear that very few of these bricks were the same size, color, mold quality or matrix, which ruled out the cookstove hypothesis. It was not until archival research in 1999 that the likely source of these bricks was revealed: they were part of the missionary shipment that was lost in the wreck. The mismatching is explained by the dire financial straits detailed in the missionary accounts back to the ABCFM office in Boston: they had so little cash for everyday purchases that they had to borrow money from foreign traders and were forced to buy odd lots of all sorts of commodities for their houses, including bricks. Several sections of barrel hoop and nine beef bones also were found, verifying the mission's losses from the wreck; three of the beef bones (not a major part of the Hawaiian diet at this early date) displayed signs of butchery, and one cow rib had been fashioned into a long, slender Hawaiian shellfish meat pick or mat-maker's leaf-splitter.¹¹⁷

There were several contemporary sources for the original construction and fitting out of *Cleopatra's Barge* back in Salem in 1816. Some of these provide construction details, and at least one mentions that George Crowninshield incorporated several of his own innovative ideas into the brig's construction. Unfortunately, due to the poor degree of preservation, voracious teredo damage, multiple salvage operations, and natural forces at work on her wreck, comparatively little of her hull and fittings remain above the waterline to augment or amplify the historical accounts. However, a bilge pump marked "J.BAKER'S/PATENT/J.DAVIS/MAKER/BOSTON" was found, verifying two separate 1817 accounts of the installation and per-

formance of Baker's patent—one in the *Barge's* logbook and the other in a George Crowninshield letter from aboard the *Barge* to Commodore Isaac Hull.¹¹⁸ The plumbing noted by one Mediterranean visitor to the brig also appeared in the archaeological record in the form of several sections of heavy, 1' diameter lead pipe scattered throughout the wreck site. They were made from short sections of rolled lead sheet, braised along their length and then braised at their ends to form longer runs. Oddly, and without exception, all of the fragments found within the wreck site had both ends pinched off, as though they had been removed and altered manually to prevent them from rolling around in some form of storage. The *Barge's* lead plumbing might account for some of the owner George Crowninshield's eccentric behavior during his six-month Mediterranean cruise, since several of the effects of lead poisoning are neurological.¹¹⁹

The *Pride of Hawaii* continues to show life. As of this writing, the State of Hawaii's State Historic Preservation Division has designated the Kauai Museum as the curation facility of record for the artifacts—something the state has never done before.¹²⁰ Two potential venues on the shores of Hanalei Bay—private and public—have expressed strong interest in long-term exhibitions, and a management group has been put together to oversee various aspects of the future efforts to tell the Hawaiian chapter of the famous ship's short but intense life, through both the historical and archaeological records preserved today.

Around a quarter of *Ha'abeo's* hull structure below the water line remains buried in the shallow sands of Hanalei Bay, one of the most beautiful spots in Hawaii. It and the artifacts recovered from five seasons of excavations are all that remain of the storied ship, one New Englander's dream and a Hawaiian king's favorite.

≈ ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ≈

I am grateful to Paula J. Johnson, Peter Mills, Marilyn L. Reppun, Richard W. Rogers, and Jane L. Silverman

for their thoughtful readings of this manuscript; mistakes are mine alone.

≈ NOTES ≈

1. Walter M. Whitehill, *George Crowninshield's Yacht Cleopatra's Barge and a Catalog of the Francis B. Crowninshield Gallery* (Salem, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1959), 7, n. 10.
2. Francis B. Crowninshield, *The Story of George Crowninshield's Yacht Cleopatra's Barge on a Voyage of Pleasure to the Western Islands and the Mediterranean 1816–1817* (Boston: Privately Printed, 1913), 15–16. For a brief history of *America IV*, see Ralph M. Eastman, *Some Famous Privateers of New England* (Boston: State Street Trust Company, 1928), 32–38.
3. For a description of the *Barge* plumbing, see Benjamin W. Crowninshield, “An Account of the Yacht ‘*Cleopatra's Barge*,’” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 25:4–6 (April–June 1888), 112, citing the *Diario di Roma*, published at Rome in August 1817 and reprinted in the *Essex Register*, 11 October 1817: “Near was another apartment, which admitted all the offices of a kitchen, and in it was a pump with three tubes, which passed through the vessel, to supply water from the sea, or discharge what they pleased, with the greatest ease.”
4. See, for example, F. B. Crowninshield, *Cleopatra's Barge*, 21–26.
5. David L. Ferguson, *Cleopatra's Barge: The Crowninshield Story* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), 99.
6. Verification of the presence of a black cook named W. Chapman who accompanied Captain Cook in 1772–74 is found in Walter M. Whitehill, “George Crowninshield's Yacht *Cleopatra's Barge*,” *American*

- Neptune* 13:4 (October 1953), 249, n. 2: “The final detail, concerning the colored man's service as a cabin boy during Captain James Cook's last voyage, *sounds unlikely*. Nevertheless, George Crowninshield's cook was William Chapman, and, among the list of officers and men of Cook's second voyage of 1772–74 [published in Arthur Kitson, *Captain James Cook* (London, 1907), 513–15] a W. Chapman appears as an able seaman in HMS *Resolution*. He was subsequently transferred to be the cook in HMS *Adventure!*” However, other sources indicate he is not among the crew listing for Cook's third and final voyage, in which *Adventure* did not participate. B. W. Crowninshield, “Account of the Yacht,” 103, tells the story as well.
7. Mary Boardman Crowninshield to her husband Benjamin Williams Crowninshield, 2 April 1817, in Ferguson, *Cleopatra's Barge*, 100.
8. F. B. Crowninshield, *Cleopatra's Barge*, 136–38.
9. Ferguson, *Cleopatra's Barge*, 102–3; not surprisingly, neither Whitehill nor F. B. Crowninshield recounts this story.
10. F. B. Crowninshield, *Cleopatra's Barge*, 213.
11. The most detailed accounts are F. B. Crowninshield, *Cleopatra's Barge*, 237; Whitehill, *George Crowninshield's Yacht*, 10–15; Ferguson, *Cleopatra's Barge*, 77–83; B. W. Crowninshield, “Account of the Yacht,” 106–7; : 249–51.
12. I am grateful to the late Angie VanDereedt of the National Archives for locating *Cleopatra's Barge's* three registration certificates in Record Group 41 (Records of

the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation).

13. For Bryant & Sturgis (B&S), see Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783-1860* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1921), passim. The B&S Papers are at the Baker Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; some of their letters also are preserved in the John Suter Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

14. The description of Suter's youth and early career is derived in part from the fifteen-page typescript "A Trader on the North-West Coast," read by John Wallace Suter at a St. Andrew's Lodge meeting in Boston in 1920. The original is at the Boston Marine Society; I am grateful to Dr. Mary Malloy of the Sea Education Association, Wood's Hole, Mass., for bringing it to my attention. See also Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, 70-78.

15. Captain Suter's fur trips on *Pearland* and *Atahualpa* netted \$234,000 and ca. \$120,000 respectively, making him one of the most successful Northwest traders. See James R. Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships and China Goods* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 177, and Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, 70-72. *Bering*, lost on the south shore of Kauai in 1815 loaded with furs, was the first documented Western shipwreck on Kauai and only the second in the Hawaiian Islands. Under the guise of recovering her cargo, the Russians tried to establish a toehold on Kauai and actually hatched an unsuccessful plan to make the island a Russian outpost.

16. The vessel was named after King Kamehameha; early writers in Hawaii transcribed letters differently (especially Ks and Ts) before they were standardized later in the nineteenth century. Bernice Judd, *Voyages to Hawaii before 1860* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii and HMCS, 1929 and 1974), 90, offers a distillation of Suter's career with slightly different dates.

17. The cargo listing is from the *Barge's* (undated) Bill of Health, published in Morison, *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, opp. 266. However, it is incomplete; letters from B&S's Hawaiian agent Charles B. Bullard dated 22 December 1820 and 23 March 1821 add the articles outside of the quotations.

18. B&S to Suter, 20 June 1820, John Suter Papers,

Massachusetts Historical Society. A "pikel" (picul) is a Chinese measure of 133ⁿ lbs. frequently used in the China trade.

19. Both logs are preserved at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem. One is the logbook of *Cleopatra's Barge* 1820-1821. The other (22 June-3 July 1820) is in the back of the logbook of *Mentor* 656-1820 (1816-1820), Captain John Suter; this one is continued from 1 July-19 December 1820 in a fresh logbook. These two *Barge* logs (in three volumes) were presumably kept by the master and first mate. Some of the sails' names were archaic even then, reflecting George Crowninshield's personal preferences.

20. The name Liholiho (Shining or Glowing) was itself an abbreviation of Kalaninuikualiholihoike *kapu* (Great Chief with the burning back taboo); see Walter F. Judd, *Let Us Go* (Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing, 1976), foreword (unpaginated).

21. *Barge* log, 10 November 1820.

22. Maria Loomis Journal (ML), 11 November 1820, original and typescript at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (HMCS) Library, Honolulu. I am grateful to HMCS Librarian Marilyn L. Reppun for her interest and tireless assistance in the acquisition of the original contemporary sources for the *Barge* and her period in Hawaii.

23. Naval-type cannon salutes were a relatively recent phenomenon in Hawaii; Kotzebue claims to have fired the first one (of seven guns) on 14 December 1816. See Glynn Barratt, *The Russian View of Honolulu* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988), Narrative 12:148.

24. Logbooks, 16 November 1820. Since the Chinese picul measured 133ⁿ lbs., the value of the *Barge* was 1,066,640 lbs. of sandalwood. The fragrant wood was a principal commodity of the American China traders, prized by the Chinese mainly for incense but also for furniture and craft objects.

25. In addition to the in-text citation for B&S to Suter, Suter Papers, see also B&S to Bullard, 12 October 1820 in Cushing letter book, Bryant & Sturgis Collection, 10:161-62, Baker Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

26. See, for example, Captain The Right Honorable Lord Byron, *Voyage of HMS Blonde to the Sandwich*

Islands in the Years 1824–1825 (London: John Murray, 1826), 38, note and 40–41; Gavin Daws, *Shoals of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 45.

27. John Papa I‘i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983), 29–30, 53. Born in 1800, I‘i was Liholiho’s personal attendant from an early age. Racing pond models, sometimes with large wagers riding on the outcomes, was a game called “little ships” and lasted into manhood among the Hawaiian chiefs, according to Kotzebue writing in mid-December 1824; see Barratt, *Russian View*, Narrative 114:244.

28. Virtually every history of Hawaii discusses these seminal events in greater detail than is possible here; see for example, Lilikala Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992) 68ff.

29. The ABCFM-Hawaii Papers (1820–1900) are at Harvard University’s Houghton Library, with typescript copies at the HMCS Library.

30. Elisha Loomis Journal (EL), 21 December 1820, in original and typescript at the HMCS Library. Loomis was printer for the Pioneer Company (first missionary group); he remained in HI until 1827. See Reverend and Mrs. Orramel H. Gulick, *Pilgrims of Hawaii* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1918), 29.

31. Ka‘ahumanu was the first to hold the title of *kubina nui*, or powerful officer; it is most frequently translated as “prime minister.” This information about Rives is derived from several Hawaiian and Western sources; see I‘i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 86–87; Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992), 330–31; Sheldon Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1909), 317–19; and J. Cottez, “Jean-Baptiste Rives, de Bordeaux: Aventurier Hawaïen,” *Bulletin de la Société des Études Océaniques* 123 (Tome X, No. 10) June 1958: 792–812, *BSEO* 124 (Tome X, No. 11) September 1958: 819–44.

32. *Barge* logbook for 15 and 18 December; John Suter papers (MHS), 22 December 1820.

33. Ross H. Gast and Agnes C. Conrad, eds., *Don Francisco de Paula Marin* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii for the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1973), 236.

Marin was a local foreign merchant (Spanish), who frequently served as a business agent and translator for the Hawaiian chiefs. Later, he was a farmer and plantation owner. The Gast and Conrad volume contains Marin’s edited journal.

34. *Journal of the Sandwich Islands Mission* (hereafter JSIM), 1:101–2, 7 January 1821. The JSIM was “probably written by Hiram Bingham, Asa Thurston and Elisha Loomis in turn.” The first volume is known as “The Thaddeus Journal,” and it covers the voyage, arrival and first several months of the Pioneer Company (23 March 1819–15 November 1821). The original and typescript are at the HMCS Library. The remainder are in the ABCFM Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. All are in typescript photocopy at the HMCS Library; the first volume is paginated in the typescript; the remainder is paginated as in the original manuscript, so the citations may appear inconsistent.

35. ML II, 7 January 1821.

36. Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of 21 Years at the Sandwich Islands (Residence)* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1847, 1981⁴), 126. The ML and EL journal entries for 4 February 1821 (at the HMCS Library) also provided some of the details in the description of this event.

37. EL and ML, 14 February 1821.

38. See for example, Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 251–55.

39. ML 2:313, 10 March 1821, and Marin’s journal for the same date. According to I‘i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* 128, Liholiho used his knowledge of the English language “to obtain bottles of rum from ships’ captains. Apparently he wrote for rum, nothing else.”

40. Captain Jack was commander of the King’s vessels and was called this or “Admiral” by Westerners; his real name was Naihe-Kukui or Kapihe. Sandra Wagner-Wright (ed.), *Ships, Furs and Sandalwood: A Yankee Trader in Hawaii, 1823–1825* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 84 states that Captain Jack was a “third-rank chief who worked as the Honolulu harbor pilot.” See JSIM, 18 March 1821 and F. L. Pleadwell, “The Voyage to England of King Liholiho and Queen Kamamalu,” Essay read . . . at the meeting of the Social Science Assoc., 7th season, June 2, 1952: 3. Captain Adams was probably Englishman Alexander Adams,

who worked for Kamehameha I & II for several years as master of various vessels. According to Gast and Conrad, *Don Francisco*, 80, in early 1820 Captain Alexander Adams was harbor master at Honolulu. According to Russian Karl Gillesem, the king's fleet was commanded by Englishmen, excepting only the royal yacht; See Barratt, *Russian View*, Narrative 52:184.

41. The *Bordeaux Packet* had been purchased by Kamehameha I from Captain Andrew Blanchard in 1817 for an undisclosed amount of sandalwood.

42. ML and EL II, 3 April 1821; JSIM, 4 April 1821.

43. As cited in Barratt, *Russian View*, Narrative 28:163. Although he got the date and the number of guns for the brig wrong, Gillesem did provide the useful details of the gilt mirrors (confirmed elsewhere) and the presence of 12-pounders for the deck guns.

44. A. P. Lazarev (1791-1862), as cited in Barratt, *Russian View*, Narrative 127:260-63.

45. Jones to Marshall & Wildes, 5 October 1821. Edited letter in Samuel Eliot Morison, "Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1798-1823," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (October 1920), 35-37. According to Gast & Conrad, *Don Francisco*, 97, n. 10, "Jones erroneously called himself American Consul when signing documents, and even assumed powers generally reserved for ambassadors. He took Lahilahi, Marin's daughter, as his wife in 1827." Harold W. Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii 1789-1843* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, second ed. 1968), 89-91 supports and amplifies the view of Jones as a poseur insofar as his federal duties.

46. Charles B. Bullard 1 November 1821, in "Type Script of Letterbook of Charles B. Bullard/Supercargo (or Trading Master) for Bryant & Sturgis at the Hawaiian Islands and at Canton March 20, 1821-July 11, 1823." Edited—with assistance from E. S. Dodge—by Francis B. Lothrop. December 1969. At the HMCS Library. All letters are to B&S unless otherwise noted. Tarar was transporting 5,618 piculs of *Barge* sandalwood payments to Canton on this voyage, as per Bullard, "Letterbook," 25 October 1821.

47. This account of the Kauai episode has been compiled from several sources, including the *Barge* logbook, 14-17 July 1821; Bingham, *Residence*, 138-48; Hiram

Bingham journal, 22 July 1821, reprinted in the *Missionary Herald* (August 1822) 242-50; Mercy Partridge (Mrs. Samuel) Whitney (MPW) journal, 17 September 1821 (HMCS Library typescript copy from Kauai Museum, 1978); EL II, 25 July 1821; Charles S. Stewart, *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands during the Years 1823, 1824, 1825* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970 facsimile of third (1830) edition), 104 (JRes); Sybil (Mrs. Hiram) Bingham, draft letter, n.d. (1821), Bingham Family Papers, Box 3, Folder 1: "1820-37 drafts, incomplete," HMCS Library; Marin, 30 September 1821.

48. Bingham Family Papers, *ibid.*

49. Kame'elehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 84-85 provides a radically different interpretation of the kidnapping from the one here. She calls this event a "small victory" for Liholiho and declares Ka'ahumanu the ultimate victor of the kidnapping, for by marrying Kaumuali'i she effectively deprived Liholiho of the tribute and obtained it for herself.

50. J. W. Suter, "Trader on the North-West Coast," 14.

51. MPW, 26 March 1821, Kauai Museum. HMCS Library typescript copy from Kauai Museum, 1978. Asa Thurston to Reverend Samuel Worcester, Salem (Massachusetts), 4 May 1821, Asa Thurston File, 1821-44, HMCS Library (photocopies). Reverend Worcester in Salem was the Corresponding Secretary of the ABCFM at the time.

52. JSIM 169, 1 October 1821.

53. J. W. Suter, "Trader on the North-West Coast," 9.

54. JSIM 171, 15 October 1821.

55. JSIM 258, 27 December 1821.

56. National Archives, *ibid.*, Certificate of Registry, 16 March 1822, Record Group 41.

57. Charles B. Bullard, "Letterbook," 3 July/5 August 1822.

58. Jones, 10 August 1822, in Morison, "Boston Traders," 40-42.

59. Gilbert Farquhar Mathison, *Narrative of a visit to Brazil, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands, during the Years 1821 and 1822 . . .* (London: C. Knight, 1825), 463.

60. JSIM 291, 3 May 1822. I am grateful to Peter Mills of the University of Hawaii, Hilo, for pointing out that

moku also means island in Hawaiian. A chief so naming a vessel may have conferred metaphorical possession of an island upon himself; see Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 27.

61. Bullard, “Letterbook,” 8 October 1822.

62. JSIM 338, 10–11 October 1822. Trader Stephen Reynolds offers a somewhat different sequence of events for *Wellington*; see Pauline N. King, ed., *Journal of Stephen Reynolds (Reynolds)* (Honolulu and Salem: Ku Pa‘a Inc. and Peabody Museum of Salem, 1989) Vol. 1 (1823–29), 230–50. I have favored the missionary account of this episode, as they were more directly involved in the ship’s transactions than Reynolds.

63. Bullard, “Letterbook,” 8 and 13 October 1822. Captain Meek, originally from Marblehead, Mass., was at the time a ship’s pilot in Liholiho’s employ, according to Morison, “Boston Traders,” 35, n. 2. Morison further notes that Meek had settled in Honolulu and married a Hawaiian.

64. Former Marbleheaders Captain Thomas Meek and his brother James were in the King’s employ at the time, serving as everything from ship captains to general contractors for ship repair. Meek’s 1821–25 log for the *Arab* is in the H. H. Bancroft Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; I am grateful to Dr. Peter Mills of the University of Hawaii for bringing to my attention and sharing his voluminous notes from it.

65. Bullard, “Letterbook,” 8 November 1822. James Hunnewell was one of the earliest retail merchants in Hawaii and had been supercargo of *Thaddeus* on the 1819/20 voyage that brought the Pioneer Company of missionaries from Boston to Hawaii. See Bradley, *American Frontier*, 84 and 88, n. 195. Hunnewell later replaced Bullard’s replacement Charles H. Hammatt as B&S agent from 1826–1830.

66. Bullard, “Letterbook,” 10 December 1822 (at sea, bound for Canton aboard *Tartar*).

67. This reference to caulking so soon after sealing indicates that the two activities were somehow different. Might sealing signify paying the seams or coating the hull with something before coppering? The archaeological evidence does not support the latter hypothesis, as nothing was found between the strakes’ outer surface and the coppering on the wreck.

68. Work specifically mentioning the *Barge’s* name ended on 16 March 1823, although painting of an unnamed ship (that may be the *Barge*) continues beyond that date in the *Arab* log.

69. Edited letter in Morison, “Boston Traders,” 46–47.

70. C. H. Hammatt Journal (1823–25), Bryant & Sturgis Collection, Vol. 15, Baker Library, Harvard University. His journal (Hammatt Journal) is published in Wagner-Wright, *Ships, Furs and Sandalwood*.

71. Hammatt Journal, 10 May 1823.

72. JSIM 394, 11 May 1823.

73. Hammatt Journal, 18 May 1823.

74. Hammatt Journal, 30 May 1823; Bingham, *Residence*, 190; Stewart, *JRes.*, 172–175.

75. Stewart, *JRes*, *ibid*.

76. Hammatt Journal, *ibid*.

77. Hammatt Journal, 17 June 1823. The *Barge* won three of her other four “races”—the first of which was an informal duel with the frigate *United States* between Cartagena and Port Mahone in the Mediterranean in May 1817. Crowninshield reveled in his victory, although it should be noted that it is not clear whether fleet Commodore John Shaw knew his flagship was engaged in a contest, and Shaw was in debt to Crowninshield in the amount of \$1,500 as well! The second was against a French man-of-war keeping an eye on Napoleon’s family in Italy, and the third was with the Baltimore clipper *General Jackson*, a few days after the contest with the Frenchman. See B. W. Crowninshield, “Account of the Yacht,” 100–05 and F. B. Crowninshield, *Cleopatra’s Barge*, 95. The fourth, again with the frigate *United States* in the Mediterranean, was fought to a draw with Crowninshield giving ground in strong winds but easily overtaking in light airs; see F. B. Crowninshield, *Cleopatra’s Barge*, 113–14.

78. As Secretary of State in 1816, James Monroe had signed two different passports for the first voyage of *Cleopatra’s Barge* out of Salem; the first was when she was (briefly) named *Car of Concordia*. Both were obtained through George’s brother Benjamin, then Secretary of the Navy. That same week, Monroe also wrote George Crowninshield Jr. a letter of reference to John Quincy Adams, then Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at London. See F.

- B. Crowninshield, *Cleopatra's Barge*, 32–33. Bradley, *American Frontier*, 98, cites contemporary sources that say Liholiho had lost so much power and popularity by this time that he felt a “cooling off” period might be beneficial to his reign. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 256, avers that Liholiho felt his power and wealth were diminished he had to leave.
79. Bingham, *Residence*, 204; Pleadwell, “Voyage to England,” 1.
80. Bingham, *Residence*, 202 says that only eight went to England; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 356, lists the entire party of twelve.
81. I am grateful to Dr. Stuart M. Frank of the Kendall Whaling Museum for furnishing extensive information on *L'Aigle's* history. She was wrecked at Tonga in the South Pacific in 1830.
82. For Ellis' background in Polynesia with the London Missionary Society, see Tom Hiney, *On the Missionary Trail* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2000), chapter 4: “The Hawaiian Adventure.”
83. William Ellis, “11 Letters,” no. 8 (presumed to the Reverend G. Burder, Secretary, London Missionary Soc.), Oahu, 20 November 1823. HMCS Library. Also found in Donald Angus, typescript p. 49, HHS Collection, “Letters Received from the Sandwich Islands,” London Missionary Society Collection: W. Ellis to George Burder (LMS Secretary), 20 November 1823. Starbuck was born on Nantucket in 1791, the offspring of two famous local whaling families (the Folgers and Starbuck).
84. Bingham, *Residence*, 202.
85. Pleadwell, “Voyage to England,” 3–4 and 8; Bingham to Everts, 12 January 1824, in Missionary Letters (MsL) 1:81, HMCS Library; Bingham, *Residence*, 204.
86. JSIM, ms. 257, for 26 December 1821.
87. Hammatt Journal, 5 June 1823 and 17 July 1823.
88. JSIM, ms. 438 for 31 October 1823; Levi Chamberlain Journal, original and typescript at the HMCS Library (LC: page numbers refer to typescript). Chamberlain was business agent for the mission, arriving with the second company on 27 April 1823. LC 2:35, for 31 October and 1 November 1823.
89. LC 2:45, for 2 December 1823 and Reynolds, Journal, 1823:10. Stephen Pupuhi was a Tahitian youth affiliated with the Boston missionaries.
90. Stewart, JRes., 279; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938), Appendix B, 430–34.
91. LC 3:12, for 4 February 1824; Joseph Goodrich and Samuel Ruggles, “Public Journal Kept at Waiakea, Hawaii,” in MsL 3:882–90 for 7 February 1824, HMCS Library. S. Ruggles to L. Chamberlain, 2 February 1824, in Samuel Ruggles to Depository 1824–1836, Missionary Letters Coll., HMCS Library. Levi Chamberlain called Kouhou a “low chief;” his name is alternately spelled Kohou and Koakou by various correspondents.
92. LC 3:19, for 19 February 1824; JSIM ms. 474 for 19 February 1824; Reynolds, Journal, 1:1824:19. It was the same Captain Blanchard who had transported the Pioneer Company of missionaries from Boston in 1820.
93. A. Bishop to J. Everts, MsL 2:591–93, 22–27 February 1824; Reynolds, Journal, 1:1824:20; JSIM ms. 474, 26 February 1824.
94. A. Thurston & A. Bishop, “Kailua Station Report,” 10 March 1824, HMCS Library; A. Bishop to L. Chamberlain, 17–18 March 1824, Artemas Bishop Folder (1823–27), HMCS Library.
95. Samuel Whitney Journal, 8 April 1824, HMCS Library. Interestingly, in this citation Whitney says that the wreck occurred on 6 April, although virtually all later missionary (and other) sources date the event to 5 April. This journal entry also was published by Ethel M. Damon (ed.), “The First Missionary Settlement on Kauai: Extracts from the Manuscript Journals of Reverend Samuel Whitney and Mrs. Mercy Partridge Whitney, 1819–1824,” *The Friend* (October 1925), 230–31.
96. Today, there is a large, stockless iron anchor of unknown date lodged beneath a coral head just off the northeastern corner of Hanalei Bay.
97. Liholiho's co-Regent Ka'ahumanu did not make it any easier for the new king to consolidate his inheritance and enforce his monarchy; see Kame'elehewa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 69ff.
98. Bingham, *Residence*, 218.
99. Bingham, *Residence*, 221–23. Kaumuali'i died on 26 April at Honolulu, further destabilizing the situation on

Kauai.

100. The hibiscus used was not the flowering shrub known as such on the mainland but *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, known in Hawaiian as *hau*.

101. LC 3:48, 12–13 May 1824.

102. A. Bishop (in Kailua) to L. Chamberlain, 5 June 1824, in Artemas Bishop Folder (1823–1827), Missionary Letters Coll., HMCS Library.

103. Bingham, *Residence*, 232.

104. James Young was the English name for Chief James Young Kanehoa, as per Editor, William Ellis, *ibid*, 42 and Pleadwell, “Voyage to England,” 3. A *punabele* is a favorite (friend or trusted advisor). His father was a British citizen named John Young as well; he arrived in the Hawaiian islands in 1790 and rose as high as Governor of Hawaii and Oahu for Kamehameha I. See Bradley, *American Frontier*, 37; E. Cahill, *The Life and Times of John Young: Confidant and Advisor to Kamehameha the Great* (Aiea, Hawaii: Island Heritage Publishing, 1999). James Young Kanehoa first left the Hawaiian Islands in 1806 aboard *Pearl*, Captain Ebbets; John Suter was Mate for this voyage. Kanehoa went to the United States and learned English there. For a description of the royal entourage of twelve to England, see Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 256.

105. See James Young Kanehoa, “Letter to R. C. Wyllie,” *The Polynesian* for 11 October 1851, 90.

106. See Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 257; Kamakau attributed Young’s failure to board *L’Aigle* at Rio to drunkenness—an opinion not shared by the Hawaiians actually on the voyage.

107. Pleadwell, “Voyage to England,” 8.

108. The trip of the royal Hawaiian party to England is worthy of a separate article; this brief account is derived from Pleadwell, “Voyage to England,” *passim*; Anonymous, “The Late King of the Sandwich Islands,” *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for 19 July and 6 September 1824; “The King and Queen of the Sandwich Islands,” *John Bull* for 23 May, 13 and 28 June and 11 and 18 July 1824; Pauline King Joerger, ed., Robert Dampier, *To The Sandwich Islands on HMS Blonde* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1971); Captain the Right Hon. Lord Byron, *ibid.*, 53–75, and Alfred Frankenstein, *The Royal Visitors* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1963).

109. *The Polynesian* (Vol. 1, New Series #40): 22 February 1845: 162.

110. “Ports of the Sandwich Islands,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 19 February 1857; No. 5 of a series. The same article appeared in *The Friend* (May 1857): 39.

111. John U. Kuapu‘u, *Ka Hae Hawaii*, ca. 11 May 1857. This article was paraphrased in *The Polynesian* for 23 May 1857, which supplements the account by translating correspondent Kuapu‘u’s name as “Mr. Hunchback” and changed the date on the cannon to 1818. I am grateful to Molly Ka‘imi Summers of Kauai Community College for the translation of the original Hawaiian.

112. John M. Lydgate, “The Story of *Cleopatra’s Barge*,” Kauai Historical Society, 24 November 1919 (reading transcript), 7. This article is reprinted in Kauai Historical Society, *The Kauai Papers* (Kauai: Kauai Historical Society, 1991), 20–22. I am grateful to Kauai journalist and historian Chris Cook, who provided a 1893 Hanalei and Princeville map that shows Nu‘uanu’s property near the mouth of the Hanalei River. According to Bishop Museum, Anthropology Report 10/1273 (Typescript Ms. 101273), HMS *Sulphur* was in Hanalei Bay in July 1837 to purchase cattle, surveying the bay while there.

113. Edward P. Wilcox, 19 December 1920 letter to his nieces in Winsted, CT. Grove Farm Homestead Museum, Lihue, Kauai. It is unfortunate that the capstan has not survived, for it was built according to George Crowninshield’s “own ideas,” see F. B. Crowninshield, *Cleopatra’s Barge*, 22.

114. For recent writing on the ship worm *Teredo navalis*, see David M. Platt, “Shipworms: The Wood-Boring *Teredo* Moves North,” *Wooden Boat* 160 (May/June 2001): 45–48.

115. Harry Alden, pers. comm., 3 October 2000.

116. Peter Mills, who excavated the Russian Fort at Waimea, Kauai, indicated that the cannon found there were removed by the British in 1864 for scrap. See Peter R. Mills, *Hawaii’s Russian Adventure: A New Look at Old History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002).

117. For beef in the Hawaiian diet at this date, see William Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., 1963), 291.

118. See *Barge* log for 23 Feb 1817: “Mr. Baker aboard

fitting a set of his patent pump boxes to our pumps.” Peabody Essex Museum. George Crowninshield to Commodore Hull, from Fayal, 24 April 1817, in F. B. Crowninshield, *Cleopatra’s Barge* (1913): 63; “We use Baker’s patent Pump boxes—once in twenty-four hours. They fully answer what has been said of them, and I exceedingly regret that Mr. Baker did not forward me the hand pump he promised, as I am in great need of it.” 119. See Walter J. Crinnion, “Lead Poisoning—To The Slaughter,” *Doctors Health Review*: “The initial symptoms of lead toxicity . . . are: fatigue, irritability, abdominal pain, constipation, and lack of appetite. Sometimes only one or two of these symptoms are present. As the poisoning progresses it can manifest in:

bone pain, iron-deficiency anemia, high blood pressure, numbness or tingling in extremities, neurological problems (dullness, poor attention span, headaches, muscular tremors, hallucinations and memory loss) and gout.” <www.wellweb.com/altern/Environment/lead.htm>. See also Christian Warren, *Brush with Death: A Social History of Lead Poisoning* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 148; Owen Beattie and John Geiger, *Frozen in Time: The Fate of the Franklin Expedition* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1987), 83–85 and 156ff.

120. Don Hibbard, State Historic Preservation Division, to Carol Lovell, Director, Kauai Museum, 3 October 2000.