

HĀNAU MA KA LOLO, FOR THE BENEFIT OF HER RACE:

a portrait of

EMMA KA‘ILIKAPUOLONO METCALF

BECKLEY NAKUINA

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Kanalu Young.

When I was looking into getting a graduate degree, Kanalu was the graduate student advisor. He remembered me from my undergrad years, which at that point had been nine years earlier.

He was open, inviting, and supportive of any idea I tossed at him. We had several more conversations after I joined the program, and every single one left me dizzy. I felt like I had just raced through two dozen different ideas streams in the span of ten minutes, and hoped that at some point I would recognize how many things I had just learned.

I told him my thesis idea, and he went above and beyond to help. He also agreed to chair my committee. I was originally going to write about Pana O‘ahu, the stories behind places on O‘ahu. Kanalu got the Pana O‘ahu (HWST 362) class put back on the schedule for the first time in a few years, and agreed to teach it with me as his assistant. The next summer, we started mapping out a whole new course stream of classes focusing on Pana O‘ahu. But that was his last summer. I went to his house once every week, until the day he called and said that he wasn’t feeling well, and that we should reschedule. Unfortunately, we never did.

I’ve changed my topic since then, but I hope he would be proud to find that I ended up focusing on a kaukau ali‘i. I didn’t realize it at the time, but that was the topic for his PhD dissertation and later, his book *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past*. Although he’s been gone for years now, he was still an essential part of this work, and I am so thankful for it.

Mahalo nui iā ‘oe e ke kumu.

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My thanks also goes out to Craig Howes at the University of Hawai'i Center for Biographical Research. We only met once, but he gave me some truly great research leads. I must also mahalo two people who I did not meet throughout this research project: Cristina Bacchilega of the University of Hawai'i English Department for her book *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place*, and Martha Hoverson of the Hawai'i State Public Library for her fantastic annotated bibliography. Their research on Emma Nakuina situated me in an excellent jumping off point to dive deeper into Emma's life.

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Finally, I’d like to thank Emma Nakuina. I visited her final resting place many times throughout the course of this process. Whenever I did, I asked for continued permission to write about her, and if she could help me find whatever information I needed. And it never failed; the next visit I made to any archive, I found some kind of pearl. That reassurance and approval is really what made this thesis possible.

Words cannot express how thankful I am for all of you. It is because of you that Emma’s story can now be told.

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PREFACE

One Woman's Story

The title of this piece, “Hānau ma ka Lolo,” translates into “born from the brain.” The phrase comes from lines 1780-1794 of the Kumulipo, when the goddess Haumea gives birth to her children from her brain. Haumea’s many children are born from the various parts of her body, but being born from the brain is a metaphor for the birth of knowledge, and for the passing on of that knowledge from one generation to the next. I felt it was an appropriate title for two reasons: one, Emma was a source of knowledge in her day, as well as a source for those of us seeking such knowledge today; and two, I found her because I was looking for my own ancestry. I was researching my genealogy, trying to find the generations that came before me. That search led me to Frank Metcalf, my great-great-great-grandfather, and Emma’s brother. As a woman, Emma fascinated me more than my own ancestor, but as a Hawaiian scholar, her knowledge inspired me.

Moreover, as a student of Hawaiian Studies and having previously completed a bachelor’s degree, I had to wonder why I had not heard of her before. I had to ask myself why she was not among the list of the most well-known Hawaiian scholars, such as Davida Malo, John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī, Samuel M. Kamakau, Kepelino, or Joseph M. Poepoe. All of these men published in Hawaiian, and their works were eventually translated into English. Maybe that was the reason: she was a Hawaiian woman who wrote in English. No translation necessary, therefore no additional attention was necessary. Which led to my next question: Why, then, had I sought knowledge from her haole contemporaries such as Abraham Fornander, William D. Alexander, Nathaniel B. Emerson, Thomas G. Thrum or William D.

Westervelt, but not from her? It was mostly because their works were in English, and therefore more accessible to me. But they were not Hawaiian. The only Hawaiian female scholar I was aware of was Mary Kawena Pukui, whose professional work spanned from the late 1930s through the 1970s. Yet, Emma Nakuina recorded knowledge about our own culture decades before Pukui. Had I known of her existence, I would have sought out her knowledge much sooner.

The other half of this piece is titled “For the Benefit of her Race.” This line comes from an 1897 newspaper article that celebrates Emma’s fiftieth birthday. The article speaks of how much she has done for Hawaiians in her lifetime. People in her own day honored her, so why is it that her name is missing from the most basic listings of Hawaiian scholarly research sources today? Perhaps Emma’s works have been dismissed because they are comprised mainly of myths. Perhaps they have been overlooked because they are all published in English. Perhaps being a woman in an age when women generally were not allowed in any positions of importance resulted her works being pushed aside to make way for the male historians. Whatever the reason may have been, I feel that she deserves to be known. Emma Nakuina should be recognized amongst the prominent Hawaiian scholars for her contributions to the existing body of knowledge, and through this work, I hope she acquires it.

A Note about the Text

Diacriticals (‘okina and kahakō) in Hawaiian language words have been used in this work according to the spelling in the Pukui and Elbert *Hawaiian Dictionary*. However, diacriticals are not used when the original text did not contain them. This applies to titles of publications, proper names, and quoted materials.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

He wahi mo‘olelo kēia o kekahi ola Hawai‘i. This is but a small story about a Hawaiian life. This life belonged to an extraordinary woman named Emma Nakuina. She was not a queen, but not a commoner either. She was caught somewhere in the middle: a kaukau ali‘i. As the first child of a high-born Hawaiian chiefess and an American Sugar Planter, Emma lived in close proximity to both the Hawaiian monarchy and to those who would later overthrow it. Like her rank, the era she lived in was also caught somewhere in the middle, between Hawaiian tradition and Western modernization. It was a time when all Hawaiians were struggling to live pono¹ in a environment full of unfamiliar influences and importations.

Emma Ka‘ilikapuolono Metcalf Beckley Nakuina lived from 1847 – 1929, in an age when both Hawaiians and women in general were being relentlessly prodded into subservient roles by the white elite; yet she held prominent positions under the Hawaiian Kingdom, the Provisional Government, the Republic of Hawaii, and the Territory of Hawaii.² Alexander Liholiho as Kamehameha IV ordered that she be taught about traditional water rights, and was later appointed, “custodian of the laws of the Kamehamehas and became an authority on the workings of all ancient laws.”³ Her

¹ Righteously, properly. This word can be defined in many ways. For a better understanding of the concept of “pono,” see: Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 340.

² I do not use ‘okina in the word “Hawaii” when referring to the Republic or Territorial governments. This is a personal choice, as I do not feel that these were rightful bodies, and therefore should not have the rightful spelling in their titles.

³ E. Shan Correa, “Nakuina, Emma Kaili Metcalf Beckley,” in *Notable Women of Hawaii*, ed. Barbara Bennett Peterson (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 427.

governmental positions included ‘curatrix,’ as she called herself, of the Hawaiian Government Museum and Government Library, and a commissioner of private ways and water rights. This latter profession, which she held for fifteen years, allowed her to serve as the first female judge in Hawai‘i, presiding over court cases dealing with water rights and use.⁴

Emma was also a scholar. As early as 1883 she started publishing works about the history of her people, some mythology, and some practical information. A few of her more enduring mo‘olelo, such as “The Punahou Spring” (1893) and “Legend of the Shark-Man, Nanaue” (1896), have been reprinted several times, while her articles, “Hawaiian Fisheries and Methods of Fishing” (1883), and “Ancient Hawaiian Water Rights and Some Customs Pertaining To Them” (1894) are still heavily referenced sources for researchers today. Additionally, a number of journal and newspaper articles passed through her capable hands. She worked on many projects with W.D. Alexander and T.G. Thrum, serving as cultural advisor, writer and translator on many of their publications. Nakuina’s authority on this history of her people was acknowledged by the white elite when she, along with Teuira Henry, were the first two women allowed membership in the Hawaiian Historical Society.⁵ Emma also joined the Daughters of Hawai‘i,⁶ which allowed her further opportunities to present historical information about

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society: Third Annual Report for the Year 1894*, Annual Report (Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1895), 20.

⁶ The Daughters of Hawai‘i was founded in 1903 by seven missionary daughters who had been born in Hawai‘i during the reign of Kamehameha III. Their original mission was, “to perpetuate the memory and spirit of Old Hawaii and to preserve the nomenclature and correct pronunciation of the Hawaiian Language.” In April 1904 the first Hawaiian members were welcomed, all of whom were either ali‘i or “respected community leaders.” Barbara Del Piano, *Nā Lani Kaumaka Daughters of Hawai‘i: A Century of Historic Preservation* (Honolulu: Daughters of Hawai‘i, 2005), xv, 1, 12.

her people. She was also recognized as an expert on the Hawaiian language, chiefly genealogies, and ancient mele.⁷

Education was near and dear to her heart. Emma Nakuina also served as a teacher, both in her early years and after her retirement from the government, and she spoke at the Hawaiian legislature, advocating for the teaching of Hawaiian history and customs in schools.⁸ However, her activities were diverse; she was a notary public, and was certified to grant marriage licenses.⁹ She was a founding member of a women's bank, and involved in both an educational society and literary society, all of which were originated by Queen Lili'uokalani;¹⁰ she even accompanied the (then) princess on a trip to one of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands.¹¹ Princess Pauahi also invited Emma to join a sewing club.¹² When capable, she tried to help her people through difficult times, most notably the Cholera epidemic of 1895. She wrote into local papers to try and caution people about how disease spreads, how to avoid it, and what to do if infected.¹³ Additionally, she participated in relief aid activities throughout the epidemic.¹⁴

Emma Nakuina lived a long and successful life, yet this will be but a small story about a Hawaiian woman. This is not intended to be a statement about the treatment of

⁷ Barbara Bennett Peterson, *Notable Women of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 280; "Death Ends Work of Rev. M. K. Nakuina: Well-Known Hawaiian Minister Passes Away At Kaimuki," *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu, August 4, 1911).

⁸ Peterson, *Notable Women of Hawaii*, 280.

⁹ Advertisement: "E. M. Nakuina. Komisina O Na Ala Liilii A Me Na Pono Wai," *Ka Makaainana* (Honolulu, April 15, 1895), Buke 3, Helu 6, 'ao'ao 1. These ads ran from April 1895 through May 1896.

¹⁰ "Local News," *Daily Honolulu Press* (Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, April 7, 1886), pg. 3.

¹¹ Emma's involvement in this trip comes out through her statement in a court hearing. See: "(20,422) Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1906, No. 457. Helen Rowland Plaintiff In Error, Vs. Frank Godfrey, Trustee for Thomas Metcalf," in *Records and Briefs of the United States Supreme Court*, 1906, 52.

¹² George Hu'e'u Sanford Kanahale, *Pauahi: The Kamehameha Legacy* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: Kamehameha Schools Press, 2002), 93.

¹³ "Testimony of a Hawaiian Expert," *The Friend* (Honolulu, October 1, 1895), Volume 53, Number 10 edition.

¹⁴ "Relief For Hawaiians," *Evening Bulletin* (Honolulu, September 12, 1895).

women, about racism of the white towards the native, or any kind of political analysis of dispossession. Rather, it is the story of one woman and how she overcame such things when she was faced with them. As much as possible, this story will be told from Emma's own words. The things that happened in her life happened to many others during that time in history, but what is unique about this work is that it tries to detail these life experiences from Emma's perspective. She was a nineteenth century Hawaiian scholar who was caught in a tumultuous world of underhanded politics, shifting governments, and the reluctant need to transition from a "Hawaiian" way of life to that of the "civilized world." It is at the apex of this chaotic era in Hawaiian history that her story will be centered, for it is the most difficult times in life when people show their true worth.

Questions to be Answered

The first question this thesis will address is: What is a *kaukau ali'i* and what designated Emma as one? The definition of *kaukau ali'i* and the responsibilities that the position entails will be discussed. Genealogy determines who is *kaukau ali'i*, so Emma's genealogy will also be explored. By focusing first on the background that birthed and reared Emma – both Hawaiian and American – we will see the foundation that her skills and beliefs were built upon, and how her what was passed on to her through her ancestors shaped the person and professional that she would become.

The second question is: Who is Emma Nakuina? We will find out more about this remarkable woman by exploring her life and the people that surrounded her. Her family, royal status, schooling, and activities she was involved in, along with some of the biggest personal challenges she faced will all be brought out in an effort to answer this

question. These early life experiences help to better understand some of her motivations for her actions throughout the rest of her life.

The last question is: How did Emma Nakuina fulfill her role as a *kaukau ali'i* in the kingdom era? Nakuina overcame many setbacks, both personally and professionally, but all of that was further burdened with large-scale societal and political changes. Yet, she managed to keep her professional positions through five governments.¹⁵ More so, she used whatever means were at her disposal to fulfill what she believed to be her duty as a *kaukau ali'i*.

Literature Review

Emma Nakuina is notable enough in the history of our islands that biographies about her appear in a good number of publications. The earliest sketch found thus far is in an article called “Native Chiefs of Honolulu,” which appeared in the magazine *Picturesque Honolulu* in 1907. The brief crumb of information states, “Mrs. Emma Metcalf Nakuina, now living in Kalihi, is the great-great-granddaughter of Capt. Metcalf, the captain of the *Eleanor*.”¹⁶ This erroneous reference to her genealogy was repeated in two other publications, and therefore deserves some attention later in this work.

The next two biographies appeared in 1926 and 1930. The first was in the book *Under Hawaiian Skies* by Albert Pierce Taylor. The short paragraph succinctly tells of Emma’s marriages and professions, but not much else.¹⁷ The second work appears

¹⁵ It should be noted that the five governments referred to are: 1) Constitutional Monarchy; 2) Bayonet government (after the forced passing of the Bayonet Constitution); 3) Provisional Government; 4) Republic of Hawaii; 5) Territory of Hawaii

¹⁶ “Native Chiefs of Honolulu,” *Picturesque Honolulu*, 1907.

¹⁷ Albert Pierce Taylor, *Under Hawaiian Skies: A Narrative of the Romance, Adventure and History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands: Advertiser Publishing Company, Ltd., 1922).

shortly after Nakuina's passing, in the *Proceedings of the Pan Pacific Union, Second Women's Conference* booklet.¹⁸ Although no author is listed for this biography, Emma's son, Frederick Beckley, Jr., is listed among the sources for the entire booklet. The information contained in it appears to be the main source for succeeding biographies about her.

There seems to be no more mention of her until 1961, when an article appeared in the Honolulu Star Bulletin titled "Tales About Hawaii: Caretaker Emma Metcalf Nakuina." Despite the article's title, author Clarice B. Taylor does not mention Nakuina as often as one would expect, nor does she seem to admire her subject. Taylor wrote: "Mrs. Nakuina scribbled incessantly. She was the Kawena Pukui of her day. She knew much of the old Hawaiian culture and she knew English well enough to be able to express herself."¹⁹ Whatever Taylor's sentiments were, the fact remains that Emma Nakuina did publish "incessantly," and did so almost exclusively in English.

The next lengthy silence was broken in 1984 with the book *Notable Women of Hawaii*. The nearly three-page biography that appears in this collection relies heavily on the 1930 *Proceedings of the Second Women's Conference* paper. The most valuable thing about this biography, however, is that the other source is Henry Beckley, Emma's grandson. This is the version of Nakuina's history that has been cited most in recent publications. In 1992 she was next included in the book *Called from Within: Early Women Lawyers of Hawai'i*, although her presence there seems almost an afterthought (and is, in fact, the absolute last entry in the book). She garnered one paragraph, along with Ka'ahumanu, as two Hawaiian women who were not lawyers, but were important to

¹⁸ *Proceedings of the Second Women's Conference* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Pan-Pacific Union, 1930).

¹⁹ Clarice B. Taylor, "Tales About Hawaii: Caretaker Emma Metcalf Nakuina," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, May 17, 1961), 46.

the law in pre-annexation Hawai‘i. Over the next decade, however, mentions of Emma Nakuina seemed to diminish.²⁰

Emma Nakuina’s recent emergence back into academia is due in large part to author Cristina Bacchilega. Her 2007 book, *Legendary Hawai‘i and the Politics of Place*, provides the most extensive biography written to date about Mrs. Nakuina. Bacchilega devotes an entire chapter to her, but the focus of the chapter is not to present a thorough history of this historical figure. Bacchilega summarizes Mrs. Nakuina’s background in order to support her main point: that Nakuina’s 1904 publication, *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends*, is an example of feminine defiance in a male dominated, western dominated world. Bacchilega does an honorable job with the biography that is presented, but as the reader will find out, there is so much more to Emma Nakuina than is so far published.

A precursor to Bacchilega’s book was an article she wrote that appeared in the Kumu Kahua Theater periodical for the 2003-2004 season, titled “Emma Nakuina: A Remarkable Woman of Hawai‘i.” In 2008, a year after the publication of her book, Bacchilega also wrote and presented a paper titled “‘Feminine Defiance’ in Emma Nakuina’s *Hawaii: Its People, Their Legends: Cultural Translation and Life Writing*” at the 6th Biennial Conference of the International Auto/Biography Association (IABA) at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. Again, Bacchilega gives a better biography than what has yet been presented by others, but her focus is to analyze Nakuina’s work, not to tell her life story. One should also note that, since all three works are by the same author, the same information appears in each.

²⁰ Dennis Kawaharada, Assistant Professor of Language Arts at Kapi‘olani Community College and Publisher of Kalamakū Press, republished many of Nakuina’s legends during the 1990s. However he did not publish any biographical works about her, and is therefore not mentioned in the text of this paper.

Perhaps as a result of Bacchilega's work, the Hawai'i State Library created a 2008 exhibit that hung at the library's main branch. It was highlighted by a one-night only presentation that hosted speakers like Cristina Bacchilega and was attended by descendants of Emma herself.²¹ There is a handout that accompanied the exhibit, called *Rediscovering Emma: A Hawaiian Intellectual of the Last Century*. The main difference between this and any other biographical works thus far is that it was the first to offer any insight into Emma's tenure as a judge. The handout listed some of the cases she worked on, and some of the actions she took while serving as a judge. However, being a presentation and temporary exhibit, it did not offer anything exhaustive, nor did it produce a compilation of information that could ultimately be checked out from a library.²²

In 2009 Emma Nakuina made another prominent appearance as one of two women who were daughters of high-ranking Hawaiian chiefesses and Caucasian fathers in the book *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*. It is a compilation of works, many dealing with native female subjects from across the globe. The piece by author Christine M. Swikot was titled "Genealogies and Histories in Collision: Tourism and Colonial contestations in Hawai'i, 1900-1930." The main thesis of her work was that the white oligarchy attempted to use miscegenation, especially between genealogically high-ranking Hawaiian women and rich white men, as a tool to colonize Hawai'i, believing that the appropriation of their wives' genealogy would encourage Hawaiians to accept these white elite as their new leaders. Like

²¹ I had already been researching Emma Nakuina for some time when this presentation was given, and was fortunate enough to attend it.

²² Although the only thing created from it was a handout, the librarian that worked on the exhibit, Martha Hoverson, compiled a wonderful annotated bibliography that I thankfully obtained a copy of, and that was very helpful in the research for this work.

Bacchilega, Swikot focused heavily on Emma's 1904 book *Hawai'i, Its People, Their Legends* throughout her analysis. In contrast, however, the biographical information she presents in her article seems to be based mainly on the *Notable Women of Hawaii* entry, and rarely goes outside of its bounds.

The most recent publication to bring Emma's work to light is a 2011 book called *Pele, Volcano Goddess of Hawai'i: A History* by H. Arlo Nimmo. The text is a recounting of all the published versions of the Pele and Hi'iaka epic along with a comparison of each. Nimmo cites that the earliest English language version of the story appeared in the *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* from August 25 through October 13, 1883. The author is a person named Kaili, which Nimmo declares to be a nom de plume for Emma. Although he cannot confirm it, Nimmo suggests that Kaili's version may have been a source for subsequent English-language versions by haole authors. The most valuable thing about this recent work, however, is that the entire 1883 serial is reproduced in its pages.²³

Methodology

This thesis is primarily a biographical piece; therefore its contents rely heavily on Emma's own words. While she did not leave any kind of manuscript collection or journals that are publically accessible, she did show a great amount of her own character through her publications. Numerous other publications, both primary and secondary, were consulted as many contain statements or quotes either about Emma, or from her. Transcripts, petitions, and statements from the many court cases that she was involved in

²³ H. Arlo Nimmo, *Pele, Volcano Goddess of Hawai'i: A History* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2011).

proved especially important when trying to determine the character of this extraordinary woman.

Aside from collecting information about Emma, other works about historical figures of the time were helpful in gaining more insight into the era, and into what our subject may have faced throughout her life. Kanalu Young's *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past* was essential, as it is about the role of kaukau ali'i, and how that role changed once foreigners entered the society. There are two books that were not used as sources for research, but were also helpful in understanding more about the life of a kaukau ali'i during the late nineteenth century. Both are about Curtis Piehu Iaukea, who was a contemporary of Emma's and held similar status in royal society. Like Emma, Iaukea held governmental positions both before and after the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom. The ability to navigate through such murky political waters was not a common skill; very few Hawaiians were able to successfully do so. The question of loyalty to the Queen then comes up for those who did manage to rise in a government ruled by the white oligarchy. It is upon this question that the works on Iaukea become important: Curtis Piehu Iaukea left his memoirs in the Hawai'i State Archives, so we have his life and his thoughts set down by his own words. These memoirs were then used in two publications. The first, *By Royal Command*, is a biographical sketch of his early life compiled by his daughter, Lorna Kahilipuaokalani Iaukea Watson. The second, *The Queen and I*, is a recently published book by his great-great granddaughter, Sydney Lehua Iaukea, which gives more focus to his professional life.²⁴

²⁴ Curtis Pi'ehu Iaukea and Lorna Kahilipuaokalani Iaukea Watson, *By Royal Command: The Official Life and Personal Reminiscences of Colonel Curtis Pi'ehu Iaukea at the Court of Hawai'i's Rulers* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Hui Hanai, an auxiliary of The Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center, 1988); Sydney L. Iaukea,

Unfortunately Emma left few such treasures. Whatever knowledge has been gained about her life, and especially her time spent as a government official after the overthrow, must be pieced together from bits left here and there. However, by glimpsing into the thoughts of another *kaukau ali'i* of the time, perhaps we can better comprehend what struggles Emma faced in the same political climate.

The bits and pieces that do exist about Emma's life come from Punahou School records, newspaper articles, court proceedings, land documents, probate records, fleeting mentions in personal journals, and a Hawaiian language audio recording. Some personal information can also be extracted from her works, which includes: submissions to English language newspapers; articles in *Thrum's Hawaiian Annual*, the *Honolulu Annual*, and *Paradise of the Pacific*; a very detailed inventory of the Hawaiian Governmental Museum; draft articles created for the Daughters of Hawai'i; and her only book, *Hawai'i, Its People, Their Legends*.

Chapter Summaries

A Hawaiian's life does not begin at the moment of birth; it begins eons earlier, in the Kumulipo, as darkness emerges into light. The natural world comes first, and Hāloa, the first man, is born last; man is the younger sibling of earth itself. All Hawaiians descend from this first man. It is our truth that who you are, or who you have the potential to be, is largely based on the mana that your ancestors pass down from generation to generation, through to you. Each successive generation adds to that mana, culminating in the birth of a Hawaiian with the strength and knowledge of all the

The Queen and I: A Story of Dispossession and Reconnections in Hawai'i, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 2011).

generations before. For this reason, Emma's birth is not the starting point for this story. It begins with the genealogy of the mana that was passed down to her.

In fact, much of the next chapter will not focus on Emma at all. To understand a Hawaiian, we must understand his or her background. She was a Hawaiian *kaukau ali'i*, trying to live her life based on behaviors and beliefs given to her by those that came before her. It is therefore necessary to understand the foundation for those beliefs and behaviors. Emma Ka'ilikapuolono claimed her Hawaiian lineage from the Kūkaniloko line of O'ahu, as well as the a kahuna of the Mahi line of Hawai'i island. The significance of each of these, as well as how they connected her to the royal families, will be explored in detail.

However, Emma Metcalf also had American roots. Her father, Theophilus Metcalf, was a descendant of Puritans who emigrated from England to Massachusetts in the 1600s. She was raised in Hawai'i, in close proximity to the chiefs of the day. She lived with daily exposure to Hawaiian beliefs, behaviors and values; but she was also raised by an American man who had different ideas of how things should be done. The first chapter will therefore explore the background of the Metcalf clan in New England, dispell some common misconceptions of any connection to the infamous Simon Metcalfe, and give an overview of Theophilus Metcalf's life here in the islands.

Chapter three will delve into Emma's life. We will get to know her family a little better, be introduced to other people in her life, and explore events that influenced her on a personal level. She was born in 1847, in the midst of the Māhele in which her father was heavily involved. This closeness to the new laws of land ownership led to one of the first challenges in her life: legally losing her property to her own father at the ripe old age

of twelve. This was the first of many disputes over land, which perhaps gave her an early, harsh education about the difference between Hawaiian and western laws.

Emma's schooling shaped the professional she would become, not only in knowledge but also in connections. She spent the largest part of her education at O'ahu College, later known as Punahou School. Theophilus Metcalf was in business with many of the school's founders, and was one of a very few people to send his Hawaiian children to walk its halls. Attending such a school surely had an impact on her, but we will also see that Emma had an impact on the school as well.

Also discussed in this chapter will be her status in society, as determined by the previously reviewed genealogy. She spent time in the courts of Kamehameha IV, Kamehameha V, Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani. Emma's selection of husbands, Frederick Beckley and Moses Nakuina, also give credence to her ali'i rank.

The last chapter will focus more on her responsibilities as a kaukau ali'i, with a discussion on how she fulfilled that kuleana through her professional positions. Emma's early training in traditional laws eventually led her to becoming adept at both history and water regulations. Publishing traditional legends and serving as a judge are two professions seemingly disconnected, yet she employed both as a means of helping her people in a time when Hawaiian political power and Hawaiian pride were noticeably waning. More importantly, she was able to keep doing both works before, during and after the overthrow of the monarchy.

The role of all Hawaiians were in question during this time; before the monarchy era, roles were clearly defined. A kaukau ali'i knew exactly what to do to fulfill his or her chiefly responsibilities. But Emma, and others like her, had to find new ways to work

within the western system while still being true to Hawaiian ways. Forging this new role was not easy, and not everyone agreed with what behaviors and actions were pono. This warrants some discussion, then, on the concessions Emma chose to make, and how she was perceived by her own people for those decisions.

The last chapter concludes with some thoughts about the mana of Hawaiian women. Emma Kaʻilikapuolono Metcalf Beckley Nakuina was truly unique: she was in a position of authority in an age dominated by men. Being Hawaiian, she was born with the confidence of a powerful woman. Her faith in this age-old cultural inheritance was something that aided her in her rise through the ranks, despite the attempts of the men around her to keep her in a submissive role. She was a strong native woman, and her words are just as empowering today as they were when she wrote them.

CHAPTER 2

Defining a Kaukau Ali'i

Emma Ka'ilikapuolono Metcalf was clearly recognized as a kaukau ali'i in her day. Such a rank afforded her the privilege of closeness with the ruling family, insuring her loyalty to them, and serving them in some way. "Kaukau ali'i" is a title of sorts, similar to foreign titles such as "Duke" or "Duchess," and comes with certain responsibilities or obligations. Kanalu Young, in his book *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past*, summarizes these responsibilities: "The *kaukau ali'i* cared for *Ali'i Nui* children, were land stewards, and went into battle as warriors. The *hana lawelawe* that the *kaukau ali'i* performed strengthened an *Ali'i Nui's* ability to control a district or island."²⁵ While this work will later examine how Emma fulfilled such obligations, it is important to first understand the title itself. It is a title that was passed down from a different time, before the arrival of foreigners and all the changes that came with them. The definition and significance of this title had changed by the time Emma held it.

We begin at the root of this concept. "Kaukau ali'i" is defined in the Pukui-Elbert dictionary as, "[a] class of chiefs of lesser rank than the high chief, the father a high chief and the mother of lower rank but not a commoner."²⁶ A similar term, "kauali'i," also appears, being defined as, "a commoner elevated to chieftainship."²⁷ The Kent treasury

²⁵ Kanalu G. Terry Young, *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), xi. Young defines *hana lawelawe* as "service tasks." All Hawaiian words in Young's book are italicized.

²⁶ Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian dictionary*, 135. The *Kent Treasury of Hawaiian Words in One Hundred and One Categories*, (pg. 384) entry for *kaukau ali'i* reads very similarly: "class of chiefs below the king, the father a high chief and the mother above a commoner but not a chiefess." The term does not appear at all in the Andrews dictionary.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

of words gives a slightly fuller description: “a low, not a high chief; commoner raised to chieftainship by the king.”²⁸ Young examines this concept further by breaking it down to its root, “kau,” meaning “to place or put.” He suggests that the reduplication of the word intensifies its meaning, indicating that it was a lower-ranked chief’s duty to continually place or put away the belongings of the chief they served, but that this intensification can also be expanded to include various other duties performed for the chief.²⁹ However, when looking at the term “kaukau,” one finds the definition, “to advise, admonish, especially in a kindly or affectionate manner; to weigh the mind, deliberate, reason with, appeal to.”³⁰ Young explains its significance in this way: “The lesser chiefs who served also advised with affection. They appealed to their superiors with an air of kindness. Their loyalty and dedication to perform *hana lawelawe* for the *Ali‘i Nui* was based on *aloha*. The term *kaukau* carries this connotation as well.”³¹

The term ‘kaukau ali‘i’ appears in Kamakau, Kepelino and Malo in lengthy descriptions of the different classes of chiefs. The term ‘kaukau’ is listed as a rank; this ranking system for ali‘i is determined by the birth of that ali‘i and what chiefly status each of his or her parents held. The highest pedigrees required either being a product of a brother and sister mating, and/or being the child of either a mother or father (or both) who were themselves products of such matings.³² Kamakau’s version lists eight different

²⁸ Harold Winfield Kent, *Treasury of Hawaiian Words in One Hundred and One Categories* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Masonic Public Library of Hawaii : Distributed by University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 384.

²⁹ Young, *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past*, 10.

³⁰ Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 135.

³¹ Young, *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past*, 10.

³² Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *Ka Po‘e Kahiko: The People of Old*, ed. Dorothy B Barrère, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 51 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991), 4–6; Kepelino, *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawaii*, ed. Martha Warren Beckwith, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 95 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2007), 195–198; David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities: Mo‘olelo Hawaii*, trans. Nathaniel B. Emerson, Second ed., Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 2 (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 2005), 52–62.

ranks in which at least one parent must be of *nī‘aupi‘o*, *pi‘o* or *naha* status (the highest possible ranks, all of which require incestuous relationships in some way), but he lists only two chiefly ranks that did not—the *la‘au ali‘i* and the *kaukau*.³³

Kamakau states that the *la‘au ali‘i* are second pedigree chiefs, children whose father and mother were both children of the high chief, but from that high chief’s secondary (or, less specifically, not the highest ranking) mating. By this definition, Alexander Liholiho and his brother Lota Kapuāiwa, Kamehamehas IV and V respectively, did not even reach this level of chiefly rank; their father Kekūanao‘a did not share a chiefly parent with their mother, Kīna‘u. However, Kamakau defines ‘*kaukau*’ as a chief who had one parent of the *la‘au ali‘i* class and the other of the *kaukau ali‘i* class. With Kīna‘u being the child of Kamehameha I by a secondary mating and Kekūanao‘a being of *kaukau ali‘i* rank, this exactly describes the parentage of the Kamehamehas IV and V.³⁴ By the 1860s these were the highest chiefs remaining in the entire island chain yet, by the strictest sense of Kamakau’s definition, they themselves were of, at best, *kaukau ali‘i* rank.³⁵

Since incestuous relationships were considered appalling by foreigners and especially by the missionaries, the highest ranks of *ali‘i* were completely gone by the mid 1800s. All that was left were the ranks that did not require a brother and sister marriage. Simply put, the high chiefly ranks had disappeared. The *kaukau ali‘i* was the only kind of chief that remained. This extinction of the highest chiefs dictated the necessity for

³³ Kamakau, *Ka Po‘e Kahiko: The People of Old*, 6.

³⁴ Kīna‘u’s mother, Kaheiheimālie, was a very high ranking chiefess. However, it is stated here that she is Kamehameha’s secondary mating only because Keōpūolani, the mother of Liholiho and Kauikeaouli, was of an even higher rank. This makes Kaheiheimālie secondary to Keōpūolani.

³⁵ It is important for my own peace of mind to note here that, under normal circumstances, I would never dare to call the ruling family by this title. I state it here, however, to give a clear and easily understood illustration of the disappearance of the traditional chiefly ranks.

some level of status to be preserved; the only two types of ali'i that remained were the ruling family, and anyone else that could trace their genealogy back to a high-ranking chief around the time of Kamehameha Pai'ea. Yet, no one would dare call any member of the ruling family a "kaukau ali'i," so the context of this term changed and, in essence, became a title that would apply to all those not of that ruling family. Emma Ka'ilikapuolono Metcalf was, by this kingdom era context, a kaukau ali'i.

Genealogy of a Kingdom Era Kaukau Ali'i

Emma's genealogy has been difficult to trace. We know that she was a kaukau ali'i, and that her genealogy had to be closely related to the ruling family in order for her to be recognized as such. Yet, she tended to leave little clues here and there rather than announce her lineage like some of her contemporaries did. What little can be found comes mainly from her own book, *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends*. In her telling of the Battle of Nu'uaniu, Nakuina expertly weaves her own genealogy into an account that exalts her ancestors, but that, in true Hawaiian ali'i fashion, does not boast about herself:

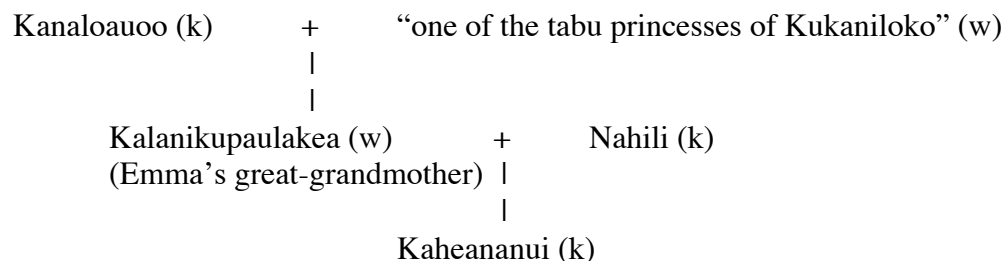
A young chiefess, the daughter of the high priest Kanaloauoo, whose residence was on Punchbowl crater, and who was connected with the Hawaii chiefs by the father's side, but whose mother was one of the tabu princesses of Kukaniloko, the famous cradle of Oahuan royalty . . . the young chiefess referred to, though a mere child, was compelled by the victorious Kamehameha to be married to one of his generals, Nahili, whom he appointed to govern the conquered island on his return to Hawaii. Of course there was nothing but unquestioning obedience to the

expressed wish of the conqueror, but she displayed her fidelity to her slaughtered kindred and people by calling her first-born, son of Kamehameha’s own general and regent, Kaheananui (the great heap of the slain).

It is related that Kamehameha, on hearing of this covert act of feminine defiance, only smiled indulgently and approved of her fidelity to the memories of the dead. Perhaps the fact that she was the descendant of a long and celebrated line of high priests, as well as of the tabu princesses of Kukaniloko on the mother’s side, and was a powerful factor in keeping the Oahuans quiescent under the rather severe rules of her grim warrior husband, predisposed Kamehameha to overlook a tacit act of defiance, that, according to Hawaiian aristocratic usage, should have been punished by the death of mother and child. To this indulgence, I owe much, as the chiefess Kalanikupaulakea was the great grandmother of the writer.³⁶

The above text relates three generations of Emma’s recent ancestors, yet there is at least one generation between her and those presented in her writing. The following chart helps to illustrate the relationships as outlined by her own words:

Figure 1: Genealogy described in *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends*



³⁶ Emma M. Nakuina, *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends* (Hawaii Promotion Committee, 1904), 20–21.

Emma completes the story by stating that the defiant chiefess Kalanikupaulakea was her own great-grandmother. What is not clearly outlined are the two generations between Kalanikupaulakea and Emma. She does not state that Kaheananui is her ancestor, and at one point she calls him the “first-born,” suggesting that there may have been more children. Further support of this theory also comes from Emma in an unpublished draft of a story she wrote for the Daughters of Hawaii. The draft ends with a crossed out sentence in parenthesis, “[w]ritten by a great granddaughter of Nahili and also of a conquered Oahuan.”³⁷ This confirms that Emma is of the Kalanikupaulakea and Nahili line, but not necessarily through Kaheananui.

Information about Nahili and Kalanikupaulakea is scarce. In fact, Emma herself is the only Hawaiian historian to mention Kalanikupaulakea, although biographers of Emma have called her “legendary” purely as a result of Emma’s story of how she defied Kamehameha.³⁸ These biographers may have based their characterization solely on Emma’s viewpoint, but they likely did not understand how appropriate the label was. From a Hawaiian viewpoint, she could have indeed reached legendary status, and this legendary status also gives greater insight into the level of Emma’s status in her own society.

Kalanikupaulakea, “was the descendant of a long and celebrated line of high priests [on the father’s side], as well as of the tabu princesses of Kukaniloko on the

³⁷ Emma M. Nakuina, “The Battle of Nuuanu”, n.d., Daughters Of Hawaii; An excerpt is also found in Edith McKinzie, *Hawaiian Genealogies: Extracted from Hawaiian Language Newspapers, Vol. 1*, ed. Ishmael W. Stagner and Kawelohea McKinzie (Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1983), 55, however, this excerpt states that Emma Nakuina is the great-great-great granddaughter of Nahili. I have chosen to follow Nakuina’s own words and will call Nahili her great-grandfather throughout this work.

³⁸ Use of the word “legendary” to describe Kalanikupaulakea first appears in Barbara Bennett Peterson, *Notable Women of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 280; the descriptor was copied in Shaaron Cosner and Jennifer R. Scanlon, *American Women Historians, 1700s-1990s: A Biographical Dictionary* (Greenwood, 1996), 181.

mother's side."³⁹ Her father, Kanaloauoo, was a direct descendant of another Kanaloauoo, who was a direct descendant of 'Umi with Mokuahualei'ākea, and was also an ancestor to Kamehameha.⁴⁰

Figure 2: Genealogy of Kanaloauoo and connection to Kamehameha

'Umi (k)	+	Mokuahualeiākea (w)	→	'Akahi'ilikapu (w)
'Akahi'ilikapu	+	Kahakumakaliua (k)	→	Koihalawai (w)
Koihalawai (w)	+	Keawenuia'umi (k)	→	Kanaloa Kua'ana (k)
		(Koihalawai's uncle)		
Kanaloa Kua'ana (k)	+	Kaikilani (w)	→	Kealiiokalani (w)
Kealiiokalani (w)	+	Keaweakai (k)	→	Kanaloauoo (k)
Kanaloauoo (k)	+	Ho'ola'aikaiwi (w)	→	Mahi'ololi (k)
Mahi'ololi (k)	+	'Umi'iwi'ula (w)	→	Kauaua-a-Mahi (k)
Kauaua-a-Mahi (k)	+	Kalanikauleleiāiwi (w)	→	Ha'ae (k)
Ha'ae (k)	+	Kekelakekeokalani (w)	→	Kekuiapoiva (w)
		(Ha'ae's half sister)		
Kekuiapoiva (w)	+	Keoua (k)	→	Kamehameha (k)

Using a 15-20 year generational gap and an approximate birthdate for Kamehameha of 1755, the Kanaloauoo in Kamehameha's line would have been born anytime between 1655-1680. Kalanikupaulakea, in Emma's story, was young when she was forced to marry Nahili after the Battle of Nu'uuanu, so we can assume she was born sometime around 1780, making her fifteen at the time of the attack. The original Kanaloauoo would have been close to or over 100 years old when she was born. Therefore it is far more likely that the Kanaloauoo in Emma's text was a different person from the one in Kamehameha's genealogy. Based on Hawaiian naming practices, however, we can confidently surmise two things: first, that he is a direct descendant of the first Kanaloauoo; and second, that being given the same name as his ancestor also meant that he was given the same kuleana and mana of their priestly line.

³⁹ Nakuina, *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends*, 21.

⁴⁰ Davida Malo, "He Buke no ka oihana kula," unpublished, 1827.

As an ali‘i and a kahuna,⁴¹ Kanaloauoo would have been of the highest level of priests, and been responsible for the most complex priestly duties. Evidence of this later Kanaloauoo’s high priest status is indicated in the text when Emma states that his residence was on Punchbowl crater. Punchbowl, then known as Pūowaina, was where human sacrifices were placed and burned. A natural stone platform once existed there, where bodies were placed for ceremonies. There was a crack in the rock that acted as a flue, allowing for the smoke and fire to blow up and away from the people below.⁴² Only the Kahuna Nui practiced human sacrifice on behalf of the Ali‘i Nui, and only kahuna lived near or on heiau where such rituals would be performed, therefore Kanaloauoo’s residence on Pūowaina clearly illustrates that Emma’s ancestor was both a kahuna, and one of a very high status.

Kanaloauoo was of a Hawai‘i island lineage, the same line as Kamehameha’s, and it is unclear what fate befell him when Kamehameha attacked in 1795. He was related to the conquerer, so it is possible that he pledged allegiance to the new ruler and continued to serve out his kahuna duties. The practice of burning men who broke the kapu of the chiefs was a specific ceremony. It originated on Kaua‘i, but was later passed on to O‘ahu chiefs. This kapu, “was again passed on to Kualī‘i when Punchbowl (Pu‘owaina) became the place for celebrating such burnings.”⁴³ The practice was later passed on to Maui, but not necessarily to Hawai‘i.⁴⁴ If this was the case, then Kanaloauoo had specialized knowledge that Kamehameha could find useful. Kamehameha knew the mana of O‘ahu

⁴¹ “The class of chiefs held the highest rank of all, and the priests were classed with them. The two together comprised the class of chiefs.” Kepelino, *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawaii*, 140.

⁴² Elspeth P. Sterling and Catherine C. Summers, *Sites of Oahu* (Bishop Museum Press, 1979), 291.

⁴³ Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, Revised. (Kamehameha Schools Pr, 1992), 226.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 225–226.

island and its chiefs, and would have found multiple ways to try and secure that mana for himself.⁴⁵ Utilizing Kanaloauoo, a member of his own chiefly line, would have been one such tactic for securing that mana.

Kamehameha also valued the chiefly mana of Kūkaniloko. Although many of the O‘ahu chiefs had fallen to Maui forces, some of the O‘ahu chiefly lines still remained. Kalanikupaulakea’s existence in 1795 is proof of that.⁴⁶ Kamehameha wanted this sacred lineage on his side, which is why he ordered the young chiefess to marry a loyal member of his own family. It was still well known among all ali‘i ranks that, “[c]hiefs born at Kūkaniloko were *akua* of the land and were *ali‘i kapu* as well.”⁴⁷ To further enforce that his heirs carried this mana, Kamehameha desired his highest-ranking son Liholiho to be born there, but when Keōpūolani arrived at the site, the child would not come.⁴⁸

Kūkaniloko, in an area named Līhu‘e (known as part of Wahiawā today), is in the uplands of Waialua, O‘ahu. It is regarded as one of only three places throughout the island chain as a special birth place of chiefs. It was established about the twelfth century, by the ali‘i Nanakāoko and his wife Kahihiokalani for the birth of their son, Kapawa. The site continued to be used for centuries as a place for ali‘i births, with noted chiefs such as Mā‘ilikūkahi, Kūkaniloko, Kalaimanu‘ia, La‘amaikahiki, and Kākuhihewa

⁴⁵ Reverend Stephen L. Desha, *Kamehameha and His Warrior Kekūhaupi‘o*, trans. Frances N. Frazier (Kamehameha Schools Press, 2000), 355. “We are able to understand the strategy in the mind of Kamehameha, as he was seeking friendship with this strong O‘ahu *ali‘i* and to become acquainted with those O‘ahu chiefs. The main reason for Kamehameha’s doing so was that he was thinking of his great project of conquest, and that by befriending these famous warrior chiefs of O‘ahu, he was preparing the way for his movements toward war.”

⁴⁶ Nakuina, *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends*, 21.

⁴⁷ Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Nā Mo‘olelo a Ka Po‘e Kahiko* (Bishop Museum Pr, 1993), 53.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 38; Sterling and Summers, *Sites of Oahu*, 140. Some also speculate that nā akua would not allow Liholiho to be born at Kūkaniloko because Kamehameha practiced human sacrifice. Kamakau, pg. 56 reads, “[t]hat was the way of Kūkaniloko chiefs. There were no sacrificial *heiau*, *po‘o kanaka*, there.”

having been born there.⁴⁹ Each birth added to the mana of the place, while the collective mana of the place added to the mana of the child being born. An infant born there, with proper ceremony and in the presence of the chiefs, “was called an *ali‘i*, an *akua*, a *wela* – a chief, a god, a blaze of heat.”⁵⁰

The district of Waialua, O‘ahu also held ancient significance for chieftainship. Kapawa, the first *ali‘i* born at Kūkaniloko, was also said to be set up as the first *Ali‘i Nui* in all the islands, with Waialua, O‘ahu being his capital. It was from his time on that the individual islands were established as chief-ruled kingdoms.⁵¹ Waialua was also the home of the *Lō ali‘i*, a rank of *ali‘i* who lived in *Līhu‘e*, *Wahiawā*, and *Halemano*.⁵² They lived in the mountains, separated from the ruling families, and did not bring in others from outside of the clan, although *Lō ali‘i* could marry out into other families. The men and women strictly adhered to their respective *kapu*, which in turn raised the rank of their children. If a suitable *Ali‘i Nui* for an island could not be found, or if an *Ali‘i Nui* could not find a wife of high enough status, one could be found from among the *Lō ali‘i*. Many of the chiefs who were born at Kūkaniloko were of the *Lō ali‘i* class.⁵³ It is no wonder that Kamehameha wanted to associate his line with such an important place.

For Kanaloauoo, marrying into the Kūkaniloko chiefs brought another benefit. In addition to the elevated mana afforded to anyone of the Kūkaniloko line, the district of Waialua, O‘ahu also held special sway for anyone of the *kahuna* class. It was a spiritual

⁴⁹ Sterling and Summers, *Sites of Oahu*, 138–40; Kamakau, *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old*, 53, 57, 105.

⁵⁰ Kamakau, *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old*, 38.

⁵¹ Kamakau, *Ka Po‘e Kahiko: The People of Old*, 3. “For 28 generations from Hulihonua to Wakea, no man was made chief over another.”

⁵² *Halemano* is also sometimes referred to as *Helemano*. See Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, Revised & expanded ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1974), 38, 44. *Līhu‘e*, *Wahiawā* and *Halemano* are all places within the district of Waialua.

⁵³ Kamakau, *Ka Po‘e Kahiko: The People of Old*, 5.

hot-bed of activity. One of the most important ancient heiau, Kapukapuākea, was located in Waialua, near where Hale‘iwa town is today. There were several other heiau lining both the Ko‘olau and Wai‘anae ranges on the Waialua side of each, all of them working in conjunction with the Kūkaniloko ceremonies. A heiau named Kahakahuna also existed in the ahupua‘a of Kamananui.⁵⁴ While there is no information on this particular heiau, when pondering the spiritual significance of the Waialua district, the names begin to provoke much thought. The name Kahakahuna could be a conjunction of ‘kaha’ meaning to draw, and ‘kahuna’ meaning priest or highly skilled professional. These together could suggest some kind of school for teaching, or rather, drawing out or in some way shaping, those of the kahuna class. The name could also be Ka-hā-kahuna, meaning the life breath of kahuna, suggesting the location as a source of kahuna knowledge or learning. ‘Hā’ could also refer to the number four or multiples of four, which are considered sacred or formulistic numbers. In fact, there is an old saying that states, “Waialua, la‘i ‘ehā,” meaning Waialua of fourfold calm.⁵⁵ This idea of it referring to a sacred equation of sorts just adds support to the idea of it being a place of kahuna learning. All of this was in addition to the name of the ahupua‘a in which this particular heiau was located: Ka-mana-nui, the great mana.

Another spiritual draw for the area is that the power of ‘anā‘anā gained prominence there. ‘Anā‘anā is the power of praying someone to death, but with that also comes the power to restore life. It is the most powerful, most feared type of kahuna practice that exists. This power was realized in the time of the O‘ahu chief

⁵⁴ Sterling and Summers, *Sites of Oahu*, 88–141.

⁵⁵ Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian dictionary*, 44.

Huanuikala‘ila‘i,⁵⁶ who ruled about 39 generations after Wākea. One of his daughters, Uli-i-uka was from the uplands of Wahiawā in the district of Waialua, and upon her death, Uli became ‘aumakua, or personal goddess, of those who practiced ‘anā‘anā.⁵⁷

This class of priests, called kahuna ‘anā‘ana, lived separated from the rest of society, much like the Lō ali‘i did.⁵⁸ It is possible that the Lō ali‘i, rather than only being a class of sacred ali‘i, were also a class of priests who consecrated the bodies of the dead, transferring the spirit of the deceased into becoming ‘aumakua to their family.⁵⁹ The deity prayed to in making this transformation was named Lo-lupe, and the ceremony could only be performed by a specialized class of kahuna.⁶⁰ Hawaiian rules and laws were all about balance, so it makes perfect sense that Waialua could have been both the birthing center *and* death center for ali‘i. That kind of mana would have made anyone from that family line powerful indeed.

We may never know how the kahuna Kanaloauoo ended up on O‘ahu, but we can certainly understand his choice in marriage. Joining his kahuna nui bloodline from Hawai‘i island with the ‘legendary’ Kūkaniloko line from O‘ahu would have created a very powerful mix, and Emma’s great-grandmother, Kalanikupaulakea, was the embodiment of that union. Had circumstances been different, the young chiefess might

⁵⁶ Kamakau, *Ka Po‘e Kahiko: The People of Old*, 119. The name Hua-nui-i-ka-la‘ila‘i is very telling, especially when connecting it to the origin of ‘anā‘anā. Hua translates as “seed,” with hua-nui meaning “great seed.” La‘i means “calm, peace,” and the duplication of the word gives added strength to that meaning. Hua-nui-i-ka-la‘ila‘i therefore could mean “the great seed of peace.” Because ‘anā‘anā was such an immense power, it was feared by most and eventually it came to be thought of as evil. But this name could indicate that the original intention of claiming this power was to bring about peace. For definitions of name components, see Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*.

⁵⁷ Kamakau, *Ka Po‘e Kahiko: The People of Old*, 119.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 119–122.

⁵⁹ Martha Warren Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), 108. Beckwith writes that Andrews calls them an order of priests. I have not been able to find her source for this statement. However, in other resources there is reference right? Add them here as a referenc string.

⁶⁰ Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, 104–106.

have become a powerful O‘ahu ali‘i. But it was during her youth, around 1791, that many of the O‘ahu chiefs were slaughtered by Maui forces.⁶¹ Then in 1795, while still in her early teens, O‘ahu was conquered by Hawai‘i island. The influx of foreigners and the 1819 ‘Ainoa that followed also tempered the power that could have been hers under different circumstances.

As a member of the conquered chiefly line, Kalanikupaulakea is mentioned only once in all of written history. Her husband, Nahili, fares only slightly better. As a general and loyal supporter of the conquerer Kamehameha, he is mentioned sporadically, but accounts of his genealogy have so far been elusive. Emma again served to highlight her ancestors, for her version of the Battle of Nu‘uanu is the only one in which Nahili plays a pivotal role. Her version is also the only one that mentions Nahili’s establishment as governor of O‘ahu after the battle. Kamakau lists Nahili along with Keaweopu as Kamehameha’s sailing masters; these two along with Isaac Davis were later sent as messengers in one of Kamehameha’s many attempts to set up a meeting with Kaumuali‘i.⁶² More evidence exists in John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī’s *Fragments of Hawaiian History*. ‘Ī‘Ī writes that, in order of status in serving Kamehameha, Nahili ranked just under Papa, ‘Ī‘Ī’s uncle and namesake.⁶³ Nahili was also trusted enough to be chosen to help divide up Papa’s lands upon his death, which was how Kamehameha received the very

⁶¹ There is no listing of the O‘ahu chiefs that were killed by Maui forces, and it is reasonable to assume that not all of them were. It is likely that everyone in the O‘ahu council of chiefs were slaughtered, but it is also possible that the Lō ali‘i were not involved in the council. The practice of calling upon the Lō ali‘i only when a person of high rank was needed would suggest that they generally did not participate in council activities. Likewise, any kahuna with specialized knowledge of Kūkaniloko rituals may have also been spared, since the rituals are tied to that specific land, and the Maui island kahuna would have had no understanding of what to do without their knowledge.

⁶² Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 177, 195.

⁶³ John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Bishop Museum Pr, 1959), 111.

important land of Kamakahonu.⁶⁴ Nahili is also listed as one of eight members of Kamehameha's council, which met every night to, "discuss matters pertaining to the government and to loyalty and rebellion."⁶⁵

ʻĪʻĪ writes that the son of Nahili and Nakaiwahine, Kaniukahi, was one of two other boys who were placed along with him in the court of Liholiho in his boyhood.⁶⁶ This is probably the most significant bit of information in understanding Emma's status as a kaukau ali'i in the kingdom era. A child of Nahili, Emma's own great-grandfather, was considered of high enough rank to be one of three boys chosen as companions for the next ruling chief, Liholiho. Liholiho was the single highest ranking male in the land at that time, and those surrounding him had to be closely related in both genealogy and mana. While there is no evidence that Emma is descended from this Kaniukahi, this fact alone suggests that any or all of Nahili's other children also circulated with the courtly circles, and that their descendants would continue to do so as well.

Other evidence suggests Nahili's descendants' continued closeness to the Kamehameha line. A reference in a court transcript states that Mrs. A.P. Brickwood was a relative of Emma's, although the exact nature of their relationship is not explained.⁶⁷ However, we do know that Mrs. Brickwood was a close enough member to the Kamehameha ruling family that she was bedside at the death of Lota Kapuāiwa.⁶⁸ Online searches at leading genealogy sites reveal that Mrs. Brickwood, also known as Louisa

⁶⁴ Ibid., 116.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 123.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 53.

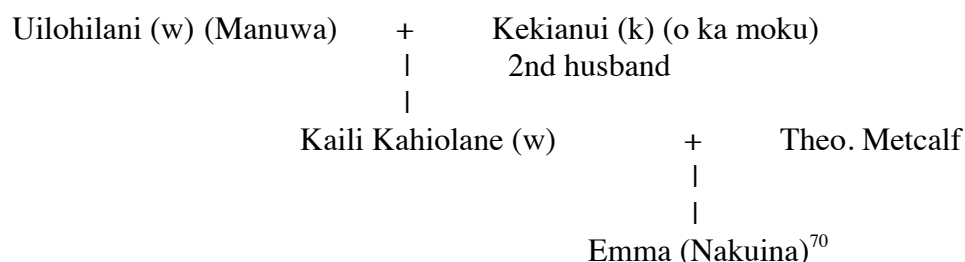
⁶⁷ "Equity #41: Emma Metcalf Beckley v. C. Afong, Frank Metcalf and others.," November 14, 1884, 1st Circuit Court, Hawai'i State Archives.

⁶⁸ J. O. Dominis, "Correspondence Relating to the Last Hours of Kamehameha V.," *Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society* (1898): 13–16.

Chu Chu Gilman, was most likely the granddaughter of Nahili, and was therefore a generation above Emma.⁶⁹

An additional portion of Emma’s genealogy was found in the manuscript collection at the Hawai‘i State Archives, in documents relating to the Trust of Lili‘uokalani. During the probate of Lili‘uokalani’s estate, several people that were close to her were asked to submit genealogies so that the court could determine who had legal rights to her property. Emma was not a claimant in the case, but was asked to submit the genealogy of Lili‘uokalani’s family as she knew it to be. Thankfully, she also submitted her own genealogy alongside it. The document, dated August 30, 1918, displays the following chart:

Figure 3: Genealogy of Emma Ka‘ilikapuolono Metcalf



⁶⁹ Multiple Google.com, Ancestry.com and Geni.com searches were conducted between November 2011 and May 2012, using the search terms “Nahili,” “Kahili,” “Kahiliaulaninui,” “Kaniliaulaninui,” “Louisa Chu Chu Gilman,” “Louisa Po‘okui,” “Louisa Brickwood,” “Arthur P. Brickwood,” along with other possible combinations of these names. An educated guess was made to determine this relationship based on compiling and comparing the information from these many sources. Nahili is the only name out of all of the above that appears in McKinzie’s Hawaiian Genealogies books, and it is in reference to Emma Nakuina’s genealogy. See also Wai-Jane Char, “Three Chinese Stores in Honolulu,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 8 (1974): 22. Char asserts that Louisa Chu Chu Gilman’s, “mother was Kamoku and her father was Nahili or Kaniliaulaninui, descendant of Kualii, a chief of Oahu.” She does not list a source for this information. In genealogy searches, Louisa Gilman’s mother is most often listed as Louisa Po‘okui, daughter of Nahili. Based on this information, I believe that the author of the HJH article may have confused the two because they shared the same first name. I am unable to determine from these searches who Po‘okui’s mother is. The names given vary too widely to positively identify her by a single name.

⁷⁰ E. M. Nakuina, “Mrs. E. M. Nakuina’s Statement”, August 30, 1918, Lili‘uokalani Trust Manuscript Collection, M-397, Box 2-17, Hawai‘i State Archives. This is only a partial reproduction of Emma’s submittal. She also followed the line of Uilohilani’s first husband, but I have chosen not to include it here. Also note that the portion that is reproduced here is done so exactly, with items in parenthesis as Emma herself placed them.

From this statement, we can determine that either Uilohilani or Kekianui was a child of Nahili with Kalanikupaulakea. Genealogical evidence for either of these ancestors has so far been lacking; further reasearch must be done to locate them in the existing Hawaiian genealogies.⁷¹

Emma’s mother was Kaili Kahiolane, also known as Ka’ilikapuolono.⁷² The biographies about Emma almost always list her as a Kūkaniloko chiefess, no doubt because of Emma’s own declaration that her great-grandmother was a kapu princess of Kūkaniloko. While there isn’t much information about her, we can infer based on tradtional naming practices that she was from the ‘Umi line, as her link to Kanaloauoo through Kalanikupaulakea would suggest. ‘Akahi-‘ili-kapu was ‘Umi’s daughter, and ancestor to Kanaloauoo and later Kamehameha (see Figure 2 on page 21). Ka-‘ili-kapu-o-lono was born during Kauikeaouli’s reign, and resurrecting the name at that time could have served to show the continued allegiance of the family to the Kamehameha’s. ‘Ilikapu also refers to a special type of kapu that was bestowed on certain ali‘i; although Emma’s mother was born after the ‘Ainoa, it is entirely possible that kahuna traditions were still being passed down through the generations. Ka-‘ili-kapu-o-lono, the sacred skin of Lono, is a name that would have carried kahuna knowledge to the next generation. It is quite possible that this did happen; an obscure book that cites Frederick

⁷¹ None of the Hawaiian names listed here appear in McKinzie, Kamakau, ‘Ī‘Ī, Desha, Fornander, Kame‘eleihiwa, or in ulukau.org searches. However, there are fifty-two genealogy books housed in the Hawai‘i State Archives, and another 54 in the Bishop Museum Archives. These valuable sources have not yet been searched.

⁷² The name “Kaili Kahiolane” is listed here without an ‘okina in “Kaili” only because this is how Emma wrote it in her statement. However, an ‘okina is included in “Ka’ilikapuolono,” because I believe this to be the correct spelling based on the chiefly significance inferred by the name’s translation.

Beckley, Jr., Emma's son, as the source states that Emma, "possessed great occult powers."⁷³

It is probable that 'oihana, or professional skills and duties, were also passed down to Emma through her mother's line. Ka'ilikapuolono must have been some kind of konohiki, overseer or steward, of use and knowledge pertaining to fresh water, because Emma was hand-picked by Kamehameha IV to be trained in traditional water rights and usage, as well as traditional laws.⁷⁴ Wai, the Hawaiian word for "fresh water," is so important that the word for wealth or value in Hawaiian is "waiwai," a duplication of the word for water. The word "kānāwai" refers to any type of regulation, guideline or law,⁷⁵ and suggests that Hawaiians viewed law as a societal organization that was as necessary to life as water, and therefore viewed two concepts as inherently connected. Being the keepers of life and order in the world would make Emma's genealogical line very important. It would have also made her 'oihana, her skills and knowledge, something that was essential to the ali'i and to his or her ability to provide for the people.

These are the ancestors whose mana flowed into Emma Ka'ilikapuolono Metcalf. She was of both O'ahu and Hawai'i island kahuna bloodlines. Her ancestors were the same as those of the ruling family. She was, by all definitions, a kaukau ali'i. But like the era she was born into, Emma was something different from what her ancestors knew. She was half white; the genealogy and knowledge of her father was as much a part of her

⁷³ Julius Scammon Rodman, *The Kahuna Sorcerers of Hawaii, Past and Present, with a Glossary of Ancient Religious Terms and the Books of the Hawaiian Royal Dead* (Hicksville, New York: Exposition Press, 1979), 49.

⁷⁴ *Proceedings of the Second Women's Conference*, 8.

⁷⁵ Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 127–128. The entry suggests that this word was not originally derived from water. However, when looking up the word "kā," meaning "belonging to" and "nā," which is a plural form of "the," the word "kānāwai" can also mean "belonging to the waters." Since water is essential to life, it is sometimes equated with life itself.

as her Hawaiian ancestors were. It is important, then, to also explore what was passed down to her through her Metcalf lineage.

Which Metcalf is it?

It is, unfortunately, common for people in Hawai‘i to assume that the name Metcalf refers to the infamous Simon Metcalfe,⁷⁶ who ruthlessly killed a hundred Hawaiians in an event now known as the Olowalu Massacre.⁷⁷ As it turns out, this assumption is not a new occurrence. The earliest sketch found about Emma is in an article called “Native Chiefs of Honolulu,” which appeared in the magazine *Picturesque Honolulu* in 1907. The extremely brief crumb of information states, “Mrs. Emma Metcalf Nakuina, now living in Kalihi, is the great-great-granddaughter of Capt. Metcalf, the captain of the *Eleanor*.”⁷⁸ This erroneous reference to her genealogy was repeated in two other continental publications. The January to June, 1911 issue of the *Municipal Journal & Public Works*, published in New York, stated, “[Emma Nakuina] is the great-granddaughter of Captain Metcalf, of the *Eleanor*,”⁷⁹ while the April 5, 1911 issue of *The Adair County News* of Columbia, Kentucky reported, “Mrs. Nakuina is an American woman, the granddaughter of Capt. Metcalf of the *Eleanor*.”⁸⁰ Sadly, the assumption that these historical figures are related is still common in Hawai‘i today.

⁷⁶ Although the spelling varies in the numerous sources about this historical figure, I spell Simon’s name “Metcalfe,” and anyone from Theophilus’ family as “Metcalf,” in order to easily distinguish between the two.

⁷⁷ For an account of the Olowalu Massacre and the subsequent attack on the *Fair American*, see Desha, *Kamehameha and His Warrior Kekūhaupi‘o*, 232–238.

⁷⁸ “Native Chiefs of Honolulu.” Page number? Proper citation?

⁷⁹ *Municipal Journal & Public Works*, vol. 30 (New York: Municipal Journal and Engineer, Incorporated, 1911), 399.

⁸⁰ “The Roundup,” *The Adair County News* (Columbia, Kentucky, April 5, 1911).

For Emma, a woman of Hawaiian chiefly rank, having a genealogical link with such a despised person would have indeed been appalling.⁸¹ Thankfully Emma's father, Theophilus, was not related to Simon. Theophilus Metcalf was a man who stood in the shadows of his contemporaries, such figures as C.R. Bishop, E.O. Hall, and G.P. Judd,⁸² and it is because of his relative ambiguity that many do not realize that he is the progenitor of the Hawaiian Metcalf line. Metcalf Street in Mānoa is, in fact, named for Theophilus Metcalf, who owned the property that most of the University of Hawai'i campus sits on today.⁸³ But Simon Metcalfe's name is infamous because of his horrendous actions, so there is a tendency to assume that any Metcalf mention refers instead to this despicable figure.

However, there is no connection. Both Simon and Theophilus have family ties in the New England area, but they are not related. It is even likely that the two families never crossed paths. Simon Metcalfe and his wife Catherine Humphrey (sometimes listed as Murphy) were from Yorkshire, England and immigrated to Albany, New York in 1765. Together they had nine known children, five of whom were sons: George, Thomas, Robert, John, and Henry. Simon set out on his fur trading expedition in 1787,

⁸¹ This assumption is based on perceptions about genealogy that are common today. For example, Lorrin Thurston is one of the most hated people in Hawai'i's history because of his role in the 1893 overthrow. Without knowing his descendants personally, people who know his role in history tend to assume the worst about them because of the sins of their ancestor. However, the perceptions about such issues may well have been different in Emma's time. It is entirely possible that, had she been a descendant of Simon Metcalfe, it would not have had any bearing on her status as a *kaukau ali'i*, or the way she was treated. These are interesting points you make here and I am wondering why? Is there something else you are attempting to argue with regard to irresponsible generalizations based on filial connections? If so, how does that fit with the general notions of *kuleana* relayed in your texts regarding *kaukau alii* above? Refer to the comments I made on the colonial subject living in two conscious worlds.

⁸² I listed these three here because Metcalf chose them as the Executors of his estate, indicating that they were close associates, even trusted friends. See Theophilus Metcalf, "In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf (Last Will and Testament)", September 22, 1866, 1st Circuit Court, Hawai'i State Archives.

⁸³ Victor N. Kobayashi, *Building a Rainbow: A History of the Buildings and Grounds of the University of Hawaii's Manoa Campus* (Honolulu: Hui o Students University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1983), 185–186.

and it is believed that he never returned to New York.⁸⁴ His son Thomas died in the Hawaiian capture of the Fair American in 1790, and the Haida natives killed Robert along with Simon four years later.⁸⁵ No mention is made of John or Henry, but it is clear from multiple online genealogy searches that neither of them had any children. John would have been twelve years old when Simon and crew left New York; twelve years was considered old enough to work, and it is likely that Metcalfe also took John with him. If so, then John also met his fate along with Simon and Robert. Henry, however, was nine years old when the Eleanora left. At that age, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not Metcalfe would have considered his youngest son old enough to be taken aboard as well.

Simon's eldest son, George, had been left with family in England when Simon and his wife emigrated in 1765. When George was seventeen he also emigrated to New York, and was the only male of Simon's line that certainly did not meet his demise in his fur trading expeditions. Born around 1763, he was also the only one of Simon's five sons to have a family of his own. Of George's four sons, only one, Henry Bleeker Metcalfe, lived to have children. Henry was born in 1805 making him too young to have fathered

⁸⁴ This information was compiled from numerous Google.com, Ancestry.com and Geni.com searches between November 2001 and February 2012. There are books that detail Metcalfe's life during his fur trading expeditions, but the most complete details about his life prior to 1787 appear on a poorly sourced website by Stefan Bielinski, "Simon Metcalf," *Simon Metcalf*, November 25, 2008, <http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/albany/bios/m/simetcalf.html>. The information on the page includes links to sources, but most links direct the reader to a listing of numerous sources for information on the Albany, New York area. One must unfortunately follow each and every source to draw out the information that Bielinski compiled.

⁸⁵ Judge F.W. Howay, "Captain Simon Metcalfe and the Brig 'Eleanora'," *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society: Thirty-fourth Annual Report for the Year 1925 34* (1926): 33–39.

the Theophilus Metcalf who came to Hawai‘i.⁸⁶ This should lay to rest any possible connection between Emma Metcalf and Simon Metcalfe.

Theophilus Sabin Metcalf was born to Irving Metcalf and Lucinda Morse in 1818 in Ontario County, New York.⁸⁷ His lineage can be traced directly to Michael Metcalf, who immigrated to the Americas in 1637. Michael Metcalf was the son of Leonard Metcalf of Beare Park in Wensleydale, Yorkshire, England. Leonard Metcalf was a rebel; in 1569 he joined the side for Mary, Queen of Scots in the Rising of the North, an endeavor for which he was, “condemned and attainted and narrowly escaped the scaffold.”⁸⁸ Although Leonard was eventually pardoned, his land holdings were taken away. Religion was as much about politics as it was about beliefs, and it was perhaps the loss of his lands that led him to give up Catholicism and become a Puritan. He moved the family to Norfolk County where he became the Rector of Tatterford.⁸⁹ Michael would soon after follow his father’s rebellious footsteps.

Michael became an important member of the town, employing over one hundred people in his Dornix weaving business.⁹⁰ The Bishop of Norwich, Matthew Wren, began persecuting Puritans in his area, and as an important businessman and zealous Puritan, Michael emerged as a spokesperson against the bishop. Speaking out against the church

⁸⁶ Compiled from multiple searches for Simon Metcalfe’s genealogy and descendants at Google.com and leading genealogy sites such as Ancestry.com and Geni.com. Searches conducted between November 2001 and February 2012.

⁸⁷ Abner Morse, *Memorial of the Morses: Containing the History of Seven Persons of the Name, Who Settled in America in the Seventeenth Century. With a Catalogue of Ten Thousand of Their Descendants ...* (W. Veazie, 1850), 187; The only place I have ever seen an actual birthdate for Theophilus Metcalf is on a genealogy message board: see Stephen Flynn, “Re: Henry Metcalf, b Abt 1778, Eng - MA-NY,” Message Board, *Genealogy.com: GenForum*, February 23, 2009, <http://genforum.genealogy.com/metcalf/messages/2095.html>. Theophilus’ birthdate is listed as June 17, 1818, but I have chosen not to include it in the text since I cannot find the source for this info.

⁸⁸ Isaac Stevens Metcalf, *Metcalf Genealogy* (The Imperial Press, 1898), 7.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 6–8.

⁹⁰ “The Dornic or Dornix was a kind of Damask or tapestry used for hangings or heavy curtains.” *Ibid.*, 9.

was a serious offense; things escalated to the point where Michael had to leave or face execution. He and his family became members of what became known as an exodus of some three thousand people into Holland and, “other partes beyond the seas,”⁹¹ between the years of 1620 – 1640. Considered a major part of the economic well being of his community, Michael’s leaving was one of the motivating factors for the church to eventually take action against the Bishop of Norwich and others like him.⁹²

Michael was forty-five years old when he sailed with his wife and nine minor children.⁹³ The family arrived in Boston in July of 1637, and quickly settled in the newly formed town of Dedham, Massachusetts. Having been founded just one year earlier, Michael almost immediately became an important member of the town.⁹⁴ Two of his sons moved to the nearby towns of Medfield and Wrentham within a few years, but the majority of his clan remained in Dedham for the next two generations. Over the years, however, the line slowly moved out into the nearby landscape.⁹⁵ By June 1795 Captain Jabez Metcalf was known to live in the new settlement of Watkinstown, later named

⁹¹ Ibid., 10.

⁹² Isaac Stevens Metcalf, *Metcalf Genealogy* (The Imperial Press, 1898). For Michael’s entire story including a reprint of his statement of events, see pages 7-17.

⁹³ Metcalf, *Metcalf Genealogy*, 17; Charles Boardman Jewson and Henry Hill (Deputy Clerk to the Office for Passengers Over Sea.), *Transcript of Three Registers of Passengers from Great Yarmouth to Holland and New England, 1637-1639* (Genealogical Publishing Com, 1954), 21; “New England Ships Passenger Lists, The John & Dorothy 1637,” *Olive Tree Genealogy*, May 16, 2012, http://www.olivetreegenealogy.com/ships/john_dorothy1637.shtml.

⁹⁴ Don Gleason Hill, ed., *The Early Records of the Town of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1659. A Complete Transcript of Book One of the General Records of the Town, Together with the Selectmen’s Day Book, Covering a Portion of the Same Period, Being Volume Three of the Printed Records of the Town* (Dedham, Mass.: The Dedham Transcript, 1892), ix.

⁹⁵ Don Gleason Hill, ed., *The Records of Births, Marriages and Deaths, and Intentions of Marriage in the Town of Dedham*, vol. 1 and 2 (Dedham, Mass.: The Dedham Transcript, 1886).

Naples, in Ontario County, New York.⁹⁶ Jabez Metcalf was the father of Irving Metcalf, who, in turn, was the father of Theophilus.⁹⁷

The genealogy of the Metcalf family is not that difficult to trace. The Puritan families tended to marry within their own familial circles for several generations, and many of these families became the founders of towns. As such, they tended to keep detailed records of town meetings, marriages, births and deaths to insure their historical legacy. However, even with the wealth of information available on New England families, Theophilus Metcalf's background has proven somewhat difficult to trace. All previously published biographical sketches about him originate from either obituaries or from Emma herself. However, research has yet to prove whether or not some of the claims about Theophilus are true.

Two obituaries, one in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and another in *The Friend*, are the main information sources for Metcalf's life before he came to Hawai'i. According to these sources, Metcalf was educated at Harvard, was trained as a civil engineer, and was appointed Chief Engineer of the Michigan Central Railroad at the age of twenty-one. Sources also state that he was advised by doctors to seek a warmer climate for his health, which is why he ended up in Hawai'i. Emma herself had supported these claims, and added that Chief Justice Theron Metcalf of Massachusetts was Theophilus' uncle. However, it seems that Metcalf may have bent the truth a little about his background, which included what he told to his own children, and did so for

⁹⁶ O. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps & Gorham's Purchase, and Morris' Reserve* (Rochester: William Alling, 1852), 520. Jabez Metcalf is believed to have been a Captain in the American Revolutionary War.

⁹⁷ See Appendix C for a genealogy of Theophilus Metcalf.

good reason. He needed a fresh persona, one that would make him more respectable amongst his peers.

Theophilus was born in 1818, and if, as the newspapers stated, he was made Chief Engineer by the age of twenty-one, then he would have completed his schooling anywhere between the years of 1834 to 1839. However, a thorough search of Harvard's list of graduates finds Theophilus Metcalf conspicuously absent. An additional search through Harvard's library accounts between 1834 through 1841 also yields no results. It cannot be determined from existing records whether or not he actually attended the school.

The claim that Metcalf worked for the Michigan Central Railway is also slightly dubious. He may have very well served as Chief Engineer at the age of twenty-one, but not with the corporation of the Michigan Central Railroad. Construction on the actual railroad first began in 1836 in Detroit, but saw many problems and setbacks in completing the track. In 1837 the State of Michigan purchased the railroad and invested \$5 million in it, creating the Central Railroad of Michigan. Theophilus reached the age of twenty-one in 1839, and it is likely that this state-owned company was his actual employer. His tenure as Chief Engineer would have been short lived, however, since the project stalled in 1840. The railroad was out of money again and had to shut down construction. It did not start up again until 1846, when the railroad was then sold to the newly incorporated Michigan Central Railroad.⁹⁸ Since Theophilus Metcalf was already in Hawai'i by 1846, it is impossible for him to have worked for the privately-owned Michigan Central Railroad.

⁹⁸ Books LLC, ed., *Michigan Central Railroad: Greater Grand Crossing, Chicago, St. Charles Air Line, Kalamazoo and South Haven Railroad* (General Books, LLC, 2010).

The twenty-four year old Theophilus Metcalf arrived in Hawai'i in 1842.⁹⁹ Obituaries state that he left his homeland because doctors advised him to seek a warmer climate for his health, but family stories whispered down through the generations tell a different tale. Being of Puritan stock, Theophilus was expected to marry into another Puritan family, and his genealogy clearly illustrates that his line was still strongly involved in this practice during his time. But Theophilus wasn't interested in following the Metcalf footsteps; Theophilus was instead interested in women of color. Rumor states that Theophilus was caught in an intimate situation with a dark-skinned beauty. To his Puritan father, this was unforgiveable. Theophilus was promptly disowned and strongly motivated to leave New England, while the rest of his family tried to cover up the shame by erasing all records of him.¹⁰⁰

His family was rather successful at erasing his existence; very few records remain that tell of Theophilus' life before arriving in Hawai'i. The only document that exists in which Irving Metcalf acknowledges him is Irving's will. In it he leaves \$25 to his son, Theophilus Sabin, of Honolulu, Pacific Ocean.¹⁰¹ The only other proof found that Theophilus was, in fact, the son of Irving is a line item in a book on the Morse family genealogy.¹⁰² This scandalous history also explains why Theophilus may have offered only enough about his past to satisfy people here in Hawai'i, without giving too much

⁹⁹ "Death of Theophilus Metcalf," *The Friend* (Honolulu, October 1, 1866), Volume 23, Number 10 edition, pg. 93.

¹⁰⁰ This was told to me through various conversations with family members between November 2011 and March 2012. Additionally, it should be noted that New York never passed any miscegenation laws, so escaping persecution would not have been a reason for him to leave. Interesting points good discussion on the miscegenation law issues there were well established socially and legally in most states.

¹⁰¹ "Will: Irving Metcalf", n.d., Gorham, <http://sampubco.com/wills/ny/nyontario03.htm>.; I have not been able to obtain the original document, as it is housed in the Ontario County archives, New York. This statement relies on a post at a genealogy site: Xanthe Ellis, "Re: Henry Metcalf, b Abt 1778, Eng - MA-NY", n.d., <http://genforum.genealogy.com/metcalf/messages/2094.html>.

¹⁰² Morse, *Memorial of the Morses*, 187. Lucinda Morse was Theophilus' mother. Lucinda's mother's maiden name was Sabin, which is where Theophilus's middle name comes from.

away. He may have also given his own children information that would make them proud of him, instead of telling them of their true grandfather, who would never accept half-breed grandchildren. He may have assumed that it was unlikely they would ever follow up on any of his claims.

A final claim that Chief Justice Theron Metcalf of Massachusetts was Theophilus' uncle is illustrative of his possible desire to create a better persona for himself in Hawai'i. In researching the Metcalf family genealogy, it becomes clear that Theron Metcalf was also of the Michael Metcalf line, but that he was, at best, a second or third cousin to Theophilus. It is true, however, that Theophilus had an uncle who served as Chief Justice, but did so in the much smaller area of Canandaigua instead of in the prestigious Massachusetts. This relational claim to Theron Metcalf appears in biographies about both Theophilus and Emma, and documents suggest that Emma herself believed it, and was most likely the one who perpetuated the idea. Another document written by Emma suggests that her father may not have been completely honest with her about his parentage. In it she states that Theophilus is, "[the] son of Harry Irvine Metcalf and Eizabeth Camille Swanzy; and grandson of Lord George Dole Metcalf and Marie Sophie Alonzo of England."¹⁰³ However, research has proven that no such people existed.¹⁰⁴

Theophilus Metcalf's activities once in the islands are far easier to trace. He arrived in Hawai'i on May 19, 1842,¹⁰⁵ was naturalized as a citizen on March 9, 1846,¹⁰⁶ and was married to Emma's mother, the Kūkaniloko chiefess Ka'ilikapuolono, on July 30

¹⁰³ "Deed: Emma M. Nakuina (widow) to Fred W. Beckley", October 20, 1927, Liber 904, Page 327, Bureau of Conveyances.

¹⁰⁴ Extensive online searches beginning in 2009 and continuing through 2012 via Google.com and several genealogy sites including but not limited to Ancestry.com and Geni.com has yielded no results that persons by these specific names ever existed.

¹⁰⁵ "Death of Theophilus Metcalf."

¹⁰⁶ "Metcalf, Theophilus", March 9, 1846, Citizenship - Naturalization: page 67, Hawai'i State Archives.

of that year.¹⁰⁷ Professionally, he holds the claim of being the first photographer in the islands. His daguerrotype business was advertised in newspapers between 1845-46, but the endeavor ultimately failed. No photographs of his are known to exist, but it is possible that he simply did not sign his work.¹⁰⁸ Fortune was not unkind to him, however, because his business failed just as the Land Commission was starting up. Metcalf was the only person in Hawai‘i at the time that had actually been trained as a surveyor, and he became one of the leading surveyors for the Māhele. He earned quite a lot of money and purchased a fair amount of land as a result of this beneficial position. At the time of his death, his property was estimated to be worth from \$50,000 to \$100,000.¹⁰⁹ This also put him in the same circles as many of the white elite. In addition to his close proximity to the wealthiest haole in the land, it certainly didn’t harm him to be married to a chiefess. His preference for dark skin, while making him an outcast in his homeland, only helped him in Hawai‘i; this was quite possibly the only place in the world at the time where marrying a woman of color could catapult you into financial wealth. His timing was also most fortunate, since his chiefess wife and therefore his kaukau ali‘i daughter were of a high enough status to be able to claim land early in the Māhele process.

In September of 1849, Theophilus took on the position of Marshal of the Hawaiian Islands, but resigned just 9 months later. The prison system was unhealthy and unable to keep prisoners from easily escaping. Metcalf submitted a plan for

¹⁰⁷ “Kaili - T. Metcalf (k) 7-30-1846 Honolulu”, July 30, 1846, Marriages - Oahu Island - 1832-1910 - Volume 1: page 160, Hawai‘i State Archives.

¹⁰⁸ Robert C. Schmitt, “Some Firsts in Island Leisure,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 12 (1978): 102. I have found a number of daguerrotype photographs that are from Metcalf’s timeframe and are not signed by a photographer, including a picture of some of Emma’s classmates at Punahou. It is entirely possible that some of these are his surviving works.

¹⁰⁹ “Death of Theophilus Metcalf.”

improvements to the Privy Council, which was approved, but never acted on. Frustration over this lack of governmental support motivated him to leave the position.¹¹⁰ It is unclear what he did for the next two years, but in 1852 he was elected to the House of Representatives, was named Superintendent of Public Works, and established the Metcalf Sugar Plantation at Kaupūakūea near Hilo, Hawai‘i.

Metcalf was the first to fill the newly created position of Superintendent of Public Works, which he held from April 1852 to January 1855.¹¹¹ He was given the position because he presented a detailed plan on what later became the first water system in Nu‘uanu, although he was not the one who ultimately carried out the plan. This lends further evidence to the idea that his wife, Ka‘ilikapuolono, kept the traditional knowledge about water usage. The king knew the importance of water, and would not have entrusted the workings of it to a foreigner, unless that foreigner had the help of someone who the king could trust. It was likely that the marriage of his civil engineering experience with the ancient knowledge of his wife made him well suited for such a position at that time in history. Emma’s knowledge on the subject, then, was influenced by both tradition and modernization, and it is likely that Emma’s exposure to her father’s governmental job also influenced her later in life while serving as a judge for the water court for the Kona district of O‘ahu.

It would seem that Emma also gained her talent and desire for writing from her father. Metcalf joined the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, a group founded by

¹¹⁰ Richard A Greer, “Sketch of Ke-Kua-Nohu, 1845-1850, with Notes of Other Times Before and After,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 2 (1968): 31.

¹¹¹ “Metcalf, Theoplius,” Digital Collection, *Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959*, n.d., <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsd/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASH0190/3338f732.dir/Metcalf,%20Theoplius.jpg>.

white planters who assumed that knowledge about agriculture was scarce in the islands, and needed to be researched and collected by such intelligent men as themselves. During his time with the society, he wrote many articles on various topics. His 1866 obituary in *The Friend* states:

Few men have done more to develop the resources of this group than he, and few have more thoroughly studied its wants and necessities. He possessed a vigorous and powerful pen, and contributed some interesting articles on our agriculture and resources. Our readers may remember the series describing the harbors of this group, published ten years ago. These were from his pen, and showed a thorough knowledge of the wants of the islands.¹¹²

The Metcalf Sugar Plantation at Kaupakuea was situated on land originally granted as a Royal Patent to Emma. Theophilus started the plantation in 1852, but soon realized that he could not obtain a loan for improvements if the land was not in his name. In 1859 he took the matter to the courts, and at the ripe old age of twelve, Emma was ordered to sign her land over to her father.¹¹³ Emma was nineteen in 1866 when her father passed away, and it wasn't until this life event that she realized the implications of the earlier court action. It became an issue that would follow and influence her for years to come.

¹¹² "Death of Theophilus Metcalf."

¹¹³ "Equity #251: Metcalf, T V. Metcalf, E.", 1859, 1st Circuit Court, Hawai'i State Archives.

CHAPTER 3

The Life of a Young Kaukau Ali'i

Emma Ka'ilikapuolono Metcalf was born at Kaua'ala, Mānoa, O'ahu on March 5, 1847, in what was commonly called the Metcalf Homestead.¹¹⁴ As the first born child of a kaukau ali'i, Emma was treated with the dignity afforded to the daughter of a chiefess. Emma was the recipient of a tradition called pālala,¹¹⁵ a gift or tax given to a chief at the birth of a child, in order to honor that child.¹¹⁶ Relatives of Emma's mother gave gifts, mainly monetary, but in some cases they gave chattel as well. In an 1884 court transcript, Mrs. A.P. Brickwood explains, "[the pālala] was a large gathering, a great many people went, this was an ancient custom." She goes on to list the monetary gifts her father gave to Emma, what she gave, and how much her aunt and uncle gave. Another relative named Kamakau (w) states, "Before [Emma] was born it was understood that there was to be a Palala...There were at that feast several people, several of our family, can't tell how many went, can't tell how much was collected, my husband gave a horse as his contribution." Kamakau goes on to explain that the ho'okupu¹¹⁷ continued, "on every recurrence of [Emma's] birthday...until she was a big child." Emma understood all of the gifts to be hers, and that they would be held for her until she was old

¹¹⁴ "Death Takes First Hawaii Woman Judge," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, April 28, 1929). Note that in other documents, her birth location has been listed as Kaua'aia and Kauala'a. The reference to the "Metcalf Homestead" appears in several documents, both published and unpublished. The Metcalf Homestead was located where the Mānoa campus of the University of Hawai'i sits today.

¹¹⁵ "Equity #41: Emma Metcalf Beckley v. C. Afong, Frank Metcalf and others."

¹¹⁶ Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian dictionary*, 308.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 186. Ho'okupu is defined as, "tribute, tax, ceremonial gift-giving to a chief as a sign of honor and respect; to pay such tribute." In the court transcript, 'ho'okupu' is sometimes used in conjunction with 'pālala' as in, "I gave \$5.00 [and they] continued having Palala hookupu's until she was a big child." At other times the two words are used interchangeably, as intending to mean the same thing.

enough to claim them.¹¹⁸ She believed this to be the case when it came to property as well; on September 2, 1852, the five year old Emma was awarded a Royal Patent for a lot named Kaupakuea, near Hilo on Hawai‘i island.¹¹⁹ Her belief that the pālala and the property in her name was her birthright would later lead to her hard-earned education in western law.¹²⁰

Emma’s life at the royal palace began sometime during the reign of Kamehameha IV, when he ordered that she be taught about traditional water rights and customs.¹²¹ It was customary for those of the ali‘i classes to begin training in specific ‘oihana, professions or bodies of knowledge, early in life. Children were observed in order to learn what skills they displayed, and once their aptitude was determined, they began training for their future chiefly responsibilities. It was a practice that the Kamehamehas still participated in. John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī was called into the service of Liholiho at the age of ten, and Curtis Piehu Iaukea, a contemporary of Emma’s, was first called to the palace at the age of six.¹²² Alexander Liholiho reigned from 1854 to 1863, while Emma was between the ages of eight and sixteen, which was within the right age range for her to begin training. As noted in the first chapter, Theophilus Metcalf was the first to hold the position of Superintendent of Public Works, which was the office that created the Nu‘uanu Water Works. Emma’s genealogy through her mother’s side was likely why she was chosen to learn about water, and her early exposure to water systems through the

¹¹⁸ “Equity #41: Emma Metcalf Beckley v. C. Afong, Frank Metcalf and others.”

¹¹⁹ “Equity #251: Metcalf, T V. Metcalf, E.” A copy of Royal Patent No. 872 is included in the case file. The lot actually encompassed lands named Makea, Haliilau, Kaupakuea, Kaoma, Kiapu, Haukalua, Nene and Kapehu. There were exceptions within this lot; Hema owned a Royal Patent for 20 acres within this area, and Kahola reserved a survey area of 241 acres. It is unclear whether or not the 1,309 acres listed in Emma’s Royal Patent includes these two exceptions.

¹²⁰ “Equity #41: Emma Metcalf Beckley v. C. Afong, Frank Metcalf and others.”

¹²¹ *Proceedings of the Second Women’s Conference*.

¹²² ‘Ī‘Ī, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, xi; Iaukea and Watson, *By Royal Command*, 6.

eyes of her civil engineer father also gave her an advantage. The king may have seen a potential in her to be able to successfully carry on the traditional while also understanding the western.

Emma circulated in the courtly circles throughout her life, and as a dutiful *kaukau ali'i*, she participated in whatever her chief asked of her. When she was invited by Pauahi to her new Sewing Society, Emma joined.¹²³ When Lili'uokalani asked her to help establish the Lili'uokalani Savings Bank, a bank exclusively for women, Emma signed on as Secretary.¹²⁴ The Queen also created the Lili'uokalani Educational Society, of which Emma was a "First Division" member.¹²⁵ It is no surprise, then, that Emma was a member of the Lili'uokalani Literary Society as well.¹²⁶ And in 1886 when Lili'uokalani went on a trip to Bird Island, Emma was asked to accompany her.¹²⁷ Service to her chief was her primary responsibility as a *kaukau ali'i*, and it is clear that Emma took that role seriously. When speaking of Pauahi, the elder *hānai* sister of Lili'uokalani, Emma noted that "my *ali'i*" did not tolerate carelessness;¹²⁸ Emma must have therefore shown good character and respectful behavior if Pauahi requested her continued presence.

¹²³ Kanahale, *Pauahi: The Kamehameha Legacy*, 93.

¹²⁴ "Local News."

¹²⁵ "Members of the First Division of the Liliuokalani Educational Society", n.d., Lili'uokalani Trust: Queen's Personal Papers, Hawai'i State Archives.

¹²⁶ "Hawaiian Literary Society", n.d., Lili'uokalani Collection: Letters & Docs Taken on Jan. 16, 1895, Hawai'i State Archives.

¹²⁷ "(20,422) Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1906, No. 457. Helen Rowland Plaintiff In Error, Vs. Frank Godfrey, Trustee for Thomas Metcalf.," in *Records and Briefs of the United States Supreme Court*, 1906, 52. Bird Island most likely refers to Moku Manamana.

¹²⁸ Kanahale, *Pauahi: The Kamehameha Legacy*, 89, 93.

An American Way of Life

It is possible that Metcalf and Ka'ilikapuolono had another child, Angeline, who may have also been referred to as Alida.¹²⁹ Records are sketchy as to the existence of this second child. Metcalf himself lists Alida among his children in his will, although he mysteriously omits another child, Julia, so it is possible that he simply wrote in error.¹³⁰ However, there is an Angeline Metcalf listed among the students who attended Oahu College from 1852-54, along with Emma.¹³¹ The catalogue of students, printed in 1866, included an notation next to the names of all students who were deceased at the time of printing. Angeline's name does not have a note next to it, which suggests that she at least survived until after the text went to print in 1865 or 66. However, Emma went back to Punahou School from 1861-65, but this time Angeline did not join her. If this second chiefly child did exist, it seems most likely that she did not survive to adulthood.¹³²

Theophilus went on to have three more children, Frank, Helen and Julia.¹³³ It is understood, however, that Ka'ilikapuolono is not their mother. Information, once again,

¹²⁹ The idea that Angeline and Alida are the same person was introduced to me via conversations with family, however I have not been able to find any documentation to support the claim. Some evidence suggests Angeline may have been from a different Metcalf family, although I have not found any other families by the name of Metcalf who were prominent enough to attend Oahu College at the time.

¹³⁰ Metcalf, "In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf (Last Will and Testament)."

¹³¹ *Catalogue of the Teachers and Pupils of Punahou School and Oahu College, for Twenty-Five Years, Ending 1866. With an Account of the Quarter Century Celebration, Held at Punahou June 15th, 1866.* (Honolulu: Henry M. Whitney, 1866), 11.

¹³² It is interesting to note that in the Honolulu Directory for 1892/93, one Evangeline Metcalf is listed as having deceased in 1891. However this reference could be to one of the many children of Frank Metcalf, Emma's brother. *Directory and Hand-Book of the Kingdom of Hawaii, Giving the Name, Occupation, Place of Business, and Residence of the Adult Population For the Entire Hawaiian Kingdom, 1892nd-93rd ed.* (F. M. Husted, 1892).

¹³³ I have not yet been able to confirm birthdates for Emma's siblings, but research so far suggests that the eldest of the three may have been born as early as 1851. However, I cannot yet confirm if Helen or if Frank is the eldest of them. Metcalf's obituary, "Death of Theophilus Metcalf" in *The Friend*, states that his two eldest children were with him in California at the time of his death, but there are inconsistencies in the obituary that makes me question such statements. In Emma's 1874 statement, she states that Frank was with them in California at the time of their father's death. See: Emma Metcalf Beckley, "Statement of

is sketchy in regards to their separation; no divorce record exists for the couple, nor has any death record for the chiefess surfaced. A citation in the book *Manoa, the Story of a Valley* states that Ka‘ilikapuolono divorced Metcalf, but there is no divorce file in the state’s records.¹³⁴ Alternatively, in an 1859 court petition Metcalf asserts that his first wife passed away, although it is unclear from the text exactly when this happened.¹³⁵

Although there is no marriage record, Metcalf’s peers were courteous enough to recognize the mother of his younger three children as his “second wife” in the lengthy obituary that appeared in *The Friend*, although this mysterious woman was not named.¹³⁶ Family oral histories infer that this second “wife” was the sister of Emma’s mother, and of the same Kūkaniloko line, but no documentation to support this claim has thus far surfaced. What is clear, however, is that the other three children were not regarded in the same way as Emma by the chiefly court. None of them circulated within ali‘i society, nor did they engage in the same chiefly pursuits as Emma. Perhaps this had some bearing on their feelings towards each other, because lifetime interactions between the siblings suggest that they all strongly adhered to the idea of Emma being a half-sister, even though they were all raised together. What is also clear is that Emma claimed to be Metcalf’s only legitimate child, being the only issue of a legally-recognized marriage.¹³⁷

Emma Metcalf Beckley”, September 16, 1874, 1, In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf - In Probate, Hawai‘i State Archives, 1.

¹³⁴ Charles Bouslog and Thelma Greig, *Manoa: The Story of a Valley* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1994), 144. There is a divorce listed in state records as Thos Metcalf v K. Metcalf, but it is for his grandson, Thomas from his wife, Kahinu. The book about Manoa was compiled from oral histories; in regards to the Metcalf’s, those oral histories had been passed down for at least two generations. Ahia Davison and Mary Jane Brown Wax, granddaughters of Mary Jane Montano are cited as the sources for this information. Mary Jane Montano was a Beckley descendant, from one of Frederick Beckley’s siblings. Frederick Beckley was Emma Nakuina’s first husband.

¹³⁵ “Equity #251: Metcalf, T V. Metcalf, E.”

¹³⁶ “Death of Theophilus Metcalf,” *The Friend* (Honolulu, October 1, 1866), Volume 23, Number 10, pg. 93.

¹³⁷ “Equity #547: E. Beckley V. F. Metcalf Et Al”, 1886, 1st Circuit Court, Hawai‘i State Archives.

This claim, along with the equity cases that ensued in their adult lives, adds to the suggestion that Emma had a tenuous relationship with her siblings.

All of the Metcalf children attended Oahu College, later known as Punahou School: Emma from 1852-54 and 1861-65; Frank from 1867-69; Helen, 1863-67; and Julia, 1864-69.¹³⁸ Emma's time there took place between the ages of five through seven and fourteen through eighteen. Apparently she made an impression; Malcom Brown, who attended the school at the same time as Emma, later reminisced, "Mrs. Nakuina (Emma)...is one of the most intelligent Hawaiian ladies living."¹³⁹ The school made an impression on her too. Emma was well regarded by her professors, and she felt the same about some of them. One of her instructors, a Mr. Alexander, remained her lifelong friend. In a statement made thirty-four years after leaving the school, she had these kind words to share about him:

Long after I left school and he was no longer a teacher at Punahou and I a grey haired mother and grandmother, I went confidently and freely to him (sure of his patient kindly help) for the elucidation or enlightenment on the many problems I felt he could solve better than any one else. I loved and respected him next to my father, and he was always in my mind, the dear old "Prof" of my school days. And it seems to me that relation always existed between us, and I am sure, his other pupils felt so too, that of the dear, respected, loved teacher, and his obedient respectful pupils. We had the utmost belief in his profound erudition and great scholarly attainments,

¹³⁸ William DeWitt Alexander, *Oahu College List of Officers, Instructors, and Students: Historical Sketch, 1841-1906* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, Ltd., 1907), 66.

¹³⁹ Mary Charlotte Alexander and Charlotte Peabody Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1941), 284.

and felt a personal gratification and pride when the world recognized them. For in our estimation there were few scholars equal to our own dear “Prof.”¹⁴⁰

Biographies about Emma state that she also attended Sacred Hearts Convent,¹⁴¹ most likely sometime between her 1855-1860 break from Oahu College. She was also the beneficiary of private tutors and the instructions of her own father, which resulted in her fluency in French and German in addition her native languages of Hawaiian and English.¹⁴² One source states that she was also trained in Greek, Latin and Hebrew.¹⁴³ It is also believed that Emma attended the Mills Seminary in Oakland, California.¹⁴⁴ She would have begun her education there in 1866, after leaving Oahu College, but the school’s archives do not have her on any of the class lists.¹⁴⁵ However, her father passed away on August 6, 1866 in Oakland, where the school is located. It is possible that they traveled there together to begin her stay, but upon his passing she decided to come home instead.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 276–277. This likely refers to W. D. Alexander. There was another instructor there, a Reverend Alexander, who this could also be referring to. However, the book text uses “Mr. Alexander” and “President Alexander” interchangeably, whereas it always refers to the Reverend as such. W. D. Alexander was President of the school for a time, while the Reverend was not.

¹⁴¹ “Death Takes First Hawaii Woman Judge.”

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ *Proceedings of the Second Women’s Conference.*

¹⁴⁴ “Death Takes First Hawaii Woman Judge.” I have checked with the archivist at Mills College in California, and unfortunately no records exist of Emma’s attendance there.

¹⁴⁵ I emailed with the school’s archivist, Karma Pippin, between October 17-28, 2011. Emma’s name does not appear in any of the catalog lists during the 1860s. However, this does not necessarily mean that she did not attend the school. She could have attended for only a semester, which would explain her name not appearing on any lists.

Marriages & Children

On December 3, 1867, a twenty year old Emma married Frederick William Kahapula Beckley.¹⁴⁶ Frederick, born in 1845, was the eldest child of William Charles Malulani Beckley and Kahinu. William Charles was the eldest child of Capt. George Beckley, a sea captain who gained the favor of Kamehameha, and who married a chiefess named Ahia. Together Ahia and her sea captain had six children while traveling the world.¹⁴⁷

Frederick's mother, Kahinu-okekuaokalanilekeleke, was the daughter of Ho'olulu (k) with Halaki (also known as Charlotte Cox), who was a descendant of the 'Umi line.¹⁴⁸ Ho'olulu was the son of Kame'eiamoku, one of Kamehameha's Kona Uncles. The four Kona Uncles, Kame'eiamoku and his twin brother Kamanawa, Ke'eaumoku, and Keaweaeulu, were instrumental in aiding Kamehameha in his rise to power, and he trusted them above all else. When these four warriors died, their sons were appointed to fill their places as Kamehameha's counselors.¹⁴⁹ Ulumaheihei Hoapili, also a son of Kame'eiamoku, was entrusted with the sacred task of hiding Kamehameha's bones after his death. Ho'olulu was tasked with carrying the bones in the dead of night, "on his back and [with] a gun in his hand," to the designated meeting place with Hoapili.¹⁵⁰ Hoapili, along with Kamehameha's highest ranking wife Keōpūolani, then hid the bones in secret cave, never to be found.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ "Ua Lilo I Hookahi," *Nupepa Kuokoa* (Honolulu, December 7, 1867), Buke 6, Helu 49 edition, sec. 'ao'ao 3.

¹⁴⁷ Edith Kawelohea McKinzie, *Hawaiian Genealogies: Extracted from Hawaiian Language Newspapers, Volume 1* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 46-47.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 190.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 215.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

Kamehameha was the last in his family to be buried in the traditional way; from Liholiho on, the rest of the ruling family was buried in the western fashion – in a coffin, housed in a family crypt. That crypt, located at Mauna‘ala, in Nu‘uanu on the island of O‘ahu, houses the rest of the Kamehameha royal line. Ho‘olulu lived to have many descendants, and it became their duty to care for all of the ali‘i that now rest at Mauna‘ala. That kuleana continues to this day and, at one time, Emma’s son Frederick Beckley, Jr, served in that capacity.

Frederick William Kahapula Beckley, Sr., as a kaukau ali‘i like Emma, spent his life in chiefly circles, serving out his chiefly duties. He was a member of the Privy Council (appointed in 1874); the King’s Chamberlain (appointed in 1875); a member of the House of Nobles (appointed in 1876); and like his wife, was a Commissioner of Private Ways and Water Rights for the island of Moloka‘i (appointed in 1879). He served in the House of Representatives in 1880, and later that same year was appointed as Governor of Kaua‘i. He held that position for less than a year, until his death in 1881.¹⁵²

Together Emma and Frederick had seven children: Sabina Kahinu; Charlotte Halaki (died young); Frederick William Kahapula, Jr.; Henry Ho‘olulu (died young); Lottie Kapahukuikalaninuimehameha (died at age 19); Emily Kealohanui (died young); and Fredericka Wilhelmina Kailikapuolono.¹⁵³ Sabina married William Kanewalani Hutchinson and had four children. Frederick, Jr. married Alice L. K. Heanu, and together they had nine children.

¹⁵² “Beckley, Fredrick W Sr,” Digital Collection, *Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959*, n.d., <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsdll/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASHedc2.dir/Beckley,%20Fredrick%20W%20Sr.jpg>.

¹⁵³ McKinzie, *Hawaiian Genealogies: Extracted from Hawaiian Language Newspapers, Volume 1*, 55.

Frederick Beckley, Jr. had an illustrious career, taking after both his mother and his father. He was an interpreter for the courts during both the Kingdom and Territorial eras, and he taught Hawaiian History and Hawaiian Language at the Territorial Normal School, McKinley High School, and the University of Hawai‘i. He also served as Vice-Speaker in the House of Representatives in 1901 and Speaker in 1901-1904. His mother’s literary talent was also passed to Frederick; he was a reporter for the *Honolulu Evening Bulletin* from 1902-1903, and was editor of *The Sentinel* during that same period.¹⁵⁴

Emma’s marriage to Beckley signifies the status of her own lineage. Although the chiefly ranks were dwindling by the end of the nineteenth century, those who were recognized as ali‘i still tried to live according to their prescribed roles and duties. One such duty was to marry someone of similar chiefly status; given the status of their ancestors Kame‘eiamoku and Ho‘olulu, and the family’s continued loyalty to the Kamehamehas, the Beckley line was certainly recognized as a high chiefly line.

Emma married again in September of 1887, to her second cousin, Moses Kuaea Nakuina. The two met while Moses was working in the government library. Born on July 12, 1867, he was twenty years her junior. His parents were Rebecca Kawaluna and John Walker Nakuinaokalani. John was a grandson of a Moloka‘i chief, Kaiākea, who ruled during the time of Kamehameha, and whose genealogy connects to Līloa, Kūali‘i, and Kawelo. Kaiākea was a kahu for the Moloka‘i poison god, Kalaiipāhoa, and as such he became a loyal advisor to Kamehameha during his campaign to unite the islands.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ George F. Nellist, editor, *The Story of Hawaii and Its Builders* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star Bulletin, 1925), accessed at <http://files.usgarchives.org/hi/statewide/bios/beckley143bs.txt>.

¹⁵⁵ John Charlot, *Moses Kuaea Nakuina: Hawaiian Novelist* (Hawaii: Pacific Institute, Brigham Young University, 2005), 2–3.

This kuleana was passed down through his line; it is no wonder then that Emma later published a story about the Moloka‘i poison god.

In her later years, Emma took on hānai children. Her grandson, Henry Beckley, remembers having aunts and uncles of all different races. He recalled a story where one of his uncles, as a boy, had been left alone on the Honolulu docks after a group of Chinese immigrants had been taken to the plantations. Emma, upon finding the boy, took him in as her own.¹⁵⁶ As a woman and a mother, one need not wonder why she would do such a thing. As a lifelong teacher, Emma certainly was accustomed to being around a lot of children. But as a *kaukau ali‘i*, being taught from youth to care for others, it was just one more way that she could serve out her chiefly duties.

Land and Litigation

Law was a prominent part of Emma’s life. Her training in ancient Hawaiian laws began in her childhood, and so did her exposure to western law. She did not receive any formal training in western law, but she had a first-hand view to the workings and effects of it because of her father. Theophilus Metcalf, although not a lawyer himself, was from a New England family with siblings and uncles who were well trained in the legal field. He was comfortable with western law, and recognized how to utilize it to his advantage.

Metcalf arrived in Hawai‘i in 1842, when western law was quickly solidifying its place in the islands. It was a time of opportunity for those who understood this new and complex system. Metcalf, who greatly benefitted from the Māhele and his position as a surveyor, used his knowledge of these western systems to secure a large amount of land

¹⁵⁶ Barbara Bennet Peterson, editor, *Notable Women of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1984), 281-282.

holdings. Many of them were considered small, but he wanted a large parcel to create a plantation. As a foreigner he was not allowed to purchase government lands, so he used the law to get around it. He purchased land in his Hawaiian daughter's name. This single act would end up consuming a large part of Emma's adult life.

On September 2nd, 1852, for the sum of \$1,048, Royal Patent No. 872 was granted to a five year old Emma Metcalf. The Royal Patent encompassed land situated at Kaupakuea, Hilo, on the Island of Hawai'i. The parcel is outlined in the document as follows:

Commencing at large rock marked X on the left in SE edge of Kaakepa Stream on top of precipice by sea, the makai North corner of this and & running along up the middle of Kaakepa Stream to clump of Ohia trees at makai edge of woods opposite to native house being the mauka West corner of this land, thence S 27° East along near native house by edge of woods to Makea Stream to the mauka South corner of this land, thence running along down middle of Makea Stream dividing this land from Kahua to the Sea, thence following along the sea to place of commencement. Being all the lands known as Makea, Haliilau, Kaupakuea, Kaoma, Kiapu, Haukalua, Nene and Kapehu.¹⁵⁷

The parcel contained 1,309 acres "more or less." Exceptions to the parcel were, "Twenty Acres in Kaupakuea conveyed to Hema by Royal Patent No 618 bearing date of May 14th 1852, reserving also all of Kahola's right in & to the land known as Kapehu including as

¹⁵⁷ "Equity #251: Metcalf, T V. Metcalf, E."

per survey an area of 241 Acres...”¹⁵⁸ This was the only land transaction that Metcalf put under a name other than his own.

It appears that Metcalf began his plantation venture right away. He started small, and managed it himself for the first three years. In 1855 he contracted with two men, Geore E. Tucker and Gilbert Waller, to take over the running of the lumber business that had been established on the plantation. The next year he revised the agreement to allow them to take over management of the plantation also. The deal he had with them remained in effect until his his death in 1866. During this time Tucker and Waller could purchase equipment, but Metcalf was to be consulted and to make purchases as well.¹⁵⁹

Within two years Metcalf felt he was ready to expand, and tried to take out a mortgage on the plantation. He quickly found that he could not take out a mortgage on land that was not in his name. Metcalf filed a petition with the court to have the land transferred into his name. In a hearing dated June 27, 1859 before Chief Justice E. H. Allen,¹⁶⁰ Metcalf explained that he had applied to the Minister of the Interior back in 1852 to purchase the land, but that he could not do so at the time being that he was of foreign birth. Therefore he purchased the land in his infant daughter’s name, who was

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ *Reports of Decisions Rendered by the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands in Law, Equity, Admiralty and Probate. 1866-1877.*, vol. 3, Hawaiian Reports (Honolulu: H. L. Sheldon, Printer, 1877), 181–185.

¹⁶⁰ Elisha Hunt Allen (1804-1883) came to Hawai‘i as the United States consul in Honolulu, a position he held from 1850-1853. When he was replaced in 1853, he decided to stay in Hawai‘i, and was appointed Minister of Finance for Kamehameha III. He served as minister and as a member of the Privy Council from 1853-1857. He was a member of the House of Nobles from 1854-1856, and as Chief Justice in the Supreme Court from 1857-1877. He held a number of other positions during that time. In 1877 Allen became the Hawaiian minister to the United States. In his earlier days, he was an advocate for annexation, but seemed to change his mind once he was placed in his governmental positions. See sources: “Allen, Elisha Hunt,” Digital Collection, *Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959*, July 13, 2012, <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsd/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASH3ae5.dir/Allen,%20Elisha%20Hunt.jpg>; A. Grove Day, *History Makers of Hawaii: A Biographical Dictionary* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Mutual Publishing, 1984), 3.

eligible. He claimed that, “the said Emma Metcalf received the title of the premises described in said Patent in Trust for your petitioner & for no other purpose & not as an advancement on a gift.”¹⁶¹

Metcalf further stated that, “Emma Metcalf is a minor of only about twelve years of age & incapable of understanding & knowing what are her rights in & to the premises herein before described & that she is therefore incapable of making answers to this petition.” In order to proceed with the transfer of title, Metcalf requested that the court appoint a Guardian *ad litem* to represent his daughter, “who may be cited to appear & answer for the said Emma Metcalf & show cause if any there be why the prayers of this petition shall not be granted.”¹⁶² J. W. Austin¹⁶³ was appointed as guardian *ad litem* to speak with Emma, to explain to her the situation, and help her make a decision. He later testified that he spoke with her and saw no reason why the petition should not be granted.¹⁶⁴ The court agreed with him, and Theophilus was granted ownership.

The issue of this transfer of ownership did not end with the closure of Metcalf’s petition. Emma never denied that Austin spoke with her, but as an adult she later claimed that she was unaware that the land was originally in her name, and that the transfer should not have taken place until after she attained legal age.¹⁶⁵ Although she did not understand it at the time, this case illustrated to Emma the power of western law, and

¹⁶¹ “Equity #251: Metcalf, T V. Metcalf, E.” This statement became the basis of an equity case that Emma filed twenty-five years later (Equity #41).

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ James W. Austin was a licensed attorney in Honolulu. He served as District Attorney for the Second Judicial Circuit of Maui in 1854, and was a member of the House of Representatives in 1855, 1858 and was the House Speaker in 1859. He also served as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court from 1868-1869. See: “Austin, James W,” Digital Collection, *Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959*, July 13, 2012, <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsd/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASHd0bb.dir/Austin,%20James%20W.jpg>.

¹⁶⁴ “Equity #251: Metcalf, T V. Metcalf, E.”

¹⁶⁵ “Equity #41: Emma Metcalf Beckley v. C. Afong, Frank Metcalf and others.”

throughout the rest of her life she did her best to gain some advantage through the use of it. However, western law did not always favor her as well as it had for her father, and certainly not as well as it had for some of her father's colleagues.

Probate #2024: In the matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf

Theophilus Metcalf passed away on August 6, 1866 while he, Emma and her brother Frank were in San Francisco.¹⁶⁶ Metcalf, having been in poor health, drew up a will in February of that year. He thought he had equipped his children with everything they needed to survive should something befall him. It appears, however, that the only thing he did not provide for was the underlying motivations of his executors. Emma was only nineteen when her father passed away, and the only adult amongst her siblings. Her father had extensive land holdings, and the estate was predicted to be worth between \$50,000 to \$100,000.¹⁶⁷ These land holdings included the profitable Kaupakuea plantation, so it did not initially appear that the family would have any financial worries. And, given the size of the estate, the probate was expected to take some time to finalize.

It ended up taking nine years. The probate case was plagued by problems with executors, a civil suit filed against the executors by plantation employees, and numerous petitions filed against the executors on behalf of Metcalf's children. There were large mortgages and even larger debts, proposed land sales, and forced land transactions against the wishes of the heirs. It was a very messy business and, judging by Emma's own words, it is possible that she never truly understood everything that went on during the progression of it. However, all the misguidance, miscommunication, and mistrust

¹⁶⁶ Beckley, "Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley," 1.

¹⁶⁷ "Death of Theophilus Metcalf."

served one good purpose: it taught her that she could not always rely on others. She needed to learn more, and she needed to fight for herself.

The following recounting of the events surrounding Metcalf's probate relies largely on Emma's statement, written in 1874, eight years after her father's death. At times she seems angry and bitter. At other times, she seems heartbroken. It is important to remember, however, that this statement was written right after she was forced to do the one thing she never intended to do: sell her plantation. She had been fighting for years to keep, and she had every right to feel emotional about the way things turned out. But, it was this emotional upheaval, this lesson in hard knocks that helped shape Emma into the forceful woman she would become.

Metcalf's Will

Metcalf wrote his will in February 1866, knowing that his health was failing. It is likely that he had a scribe write it for him, since his signature does not match the handwriting. John S. Walker¹⁶⁸ and Charles C. Harris,¹⁶⁹ who may have been the one to write it, signed as witnesses to the document. In the will, Metcalf bequeathed to Emma his plantation, situated on the land that she originally owned as a child. She was to inherit the land, "together with all the crops that may be growing...all the Mills,

¹⁶⁸ It is difficult to confirm which John Walker this is. It may be the J.S. Walker who held numerous governmental positions, starting with the Privy Council in 1874. See: "Walker, John Smith," Digital Collection, *Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959*, n.d., <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsd/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASH01f0/29134189.dir/Walker,%20John%20Smith.jpg>.

¹⁶⁹ Charles Coffin Harris (1822-1881) served in several governmental positions, but is most notable for being the first Attorney General under the 1864 Constitution that he helped create, and for being Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. See: Day, *History makers of Hawaii*, 50; and "Harris, Charles Coffin," Digital Collection, *Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959*, n.d., <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsd/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASH6214/e275f258.dir/Harris,%20Charles%20Coffin.jpg>.

Buildings, Machinery and furniture...all the Horses, Oxen, Mules, Cattle and animals of every description...and all the Carts, Plows, Yokes, Chains, and Agricultural implements of every kind...”¹⁷⁰ She would have everything she needed to continue to operate it. A reading of his will shows that Metcalf intended for his plantation to stay in Emma’s family, and for it to be the main source of income for his children and their heirs. He also clearly meant for Emma to be the one who made sure this would happen: “I further charge and direct my daughter ‘Emma’ that she do keep the Plantation up to full working order, as far as in her lies, so that all my objects herein before expressed, may be fully accomplished in as much as she is able.”¹⁷¹

Metcalf outlined four specific conditions about how the plantation profits were to be used to provide for his younger children. First, that his executors use proceeds from the plantation to pay off his debts, “with all reasonable promptitude.”¹⁷² Second, that proceeds from the plantation be used to support his children and their grandmother, Minamina, and to maintain the family house in Mānoa, until his son Frank reached the age of twenty-one. At that time, the financial responsibilities would fall upon him. Thirdly, that proceeds from the plantation be used to provide the best possible education for his two younger daughters, Helen and Julia, and that all their needs be provided for until they reached the age of twenty. Additionally, Frank should receive the best education possible, and if he so desired, he should receive funding to study abroad. If Frank chose to do so, the proceeds must continue to be used to support the family for an additional two years after Frank turned twenty-one. Fourthly, that when Helen and Julia each reach the age of twenty, they should receive a credit of ten thousand dollars, which

¹⁷⁰ Metcalf, “In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf (Last Will and Testament),” 1.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 2.

his executors were charged with investing in, “Government Bonds, or on Bonds secured by Mortgage on Real Estate of the full and undoubted value of at least twice the sum invested.”¹⁷³ The interest from these investments would be paid in regular intervals to his two named daughters as income. This condition also declared that whatever all of his daughters, including Emma, inherited as a result of his will should not be subject to the control of a husband. It lastly states that should Emma de cease without leaving any lawfully begotten heirs, then the plantation would go to the Trustees of Oahu College, providing that they still follow the monetary conditions set forth for his other daughters.¹⁷⁴

It was clear that Metcalf intended for Emma live off of the proceeds from the plantation, and expected that she would not need anything else. Moreover, he trusted in her ability to maintain the business to the extent that it would continue to provide for the rest of his family, even to the point where they could afford twenty thousand dollars for his daughters in the future. Believing that he had taken care of his eldest, Metcalf declared that all other properties would go to his son, Frank, and if Frank died without leaving lawfully begotten heirs, then the properties would be divided between Helen and Julia, or between their heirs if they had deceased.¹⁷⁵ Per the will, Emma had no legal rights to any of her father’s other properties.

Edwin O. Hall¹⁷⁶ was named as guardian to Metcalf’s minor children, “constituting however my daughter Emma Guardian of their persons.”¹⁷⁷ Emma was to

¹⁷³ Ibid., 3.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 4–5.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 5–6.

¹⁷⁶ Edwin Oscar Hall (1810-1883) came to Hawai‘i in the Seventh Company of American Missionaries in 1835. From 1843 on he served in governmental positions, including Minister of Finance, Privy Council, and House of Nobles. See: Day, *History makers of Hawaii*, 48; “Hall, Edwin O,” Digital Collection, *Hawaii*

be in charge of the household, as physical guardian to her younger siblings, while Hall was to look after their affairs. It is unclear how much of a role Hall played in this respect, as his name is rarely mentioned in the probate file. We do know, however, that within two years after her father's death, Emma and her husband, Frederick Beckley, were supporting the entire family, and that they had to count every cent in order to do so.¹⁷⁸

Debts on the Estate

Metcalf expressly stated in his will that any debts on the estate would be paid from proceeds from the plantation, and that they should be paid as quickly as possible. This would suggest that Metcalf deemed his debts to be within a manageable amount. Bishop & Co. came forward almost immediately after his death with a \$14,000 mortgage that Metcalf had taken out.¹⁷⁹ Another mortgage, to Walker Allen & Co., is somewhat puzzling. It would seem that G. P. Judd,¹⁸⁰ an executor for Metcalf's estate, took out a new mortgage with them for \$49,000 in October of 1866.¹⁸¹ The probate file does not

State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959, n.d., <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsd/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASHf3b6/7383c8f6.dir/Hall,%20Edwin%20.jpg>.

¹⁷⁷ Metcalf, "In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf (Last Will and Testament)," 6..

¹⁷⁸ Beckley, "Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley," 9.

¹⁷⁹ "In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf - In Probate", n.d., 1st Circuit Court, Hawai'i State Archives.

¹⁸⁰ Gerrit Parmele Judd (1803-1873) was one of the most powerful people during the reigns of Kamehamehas III, IV and V. He was a medical doctor who arrived in 1828, with the Third Company of American Missionaries. He delivered ali'i children, and took the young Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa on their trip to America and Great Britain. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of the Interior, Minister of Finance, and served in the House of Nobles, Privy Council, and House of Representatives. See: Day, *History makers of Hawaii*, 59; "Judd, Gerrit Parmele," Digital Collection, *Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959*, n.d., <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsd/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASH0134/9a539506.dir/Judd,%20Gerrit%20Parmele.jpg>.

¹⁸¹ "G. P. Judd as Executor of Will of T. Metcalf to Walker Allen & Co.: Mortgage Deed", October 8, 1866, Book 22, page 181, Bureau of Conveyances.

clearly state why Judd felt the need to take out this mortgage, but all of Metcalf's children later questioned this act. They believed that Judd actually created more debt for the estate rather than alleviating it.¹⁸²

It took over two years, until November of 1868, for the executors to submit a final accounting of the estate's debts to the court.¹⁸³ There are so many accounting sheets within the probate file that it is difficult to determine exactly how much Metcalf did owe, but a letter within the file, dated September 21, 1868, claims that the debts totaled \$56,000.¹⁸⁴ Six years after the debt calculation was submitted to the court, Emma was told that the debt was somewhere around \$40,000; a progress of only \$16,000 in six years, during a time when all sugar plantations were profiting indicates that something had gone wrong.¹⁸⁵

Between the years of 1866-1870 the plantation was not producing as big a profit as expected. Those were the boon years for Hawaiian sugar plantations, when it was almost impossible not to make money, yet somehow the previously successful Kaupakuea was no longer making a profit. Tucker and Waller, the on-site managers of the Kaupakuea plantation, blamed Judd for the plantation's lack of prosperity. In 1868 they filed a suit against him, claiming that he had misused plantation funds, which

¹⁸² "In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf - In Probate." In statements from Emma and petitions from Helen and Julia, it is clear that all of them suspected Judd of taking out the many mortgages that accounted for the great amount of debt submitted to the court. The only debt that is not suspect is the \$14,000 owed to Bishop & Co., although Helen and Julia claimed that this was actually paid off before Metcalf died. Emma claimed that she executors never allowed her to look at the accounts, and was never complete sure of how much debt was owed.

¹⁸³ "Supreme Court--In Probate. In the Matter of the Estate of T. Metcalf.," *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu, November 11, 1868), sec. pg. 2.

¹⁸⁴ "In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf - In Probate." In Emma's 1874 statement, she also indicates that either a loan or another mortgage had been taken out in 1869 by the new executor, W. L. Green. Emma herself was unclear about the details, but it is possible that this transaction added up to \$11,000 to the estate's total debt. See Beckley, "Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley," 5.

¹⁸⁵ Beckley, "Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley," 10.

affected the plantation's ability to produce up to standard.¹⁸⁶ This may have been one reason why the debts were still so large after six years.

The Executors of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf

Metcalf named Edwin O. Hall, Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, and Charles R. Bishop¹⁸⁷ as his executors.¹⁸⁸ However, both Bishop and Hall immediately backed out, stating that they did not have the time to fulfill their duties, although Hall did agree to stay on as Guardian.¹⁸⁹ The sole remaining executor, Judd, followed the instructions left in Metcalf's will and applied to the Supreme Court to appoint a replacement.¹⁹⁰ In the first probate filing, dated September 12, 1866, Judd requested that his son, A. F. Judd,¹⁹¹ and J. W. Austin be appointed to fill the vacant slots. Austin was already familiar with the properties in question, since he was the one who had advised a twelve year old Emma to sign over the plantation to her father. Associate Justice of the Supreme Court G. M.

¹⁸⁶ For an account of the Tucker & Waller case, see *Reports of Decisions Rendered by the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands in Law, Equity, Admiralty and Probate. 1866-1877.*, 3:181–205.

¹⁸⁷ Charles Reed Bishop (1822-1915) is most known for being the husband of Princess Bernice Pauahi, and founding the Kamehameha Schools after her death. He founded the Bank of Bishop, and owned the mortgages on many, many properties in the islands. He also served in the House of Representatives, Privy Council, House of Nobles, and was Minister of Foreign Affairs. He held several other governmental positions as well. See: Day, *History makers of Hawaii*, 12; "Bishop, Charles R." Digital Collection, Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959, n.d., <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsd/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASH01c6.dir/Bishop,%20Charles%20OR.jpg>.

¹⁸⁸ Metcalf, "In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf (Last Will and Testament)," 7.

¹⁸⁹ "In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf - In Probate."

¹⁹⁰ Metcalf, "In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf (Last Will and Testament)," 7.

¹⁹¹ Albert Francis Judd (1838-1900) was the son of Gerrit P. Judd. He served in many governmental positions, most notably as a justice of the Supreme Court under Kalākaua, Lili'uokalani and through to the Republic of Hawai'i. See: Day, *History makers of Hawaii*, 58; "Judd, Albert Francis Sr," Digital Collection, *Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959*, n.d., <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsd/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASHcb6c/0ae9dacd.dir/Judd,%20Albert%20Francis%20Sr.jpg>.

Robertson¹⁹² appointed Austin, but declined to appoint the second Judd. Samuel C. Allen of Walker Allen & Co. reported that Metcalf's estate was largely tied up in their company, and suggested that J. S. Walker be appointed the third executor, but the court stated that it was up to Judd to name the last executor.¹⁹³ It does not appear that the third slot was ever filled.

G. P. Judd seems to have taken charge in all estate matters, to the dismay of Emma. In the two years that he served as executor, she grew to distrust him and eventually lobbied to have him removed. In 1874, after eight years and much heartache over her father's probate, Emma wrote a statement recounting her experience throughout the process. When speaking of Judd, she writes: "Dr. Judd immediately took charge of the management of the plantation. I expected [the duty,] as [it was] expressly stated in the will, but Judd told me I would not be allowed to till the Tucker and Waller claim was settled and the debts paid."¹⁹⁴ She went on to note that she, "made several attempts to get some knowledge of how affairs stood, and requested the Doctor [Judd] to let me see the account of the Plantation, but was always refused, and told it was none of my business."¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² George Morrison Robertson served as Minister of the Interior starting in 1848 and held numerous governmental positions thereafter, with much of his time occupied as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. See: "Robertson, George Morrison," Digital Collection, *Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959*, n.d., <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsd/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASH8c9d/561a3624.dir/Robertson,%20George%20Morrison.jpg>.

¹⁹³ "In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf - In Probate."

¹⁹⁴ Beckley, "Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley", 1. The Tucker & Waller claim was filed in 1868, two years after Metcalf's death. In it, Tucker & Waller, the managers of the plantation, made several claims against Judd, mainly that he was misusing plantation funds. It should be noted that this quote comes from Emma's statement, which was written in 1874. Her recollections of the earliest stages of the probate, when Judd was executor, are likely to be influenced by hindsight. Judd probably did say this to her, but probably not as early as she is inferring here.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 2.

Judd also made provisions for the young family as he saw fit. Emma writes, “He told me They [capitalized in original text] had come to the conclusion to allow me a hundred dollars a month to support the family. I was to take that and the Manoa property, ask no questions and be thankful for that much. Who They were, I don’t know, creditors I supposed.” However, per Metcalf’s will, the *only* thing she was entitled to was the plantation. All other properties went to her brother, Frank. Emma was aware that her father depended on her to provide for the family, and she was more than willing to take on that responsibility, but from her perspective, the executors were not allowing her to do so. She may well have trusted that the executors were doing what was necessary, but there was no way for her to know that because they would not allow her to see to the accounts. They instead dismissed her and all of her attempts to be involved:

From that time [ending of 1866] I had not the slightest knowledge of affairs, not from idleness on my part. I tried again and again till I was heart sick and wary, to get at least a voice in the management of the Plantation. Manoa was left entirely to me, but I didn’t want that. It didn’t and never could belong to me, by terms of the will. I told the Doctor [Judd] that it stood to reason that he was appointed Executor to look out for the property of a minor, which the heir of Manoa [Frank] was, and not of mine who was of age, and who by the time of the will which gave him power as Executor, gave me absolute control of my own. I was always snubbed and repulsed with sneering words, such as, “It is not your plantation and never will be, it belongs to the creditors and will take

during all your lifetime to pay the debts, and after that it goes to Punahou.”¹⁹⁶

Metcalf did state in his will that the plantation would go to Punahou, but only after it went first to Emma, and only if Emma died without leaving any heirs.¹⁹⁷ Being still young and not having been trained in western law, Emma did not realize that Judd’s statement was a violation of the will. She did not know at the time that she could have taken legal action against him. Unfortunately for her, this was one of the many details that Emma had to learn the hard way.

In late 1868 Judd and Austin made public notice that they were going to sell off all of Metcalf’s properties to pay off the estate debts. Emma found out about the sale through the ad in the newspaper, and knew that she had to do something.¹⁹⁸ “From that time, I tried every way I knew to get Dr. Judd out of office, always stating as my reasons, his refusal to let me manage my own and his keeping me in ignorance of his doings.”¹⁹⁹ Because the family was on an allowance, Emma had not been able to hire an attorney before, but now she had no choice. Not only did she need legal expertise, but she was also expecting her first child any day, and was not able to play an active role in the situation. During this time, Frederick had been soliciting advice from trusted friends. It was recommended to them to enlist the help of C. H. Lewers.²⁰⁰ Lewers agreed, and

¹⁹⁶ Ibid, 2-3.

¹⁹⁷ Metcalf, “In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf (Last Will and Testament),” 4.

¹⁹⁸ Beckley, “Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley”, 4.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Christopher H. Lewers owned a lumbering firm in Honolulu. He died in 1877, which is probably why his name hardly appears in Emma’s statement regarding her father’s probate. See entry for Robert Lewers in Day, *History makers of Hawaii*, 84.

recommended W. L. Green²⁰¹ to help with the fight against Judd, commenting that, “Dr. Judd was ‘a sly old rat who covered his tracks’ and I [Emma] would never get satisfaction by fighting him alone, and that it was necessary to get men of influence on my side.”²⁰² Lewers and Green rallied; Green dismissed the lawyer Emma had hired, and took it upon himself to spearhead the campaign to stop the sale of any lands, and to get Judd and Austin out.

Their campaign was successful. Emma was never clear on how Green managed to do it, but she was thankful that Judd and Austin were gone. Lewers and Green were appointed as the new executors, and it looked to Emma like the future would be brighter. At first, she found Green to be most helpful, in stark contrast to her experience with Judd. Green did not openly dismiss her, and he even listened to her suggestions. Together they discussed the plantation managers, Tucker and Waller. They had both heard disagreeable things about them, and wanted them out. When Emma suggested a relative by marriage, Captain West, as the new manager for the plantation, Green agreed. Emma also wanted to go and see the state of the plantation for herself, and Green, “eagerly agreed, saying ‘it was the best possible thing that could be done under the circumstances.’”²⁰³ However, Emma asked again to examine the account books, “but was told by Green that my friends would tend to that.”²⁰⁴ She was finally getting the kind of support and involvement she had been seeking for over two years, so she likely did not see any harm in his statement.

²⁰¹ William Lowthian Green makes a sudden and strong appearance in government with the newly elected King Kalākaua. In 1874 alone, Green was a member of the Privy Council and the House of Nobles, was in charge of the Bureau of Immigration, and served as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Interior. See: “Green, William Lowthian,” Digital Collection, *Hawaii State Archives Digital Collections: Government Office Holders, 1843-1959*, n.d., <http://archives1.dags.hawaii.gov/gsd/collect/governme/index/assoc/HASHf7d3/dd55c605.dir/Green,%20William%20Lowthian.jpg>.

²⁰² Beckley, “Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley,” 4.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

Emma happily went to Kaupakuea with her husband, Frederick Beckley, and together they started to clean up what had become a decrepit working environment.²⁰⁵

Mr. Green, as it turned out, was not the man that Emma had at first believed him to be. After living some time on the plantation, a new manager arrived, and it was not Captain West. At some point, Green had made deals with Hackfeld & Co., and with Mr. Widemann. When the new manager arrived, it was made clear to Emma that he was chosen by the money lenders. Emma appealed to Green but, “never got the slightest satisfaction. He also told me it was best for me to leave the management of affairs entirely into their hands...”²⁰⁶ Emma was deflated: “And the result of my trying for over a year to get Doctor Judd out, so that I could get a hand in the management of affairs, was to be turned out of my own house and land by the very power of attorney I had given Mr. Green to get Judd out...”²⁰⁷ From that point on, Emma had very little involvement with the estate.

The Loss of the Kaupakuea Plantation

Growing sugar meant guaranteed profits in the 1860s, and anyone who had a plantation, even a small one, could prosper as long as they produced cane. Many of the larger plantations had already started engulfing some of the smaller ones, and this may have been what Judd had in mind for Kaupakuea. Despite what Metcalf specified in his will, Judd quickly targeted the plantation as the first piece of land to sell off in order to pay the estate’s debts. In early 1867 there was an earthquake on Hawai‘i Island, and the executors tried to use claims of damage to the plantation as an excuse to sell. Emma

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 6.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, 8.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 8-9.

promptly headed to Hilo, where she found the damages to be “mere trifles and unimportant, at least nothing to warrant the sinking of a plantation.”²⁰⁸ This prevented a sale at that time, but it did not prevent them from trying again.

A little over a year later, Judd and Austin filed a petition with the court to be allowed to sell off at auction all of Metcalf’s properties, listing thirteen different parcels.²⁰⁹ This petition was filed in September of 1868, before they submitted their final accounting of the estate’s debts to the court. The petition explained the perceived rush for the sale, claiming that, “...the indebtedness of the said Estate is large, and that as Executors they are unable to pay any part of it, and that in their opinion it is expedient and for the interest of the Creditors that the Real and Personal Property of the Estate be sold...”²¹⁰ (See Figure 4 on page 72 for the list of lands in the advertisement.)

This was the newspaper advertisement that provoked Emma to enlist the help of Lewers and Green. On her behalf, Green immediately filed a petition to stop the sale, and for Judd and Austin to “be relieved from their trust” as Executors.²¹¹ In following with the wishes of her father that the plantation be kept as a means of income for the family, the petition stated that, “the proposed sale of said plantation would be ruinous to the Petitioner and to the other Legatees of the said will.”²¹² The petition further asserted that the debts could be paid off reasonably without selling off Metcalf’s entire inventory of land holdings, and that the cash could be secured if the Creditors would wait until the

²⁰⁸ Beckley, “Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley.”

²⁰⁹ “Supreme Court--In Probate. In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf, Deceased.,” *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu, September 23, 1868), pg. 3.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ “Supreme Court--In Probate. In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf.,” *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu, October 28, 1868), pg. 2.

²¹² “In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf - In Probate.” Emma’s petition, dated 17 October, 1868.

Figure 4: Metcalf lands listed for sale in September 1868 advertisement

1. Lot of land in Manoa Valley, Oahu, Royal Patent, No. 24
2. Lot of land in Manoa Valley, Oahu, Royal Patent, No. 118
3. Lot in Kulaokahua, Waikiki, Oahu, Royal Patent, No. 283
4. The Metcalf Sugar Plantation, Hilo, Royal Patent 872
5. Lot of land in Manoa, Pilipili, Royal Patent, No. 882
6. Lot of land on Beretania Street, Honolulu, Royal Patent, No. 1304
7. Lot of land on Alapai Street, Honolulu, Royal Patent, No. 1640
8. Ahupuaa of Kapehu, Hawaii, Royal Patent, No. 872
9. Lot in Manoa Valley, conveyed to T. Metcalf by E. H. Rogers
10. Sundry parcels of land in Kaupakuea, Hilo
11. Kalihi, in Kaupakuea, Royal Patent, No. 4599
12. Waipilo, in Kaupakuea, Award, 4599
13. Lot in Manoa, known as Beckley's Lot²¹³

²¹³ "Supreme Court--In Probate. In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf."

following August, when the sugar crops would be ready, as they expected to yield five hundred tons of sugar.²¹⁴ It goes on to say that, "...the petitioner can make arrangements to meet the liabilities of the Estate and so render unnecessary the sale of said property, provided that certain new Executors in the petition nominated, be appointed," naming Lewers and Green as the replacements.²¹⁵ The petition also stated that Judd and Austin had agreed to this arrangement and joined in the petition, as have the "Creditors upon the Estate."²¹⁶ The petition was granted, and the proposed sale was withdrawn. Judd and Austin were relieved of their duties, while Lewers and Green took over. Unfortunately for Emma, this was the only victory she would see through the entire experience.

Just months before these events, in May of 1868, Tucker and Waller, who had managed the plantation since 1856, filed a suit against Judd and Austin as Executors of the Estate. This is likely why they agreed to give up their positions several months later when Green's petition was filed. Although they were relieved of their executorial duties, Judd and Austin still had to see this suit through. Tucker and Waller claimed several things, but mainly that Judd was improperly using plantation funds. Judd had taken over as agent to the plantation upon Metcalf's death, and had made several transactions since that time, many of which Tucker and Waller deemed sketchy.²¹⁷ They blamed the

²¹⁴ "In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf - In Probate." Emma was not personally involved in the petition, other than to sign it. She was in confinement at the time expecting the birth of her first child, and hired one Henry Thompson as her lawyer to act with Mr. Green on her behalf. Per Emma's 1874 statement, Green ended up dismissing Thompson, and hired on a Mr. Montgomery instead. See Beckley, "Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley", 5.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ "Supreme Court--In Probate. In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf." It should be noted here that in May 1868, just a few months before this decision, Tucker & Waller, the plantation managers, had filed a suit against Judd and Austin as Executors of the Estate. Although Judd and Austin were now removed from estate affairs, they still had to address this court case. This may be the reason why they agreed to give up their positions as executors.

²¹⁷ *Reports of Decisions Rendered by the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands in Law, Equity, Admiralty and Probate. 1866-1877.*, 3:181-205.

plantation's waning profits on Judd. However, Tucker was known to be unreliable and a drunkard, so it is difficult to place blame on anyone.²¹⁸

If anything, the Tucker and Waller case was more of a distraction that prevented these men from performing their duties on the plantation. When Emma and her husband arrived there in 1869 to evaluate the state of the plantation, she reported:

I found the worst kind of mismanagement. Carts, plows, tools and working implements of every description laying around rotting and uncared for every where, on the road, in the cane fields, in the grass and mud etc. The manager in an almost continued state of drunkenness. The books falsified. The laborers both native and foreign in a state of insubordination, cattle dying for want of care, etc. All of which I patiently set to work to correct, writing by every chance to inform Mr. Green.²¹⁹

Tucker died shortly after their arrival, so Emma took over the administration of the plantation, while her husband managed the daily activities. They retained all employees, who, Emma states, "were on the best terms with me."²²⁰

It appears that Emma and her husband continued in this way for some time, possibly up to three years.²²¹ It all ended when a ship brought in the manager that the estate creditors had chosen, a Mr. Husband. Captain West, who Emma had hired to be the new manager, was on the same boat as Mr. Husband, yet no one saw fit to inform neither him nor Emma that his services were no longer required. Emma took this act

²¹⁸ Beckley, "Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley", 5.

²¹⁹ Ibid, 6.

²²⁰ Ibid, 6-7.

²²¹ Ibid. Emma never states exactly how long she managed on the plantation, but there is a later reference that suggests she left there a year before she was forced to sell the plantation, which would make her departure some time in 1873.

personally: “I supposed they considered the common courtesy of informing West of the change unnecessary, being my appointee.”²²²

Emma was, “naturally very much disappointed...they had gone to work and appointed [a manager] without the slightest reference to my wishes in the matter.”²²³ She strongly disagreed with the appointment of Mr. Husband, and was not shy about it. She had heard, “only the very poorest accounts” of him, and upon his arrival, “I told him candidly that I did not expect him, and disapproved of his appointment.”²²⁴ Husband’s reply was just as cordial. In Emma’s recounting, he stated, “that he had received his commission as such from those who only had the power to give it...and that he thought most likely he and I could not get along together on the Plantation and that it was best for me to go off of it.”²²⁵ To add insult to injury, Husband then, “turned me out of the very room I was occupying saying he wanted it as he expected his wife up, and that I could occupy a small corner room until I got ready to go off for good.”²²⁶ Emma may have owned the plantation property, but clearly Mr. Husband did not think so.

Mr. Green had sent instructions with Mr. Husband, indicating that he intended for Emma to stay on at the plantation. But it was clear that Green also intended for Mr. Husband to be in charge. His instructions were:

That my husband was to be one of the lunas receiving only salary due to one in that position to support us, that I was to only exercise a sort of general overseeing to guard against waste and mismanagement and that

²²² Ibid, 7. Emma makes sure to note that Capt. West had to give up his commission on the ship “Kate Lee” in order to take this post, suggesting that the fact that no one bothered to inform him that he was being replaced was also financially injurious to him.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid., 8.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

we were to practise the strictest economy personally and generally till our liabilities were satisfied.²²⁷

Emma did not bother to stick around on the plantation. She promptly went back to Honolulu and complained about the arrangements to Mr. Green, but he explained that “the creditors would not allow it other wise.”²²⁸ As for her treatment by the new manager, Green stated that, “he would require Mr. Husband to apologise for insulting me, and that’s all.”²²⁹ After these events, Emma stated that, “I never saw an account or had the slightest knowledge of affairs from that time till the day of the transfer to Afong & Achuck.”²³⁰

In the early 1870s, owning a sugar plantation was still a pretty good way of getting rich, and Afong & Achuck took the opportunity. They purchased all the mortgages on the Metcalf Estate from the various holders. As a result, Emma and the Estate were forced to surrender all claims to Afong & Achuck in July of 1870.²³¹ The Metcalf Estate still technically owned the land, but the transaction was essentially a sign that Afong & Achuck would become the new owners very soon.²³²

In 1874 Emma was forced to actually make the sale, when the King himself ordered her to do it. Mr. Green was the Minister of Finance to the newly elected Kalākaua, and it is most probable that he enlisted the King to force Emma’s hand. As a kaukau ali’i, it was Emma’s duty to obey her chief. There was simply no way she could

²²⁷ Beckley, “Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley,” 7–8.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ Beckley, “Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley.”

²³¹ “Surrender: Metcalf, Emma (formerly) Et Al to Afong & Achuck”, July 29, 1870, Bureau of Conveyances.

²³² Once Afong & Achuck held clear title to the Kaupakuea plantation, they purchased adjoining lands and renamed it the Pepeekeo Sugar Company. See “Hilo Coast Processing Company (Pepeekeo Sugar Company),” *UHM Library Hawaiian Collection - HSPA Hawaiian Sugar Planters’ Association Plantation Archives*, August 2004, http://www2.hawaii.edu/~speccoll/p_hilocoast.html.

refuse any request of his. Although the entire probate had given Emma many traumatic experiences, it was perhaps this event that truly broke her heart. Emma's account of the experience is as follows:

It was in the night about 2 or 3 o'clock...when a soldier aroused me with the information that the King wanted to see me immediately. Stating also that he had spent the whole day and night till then in hunting for me.

Sometime was spent in catching a horse, and just at dawn I started for the Palace with my husband, not knowing [if] I was going to be charged with high treason or something of that nature.

On our arrival the King was not up, and we had to wait in dread and expectancy till about half past seven or eight o'clock.

He finally had to be waked up, His first words on seeing me were 'Ah! Mrs. Beckley where were you yesterday? I sent every where for you. I want you to sell your plantation to Afong. He has made an offer of sixty eight thousand dollars (\$68,000) for it. You take it. Mr. Harris tells me your creditors have combined to push you, I have promised to help you, but just now I am pilikia my self, and I have also been advised that it would be unwise to lay my money out on your Plantation as it is in a dreadful condition. In fact, 'going to the dogs.' Your liabilities it seems are forty thousand dollars (\$40,000) that will leave you (\$28,000). Take it, a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

Go right off and close that business and come back to breakfast and tell me all about it.'

I was so thunderstruck, not expecting any thing of the kind, I sat unable to say anything or even realize the whole meaning of his words. Seeing which, I suppose, he said, ‘I am very sor[r]y for you, but it can’t be helped. If you don’t go and close that business to day they will put every thing on the market, and you [will] be turned out of house and home.’²³³

Emma went directly to Mr. Green, who repeated the threat. She was advised that she needed to decide immediately, or she would lose everything. Emma was in a state of shock: “I was to[o] dazed to take notice of much, or to take in the full meaning of what was said to me, except the fact that I was to lose my all.”²³⁴ She fully believed Mr. Green’s threats; after all, this was the man who got rid of Judd. He had successfully managed to turn her out from her own plantation, but now he also had Mr. Harris and the King backing him. Emma, as dazed as she was, made the very astute observation that here was the mysterious “they” that was mentioned so often by the estate’s executors.²³⁵ She described:

As far as I could tell, “they” seemed to include all the business men of influence and money, such as Bishop & Co., Hackfeld & Co., Mr. Widemann, Mr. Green and others, and worse of all they had the King on their side. I no more dared disobey the King’s command, than attempted to fly. Make an enemy of the King as well as They and we would all starve.²³⁶

²³³ Beckley, “Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley,” 9-11.

²³⁴ Ibid, 11-12.

²³⁵ Ibid, 14.

²³⁶ Ibid.

What Emma also remembered was the humiliation. She stated that, “[h]ere was the culmination to the series of insults and injuries I had received in regard to the property from the time my father died.”²³⁷ Her husband had been dismissed from the room, having been told that he wasn’t “required,” so Emma had to face the situation without any support. She recalled that, “I was asked to sit down in the back of Mr. Green’s office as they were not quite ready, and there I sat alone, unwashed, uncombed, half dressed only without a mouth full of food, just as I was when I started from home before day light, too miserable and desperate to even think of my appearance....It was as much as I could do to keep back my tears sufficiently to enable me to write my name.”²³⁸

To add to the injury, the price the King had quoted Emma had somehow changed. She was informed that Afong was to pay \$40,000, which was the entire amount of the supposed debt and no more. When she explained that the King told her she was to get \$68,000, Emma recalled the following:

Mr. Harris then when Afong came in, made some show of hag[g]ling over the price and finally they settled it I believe at \$46,000. Mr. Green telling me at the same time for my satisfaction that ‘that would just cover every claim against the estate and leave Manoa free.’ Very satisfactory, when I was perfectly aware that by the terms of father’s will Manoa went to Frank.²³⁹

When the heart-wrenching business was over, Emma went back to the Palace, as the King had instructed. The only comment she makes about the meeting was that he was surprised at the amount Afong ended up paying. Emma claims in her statement that she

²³⁷ Ibid, 12.

²³⁸ Ibid, 12-15.

²³⁹ Ibid, 13.

ended up receiving, in small installments, no more than thirteen or fourteen hundred dollars.

The probate case dragged on for another year, with Helen and Julia taking up the reins, but Emma stayed out of it. All she had ever wanted was to be allowed to manage her own, but she could find no allies to help her. Instead, she had been surrounded by men who continually dismissed her. Even her ali'i, who should have been looking out for the best interests of one of his loyal chiefs, followed the advice of foreigners instead. It was a kaukau ali'i's duty to first serve his or her chief, and secondly, to serve the people by supporting the chief. This dynamic, however, depended entirely on a relationship of trust between the two, but this event taught Emma that she could not always rely on her chief to support her. She could only, truly, rely on herself. It would be many years until the overthrow of the monarchy, but learning this lesson early made Emma far more capable of dealing with a world without an ali'i to serve. And it was this great loss, of inheritance, of trust, and of faith in others, that made her the person she became: a formidable woman who did whatever she could to prevent others from suffering the same defeats.

CHAPTER 4

Fulfilling a Kuleana

One of the responsibilities of an ali'i had always been to make sure the people had everything they needed to survive, and before the arrival of foreigners, the various methods of fulfilling this responsibility had been well-articulated. Ali'i could look to those who came before them for guidance in any situation they encountered. But society and government had completely changed and, as discussed in previous chapters, so had the chiefly structures. The wisdom of the ancestors could not always account for the influences and maneuverings of foreigners. With no set direction, kingdom era chiefs were forced to chart their own courses. Kaukau ali'i still looked to their king or queen for instruction and guidance, but they also had to discover their own ways to care for their people in a modern world.

Emma could not look to the duties of her ancestors for guidance because those duties were no longer applicable in her time. But in some ways she was more fortunate than others of her status. Kamehameha IV declared that she be trained in traditional water use and rights, and appointed her Custodian of the Laws of the Kamehameha's.²⁴⁰ Emma was only eight years old when Alexander Liholiho came to power, and was a young sixteen when he passed. Thanks to the king's appointment, a teenage Emma was well on her way to becoming a recognized authority on ancient laws.²⁴¹ This special attention gave Emma a head start, by knowing fairly early in her life at least one means of fulfilling her kuleana as a kaukau ali'i.

²⁴⁰ *Proceedings of the Second Women's Conference* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Pan-Pacific Union, 1930).

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Although Emma had been prepared early on, her career did not begin until 1882, when she was already in her mid-thirties. Her early adulthood had been spent fighting her father's probate, providing for her younger siblings, and raising her own family. She spent some time teaching whenever she could, but as was the societal norm in the late 1800s, Emma had depended mainly upon her husband, Frederick Beckley, to provide for them financially.²⁴² When he passed away in 1881, she was left in need of an income to support her and her children. This need was met by Walter Murray Gibson, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, who appointed her as curator of the Hawaiian Government Museum and Government Library, housed in Ali'iōlani Hale.²⁴³ It is likely that her appointment was suggested by King Kalākaua. He knew of her training under the Kamehamehas, and had a good understanding of what kind of knowledge she possessed. Additionally, her husband had been named as the King's chamberlain in 1875, putting the Beckley's within the court circle ever since. Through that connection, the King was very conscious of Emma's life situation. Although Emma was well-suited for the job, Kalākaua's main motivation may well have been about making amends for ordering her to sell her plantation eight years earlier. Her own account of the meeting revealed that the King showed some regret at the time, and this may have been his way of finally making up for it.

²⁴² Beckley, "Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley."

²⁴³ Roger G. Rose, *A Museum to Instruct and Delight: William T. Brigham and the Founding of Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 68. (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1980), 4. Gibson had leveraged dissatisfaction with the previous museum curators as a political tool in his campaign to gain favor with the King and others who wanted to see the kingdom gain international respect. The museum was previously under the jurisdiction of the Board of Education, headed by Charles Reed Bishop, and had gone through two missionary curators since its opening in 1875. As soon as he was made Premier in 1882, Gibson transferred the museum into his Department of Foreign Affairs and, in keeping with his "Hawai'i for the Hawaiians" campaign, hired a Hawaiian as curator.

Ultimately, it did not matter how she obtained the position; Emma embraced her new role with all the vivacity that the neglected museum sorely needed. She labeled herself “curatrix,” and immediately started to inventory the fledgling museum’s artifacts. This work eventually turned into a well-admired handwritten document that is still housed in today’s Bishop Museum archives.²⁴⁴ Gibson shared her excitement; he lobbied for funds and ordered expeditions to add to their collection. Together they took the disregarded collection and turned it into a real museum.²⁴⁵

Her first career as curatrix did not directly pertain to water use, but her knowledge of the ancient laws and of water use certainly informed her understanding of the artifacts that she was charged with caring for. When her own information was deficient, she went out in search of those who had more.²⁴⁶ Through these means she compiled and wrote her first known publication, *Hawaiian Fisheries and Methods of Fishing*. Gibson requested that Emma compile some historical information to accompany a collection of fish and fishing implements that was being sent to London for the Great International Fisheries Exhibition in 1883. Emma herself calls it a “little work,” although the printed version fills twenty-one pages.²⁴⁷

This being her most significant work so far, it may have influenced her motivation for later scholarship. The great majority of Emma’s works have the same feel to them as this first publication: that of a kanaka author desiring to educate those who are unfamiliar with the people and culture of Hawai‘i. Most of her non-fictional works begin with her

²⁴⁴ Emma M. Nakuina, “Historical Catalogue of the Museum”, 188? (filed as 1891.01), Manuscripts, Bishop Museum ms. HI.H.112.

²⁴⁵ Rose, *A Museum to Instruct and Delight*, 4–5.

²⁴⁶ Emma Metcalf Beckley, *Hawaiian Fisheries and Methods of Fishing: With an Account of the Fishing Implements Used by the Natives of the Hawaiian Islands* (Published by order of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1883), preface.

²⁴⁷ Beckley, *Hawaiian Fisheries and Methods of Fishing*.

credentials as a native Hawaiian. The preface to this, her first publication, opens with, “[t]he information contained in the following pages has been exclusively obtained from Native sources by the Authoress, who is herself a native Hawaiian lady.”²⁴⁸ She made sure that her readers were aware from the very beginning that the information was authentic, and that it was not the work of some foreigner making assumptions about another culture. Perhaps more importantly, she made sure that her readers understood that the information in her “little work” was not obsolete. It was the practice of a living culture, and it described the very practical skills that those of the ‘civilized world’ could not surpass.

She may have viewed this skill for informing the uninformed as one of the ways she could help her own people, thus contributing to her *kaukau ali‘i* responsibilities. Another indication of that goal is the fact that all known works by Emma are written in the English language.²⁴⁹ Most foreigners in Hawai‘i spoke English, and it is entirely possible that she viewed them as the people needing the most education. She had been unfortunate enough to deal with some of the most disrespectful and greedy amongst them, but she had also met some that she greatly admired. Perhaps she thought that through education, these foreigners could understand her people better, and consequently value them more. The one thing we know for certain is that Emma believed in the power of education, and through her writing she now had that power.

Emma targeted a different audience with her next publication. Later that same year she submitted an eight-article series to the *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, under the pen name Kaili (a shortened version of both her and her mother’s name). This

²⁴⁸ Ibid., preface.

²⁴⁹ I have yet to find anything that Nakuina wrote in the Hawaiian language, although it is entirely possible that she did.

1883 version was printed between August 25 and October 13, and was titled “Hiiaka. A Hawaiian Legend by a Hawaiian Native. A Legend of the Goddess Pele, Her Lover Lohiau and her Sister Hiiakaikapoliopele.”²⁵⁰ It is understood from the text that Emma was, again, trying to educate, and choosing to tell the Pele and Hi‘iaka epic was an ambitious undertaking. This was Emma’s first published myth, yet even in 1883 it was already well-known amongst her own people. Her choice to publish it in English shows that she still meant to speak to foreigners, but this time she was addressing those who knew her. Her one previous publication was clearly meant as reference material for people who were thousands of miles away, whereas this second piece served a different purpose: it was a declaration of personal power, as a woman, and as a Hawaiian.

The Pele and Hi‘iaka story is about the passionate and terrifying goddess Pelehonumea and her youngest sister, Hi‘iakaikapoliopele. Pele is already an awesomely powerful goddess when the story opens, but conversely, Hi‘iaka has not yet reached her full potential. This epic tells of Hi‘iaka’s journey, and how through that journey she becomes a powerful goddess in her own right. It is through life’s challenges that Hi‘iaka becomes strong enough to defy even the great Pele herself. In the end, both Pele and Hi‘iaka are forces to be reckoned with. Together, they are the epitome of female power, one causing great destruction, while the other spawning new life in a landscape of complete devastation. These intensely strong goddesses appealed to Emma at a time when she had survived the devastation of losing her plantation, three infant children, and her husband, but was finally on her way to finding new life. She had a new

²⁵⁰ Kaili, “Hiiaka: A Hawaiian Legend by a Hawaiian Native. A Legend of the Goddess Pele, Her Lover Lohiau and Her Sister Hiiakaikapoliopele.,” *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, October 25, 1883). Emma repeated the Pele and Hi‘iaka myth in her 1904 book, *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends*, but the version included there is very different from her newspaper serial.

job where her skills were aptly suited; she had just completed a successful first publication; and now she was ready to do more.

Aside from appealing to the authoress,²⁵¹ Pele was also the one goddess that could engage even the disbelieving foreigners. Foreigners did not want to believe in the existence of heathen gods. They saw land as commodity, not as the goddess Papa. They saw women as subservient to men, not as the goddess Haumea. They saw the moon as a celestial rock, not as the goddess Hina. But Pele could not be ignored. As Pua Kanaka‘ole Kanahale says, “...it is impossible not to see evidence of Pele’s volcanic impression on our natural and cultural landscape.”²⁵² The entire population had seen proof of Pele’s power and her response to protocol just three years earlier when Ruth Ke‘elikōlani conducted ritual and saved Hilo from a lava flow. Whether they wanted to be or not, foreigners were intrigued by Pele. That made it an opportune time for Emma to step up and tell her story.

Her account of the Pele and Hi‘iaka epic is far less detailed than some of the others that have been printed in Hawaiian, and in many places her words read as if she’s trying to explain concepts rather than tell a story. She does not recite the many chants included in this well told myth, as others have done, but she does include her reasons for condensing and sometimes omitting them. The following appears just after the first two lines of a chant being given by Lohi‘au. The entire paragraph is in parentheses, as if the authoress is breaking that invisible barrier and speaking directly to her audience:

²⁵¹ In her previous piece, Emma refers to herself as ‘authoress,’ therefore I have chosen to use the same here. See Beckley, *Hawaiian Fisheries and Methods of Fishing*, preface.

²⁵² Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahale, *Ka Honua Ola ‘Eli‘eli Kau Maui: The Living Earth, Descend, Deepen the Revelation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2011), xv.

This is the first of the *Hulihia*—a series of songs by Lohi‘au, Hi‘iaka, and Kanakahia pava, which forms some of the finest specimens of poetical composition in the Hawaiian language. These are magnificent word-paintings of the action and effects of volcanic fires, some of the grandest sights of the world; and also tender, loving descriptions of some of the sweetest and most pleasing views of natural scenery. The writer regrets the inability to render a poetical translation of these grand songs that would in any way convey an adequate idea of their beauties. The first two or three lines only of a song are given, literally translated, so as to indicate their proper order, should some competent person hereafter wish to render them into English.²⁵³

Emma’s series holds the distinction of being the first English language version of this story. H. Arlo Nimmo, in his 2011 book *Pele, Volcano Goddess of Hawai‘i: A History*, suggests that all English-language versions of the Pele and Hi‘iaka story that followed were likely based off of Emma’s serial.²⁵⁴

Opening up a beloved traditional epic to a foreign audience was Emma’s first effort to educate the masses through myth. Foreigners viewed myths as harmless, for entertainment value only, and as such they did not see her stories as a threat. This allowed Emma to make an impact on her audience without appearing dangerous. But perhaps this story also had an effect that the authoress had not intended. Emma showed through this piece (and in her subsequent works) that she had the ability to write as if she

²⁵³ Nimmo, *Pele, Volcano Goddess of Hawai‘i*, 71. It is interesting to note that Emma was considered an authority on the Hawaiian language, genealogies, and ancient mele. It is puzzling why she would state here that someone else might do a better job with the translation of these chants.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 49–50.

were speaking to both the foreigner and to her own people at the same time. All of her works were produced in a time when a large number of Hawai‘i’s children were attending English-medium schools. Hawaiians still spoke their native language at home, but they were learning to read and write in English. With this article series, Emma gave them something of their own culture to read. Although it may have been unintended, publishing myths in English was yet another way that she could fulfill her *kaukau ali‘i* responsibilities to her people.

Emma’s third publication also appeared in 1883, the same year as the two previous. In the December 8 issue of the *Saturday Press*, the story “Kahalaopuna: A Legend of Manoa Valley” was printed. This was to be the first of three versions of this story that Emma would eventually publish.²⁵⁵ *Kahalaopuna* is the rather morbid story of a famous beauty from Mānoa who was killed four times by her betrothed for an act she did not commit. Each time she was resurrected by her powerful owl guardian, and each time she pleaded with her murderer to simply allow her to prove her innocence. This just enraged him further and solidified his commitment to kill her again, permanently. When at last it seemed as if he has succeeded, she finally gave up on trying to reason with him and let him believe that she was dead. With the help of kind stranger, she later proved her innocence and the cruel chief was killed.

The really telling part of this story is the ending, where instead of staying dead, the murderer’s bones were swept into the ocean where his gods turned him into a shark.

²⁵⁵ Emma Metcalf Beckley, “Kahalaopuna: A Legend of Manoa Valley,” *Saturday Press* (Honolulu, December 8, 1883), Volume IV, Number 14 edition, sec. p. 4 c. 1-4. Although three versions of this story have been published under Emma’s name, I would argue that there are actually only two. All three versions have different titles, but this 1883 version and the 1907 version that appears in Thrum’s *Hawaiian Folk Tales* are almost identical, with the exception that all sexual references are removed from the 1907 version. It seems more likely that the later version is a reprint by someone, possibly Thrum, who took the liberty of editing out those bits.

After two years of happiness, Kahalaopuna decided to go surfing after abstaining from the ocean during all that time. As soon as she was in the water, the shark attacked her, brutally tore her body in half, then swam to the bottom of the ocean and ate her whole, insuring that she was never resurrected again.²⁵⁶

While Emma's first two publications were meant to educate, it appears as if this third work had a different purpose. This story reads like a reflection of Emma's life and her fight to keep her plantation. Emma grew up in Mānoa, highly regarded as a shining star amongst her peers. Then someone who she thought was a friend, Judd and later Green, came along and took everything from her. But throughout the struggle she kept getting back up, dusting herself off, and trying again to make them see that their treatment of her was unjustified. She was granted a brief time of happiness, when she was finally took over the management of her plantation, and it seemed like she had finally gotten everything she hoped for. But the moment she let her guard down the sharks attacked, more brutal than ever before. They struck her down with such ferocity that her defeat was final and complete.

Emma had experienced that heartbreak. But now, after so many years, to finally achieve recognition for her work and her talents must have been very cathartic for Emma. She was back in a place where she could share her knowledge with the world, where she could possibly do some good. The first publication was a reclamation of professional power, the second was a declaration of personal power, while this third allowed her to tell her story, maybe more for her own healing than anything else. It was a reminder to her to

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

get back up again, no matter what. And this time she was not going to let anyone keep her down.

The Next Resurrection

During the rest of her tenure as curatrix, Emma published only one more piece, “The Legend of the Fishhook, Called Na-iwi-o-Pae” which appeared in the 1884 *Honolulu Annual*. She penned “Mrs. Beckley’s Report on the Library and Museum” and “Mrs. Beckley’s Report on Her Visit to Molokai” for Gibson, both of which he submitted to the 1884 and 1886 Legislatures. She also compiled the impressive *Historical Catalogue of the Museum*, and served as a translator on another piece with W. D. Alexander, *He Buke No Ke Ola Kino No Kamalii*, which was published in 1887.²⁵⁷ She spent most of her energy, however, building a museum worthy of a kingdom.

After five years of growth, the 1887 Bayonet Constitution shut down the museum for good. Gibson’s unsuccessful attempts at establishing a Polynesian empire and gaining political control angered the foreigners in the kingdom who had been working towards American domination. He was chased out of Hawai‘i, and many of his projects, including the museum, were cut from the budgets in the special legislative session that followed.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Cristina Bacchilega, *Legendary Hawai‘i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 213–214.

²⁵⁸ Rose, *A Museum to Instruct and Delight*, 5. It is interesting to note that the Kamehameha Schools, originally built on the site of the present Bishop Museum, first opened its doors to students on October 3, 1887, the same year as the Bayonet Constitution. Charles Reed Bishop had discussed the idea of creating a school and a museum with his wife, Pauahi, before her death in 1884. They had both also discussed the museum with the dowager Queen Emma, who went so far as to create a codicil to her will that bequeathed items to Bishop on the condition that they become part of a collection for the planned “Kamehameha Museum.” Bishop focused on establishing the school first, but plans for the museum were well on their way long before the school opened its doors. It is likely that this knowledge was well known by those conducting the special legislative session that cut funding to the government museum.

Before Gibson took over the museum in 1882, it was under the jurisdiction of the Board of Education, headed by Charles Reed Bishop. Bishop had hired two missionary sons, first Harvey Rexford Hitchcock, then David Dwight Baldwin, as curators. Both of them had other professions to focus on and largely ignored the museum. Gibson used Bishop's negligence as leverage for getting the museum into his hands. It was no coincidence, then, that after the Bayonet Constitution, the museum's inventory and all of Emma's hard work was transferred to what would soon become the new Bishop Museum.²⁵⁹ Emma, however, was not invited to come along.

Once again hindered by greed and politics, Emma was left to dust herself off again and find a new purpose. She had married her second husband, Moses Nakuina, that same year, but Emma was not the same person who had previously depended solely on her husband for support. It would be six years before she published anything new, but during this writing hiatus she did take on projects working as a translator and cultural advisor for T. G. Thrum and W. D. Alexander. Although she is sometimes credited on their extensive works, it is possible that she helped them on many works for which she was not credited.²⁶⁰ In fact, it is still unclear exactly how much work Emma contributed to the existing body of Hawaiian legends and research we have as a whole.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 2–5. It should be noted here that further research must be conducted to trace exactly how Bishop was able to transfer a government collection to his private museum. Rose's book states that the government, after much deliberation, finally agreed that the collection should be transferred to Bishop, but it does not state if there was any kind of monetary transaction.

²⁶⁰ W. D. Alexander is cited as the author of an article that appeared in several different publications under different titles, but is most often called "Oldest Living Inhabitant." Emma is prominently cited as the person who conducted the interview and took the notes that comprises the vast majority of this article, yet she is not credited as its author. See one version of this article at: Alatau T. Atkinson, *Oldest Inhabitant / Extracted from Hawaii (Republic) Department of Public Instruction. Report of the General Superintendent of the Census, 1896*, Report of the General Superintendent of the Census, trans. Emma M. Nakuina (Honolulu: Republic of Hawaii Department of Public Instruction, 1896).

In 1892, Emma was appointed as a Commissioner of Private Ways and Water Rights for the district of Kona, O‘ahu, and would hold this post for the next fifteen years.²⁶¹ This formal governmental position was the modern manifestation of the job she had been trained for since the reign of Alexander Liholiho and placed her in the contemporary version of a konohiki status. Emma was again in a position where she could do good for her people, and this time she had the law backing her.

The post was previously held by Pierre Jones, who was a French and Drawing teacher at Punahou from 1887-88, then taught at the Honolulu School for Boys in the Territorial years.²⁶² Chief Justice A. F. Judd called for his resignation in July of 1892 because members of the bar had filed numerous complaints against him. In a letter from Judd to the Minister of the Interior, he explains that the main objection to Jones was that he was not delivering appeals paperwork to the Supreme Court in a timely fashion. Attorneys could go up to eight months waiting, all because Jones had not bothered to file their appeals. The letter concludes with, “I hope that a person can be found to take this important office who will attend to its duties promptly.”²⁶³ Emma was that person.

As a commissioner, she served as a judge in all court cases pertaining to water within her capitol district. There are no legal documents that will list her as “Judge,” but the lack of a title did not prevent others from recognizing her as such. Emma was not formally educated in the western forms of law, yet even the white elite in Hawai‘i

²⁶¹ Mari J Matsuda, ed., *Called from Within: Early Women Lawyers of Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 323.

²⁶² *Oahu College Jubilee, 1841-1891: Punahou Jubilee Celebration June 25-26, 1891, with Appendix Containing a Complete Catalogue of All Trustees, Teachers and Pupils of Punahou School, Oahu College and Punahou Preparatory School, From 1841 to 1891.* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1891), 7; *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Biennium Ending December 31st, 1914*, Biennium (Honolulu: Department of Public Instruction, 1915), 87.

²⁶³ Albert Francis Judd, “A. F. Judd to Minister of the Interior”, July 2, 1892, Interior Department, Hawai‘i State Archives. It is interesting that Emma was chosen, since there was a lot of bad blood between her and the Judd clan over her father’s probate.

recognized and respected her as a judge.²⁶⁴ She also holds the distinction of being the first female judge in Hawai‘i, but because she was not formally bestowed with the title, history has been slightly unfair in its treatment of her. The Judicial History Center and Museum is housed today in Ali‘iōlani Hale, the same building where Emma served as curatrix of the Hawaiian Government Museum and Library, and in which Emma is conspicuously absent. The only two women noted in the museum are Ka‘ahumanu, followed much later by Almeda Hitchcock.²⁶⁵ Hitchcock, licensed to practice law in 1888, was the first female attorney in the islands. She was the granddaughter of American missionaries and daughter of a judge in Hilo.²⁶⁶

Emma gained posthumus recognition in the 1992 book *Called From Within: Early Women Lawyers of Hawai‘i*. In the last chapter, titled, “Other Women in the Law Before Statehood,” and under a heading titled “Pre-Republic Hawai‘i,” Emma is the absolute last entry in the book, situated right behind Ka‘ahumanu as women of influence in the legal history of Hawai‘i. The chapter author, Agnes C. Conrad, takes a moment to explain that, while the book concentrates on women admitted to the bar and who practiced in Hawai‘i for most of their careers, there were others who deserved recognition. This last chapter highlights six women lawyers who did not stay in Hawai‘i for long, then goes on to note that, “[t]here were also two Native Hawaiian women who had an impact on law during the time of the Kingdom of Hawaii, but not as lawyers. Any

²⁶⁴ As early as 1907 English language newspapers produced by the very people who were in favor of the overthrow call Emma “Judge.” See “The Kingdom of God in Hawaii,” *The Friend* (Honolulu, January 1, 1907), Volume LXIV, Number 1 edition. “JUDGE EMMA METCALF NAKUINA, one of the few women in the United States who adorns the bench, will write on Hawaiian antiquities.” Obituaries in the Honolulu Advertiser and The Friend also acknowledge her as a Judge. “Death Takes First Hawaii Woman Judge”; “Digest of Current Events,” *The Friend* (Honolulu, May 1, 1929), Volume XCIX, Number 5 edition.

²⁶⁵ This statement is based on my own visits to the Judicial History Center between 2010 and 2012, in which I was specifically looking for some mention of Emma Nakuina.

²⁶⁶ Matsuda, *Called from Within*, 17.

history of the practice of law in Hawai‘i and the women involved in it should recognize their contribution.”²⁶⁷ Emma’s entire entry reads:

EMMA METCALF BECKLEY NAKUINA (1847-1929), the daughter of an American engineer and a Hawaiian chiefess, received her formal education at Punahou School and Sacred Hearts Academy. She probably received her education in Hawaiian customs from her mother. Her biographer states that she was trained in water law at the request of King Kamehameha IV. In 1888 the legislature authorized the appointment of commissioners of private ways and water rights. The commissioners were appointed by the minister of interior (later, by the governor of the territory) to adjudicate claims to water rights. The qualification for commissioner was to be “a competent person,” presumably with a knowledge of customs and laws concerning water rights, a vital concern in an agrarian economy. The commissioner had powers similar to a district court judge – to issue summonses, hold hearings, and give decisions, with the Book of Record to be filed with the circuit court. Emma Nakuina was appointed to the position for Kona, O‘ahu (Honolulu District) in 1892 and served until 1907, when the powers were transferred to the circuit courts.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ Agnes C. Conrad, “Other Women in the Law Before Statehood,” in *Called from Within: Early Women Lawyers of Hawai‘i*, ed. Mari J. Matsuda (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 323. Note that the text is copied exactly as it appears in the book. The first sentence writes “Hawaii” without the ‘okina, while the second sentence has it with an ‘okina.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 330–331.

What this entry does not convey is that Emma was regarded as an authority on water use and rights. Her jurisdiction was Kona, O‘ahu, but because of her extensive knowledge on the subject she was consulted in other cases outside of her area.²⁶⁹

It should also be noted that, in Emma’s day, Kona, O‘ahu was a very important area in terms of water rights. The district of Kona is what is referred to today as Honolulu. It is comprised of the section of the island stretching from Moanalua to Maunaloa (better known today as Hawai‘i Kai). Before the development brought on by the tourism boon, there were numerous springs and streams, with Waikīkī and Nu‘uanu being two of the most well-watered and productive farming areas on the entire island. The Kona, O‘ahu district was also the first area to be highly populated by foreigners, many of whom wanted to be sure that they had clear legal rights to the water around them. This made the water commissioner for Kona, O‘ahu a very important person.

This weighty governmental position, partnered with her talent for telling ancient tales, is what allowed Emma to carve out her own way of performing her *kaukau ali‘i* duties and serving her people. As a water court judge, Emma would go out to the sites under dispute and speak with the people involved. Hawaiians trusted her because she was one of them, and spoke with them in Hawaiian. In this same way she was exposed to the stories of the people, and tried to share what she could by publishing them.

Tough Choices

In January, 1893, just a few months after Emma’s appointment as water commissioner, the Queen and her government were betrayed by the Committee of Public

²⁶⁹ “Government May Take Over Lahainaluna Water Rights,” *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu, May 13, 1904). Although well outside her jurisdiction, Emma was asked by the government to look into the Lahainaluna Water case because of her expertise on the subject.

Safety and the US minister resulting in the overthrow of the Monarchy. Anyone who wanted to keep their government jobs were required to sign an Oath of Allegiance to the Provisional Government.²⁷⁰ It was a volatile time, when all Hawaiians had to make tough choices. Do they keep their dignity and lose their livelihoods, or do they sign away their loyalties and keep their jobs? Emma, like many others, was forced to make that choice. We may never know what Emma was thinking, but one thing was certain: experience had taught her what these kinds of people were capable of.

The 1893 overthrow of the monarchy was devastating to the lāhui, but it also impacted kaukau ali'i like Emma in another way. A kaukau ali'i has two main responsibilities: first, to serve his or her chief; second, by serving your chief, you also serve the people. The overthrow wiped out that first, most essential responsibility. It left a vacant hole in a centuries long traditional structure. With no ali'i to serve, Emma and other chiefs like her now had to put all their efforts towards their second responsibility: serving the people.

Life experience had taught Emma to rely on only herself to survive, and her own abilities to persevere. She was in an important governmental position, and the only woman at the time to hold such a prominent role.²⁷¹ As a woman and a chief, how could she best carry out her responsibility to her people? She may have felt that keeping her position would be the best possible way to fulfill her duties, even if it meant signing away

²⁷⁰ I have not yet found her Oath of Allegiance from 1893, but it may appear through more research. Once the Provisional Government re-established itself as the Republic of Hawaii in 1894, they required everyone to sign formal oaths. See "Oath of Loyalty #123" (Republic of Hawaii, July 17, 1894), Series 427: Oaths of Loyalty, Hawai'i State Archives.

²⁷¹ *Directory and Hand-Book of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands Giving the Name, Occupation, Place of Business, and Residence of the Adult Population of the Entire Islands.*, 1894th–95th ed. (San Francisco, CA: F. M. Husted, 1894). A thorough scan through the 1894 listing of government officials shows that there were only two other females in government at the time, Mrs. B. F. Dillingham, who was a member of the Board of Education, and Miss E. W. Lyons, who served as the S. Kohala School Agent in Commission. While these are important positions, they certainly did not wield the same authority as that of a judge.

her loyalty to her Queen. No one knew what was going to happen, if this illegal takeover was going to become permanent or not. Emma knew that these men would fight to keep what they had stolen, so she may have felt that it was best to hold on to whatever power she had, especially when that power was backed by the law.

It is also possible that by signing the oath, Emma was following the directions of her Queen. It was a chiefly custom to strategically place loyal followers where they could help pave the way for a ruler. The people closest to the Queen, the members of her staff, also signed oaths. These members include C. P. Iaukea,²⁷² J. H. Boyd,²⁷³ R. Hoapili Baker,²⁷⁴ and J. D. Holt, Jr.,²⁷⁵ all of whom were kaukau ali'i like Emma. Queen Lili'uokalani may have actually given Emma, given all of them, permission to sign the oath, with the hope that they could stay in the government and continue to serve the people, which was something that the Queen herself could no longer do. Whatever the case may be, it was not an easy decision for Emma to make.

We do know, however, that Emma did not favor the white elite, whatever documents she may have signed. Emma began publishing again once she was appointed water commissioner, and her next known piece appeared the same year as the overthrow, in the 1893 *Thrum's Hawaiian Annual*. Titled "The Punahou Spring," it recounts the story of two twins and how their escape from persecution by a jealous and greedy stepmother leads to the creation of both Kānewai and Punahou fresh water springs.

²⁷² "Oath of Loyalty #19" (Republic of Hawaii, 1894), Series 427: Oaths of Loyalty, Hawai'i State Archives.

²⁷³ "Oath of Loyalty #63" (Republic of Hawaii, 1894), Series 427: Oaths of Loyalty, Hawai'i State Archives.

²⁷⁴ "Oath of Loyalty #39" (Republic of Hawaii, 1894), Series 427: Oaths of Loyalty, Hawai'i State Archives.

²⁷⁵ "Oath of Loyalty #142" (Republic of Hawaii, 1894), Series 427: Oaths of Loyalty, Hawai'i State Archives.

Although it seems innocuous, just a story to be told, Emma finishes the legend with these words:

[The twins] occasionally visited Punahou, which was under their especial care and protection, but when the land and spring passed into the hands of foreigners who did not pay homage to the twins and who allowed the springs to be defiled by the washing of unclean articles and by the bathing of unclean persons, the twins indignantly left the place and retired to the head of Manoa Valley.²⁷⁶

A Native Voice

Emma continued to wield her powerful pen. She wrote at least fourteen more pieces over the next thirty years.²⁷⁷ She focused mainly on legends, to which the Republic and Territorial officials seemed to take little notice. Perhaps they continued to believe that myths did not pose any threat. But Emma certainly used her unique position to give voice to the culture of her people, and show that the rich history of Hawai‘i was something to be proud of. She was not performing her *kaukau ali‘i* duties in the same manner of her ancestors, but pride in being Hawaiian was certainly needed at the time, and that was something she could address.

Emma’s pieces include some well known stories such as “The Legend of the Shark-Man, Nanaue,” and “The Legend of Oahunui,” along with valuable informational

²⁷⁶ Thomas G. Thrum, ed., *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1893* (Honolulu, H. I.: Press Publishing Co. Steam Print, 1892), 104.

²⁷⁷ Between 1893-1923, I counted fourteen more pieces that we know of. This does not include “The Punahou Spring” (1893). She may have produced more pieces that have yet to surface. It should also be noted that this number does not include pieces that were reprinted in other publications. See Appendix A for a complete listing of Emma’s known works.

pieces such as “Ancient Hawaiian Water Rights and Some Customs Pertaining to Them.” Many of her works were contributions to the Hawaiian Historical Society or the Daughters of Hawai‘i, and were subsequently reprinted Thrum’s *Hawaiian Annual* as well as various newspapers. Emma’s one and only book was printed in 1904, under contract for the Hawaii Promotion Committee. She, along with others, had been asked to produce material that was meant to entice tourists to visit Hawai‘i. Emma, however, was no longer young and naive. She was a strong, experienced woman who had survived and even excelled against the odds. So she would write a piece for tourists, but she would do it on her own terms.

The book is comprised of legends she had already published, but in revised forms.²⁷⁸ In fact, the Pele and Hi‘iaka and the Kahalaopuna stories are so different from her 1883 originals that they could be considered new pieces. But perhaps the most telling feature of her book is the lengthy introduction to the Hawaiian Race. It displays her trademark style, that of educating those who are unfamiliar, but in the process of doing so, she also manages to speak to the greatness of Hawaiians, and how that greatness was ruined by the coming of foreigners.

Emma wasted no time in showing her intentions. Her preface is a declaration of her viewpoint and what she expects the reader to get from it. The reader is made aware from the very beginning that they are not simply reading legends, they are learning about a great people. The book begins:

²⁷⁸ See Appendix A for a complete listing of Emma’s known works, with a bulleted list of legends that are included in her book.

The Hawaiian Race is universally recognized as foremost among those of the Pacific archipelagoes, and there is much in its history to arouse interest.

With an unwritten record extending back 1,000 years, this people appeals to every student and observer. Gifted with an imaginative faculty well developed, a capacity to clothe thought in ornate language, and adorn recital with word picture, as well as a vocabulary that lends itself to poetic expression, the mele, or historical songs, are virile and have the swing of the trade wind.

This volume is intended only as an appreciation of the people at large; a chronicle of some of the most striking legends, each of which points a moral.²⁷⁹

In 1904, on the other side of the chaotic changing of governments and with the knowledge that being a part of the United States is likely permanent, she was, perhaps, also introducing her opinion on the difference between her people and those who had taken over her country. The preface goes on to state, “Aloha, the Hawaiian equivalent of affection, love of friends and family, patriotism and devotion, is breathed in every story, and sanctity of home, obedience to superiors and full justice are the mainsprings of each legend.”²⁸⁰

Emma’s appreciation of her own people runs throughout the text, with statements such as, “[t]hey had historians, genealogists, bards and poets, and all the concomitants of the mediaeval aristocracy of Europe or Asia;” “[t]hey were an industrious people. The

²⁷⁹ Nakuina, *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends*, preface.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

chiefs always took the lead in any industrial project so as to keep the respect and allegiance of their people;” and “[t]hey were tillers of the soil, with well-known rules and regulations for the cultivation and harvesting of every economical plant known to them.”²⁸¹ Soon enough, however, she begins commenting on the foreign influences on her culture. The comments are short at first, but soon they erupt into an entire paragraph. The culmination of such ideas are found not at the end of her introduction, but somewhere in the middle, as if to cover them up with more text afterwards so that whatever offense the reader might have felt will be forgotten before he gets to the first legend. The paragraph reads:

The change of habits and food, the compulsory clothing to come up to the white man’s standard of civilization, and not least, the introduction of many new and formerly unknown diseases, with the vices of the white man, the negro, the Chinese and the Japanese, added to his own rather light and natural sins, have played havoc in too many instances with the splendid physique that was the Hawaiian’s inheritance. The curse of drink in many cases transmits an enfeebled vitality to the children, and this, with ignorance of the ordinary rules of health under the present altered circumstances, very often causes a common cold to develop into a dangerous illness, when the ordinary foreigner would scarcely be inconvenienced by it.²⁸²

Emma had a lot to be angry about. By the time this book was published she had lost at least three children, a husband, her land, and her nation. It was the same anger that

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 14.

was felt by many of her people, and she was giving voice to it in a book for tourists. It is not surprising that the Hawaii Promotion Committee chose not to reprint it. But Emma had already fulfilled her purpose. She spent her life trying to educate as her means of fulfilling her *kaukau ali'i* duties of helping her people, and now all she could do to help them was to take their plight to anyone who would listen...in a seemingly innocent book of legends.

It is thanks to these enduring tales that Emma was not completely lost in the annals of Hawaiian history. She was well known in her day, but history had almost forgotten her. Thankfully her work, like *Kahalaopuna*, has been resurrected once again. She outlived six monarchs, four governments, and two husbands. She had seen more than her fair share of sorrow, but all the while she kept rising again and again demanding justice. Unlike her legendary *Mānoa* beauty, Emma finished at the top of the game, having reached a higher status than most women were even capable of in her time. An article in *The Independent* sums up her life best:

“THE INDEPENDENT is perhaps a day or two late in tendering its congratulations to Mrs. Emma M. Nakuina on her happy celebration of her 50th birthday, last Friday. Our newly arrived citizens are probably unaware that there are but few ladies in Hawaii nei who have wrought so much by deed, pen and words for the benefit of her race as Mrs. Nakuina. Full of the most accurate information as to her people, their history, traditions, manners and customs, she is endowed with the happy facility of wielding a pen cleverly and to the point. In the various public positions she has held through many years she invariably brought to bear a bright

intellect and a tactful experience, with strict fidelity to truth and integrity. May her years as they smoothly roll on bring to her added friendships and still greater respect and esteem.”²⁸³

Her knowledge and strength endures, and although she had to carve out her own way of serving her people, she left a clear path for those of us who choose to follow it.

Mana Wahine

Hawaiian society has always trusted in the mana of women. From as early as A.D. 1375, women served as Mō‘ī, first on O‘ahu island and later on Hawai‘i island.²⁸⁴ After Kamehameha’s passing in 1819, Ka‘ahumanu assumed the position of Kuhina Nui, and no one questioned her authority to do so. When Emma Kaleleonālani ran for the office of Mō‘ī in 1874, the populace would have elected her if they had been allowed to vote. During the reign of our last monarch, there were a few outspoken Hawaiian men who disagreed with Queen Lili‘uokalani’s politics, but they never challenged her ability to rule because of gender. Hawaiians knew that women were well capable of leading the people, and western influence did not change that. As one of our current Hawaiian female leaders, Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, has stated, “[e]ven where Hawaiian women have converted to Christianity, a religion that teaches female submission to male dominance, the inspiration of strong female ancestors lingers in our subconscious Hawaiian memory.”²⁸⁵

²⁸³ “Topics of the Day,” *The Independent* (Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, March 8, 1897), 3, c. 2.

²⁸⁴ Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, Ph.D., *Nā Wāhine Kapu: Divine Hawaiian Women* (Honolulu, Hawaii: ‘Ai Pōhaku Press, 1999).

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

Although our ali‘i women had the support of the Hawaiian people, they were still dismissed by foreigners who believed in male dominance. Throughout the fight to keep her plantation, Emma was consistently dismissed by men who thought she was overstepping her boundaries by trying to manage a business that legally belonged to her. This experience forged within her a desire to resist these western ideas. Haunani-Kay Trask, in her book *From A Native Daughter*, speaks to this: “Usually, this process means tremendous psychological tension as a conscious rejection begins with cultural habits first ingrained by a colonial education, a foreign language, and a fearful daily relationship with the dominant, white class....Ngugi Wa Thiongo call[s] it ‘decolonizing the mind.’”²⁸⁶

Emma was one of the few people who had the courage to speak out during the Republic and Territorial eras, and one could argue that being a woman allowed her better opportunities to do so. These white elite men were so convinced that women had no valuable knowledge that they could not be bothered to censure her. Her many works helped to decolonize the minds of her people long before the phrase was coined. Through her works her mana was passed on to the next generation, to help in the continued efforts to decolonize our people. Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa sums it up in this way: “As Hawaiian women, we are the intellectual as well as the physical descendants of our female ancestors, and in turn we will be ancestral inspiration for the generations to come.”²⁸⁷

Emma’s knowledge is still here for us to draw on, to look to when one needs inspiration. Although she would not live to see it, she was at the forefront in a fight that still exists today. In an essay titled “Women’s Mana and Hawaiian Sovereignty,”

²⁸⁶ Haunani-Kay Trask, *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1993), 115.

²⁸⁷ Kame‘eleihiwa, Ph.D., *Nā Wāhine Kapu*, 1.

Haunani-Kay Trask highlights four modern Hawaiian women who have emerged as leaders in the sovereignty movement. Trask describes all of them in the following paragraph:

“Educated in Western schools whose purpose is forced assimilation into foreign ways, these women have nevertheless resisted physical and psychological and spiritual colonization in a system that is dominated by foreign investment, by local corruption, and by anti-Hawaiian institutions. Disappointing the hopes of anthropologists and politicians who predict our political demise, these women remain magnificently steadfast against the enormous forces of corporate tourism and the organized greed of our local Democratic Party. And they have proven their commitment to protecting our Native heritage on the land, among our families, and in our hearts.”²⁸⁸

When I read this quote, I thought of Emma.

²⁸⁸ Trask, *From A Native Daughter*, 123–124.

APPENDIX A

Emma Kaʻilikapuolono Metcalf Beckley Nakuina's Known Works

This chronological listing includes books, reports, legends, and newspaper articles that are attributed in some way to Emma as author, translator, or contributor. This list is by no means extensive, as there may be other works that have not yet been identified.

Beckley, Mrs. Emma Metcalf. *Hawaiian Fisheries and Methods of Fishing with an Account of The Fishing Implements Used by the Natives of the Hawaiian Islands*. Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1883.

Kaili. "Hiiaka. A Hawaiian Legend by a Hawaiian Native. A Legend of the Goddess Pele, Her Lover Lohiau and her Sister Hiiakaikapoliopole." *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 25 – October 13, 1883. (Reprinted in Nimmo, H. Arlo. *Pele, Volcano Goddess of Hawai'i: A History*, 2011: 50-75.)

E. M. B. (Beckley, Emma M.). "Kahalaopuna: A Legend of Manoa Valley." *Saturday Press*, December 8, 1883: 2, c. 1-4. (Reprinted as "Kahalaopuna, Princess of Manoa" in Thrum's *Hawaiian Folk Tales*, 1907.)

Beckley, Mrs. Emma Metcalf. "The Legend of the Fishhook, called Na-iwi-o-Pae, now in the Government Museum." *Honolulu Almanac and Directory*, 1884: 39-40.

Beckley, Emma Metcalf. "Mrs. Beckley's Report on the Library," and "Mrs. Beckley's Report on the Museum." *Report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs [to the Legislature]*, 1884.

Beckley, Emma Metcalf. "Mrs. Beckley's Report on the Library and Museum," and "Mrs. Beckley's Report on Her Visit to Molokai." *Report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs [to the Legislature]*, 1886.

Alexander, W. D. (Beckley, Emma Metcalf and Harriet Green, translators). *He Buke No Ke Ola Kono No Kamalii*, 1887.

Nakuina, Emma. "Historical Catalogue of the Museum." Compiled between 1882-1887. This document is handwritten, and housed in the Bishop Museum archives.

His Hawaiian Majesty Kalakaua (Beckley, Mrs. E., contributor). *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii*, 1888. (Mentioned in the list of contributors in the preface. The book includes a version of "Kahalaopuna," which is most likely based on her version. However, it is possible that she made other contributions to this work.)

Nakuina, E. M. B. "The Punahou Spring: A Legend." *Hawaiian Annual and Almanac*, 1893. (Reprinted in *Hawaii's Young People*, Sept. 1901; Thrum's *Hawaiian Folk Tales*, 1907; and *Paradise of the Pacific*, March 1917.)

Nakuina, Mrs. Emma M. "Hawaiian Sharks." *Paradise of the Pacific*, June 1893: 82.

Nakuina, Mrs. Emma Metcalf. "Ancient Hawaiian Water Rights and Some Customs Pertaining to Them." *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual*, 1894: 79-84.

Nakuina, Emma M. "Caused by Poisoned Crabs, The Theory Advanced by a Well-known Hawaiian Woman." *The Hawaiian Gazette*, September 6, 1895: 7, c. 1-2.

Nakuina, Emma M. "The Woman's Relief Society, Officers Elected and Plans Made to Assist Hawaiians." *The Hawaiian Gazette*, September 10, 1895: 5, c. 6.

Nakuina, E. M. B. "The Legend of the Shark-Man, Nanaue." *Hawaiian Historical Society Annual Report*, 1896: 10-19. (Reprinted in Thrum's *Hawaiian Folk Tales*, 1907; *Hawaii's Young People*, October 1902; *Hawaii's Young People*, April 1915.)

Atkinson, A. T. and Emma M. Nakuina (contributor). "The Oldest Inhabitant," *Department of Public Instruction, Report of the General Superintendent of the Census*, 1896: 123-124.

Nakuina, E. M. B. "The Legend of Oahunui." *Hawaiian Annual and Almanac*, 1897: 90-95. (Reprinted in Thrum's *Hawaiian Folk Tales*, 1907.)

Nakuina, Emma Metcalf. *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends*. 1904. Contains:

- The Hawaiian People: 7-16.
- The Great Battle of Nu'uanu: 17-21.
- Pele, Goddess of Volcanoes: 22-25.
- Pele and Lohiau: 26-40.
- The Valley of Rainbows [a version of "Kahalaopuna."]: 41-45.
- Legend of Kaliuwaa: 46-51.
- Kaopulupulu and a Prophecy: 52-54.
- Kaululaau and Lanai: 55-58.
- Defeat of the Alapa: 59-60.
- Kamehameha's Last Heiau: 61-62.
- Kealakakua Bay: Capt. Cook: 63.

Nakuina, Mrs. Emma. *The Mo'o of Konahuanui*. Paper read at the Daughters of Hawaii meeting, 1906. [Have not found text; this is based on DOH meeting minutes stating that the paper was read.]

Nakuina, Mrs. E. M. Contributions to *Hawaiian Folk Tales* by Thomas G. Thrum, 1907. Contains:

- Kahalaopuna, Princess of Manoa: 118-132.
- The Punahou Spring: 133-138.
- Oahunui: 139-146.
- Ahuula, A Legend of Kanikaniaula and the First Feather Cloak: 147-155.
- The Shark-Man, Nanaue: 255-268.

Nakuina, Mrs. Emma. *Battle of Nu‘uanu*. Draft prepared for the Daughters of Hawaii, to be read at the unveiling of a plaque placed at the Pali Lookout, commemorating the battle, 1907.

Nakuina, Mrs. Emma. *The Hawaiian Coat of Arms*. Paper read at the Daughters of Hawaii meeting, 1911. [Have not found text; this is based on DOH meeting minutes stating that the paper was read.]

Nakuina, Mrs. Emma. *A Tradition of Kaimuki*. Paper read at the Daughters of Hawaii meeting, 1912. [Have not found text; this is based on DOH meeting minutes stating that the paper was read.]

Nakuina, Mrs. Emma. “The Royal Arms of Hawaii, to be Presented in Features of Program for Kauikeaouli Centenary.” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, March 15, 1914: 1.

Nakuina, Emma K. “The Legend of the Kawaiahao Stone.” *The Friend*, August 1919: 181-182.

Nakuina, Emma M. “The Legend of Kalaipahoa, The Famous Poison God of Molokai.” *Paradise of the Pacific*, May 1920: 31.

Nakuina, Mrs. Emma. “The Springs of Waialele.” *The Friend*, April 1923: 81-82.

APPENDIX B

Genealogy of Emma Ka'ilikapuolono Metcalf Beckley Nakuina

(compiled from: Nakuina, Emma Metcalf. *Hawaii, Its People, Their Legends*, 1904: 20-21; Nakuina, E. M. "Mrs. Nakuina's Statement." Lili'uokalani Trust Manuscript Collection, document dated August 30, 1918.)

Kanaloauoo (k) + "one of the tabu princesses of Kukaniloko" (w)
→ Kalanikupaulakea (w)

Kalanikupaulakea (w) + Nahili (k) → Kaheananui (k)
(Emma's great-grandmother) (a general for Kamehameha;
first governor of O'ahu)

One of the following two people is a child of Kalanikupaulakea (w) + Nahili (k):

Uilohilani (w) + Kekianui (k) → Ka'ilikapuolono (w)
(a.k.a. Manuwa) (a.k.a. Kaili Kahiolane)

Ka'ilikapuolono (w) + Theophilus Metcalf → Emma Ka'ilikapuolono

Emma Ka'ilikapuolono Metcalf + Frederick William Kahapula Beckley
(see Appendix D for their children)

This genealogy is incomplete. It has been pieced together from various sources, and there are still unknown links that cannot yet be confirmed. It should also be noted that there are 52 genealogy books located in the Hawai'i State Archives, and another 54 books in the Bishop Museum Archives. These books have not yet been searched for Emma's genealogy.

APPENDIX C

Genealogy of Theophilus Sabin Metcalf

(compiled from: Metcalf, Isaac Stevens. Metcalf Genealogy, 1898; and Morse, Abner. Memorial of the
Morses, 1850; multiple searches on www.newyorkroots.org; www.ancestry.com;
www.familytreemaker.genealogy.com; www.genforum.genealogy.com.)

Leonard Metcalf	+	Amy	→	Michael (b. 1587)
Michael Metcalf	+	Sarah Ellwyn	→	John (b. 1622)
John Metcalf	+	Mary Chickering	→	John (b. 1675)
John Metcalf	+	Mehitable Savels	→	John (b. 1704)
John Metcalf	+	Mary Fisher	→	Jabez (b. 1742)
Jabez Metcalf	+	Elisabeth Tenney	→	Irving (b. 1779)
Irving Metcalf	+	Lusinda Morse	→	Theophilus (b. 1818)
Theopilus Sabin Metcalf	+	Ka'ilikapuolono	→	Emma (b. 1847)

APPENDIX D

Genealogy of Frederick William Kahapula Beckley, Sr.

(McKinzie, Edith Kawelohea, compiled by. *Hawaiian Genealogies, Extracted from Hawaiian Language Newspapers, Volume 1*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002: 46-47; 55.)

Līloa (k)	+	‘Akahiakuleana (w)	→	‘Umi-a-Līloa (k)
‘Umi-a-Līloa (k)	+	Kapulani (w)	→	Keawenui-a-‘Umi (k)
Keawenui-a-‘Umi (k)	+	Koihalawai (w)	→	Kanaloakua‘ana (k)
Kanaloakua‘ana (k)	+	Kaikilani (w)	→	Keakealani (k)
Keakealani (k)	+	Kaleiheana (w)	→	Moana (k)
Moana (k)	+	Kanaloa (w)	→	Keaweiuiulani (k)
Keaweiuiulani (k)	+	Kaula (w)	→	Kapaliuweloa (k)
Kapaliuweloa (k)	+	Luukia (w)	→	Namahana (w)
Namahana (w)	+	Cox (he haole, k)	→	Halaki (w)
Halaki (w, Charlotte Cox)	+	Ho‘olulu (k)	→	Kaihe‘ekai (k)
				Mo‘oheanui (k)
				Kahinu (w)
				Kinoole (w)
Kahinu (w)	+	William Beckley	→	F. W. Kahapula (k)
				Maraea Kahaawelani (w)
				George Mooheau (k)
Frederick William Kahapula	+	Emma Ka‘ilikapuolono Metcalf	→	
Sabina Kahinu (w)				
Charlotte Halaki (died young)				
Frederick William Kahapula, Jr.				
Henry Ho‘olulu (died young)				
Lottie Kapahukuiokalaninuimehameha (died at age 19)				
Emily Kealohanui (died young)				
Fredericka Wilhelmina Ka‘ilikapuolono				

Line of Ho‘olulu

Lonoikahaupu (k)	+	Kalanikauleleiaiwi (w)	→	Keawepoepoe (k)
Keawepoepoe (k)	+	Kanoena (w)	→	(Twins)
				Kame‘eiamoku (k)
				Kamanawa (k)
Kame‘eiamoku (k)	+	Kahikoloa (w)	→	Ho‘olulu (k)
Ho‘olulu (k)	+	Halaki (w)	→	Kaihe‘ekai (k)
				Mo‘oheanui (k)
				Kahinu (w)
				Kinoole (w)

APPENDIX E

Genealogy of Moses Kuaea Nakuina

(compiled from: “Honor Memory of M. K. Nakuina” in *The Hawaiian Gazette*, August 8, 1911; “Moloka‘i Ali‘i Nui 2,” *Puke Mo‘okū‘auhau No HWST 341: ‘O Nā Mo‘okū‘auhau Ho‘okumu Honua e like me Kumulipo, Kumuhonua, Palikū me Kumuuli, mai Fornander, Malo a me Kamakau, a me nā Pākūhi Mo‘okū‘auhau o nā Moku ‘Elima Mai Wākea me Haumea Mai ā Hiki I ka Wā o Kamehameha*, pg. 187.)

Kamau-a-ua (k)	+	(wahine)	→	Kalanipehu (k)
Kalanipehu (k)	+	(wahine)	→	Kumakakaha-a-Kalanipehu (w)
Kumakakaha-a-Kalanipehu (w)	+	Kūikai (k)	→	Kānehoalani (k)
Kānehoalani (k)	+	Kau-a-Kawelo‘aikanaka	→	Kūkalaniho‘oulua‘e
Kūkalaniho‘oulua‘e (k)	+	Aialei (w) (descendant of Hākau, son of Līloa)	→	Kaiākea (k)
Kaiākea (k)	+	(wahine)	→	Pukaloheau (k)
Pukaloheau (k)	+	(wahine)	→	John Walker Nakuinaokalani
John Walker Nakuinaokalani	+	Rebecca Kawaluna	→	Moses Kuaea Nakuina

“His father, John Nakuina, was the youngest son of Pukaloheau, a son of Kekaiakea, mentioned in Fornander’s History as a prominent chief of Molokai during the Oahu invasion by Kamehameha the Great.”²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ “Honor Memory of M. K. Nakuina,” *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu, August 8, 1911), pg. 5.

APPENDIX F

Transcript of the Will of Theophilus Metcalf

dated February 28, 1866

(located in Probate #2420, In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf,
Hawai'i State Archives, folder 1, page 1)

In the name of God. Amen.

I, Theophilus Metcalf of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, one of the Hawaiian Islands, being now of feeble health, but of sound and disposing mind and memory, and being desirous of directing how the property, with which it has pleased God to bless me, shall be disposed of after my decease, do make, publish and declare this as for my last Will and Testament; hereby revoking all former Wills and Testaments, by me heretofore made.

First: it is my will and request that my remains after my decease, should be interred with all reasonable promptitude, and my funeral be conducted with becoming decency and propriety, but without any unnecessary or unreasonable pomp or expense; and that the expenses for my said funeral, shall be paid as soon after my interment as may be practicable.

Secondly: I do give, devise, and bequeath to my eldest daughter "Emma Metcalf" my plantation on the Island of Hawaii, commonly known as the Metcalf or Kaupakuea Plantation, together with all the crops that may be growing on the same, at the time of my decease, and all the Mills, Buildings, Machinery and furniture of the said Plantation, as the same may be at the time of my decease; and all the Horses, Oxen, Mules, Cattle and animals of every description, which may be upon the Estate, at the time of my decease, or which, having been purchased, may be intended for the cultivation thereof or for the maintenance of the persons employed on the same; and all the Carts, Plows, Yokes, Chains, and Agricultural implements of every kind that may at the time of my decease, be in use, or having been purchased, may be intended for use, upon my said Estate of "Kaupakuea,"

[page 2]

to have and to hold to my said daughter “Emma,” and to the heirs of her body, in lawful wedlock born. But on conditions as follows – first, that the proceeds of my said Plantation, and such of the proceeds thereof, as may, at the time of my decease, be in the hands of my Agents, shall be applied to the payment of the debts that may be chargeable upon my Estate, at the time of my decease, which I desire my Executors herein after named, to pay with all reasonable promptitude. Secondly: out of the proceeds of my said Estate of Kaupakuea the buildings Enclosures, furniture and grounds now occupied by me as a Residence, in “Manoa” Valley, on the Island of Oahu, shall be kept in good repair, and the family consisting of my said Daughter²⁹⁰

14 “Emma” and my daughters Ellen²⁹¹ and Julia, and my son Frank,
15 and their Grandmother “Minamina” shall be maintained as
16 at present, until my said son shall have reached the age
17 of Twenty One Years, the said support of my two younger
18 daughters and son, as well as their Grandmother being subject in the limitations and exceptions herein after expressed. Thirdly: out of the proceeds of my said Estate of Kaupakuea, my two daughters, Ellen and Julia shall have and receive the best education that can be procured for them, by executors, or their Guardians herein after mentioned and nominated, and all expenses for the same* as well as for their clothing and other reasonable and proper expenses*²⁹² shall be paid from the proceeds of my said Plantation, until my said daughters shall have [reached socially?] the age of Twenty years, it being my express desire that my said daughters should not be limited in acquiring any useful knowledge of accomplishments, for which they may betray any aptitude, or can be

²⁹⁰ The following lines are numbered in the original document because he later refers back to them specifically, using these line numbers as reference. For that reason, I have kept the line breaks and numbering for these lines only.

²⁹¹ This daughter is listed as Ellen in the first half of the document, then is later correctly listed as Helen. I believe that someone else scribed this document for him, as the handwriting does not match that of Theophilus Metcalf’s signature.

²⁹² The asterix appears in the original document, and the text that appears here within the asteriks is written vertically, in the margin on the original. On page 8, the writer specifically states that this note should be included in the text as indicated by the asterix. Therefore, I have inserted it where he intended the original note to be in this transcription.

persuaded to attempt the acquisition of—and my son Frank shall likewise have and receive as good an education as can be [provided?]²⁹³

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or afforded, and my executors shall pay or cause to be paid, out of the proceeds of my said Plantation, all expenses reasonably incurred for the purpose of the education of my said son, until he shall have arrived at the age of Twenty One Years—it being expressly understood that should my said son betray an aptitude for learning to any reasonable degree, and at a suitable age, be desirous of proceeding to the United States of America or Europe for the purpose of pursuing his studies, he shall be allowed so to do, and his reasonable expenses thereby incurred, shall be paid out of the proceeds of my said Plantation, by my Executors herein after provided for. And in case my said son shall elect to proceed to the United States or Europe for the purpose of education as aforesaid it shall be lawful for my said Executors to continue a reasonable allowance to my said son at their discretion, for two years after he (my son) may have reached the age of Twenty One Years. Fourthly: That on the arrival of each of my daughters Helen and Julia, at the age of Twenty Years, there shall be paid to the credit of my said daughters Ten Thousand Dollars, which said sums shall be securely invested by my Executors, in Government Bonds or on Bonds secured by Mortgage on Real Estate of the full and undoubted value of at least twice the sum invested; the interest of which said sums shall be paid quarterly; or at some other convenient time during each year, to the receipt or order of my said daughters—To use the interest on Ten Thousand Dollars to the receipt or order of my daughter Helen; and the interest on Ten Thousand to the receipt or order of my daughter “Julia”, from and after the Twentieth Birth day of each of them—it being however expressly understood, that if by reason of any to me unforeseen accident, or contingency, it should

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²⁹³ The pages split mid-word. There is a word beginning with “p” on page 2, with the letters “ed” at the beginning of page 3.

not, in the opinion of my Executors, be prudent to withdraw the said sums of Ten Thousand Dollars, each, at the time herein appointed, my Executors shall have such other reasonable time to do so as may be necessary; But as soon as my daughters Helen and Julia, or either of them shall commence to receive the income herein to them devised, they shall find their clothing and personal expenses out of the same, the provision made in the 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th line of the second page of this instrument, to the contrary notwithstanding. And it is my further will that all the devises made by this instrument to my said daughters, Emma, Helen and Julia shall be held and possessed by them free from all right of control, by any husband, to which either of them may be hereafter married. But if my daughter Emma shall decease not leaving heirs, lawfully born, as aforesaid, then it is my will that the Estate, to her the said Emma, by this instrument devised, to wit, my Plantation at Kaupakuea aforesaid shall descend to the Trustees of Oahu College, and their Successors in Office forever, to be used by the said Trustees, for the promotion of sound learning, in this Kingdom at their discretion, but on condition as follows—That the said Trustees of the said Oahu College do undertake to, and shall fulfill and discharge all the charges herein made, or sought and intended to be made upon the said Estate of Kaupakuea; and further that in case my daughter “Emma” shall have paid the Twenty Thousand Dollars, herein before charged on the said Plantation for the benefit of her two sisters Helen and Julia or any portion of the said sum, the Trustees of the said

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Oahu College shall pay to any person or persons, to whom my said daughter may by her Last Will and Testament direct, such sum as may have been paid by my said daughter Emma or my Executors, towards the aforesaid sum of Twenty Thousand Dollars, herein above directed to be invested for the benefit of my daughters Helen and Julia. And I further charge and direct my daughter “Emma” that she do keep the Plantation up to full working order, as far as in her lies, so that all my objects herein before expressed, may be fully accomplished in as much as she is able.

Thirdly: I do give and bequeath all the Real Estate of which I may be possessed at the time of my decease, situated on the Island of Oahu, together with all the furniture and my

library, at my residence in Manoa Valley in the Island of Oahu, and all the stock and personal property, which may at the time of decease, be in use at my said Residence unto my son Frank, to have and to hold to my said son, during the time of his natural life— subject however to the reservation herein before made viz that my said Residence, and the land thereto attached shall be used as a homestead as herein before set forth, and the products of the land, as well as the rent and proceeds of all the Real Estate hereby devised to my said son, shall be used to assist in maintaining the Domestic and Educational Expenses of my family _____ the minority of my said son; hereby charging my said son that he keep and maintain his Grandmother “Minamina” upon the said estate in a proper and becoming manner, it being my intention and will to make and, I do hereby make the maintenance of the said “Minamina,” after my decease, during her lifetime, a charge upon my said estate in “Manoa” Valley, upon which I at present reside

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and further charging my said son Frank, that he do maintain the same and keep it as a home and shelter for his sisters, in case that they or either of them should seek such home or shelter. And it is my further will, that if my said son shall decease, leaving children lawfully begotten, that the property, by this instrument to him bequeathed, shall descend to such heirs, but if he shall decease, not leaving lawfully begotten children as aforesaid, then the property so bequeathed to my said son shall be equally divided between my daughters Helen and Julia, should they both survive him, or to the survivor of them, it being however understood that if either of them, to wit either of said daughters, shall have deceased previously to the decease of my said son, leaving lawfully born children the said children shall take their mothers share, by representation.

Fourthly: Provided that either of my daughters, Helen or Julia shall decease leaving children born in lawful wedlock, it is my will that the property hereby devised to such daughter should descend to the children of such daughter. But if at the decease of either of them, the one so deceasing shall leave no children as aforesaid, the share of the deceased, invested as aforesaid, shall be divided equally between the surviving sister, and their brother Frank, or to the survivor of them and to their children by representation.

And I do hereby constitute and appoint Edwin O. Hall Esquire, Merchant, to be the guardian of any of my children that may be minors at the time of my decease— constituting however my daughter Emma Guardian of their persons and charging

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my said daughter Emma that she govern her house hold discreetly, with the advice of my friend Edwin O. Hall aforesaid, and most affectionately [express to?] my other children, that they pay careful heed to the advice of their sister, and of my friend, their Guardian.

And I do further constitute and appoint Gerritt P. Judd, Doctor in Medicine, Charles R. Bishop Esquire, Banker, and Edwin O. Hall Esquire, Merchant, all at present residing in Honolulu, Island of Oahu, Hawaiian Islands to be the Executors of this my last Will and Testament. And if any two of the three hereby by me nominated as my Executors shall not accept the trust, or having accepted thereof, shall decease, resign or remove his residence from this Country, then I do desire that the Supreme Court or any Justice thereof some one person the petition of the remaining Executor to be associated with such Executor in the discharge of the Trust by this instrument created, shall nominate and appoint.

And I do hereby bequeath all the rest, residue and remainder of the property of which I shall be possessed at the time of my decease, which said property has not been herein before specially mentioned and set forth, unto the Trustees of Oahu College to have and to hold to them and their Successors in office, forever, and to be by them devoted to the advancement of sound learning in this Country.

In testimony whereof I have herein to set my hand and seal as to my last Will and Testament, at Honolulu Island of Oahu, one of the Ha-

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waiian Islands, this Twenty Eighth day of February, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty Six, the instrument being written on seven pages beside this, each page of which I have signed in the margin and unto this I have fixed my seal, and having likewise signed with my initials a marginal note on the second page

which note is to be read in the body of the page at the * and is to be taken as part of this instrument in that connection, and the word "Plantation," whenever used in this instrument signifies all connected therewith, including stock and utensils.

[signed] Theophilus Metcalf

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the said Theophilus Metcalf, as and for his last Will and Testament, in presence of us, who at his request, and in his presence, and in presence of each other, have subscribed our names as witnesses hereto, the corrections in the 11th and 12th lines, at the words Julia in the 11th and "to the" in the 12th on page 6th being made before signature.

[signed] Charles C. Harris

[signed] John S. Walker

Hawaiian Islands

Oahu

Be it remembered that on this 22nd day of September A.D. 1866 the foregoing written Instrument was duly proven before me in the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands as and for the last Will and Testament of Theophilus Metcalf of Honolulu Island of Oahu late deceased, and certificate of probate was directed to be issued on the same to Dr. G.P. Judd one of the Executors to the Will. In testimony whereof I have here unto set my hand and cause to be applied the Seal of the Supreme Court the day and year last above written.

[signed] G. M. Robertson

Justice Supreme Court

APPENDIX G

Transcript of the Statement of Emma Metcalf Beckley filed September 16, 1874

(located in Probate #2420, In the Matter of the Estate of Theophilus Metcalf,
Hawai'i State Archives, folder 4, page 234)

My father died in San Francisco in August A.D. 1866. Frank and myself were there at the time. I returned immediately to the Islands, and very soon after my arrival, my father's will was put in court either by S. C. Allen who was living at our house or by Dr. Judd, I am not sure which. I was in court at the reading of the will. S. C. Allen at the time petitioned to have either himself or Mr. Walker appointed in place of Messers Bishop & Hall who had refused to accept the Executorship as nominated by my father. The Judge refused to entertain his petition on the ground that they were already interested, being Agents of the Plantation, and therefore, could not be supposed to be proper person to do justice to the heirs. Dr. Judd then nominated Frank Judd who was also refused. Subsequently Austin was appointed. I believe at Judd's request.

Dr. Judd immediately took charge of the management of the plantation. I expected it as expressly stated in the will, but Judd told me I would not be allowed to till the Tucker and Waller claim was settled and the debts paid.

[page 2]

What those debts were or what the amount, I never knew, beyond a vague idea that we owed Bishop & Co. who had a mortgage on all the property.

I made several attempts to get some knowledge of how affairs stood, and requested the Doctor to let me see the account of the Plantation, but was always refused, and told it was none of my business.

He told me They had come to the conclusion to allow me a hundred dollars a month to support the family. I was to take that and the Manoa property, ask no questions and be thankful for that much.

Who they were, I don't know, creditors I supposed.

When Walker and Allen failed S. C. Allen came to me and asked to be allowed to continue as Agents of the Plantation. I consented, but Dr. Judd just assumed the agency on his own authority and against my protest. That was about the end of the year 1866 I think.

From that time I had not the slightest knowledge of affairs, not from idleness on any part. I tried again and again till I was heart sick and wary, to get at least

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a voice in the management of the Plantation. Manoa was left entirely to me, but I didn't want that. It didn't and never could belong to me, by the terms of the will. I told the Doctor that it stood to reason, that he was appointed Executor to look out for the property of a minor, which the heir of Manoa was, and not of mine who was of age, and who by the time of the will which gave him power as Executor, gave me absolute control of my own. I was always snubbed and repulsed with sneering words, such as, "It is not your plantation and never will be, it belongs to the creditors and will take during all your lifetime to pay the debts, and after that it goes to Punahou."

Very soon after I was married, he told me he had received such news of the damage done to the plantation buildings and machinery by earthquake, and that together with Tucker and Waller suit decided _____ to sell the plantation. I went to Hilo that very afternoon some where about May 1867, and found the damages were mere trifles and unimportant, at least nothing to warrant the sinking of a plantation.

When I returned the Doctor had

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gone to San Francisco and his son Frank was acting for him. He had also given orders to have my allowance stop[p]ed. That was in June 1868 I think. If I remember rightly Frank did give me a month's allowance.

Two or three months after that I was startled by seeing and [an] advertisement in the papers for the sale at Auction of the whole Metcalf Estate. From that time, I tried

every way I knew to get Dr. Judd out of office, always stating as my reasons, his refusal to let me manage my own and his keeping me in ignorance of his doings.

I was advised to choose C. H. Lewers in his place. Lewers advised to have Mr. W. L. Green appointed to fight Dr. Judd, remarking at the time, that Dr. Judd was a “sly old rat who covered his tracks” and I would never get satisfaction by fighting him alone, and that it was necessary to get men of influence on my side. About that time the King began to take an interest in our affairs and to send me advice on by my husband as to what we should do. I was unwell at the time, expectation every day to be confined with my first child. I gave Green the required authority and what they done and how they manage to oust the Doctor out I never quite knew.

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Henry Thompson was my lawyer and as such, sent him to Mr. Green to act together, I being confined in bed.

Sometime afterwards I found out Mr. Green had dismissed him and employed Montgomery about my affairs, to what extent I don't know.

After he had got the Doctor out and during my illness Mr. Green came to me and told me he had bought for me through Mr. Widemann a debt against the Estate which amounted to \$11,000 for \$5,000 from James Robinson. I did not see the note, and never have, that was in October 1868.

When I as able to be up and around, I wanted to examine Dr. Judd's account, but was told by Green that my friends would tend to that.

The main thing then was to see to the condition of the Plantation.

He having heard very poor accounts of Tucker's management, I also had heard the same, and in fact knew more than Mr. Green, having better opportunities.

I had protested to the Doctor at Tucker's appointment as I knew him to be ut[t]erly unreliable. I wanted Waller.

I suggested my going up at once on

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the plantation to live, so as to exercise some sort of a surveillance over the manager, to which Mr. Green apparently(?) eagerly agreed, saying "it was the best possible thing that could be done under the circumstances."

It was also understood that if the stories against Tucker was true, he was to be dismissed and a manager we both approved of was to be appointed. I suggested Capt. West my relative by marriage, and Mr. Green agreed. In consequence of which West threw up his place on the "Kate Lee."

When I arrived on the Plantation, I found the worst kind of mismanagement. Carts, plows, tools and working implements of every description laying around rotting and uncared for every where, on the road, in the cane fields, in the grass and mud etc. The manager in an almost continued state of drunkenness. The books falsified. The laborers both native and foreign in a state of insubordination, cattle dying for want of care, etc. All of which I patiently set to work to correct, writing by every chance to inform Mr. Green.

Tucker died very suddenly, whilst I was carrying my investigations. I assumed management myself, making my husband

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out door overseer(?) and retaining all the employees, who were on the best terms with me. On the same vessel that brought West up to take management of the Plantation came Mr. Husband who had been appointed manager by Mr. Green, Hackfeld & Co. and Mr. Widemann.

I supposed they considered the common courtesy of informing West of the change unnecessary, being my appointee.

I was naturally very much disappointed, as we seemed to have the fullest possible understanding that West was to be manager, and they had gone to work and appointed

one without the slightest reference to my wishes in the matter, and of whom I had heard only the very poorest accounts. As the Idea of my going on the plantation was, that West was to be manager, being my relative, in whose honesty unvariable good nature and ability to get along with every body concerned, I have the fullest confidence.

That my husband was to be one of the lunas receiving only salary due to one in that position to support us, that I was to only exercise a sort of general overseeing to guard against waste and mismanagement and that we were to practise the strictest economy personally and generally till our

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liabilities were satisfied.

On Husband's arrival I told him candidly that I did not expect him, and disapproved of his appointment.

He answered he was sor[r]y I did not approve of him as manager but that he had received his commission as such from those who only had the power to give it, and that I could not help my self, and that he thought most likely he and I could not get along together on the Plantation and that it was best for me to go off of it.

He turned me out of the very room I was occupying saying he wanted it as he expected his wife up, and that I could occupy a small corner room untill I got ready to go off for good.

I came right straight to Honolulu and complained to Mr. Green, but never got the slightest satisfaction. He also told me it was best for me to leave the management of affairs entirely into their hands and that he would require Mr. Husband to appologise for insulting me, and that's all. He stated that creditors would not allow it other wise.

And the result of my trying for over a year to get Doctor Judd out, so that

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I could get a hand in the management of affairs, was to be turned out of my own house and land by the very power of attorney I had given Mr. Green to get Judd out, this was in March 1869. I never saw an account or had the slightest knowledge of affairs from that time till the day of the transfer to Afong & Achuck.

What they had been doing in the meantime, and who this formidable “they” were who had got all the power and control of our property, I don’t fully know, even to this day. I had not received a cent from the plantation for over a year and was supporting the family the best way I could, and you may well believe it took every cent my husband could earn to do that, consequently I had no money to obtain redress by law, if I had been ever so much inclined.

Executors, Agents, etc. could raise money on Plantation account for any law proceedings of theirs, but for me the heir not a cent.

It was in the night about 2 or 3 o'clock in month of June of the following year, when a soldier aroused me with the information that the King wanted to see me immediately. Stating also that he had spent the whole day and night till then

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in hunting for me.

Sometime was spent in catching a horse, and just at dawn I started for the Palace with my husband, not knowing but that I was going to be charged with high treason or something of that nature.

On our arrival the King was not up, and we had to wait in dread and expectancy till about half past seven or eight o'clock.

He finally had to be waked up, His first words on seeing me were “Ah! Mrs. Beckley where were you yesterday? I sent every where for you. I want you to sell your plantation to Afong, He has made an offer of sixty eight thousand dollars (\$68,000) for it. You take it, Mr. Harris tells me your creditors have combined to push you, I have promised to help you, but just now I am pilikia my self, and I have also been advised that

it would be unwise to lay my money out on your Plantation as it is in a dreadful condition. In fact, “going to the dogs.” Your liabilities it seems are forty thousand dollars (\$40,000) that will leave you (\$28,000). Take it, a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

Go right off and close that business and come back to breakfast and tell me

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all about it. Afong has paid a hundred dollars already to retain the “Kate Lee” till this is settled.”

I was so thunderstruck, not expecting any thing of the kind, I sat unable to say anything or even realize the whole meaning of his words. Seeing which, I suppose, he said, I am very sor[r]y for you, but it can’t be helped. If you don’t go and close that business to day they will put every thing on the market, and you be turned out of house and home.” I went at once to Mr. Green. I can’t repeat every thing he said to me word for word, I was by that time so dazed and in a state of despair, I can only remember he said little, but that was that the creditors wanted their money right off, and if I did not accept Afong’s offer that they would force every thing on the market tomorrow and turn me out of house and home.

I was to make up my mind immediately as they had agreed with Afong to pay the hundred dollars a day for the retaining of the “Kate Lee” in case I didn’t come to a decision on the second day, which that was.

I was to[o] dazed to take notice

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of much, or to take in the full meaning of what was said to me, except the fact that I was to lose my all.

Mr. Green said so, and what he said, he could do. He had given the power to a person to come and turn me right off of the plantation and what was to prevent him from doing what he threatened, especially when he had the King, Mr. Harris, Hackfeld &

Co. and “they” to back him. Here was the culmination to the series of insults and injuries I had received in regard to the property from the time my father died.

I remember they had got hold of my uncle West to di(?) the same story into me of the advisability of agreeing to what they wanted. Mr. Pfluger also told me I would have to do it, That “it was the only thing that could be done.” Mr. Harris also, put in his oar to the same effect.

After they were all through their talk, I was asked to sit down in the back of Mr. Green’s office as they were not quite ready, and there I sat alone, unwashed, uncombed, half dressed only wihtout a mouth full of food, just as I was

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when I started from home before day light, too miserable and desperate, to even think of my appearance. There was a good deal of running in and out, and finally Mr. Harris began to read an instrument, a little while before I had found out some how, I believe in the course of Harris’ conversation that \$40,000 was the sum Afong was to pay, I remember I said the King had given me to understand it would be \$68,000. Mr. Harris then when Afong came in, made some show of hag[g]ling over the price an finally they settled it I believe, at \$46,000. Mr. Green telling me at the same time for my satisfaction that “that would just cover every claim against the estate and leave Manoa free.” Very satisfactory, when I was perfectly aware that by the terms of father’s will Manoa went to Frank.

Mr. Harris said some thing about his get[t]ing the court to allow me a share in that, by right of having paid my father’s debts with my share. But I scarcely attended to what he said, the only clear idea in my mind was I would have to sign. If I didn’t they would put every thing at auction, and most likely bid it in for such sums as they

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chose. As far as I could tell, “they” seemed to include all the business men of influence and money, such as Bishop & Co, Hackfeld & Co, Mr. Widemann, Mr. Green and others, and worse of all they had the King on their side. I no more dared disobey the King’s

command, than attempted to fly. Make an enemy of the King as well as They and we would all starve.

I only remember reading over mechanically and signing one instrument. it is possible I have have signed two with the idea of a duplicate, one for Afong and one for my self. I hav[e]n't the slightest remembrance of reain two, I am sure I did not. I would most likely have signed a doger(?) if they had wanted it at the time. What did it matter any how, the only thing I could realize was that my property would have to go any how, and at the time I didn't quite appreciate the honor of being made guardian angel to Frank's property at the loss of mine. I don't know who were in the room at the time. I know Mr. Harris had politely dismissed my husband by telling him he wasn't required.

I hadn't the slightest remembrance of acknowledging to Mr. Paty, but he may

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have been in the room and saw me sign. It was as much as I could do, to keep back my tears sufficiently to enable me to write my name.

As soon as it was over some where about ten or eleven o'clock I went up to the Palace to tell the King as he wanted.

He expressed surprise when I told him the sum Afong was to pay. I didn't see a cent of the money. Subsequently Mr. Green sent word that I was entitled to some money in virtue of that note of my father's that Widemann had bought in for me. I received in small installments altogether about \$1300 or \$1400 thirteen or fourteen hundred dollars.

Emma Metcalf Beckley

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