

CHORIS AND
KAMEHAMEHA



jean ^{by} Charlot

Errata

- Page 32, figure 17: For 14 read 16
- Page 33, figure 18: For 14 read 16
- Page 39, figure 22: For 16 read 21
- Page 51, figure 32: For 3 read 4
- Page 53, figure 33: For 4 read 6

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CHORIS AND
KAMEHAMEHA



Jean Charlot



Louis Choriz.

*CHORIS, UNPUBLISHED SELF PORTRAIT. UNIQUE PROOF OF LITHO-
GRAPH PRINTED IN PARIS BY LANGLUMÉ. PUBLISHED HERE BY
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PREFACE

Of the five studies brought together here for the first time, only one, the third, has been published integrally, in the sixty-first annual report of the Hawaiian Historical Society. The first and second have appeared in abridged form in *Paradise of the Pacific*. The fourth and fifth are unpublished material.

These five studies revolve around two persons, Kamehameha the Great and a man less known in history, who nevertheless contributed much to our concept of Hawaiian culture, the artist Louis Choris. These two men met only once, and on a single day, November 24, 1816. What exactly happened during that meeting is still a question of concern and still controversial.

I hope the reader will be patient with minutiae, and forgive the unavoidable repetitions in the course of the story-telling. The scope of Hawaiian art history is not so vast that one can lose sight of personalities in the esthetic quest. Studying this problem and attempting its solution has afforded me an opportunity to get better acquainted with the two men, and both the king and the artist have proved to be well worth knowing.

J. C.

I

CHORIS AND THE CHIEFESS: A STUDY IN ART-MAKING

Louis Choris, draftsman with the Von Kotzebue expedition, visited the Hawaiian Islands in 1816, an era of early contacts between European explorers and natives. Paul Gauguin, who landed in Tahiti at the end of the same century, was hard-pressed to reconstruct its pagan past from the fragments that had escaped the efficient big stick of French colonial administrators. Was Choris' task easier than that of Gauguin?

Conditions which confronted the Russian draftsman in 1816 were not substantially different from those the French painter faced in 1881. Whereas in the eighteenth century, seamen could admire in their primitive nudity the bodies of warriors and of princesses, a hasty assimilation of foreign manners had already queered this Garden of Eden simplicity when Choris arrived. At the time of his visit, lower class natives, for want of a choice, still went close to naked. Men and women of high rank, however, bundled themselves proudly in dubious imported clothing that lacked, at least to a foreign eye, the picturesque dignity of ancient fashions.

In this first study, our concern is with the story of a single print by Choris, the portrait of a chiefess, published in his "Voyage pittoresque autour du monde." This plate, which forcefully evokes a pagan paradise, must have brought a sigh to the armchair traveler of old, as he leafed through the pages of Choris' album. The reader of today, looking at this successful evocation, may envy the men of Choris' generation.

The documents on which the study is based are two watercolors owned by the Honolulu Academy of Arts, and a plate, "Sandvichanka," from the Russian first edition of Von Kotzebue's voyage around the world.

The two watercolors are of a size, and were mounted by Choris himself on a single mat, as if to suggest some relationship. Each represents a woman squatting in a static pose, arms folded and "looking at the photographer." Choris was usually pressed for time, jotting down lines from life in hit-and-run fashion, and scribbling color notes in the margin to be acted upon later. Exceptionally, these two watercolors are drawn and painted from life, as the patient expressions of the models, the fleeting light effects that hover over the forms, and the spatial rendering of backgrounds suggest.



FIGURE 1. WOMAN SEATED, WATERCOLOR, HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS.



FIGURE 2. CHIEFESS SEATED, WATERCOLOR, HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS.

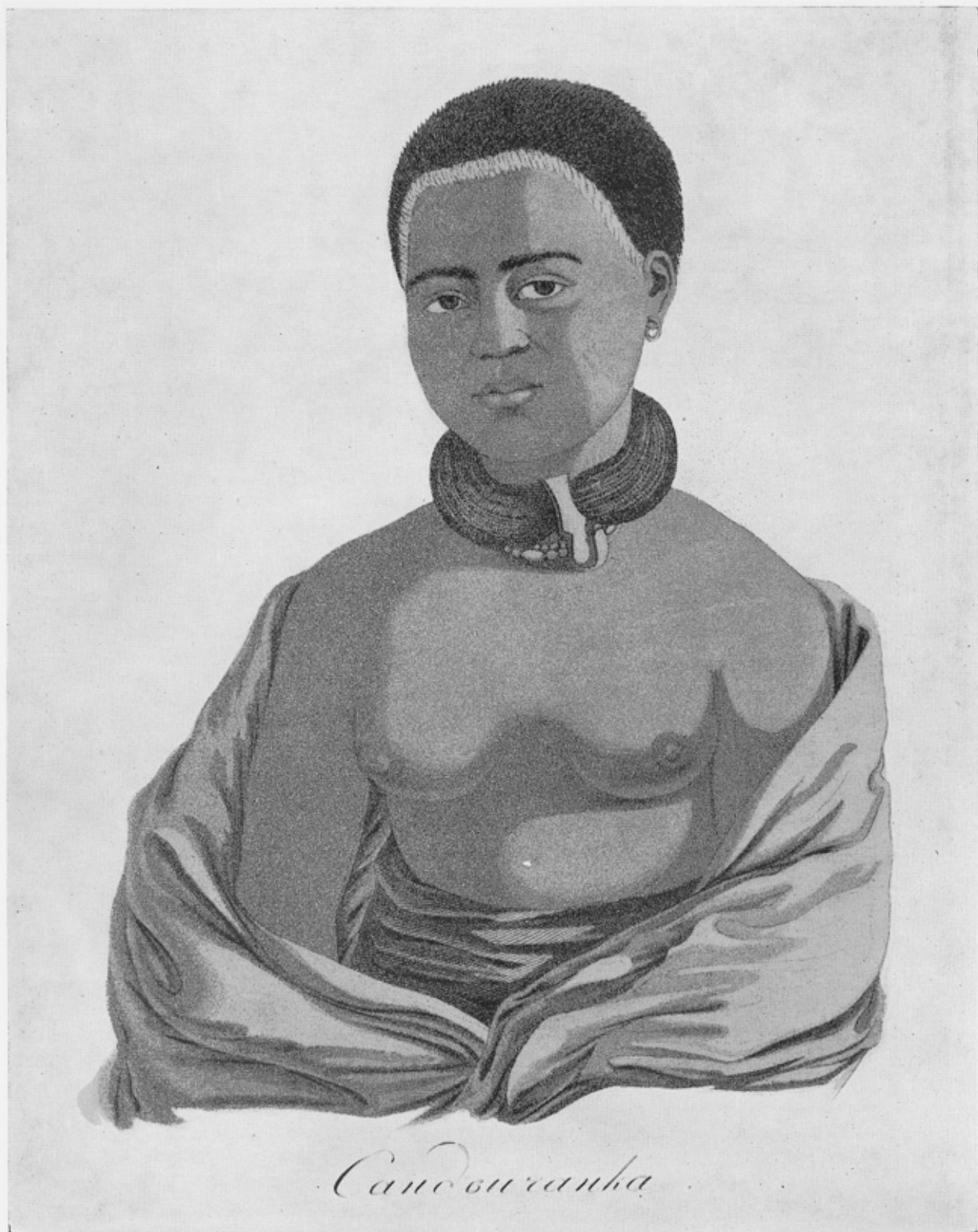


FIGURE 3. "SANDVICHANKA," AQUATINT, RUSSIAN EDITION OF VON KOTZEBUE'S VOYAGE, 1821.

Technically alike, the two watercolors depict contrasting models. One is a woman of the lower classes, a menial in the suite of a royal princess perhaps. Wrapped in the native *pa'u* which leaves the torso bare, she squats in a cringing posture. Her stooped back and rather flabby anatomy suggest anything but the beautiful or the heroic (fig. 1).

The second watercolor represents a woman of rank, dressed in European clothing. The skirt is rather nondescript, but the striped blouse, of the texture of organdy, with ruffles at the neck and sleeves, holds a whiff of the rococo of the eighteenth century. A necklace of beads may be home-strung, but the beads themselves are of a type acquired by barter, possibly from American traders. A native touch is the *lei palaoa*, or whale-tooth pendant, hung from elaborately arranged braided strands of human hair, a symbol of the high rank of the wearer. Equally native is the curious hairdo, which Choris describes elsewhere in words, wherein the hair is cut short at the hairline and bleached with lime baths, in startling contrast to the mass of natural black hair and the swarthy complexion of the face (fig. 2).

"Sandvichanka" (Woman of the Sandwich Islands) is a plate from the Russian first edition of Von Kotzebue's official report. Naturally enough, this print lacks the fresh, impromptu quality of the watercolors. As draftsman of an imperial scientific expedition, Choris would have toned down his art to meet his employers' standards. Technically, also, there is a change of pace. The drawing has been translated for publication into a combination of etching and aquatint, a medium for which the artist shows little affinity. The outlines are transferred sheepishly, and the modelings simplified in stencil fashion. The plate has been printed in a tawny buff that lacks accent (fig. 3).

"Sandvichanka" is a conscious blend of the two dissimilar models that posed for the watercolors. From the one, Choris has borrowed the bare torso, better attuned to a returned traveler's tale than is a calico blouse. In the original, the *pa'u* reaches to the breasts. By lowering it somewhat and by straightening up the cringing posture, Choris suggests a woman at ease in nudity. The pose, the head, and the accessories are all borrowed from the other watercolor. There are corrections: a hesitant search for proportions scars the face of the chiefess with multiple *pendimenti* lines around cheek and neck. These have now been erased and the texture of the flesh softened. The *palaoa* is moved from a frontal to a three-quarter position to better display the hook characteristic of this traditional form. However, as the body remains unchanged, an awkward twist results, and the bone pendant, which should fall into place on the median axis of the torso, tends to rest on the left shoulder. The necklace of bartered beads shows under the native lei, and a metal ring adorns the one visible ear. Lesser details, such as the pattern of light and dark on the forehead that ends on a vertical line, clinch the relationship between watercolor and aquatint.

Blending the two models into one type proved more than a conscious device. Esthetic intuition was at work, and went farther than the eye could see. As published, the woman acquires a gentle dignity—a native virtue expressed by the Hawaiian word *'olu'olu*—that, paired with nudity, recaptures the flavor of a pagan culture unmarred by foreign inroads.

The final link in our sequence is plate XVII of the section on Hawaii in Choris' own folio, "Voyage pittoresque autour du monde," that was published in Paris. "Femme des Iles Sandwich" is startlingly different from its prototype, the Russian "Sandvichanka." Whereas scientific validity was expected of Von Kotzebue's formal report, Choris here was on his own, free to do as he pleased. In the 1820's with a man in his early twenties, this meant pre-romantic leanings. Von Kotzebue's "Sandvichanka" remains close to the truth even though filtered through a corrective process. "Femme des Iles Sandwich" is reworked to the artist's own taste. Befitting a Rousseauesque idea of the noble savage, it borders on the fabulous (fig. 4).

Technically, the French plate is the better of the two. It is a lithograph, and Choris proved more at ease drawing with crayon on stone than manipulating the surface of a metal plate. The figure, now seen from the left, is posed after the watercolor of the blouseless woman, and duplicates the curve of its shoulders and the slant of its left arm. From the same source comes the change in the axis of the head now upright instead of slanted downward as in the aquatint. Tired shadows under the eyes, underlined in the painting, are eliminated, and the smile, barely suggested before, is now warm with welcome. Hairdo, earrings, and necklaces are those of the princess. The string of beads and the *palaoa*, unlike the body, are in the same position as those etched in the aquatint. As a result, the unnatural twist in the Russian print is eliminated, and the bone hook hangs normally between the breasts.

The lowering of the loincloth, or *pa'u*, which had but an indecisive start in "Sandvichanka," now drops boldly to the hips, with some of the best crayon work modeling the navel in full light. A startling change of proportions transforms the woman into a giantess, her form forever free of stays or corsets. As beautiful as a goddess, yet poles apart from the Greek, she might be a prefigure of one of the dark beauties that Baudelaire was to worship.

Indeed, it was only by turning his back on all models and letting his memories of Hawaii become dream memories that Choris could evoke such a one. Here, as happened later with the work of Gauguin, the distortions proved even more meaningful than the observed facts. Art has been defined as a truth expressed through the means of a lie. "Femme des Iles Sandwich," bypassing the bastard cultural moment of the 1820's, illustrates forcefully the heroic mood of ancient chants and myths to which Choris never had access. That he failed to see with his own eyes what this beautiful plate reveals is but a further tribute to his artistry.

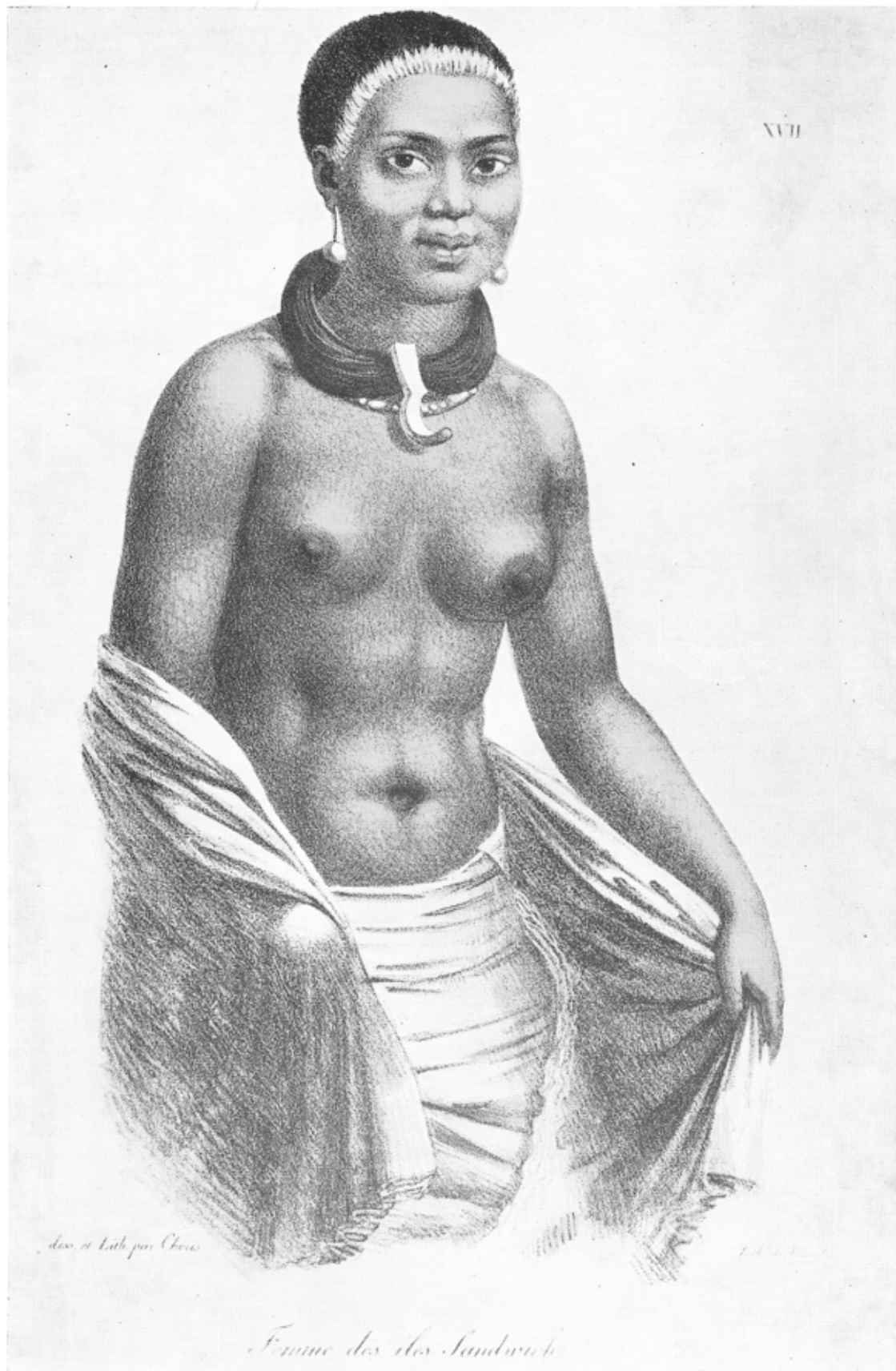


FIGURE 4. "FEMME DES ILES SANDWICH," LITHOGRAPH, CHORIS, "VOYAGE PITTORESQUE AUTOUR DU MONDE..." PLATE XVII.

II

KAMEHAMEHA'S RED VEST

On November 24, 1816, as draftsman with the Von Kotzebue expedition, Choris painted King Kamehameha from life. Landing at dawn, Choris was received by the king, who was imposingly dressed in native fashion, girded in a red malo, with a black tapa cloak thrown over the royal shoulders. Later that same morning, with the portrait in mind, Kamehameha changed to European clothing. Choris relates: "Imagine my surprise on seeing this monarch display himself in the costume of a sailor; he wore blue trousers, a red waistcoat, a clean white shirt and a necktie of yellow silk."¹

A native king, strutting for his portrait in the nondescript attire of a sailor, makes good reading. It conjures the picture of a savage, innocent of culture, prizing above his own royal attire what scraps of discarded foreign clothing had fallen his way.

Satisfying as it may be to some, this amusing picture is deceptive. When he posed for Choris, the king had worn European clothing when, and as, he saw fit for more than twenty years. In the light of history, the celebrated sailor's suit could not have been what it appears to have been, an awkward, if innocent, faux pas. Its choice by the king may even have meant more than a casual whim.

Perhaps the first European article of clothing that Kamehameha owned was a printed linen gown that Cook had once given to Kalaniopuu, and that fell to Kamehameha with the spoils of the war carried on in Hawaii in the 1780's.² Vancouver, in 1793, presented Kamehameha with at least three cloaks. The most splendid of the three—doubtless tailored specially in London for barter in strange lands—failed singularly in the decorum one expects of an English tailor, "The king . . . was presented with a scarlet cloak, that reached from his neck to the ground, adorned with tinsel lace, trimmed with various coloured gartering tape, with blue ribbons tied to it down the front."

On receipt of this dubious gift, Kamehameha, the owner of most splendid mamō cloaks, was obliging enough to act as was expected of him, "The looking glasses being placed opposite to each other displayed at once the whole of his royal person; this filled him with rapture, and so delighted him that the cabin could scarcely contain him. His extasy produced capering . . ."³

¹ Note numbers are consecutive and refer to the list on page 65.

In 1796, when he boarded Broughton's ship, the king was dressed in European clothes. It was not, however, Vancouver's gaudy cloak that he used, but his own magnificent yellow one.⁴

In 1812, the Prince Regent of England sent, together with more practical gifts of hardware, "a tri-cornered hat adorned with plumes, and a full-dress uniform of red cloth, embroidered with gold."⁵ The gift reached the king in 1816, in time to display himself in it to Choris, had he so wished.

In 1818, Golovnin saw the king dressed in the uniform of an English naval captain⁶—dark blue with yellow lapels. It must have been in the king's possession since the earlier years when British influence was ascendant.

Kamehameha's dealings with the English had substantially increased his wardrobe. His dealings with the Russian Crown, or rather with the Russian American Company of Alaska, proved equally fruitful. In 1809, the king appeared on board Hagenmeister's ship "dressed as a European, in a blue coat, and gray pantaloons . . . A handsome scarlet cloak, edged and ornamented with ermine, was presented to him from the Governor of the Aleutian Islands." The time was long passed when such an article, expressly designed for barter in barbarous lands, could send the king into ecstasy. Campbell, an eyewitness, notes, "After trying it on, he gave it to his attendants to be taken on shore. I never saw him use it afterwards."⁷

In 1816, Doctor Scheffer, acting for Baranov, clothed Kamehameha in the uniform—green with gold collar and gold frogs—of a Russian naval staff officer. He also received a large silver medal of the order of Saint Vladimir, and a shrewd suggestion: the uniform, medal and all, was "to be worn on all occasions of public gathering and upon the arrival of all foreign or Russian ships."⁸

In November 1816, the visit of the Von Kotzebue expedition constituted an important event for the islands. Was the nondescript attire chosen by Kamehameha to receive the Russian captain simply ignorance or careless whim, as it seems on the face of it? There is a faintly puzzled note in what Von Kotzebue wrote later, remembering this day: ". . . Even Tameamea himself, for his usual attire, wore only a shirt, trousers and red waistcoat, without a coat; he possessed, however, many richly embroidered uniforms, but kept them for grand occasions."⁹

Since the 1780's, Kamehameha had been courted, fawned over, and at times deceived by rival powers who coveted his land. He quickly understood how the scarlet cloaks and pretty suits of clothes—be they red, green, or blue—meant more than the baubles they appeared to be. Had not the red uniform been linked by haole magic to the brief surrender of the Hawaiian Islands to England? Had not the green uniform implied surrender to the Russian Crown? The king learned to be cautious of such symbolic values.

As a result of past experiences, some thought must have gone into the choice of a costume in which to receive the Von Kotzebue mission. Had he been less

acute, the king would have used as most appropriate the green Russian naval uniform with the large silver medal, meant, in Baranov's written instruction, "to be worn . . . upon the arrival of all foreign or Russian ships." Kamehameha, during the first tense moments in which he pondered whether the strangers brought peace or war, chose instead to receive them in native dress—the red malo and black tapa cloak—thus emphasizing, along the lines of haole thinking, his political independence.

After the preliminary talks, and once peace was assured, Kamehameha felt it safe to change to the European clothing that he usually wore to greet important visitors. He would not have thought of wearing the Russian uniform, a discarded relic of the distasteful Scheffer episode. On the other hand, formal English attire, be it blue or red, might have held for the Russians aggressive undertones. Hence, the sailor's vest, a solution disarming in its simplicity.

The following year, 1817, Von Kotzebue again stopped at Hawaii for provisions, and paid a visit to the old king that was to be his last. This time, Kamehameha had been tuna fishing and was stark naked when he received the Russian captain. When time came to get dressed, relates Von Kotzebue, ". . . His wardrobe was now fetched, which consisted of a shirt, a pair of old velveteen small-clothes, a red waistcoat, and a black neckcloth; and, without any ceremony he dressed himself in my presence."

By then, the Russian traveler knew very well that this was no savage king, aping our manners in hit-or-miss fashion, but a truly great man. As a key to Kamehameha's eccentric sartorial habits, the Russian quotes the king's own words to one of his white advisors, Elliot de Castro, "The uniforms which King George wears shine very much, but can be of no service to me, because Tamaah-maah outshines everything!"¹¹



FIGURE 5. "ENTREVUE DE L'EXPEDITION . . ." LITHOGRAPH, CHORIS, "VUES ET PAYSAGES . . ." PLATE XVIII.

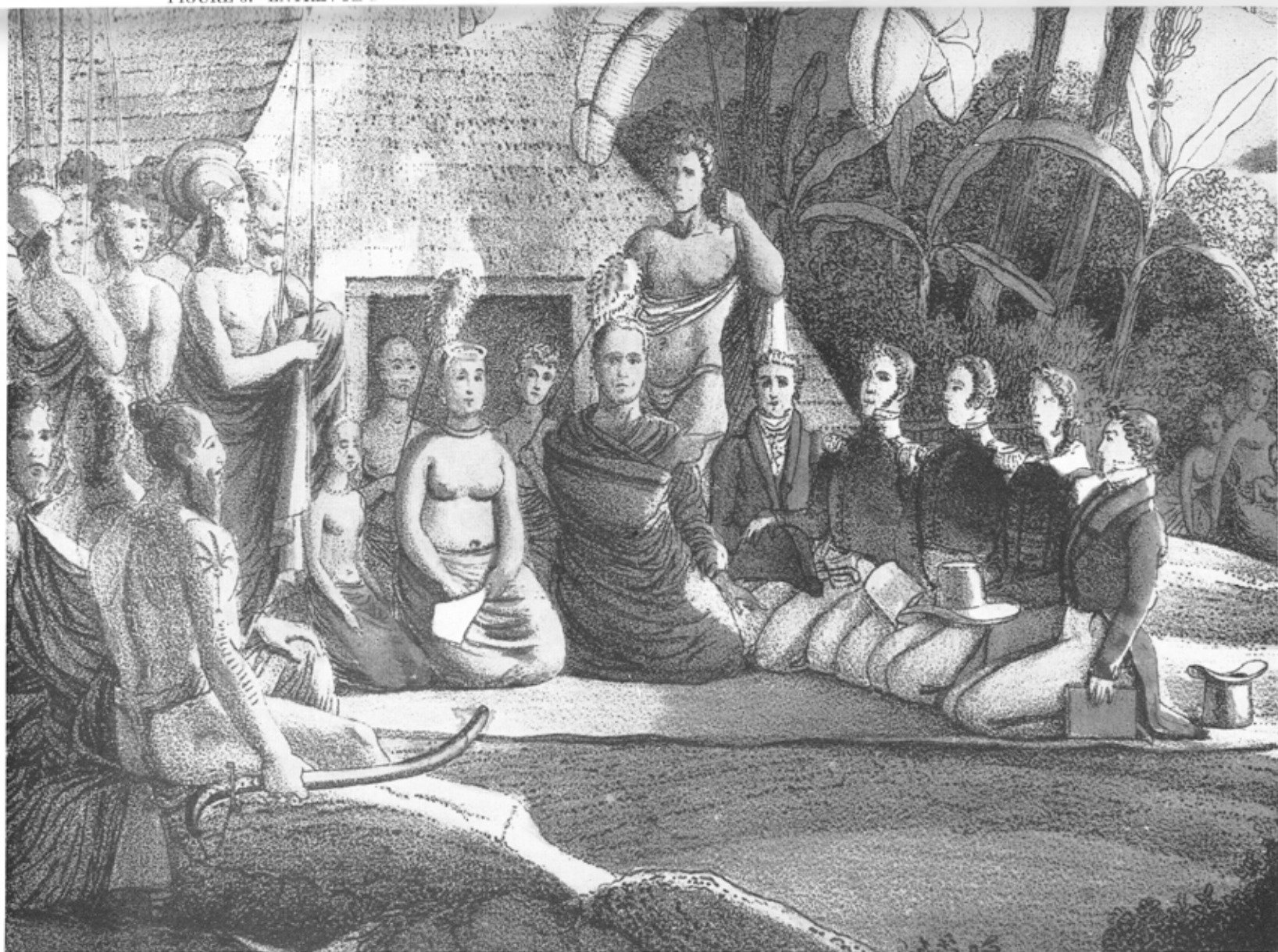


FIGURE 6. DETAIL OF 5: RECEPTION OF THE EXPEDITION.



FIGURE 7. DETAIL OF 6: KAMEHAMEHA IN A BLACK CLOAK.

III

CHORIS AND KAMEHAMEHA

This study of the portraits that Choris painted of Kamehameha is based on well-known documents: the published texts of Von Kotzebue and of De Chamisso, and Choris' own reports with pen, pencil, and watercolor brush.

My only excuse for going once again over this material, which has been analyzed with deep insight by Huc-M. Luquiens, is that my conclusions differ markedly from his.¹²

At daybreak on November 24, 1816, the ship *Rurick* faced the coast of Hawaii. Captain von Kotzebue had previously been advised of a strong anti-Russian feeling in the air, a result of the awkwardly aggressive maneuvers of the Russian Scheffer against Kamehameha's political primacy. There were also the spiteful threats of Russian sailors, dissatisfied with the details of their provisioning, who had sworn not long before that they would send a warship to annex the archipelago.

Acting cautiously, and perhaps not unmindful of the lethal unpleasantness suffered by Captain Cook, Captain Von Kotzebue chose to stay on board. He sent as his emissaries to the king—as more expendable than sailors—those men he quaintly chose to call “our scientific gentlemen”: Eschscholtz, a doctor whose hobby was zoology, Adelbert de Chamisso, the botanist of the expedition (whose habit of drying his “herbs” in the sun on deck irritated the captain), and Louis Choris, the artist. Together with Elliot de Castro, who had boarded the ship in San Francisco, who knew Kamehameha, and who was to act as interpreter, they were put over in the small boat, “in order to acquaint the king with the object of our voyage.”

The landing of the small craft at dawn must have been dramatic. The scientific gentlemen could observe the swift moves on shore of groups of warlike figures, and surmise that they themselves were the object of such martial preparations. Some uncertainty as to their immediate fate must have mingled with the awe with which they made ready to meet Kamehameha, already famous as the Napoleon of the Pacific. For Choris, always the artist, the hues of dawn lent color and form to these mixed emotions.

De Chamisso left us a word picture of the landing: "On the shore, countless people were under arms. The old king, in front of whose house we landed, was sitting upon a raised terrace, surrounded by his wives, and dressed in his native costume, the red *malo* and the black *tapa*, the wide beautiful folded cape of black cloth."

Choris noted, "Tammeamea received us frigidly."

This first awesome sight of the king is recorded graphically by Choris in "Vues et Paysages des Régions Equinoxiale," plate XVIII, entitled, "Entrevue de l'expédition de M. Kotzebue avec le Roi Tamméaméa, dans l'île d'Ovayhi." (See figure 5.)

The beautiful plate is preeminently a landscape. It is only by focusing on the clustered humans that the historical importance of the scene becomes manifest. Choris, "barely twenty," chose to represent himself in the foreground, hugging close his sketchbook. Next to him, De Chamisso in his mid-thirties, in a greatcoat with Brandenburgs "à la Polonoise," and a shirt with open collar "à la Byron." Eschscholtz is also there, and Elliot squats in the background, a tiny oldster thatched with white whom De Chamisso once compared to a gnome in a fairytale. Loyal to his captain—who was, in fact, then safely on board the *Rurick*, awaiting word of peace or war—Choris added, in retrospect, Von Kotzebue to the scene, imposing in his green uniform, sidewhiskers, sword, and cocked hat.

Native warriors, old chiefs, and courtiers make up the picturesque crowd facing the explorers, some with plumed capes and helmets, some tattooed and sporting a medley of native and foreign weapons. The women add naked beauty to the animated scene. (See figure 6.)

The dominant figure, however, is that of Kamehameha, all the more imposing in that none of the picturesque regalia of his court—the helmets and capes, the beards, and the miscellany of weapons—bedeck him. The black mantle of *tapa*, cradling the limbs in its ample folds, brings forth classical memories of Roman senators and marble togas; the Buddha-wise squatting posture superimposes on these classical memories an Oriental inscrutability. (See figure 7.)

Though minute in scale, this lithographed version merits a place alongside the better-known portraits of the king. Equally valid as a document, it records a first impression that was diluted all too soon to familiarity, as Kamehameha's mood veered from the majestic to one of amiable loquaciousness. The one objection that might have carried weight in Victorian times—that this portrait was not done directly from nature, but from memory—is not as impressive today as it would have been then, now that new theories of art have further clarified the relative values of objective sight and subjective vision.

Kamehameha's change of mood was noted by De Chamisso: "The old gentleman gladly welcomed the return of his doctor [Elliot] . . . and allowed him to explain the friendly purposes of our expedition. When this had been done,

he gave us a friendly salute, shook us by the hand, and invited us to partake of a baked pig. We put off the meal until the arrival of the captain."

While waiting for Von Kotzebue, continues De Chamisso, "Eschscholtz and I requested to be allowed to go botanizing, whilst Choris remained in order to draw the king's portrait."

Added Choris, "I asked Tammeamea permission to do his portrait; this prospect seemed to please him very much, but he asked me to leave him alone an instant, so he could dress. Imagine my surprise on seeing this monarch display himself in the costume of a sailor; he wore blue trousers, a red waistcoat, a clean white shirt and a necktie of yellow silk. I begged him to change his dress; he refused absolutely and insisted on being painted as he was."

It is easy to surmise that the change of clothing Choris asked for, and failed to obtain, was a return to the native tapa Kamehameha had just doffed.

What was accomplished at this early morning sitting? The collection of Choris' original travel sketches preserved at the Honolulu Academy of Arts gives pointers concerning his work that may help us sift the evidence at hand. Choris was unusually thrifty with his drawing paper, never knowing when he would be able to replenish his stock, or how demanding would be the incentive to sketch as new islands and new sights materialized out of the Pacific. In his drawings, we see heads clustered on a single sheet, though made at distinctly separate sittings; shoulders and torsos crowd each other uncomfortably; at times, they overlap unrealistically. "Homme des Iles Radak" (Number 6-6),¹³ for example, describes two heads, the jaw and ear of the one seen transparently through the skull and hairdo of the other. Choris' thrifty habits reached a peak in the portrait presumed to be that of Kaahumanu (Number 11). Her fat face is wedged within the contours of a roughly torn off scrap of paper that leaves room for neither the top half of the head lei nor the chins of the sturdy queen.

The voyage ended, Choris dismembered his notebook. Its pages were cut into pieces according to subject matter, and the drawings were rearranged on cardboards for easier display. Choris also numbered and captioned the sketches. Despite all this care, so crowded had been some of the original pages that, at times, the outer lines of a subject were left where they had spilled over an area meant for another theme.

Such is the case with Number 6-4, a head noncommittally captioned, "Chef des Iles Sandwich," generally acknowledged to be Kamehameha. In its lower left corner, quill pen lines describe the shoulder of some other person, covered by a material of the texture of cloth or tapa (figs. 8, 30).

On the cardboard with the sketch, Choris pasted another quill pen and wash drawing, "Femme des Iles Sandwich mêlée avec un Européen." It is set, in its present state, on a small piece of paper, leaving just enough marginal clearance for the face. The shoulder scarf, however, was cut away at both ends when the original sheet was pared down (fig. 9).

Using tracings or photographs, if we place the two heads side by side and make a visual allowance for a narrow vertical strip now missing between the two papers, we see how the shoulder belonging to the female head spills its lines over the boundary of the other drawing. The concordancy is more than a coincidence. Lines are of corresponding value, width, and texture; and the double stroke that defines the outline of the shoulder runs through both subjects. Equally convincing is the change in direction of the folds of the scarf that, on both sheets, reverse their course from right to left, as they gather over the bosom (fig. 10).

A third head in the Academy collection Choris plainly identified as a portrait of Kamehameha, "Tamméaméa, Roi des Iles Sandwich." It was paired by the painter with a sketch made on the same day that the regal sitting took place, of Kamehameha's heir, Liholiho.

The king's bust is set with more than usual care within an oval suggestive of a locket frame, for which Choris may once have cut this watercolor. Unlike the plain washes of most of his other portraits, he used here short, staccato brush strokes reminiscent of the craft of a miniaturist (fig. 11).

The orderly appearance imparted by the regular shape is deceptive. The portrait is painted not on one but on two pieces of paper, skillfully cut and pasted together to appear as one. Set on a slant at the upper right, the joint affects part of the background. Quill pen strokes, unrelated to the main subject, are half seen under the translucent watercolor washes of the gray-green background. Obviously out of context, the strokes are bunched at the right of the head. They stop sharply at the slanted cut and the small added paper is quite free of them. It appears that these fragmentary lines were drawn before the two sheets were joined. The joining was done by the painter himself, for it preceded the painting of at least the background, where the serried brushstrokes override both papers.

What neighboring subject, in this case, left some of its lines in the oval portrait? At the lower left of the female head already described, the edge adjoining the shoulder scarf is cut on a slant matching the edge now hidden in the oval by paste and paint. To bring together these two edges is sufficient evidence that the "meaningless" lines in the background of the Kamehameha portrait complete the scarf started in the other drawing. (See figure 12.)

We may add to this physical evidence De Chamisso's description of the same page of the sketchbook as he knew it before it was dismembered, wherein "The painter had side by side with the king's picture the drawing of a woman of the middle class." Reconstructed, the page agrees on the whole with De Chamisso's description (fig. 13). The female head may be safely recognized as "the drawing of a woman of the middle class." Not one sketch, but two sketches of the king are brought into close relationship to it. However, the head at the right Choris did not care to identify by name. This leaves the one at the left, an acknowledged likeness of Kamehameha, as the portrait De Chamisso had in mind.

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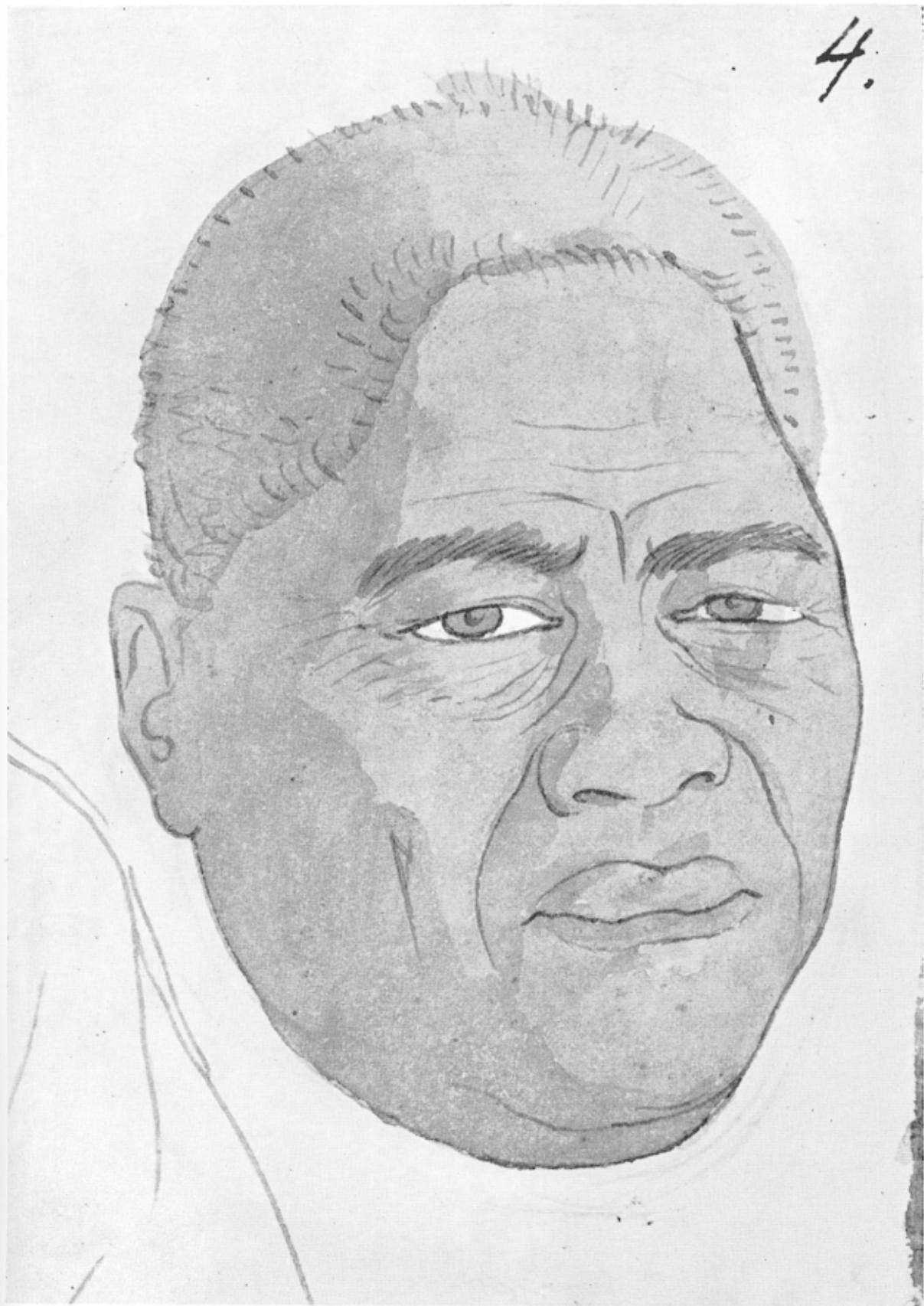


FIGURE 8. "CHEF DES ILES SANDWICH," HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS.



FIGURE 9. "FEMME DES ILES SANDWICH MÊLÉE AVEC UN EUROPÉEN," HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS.

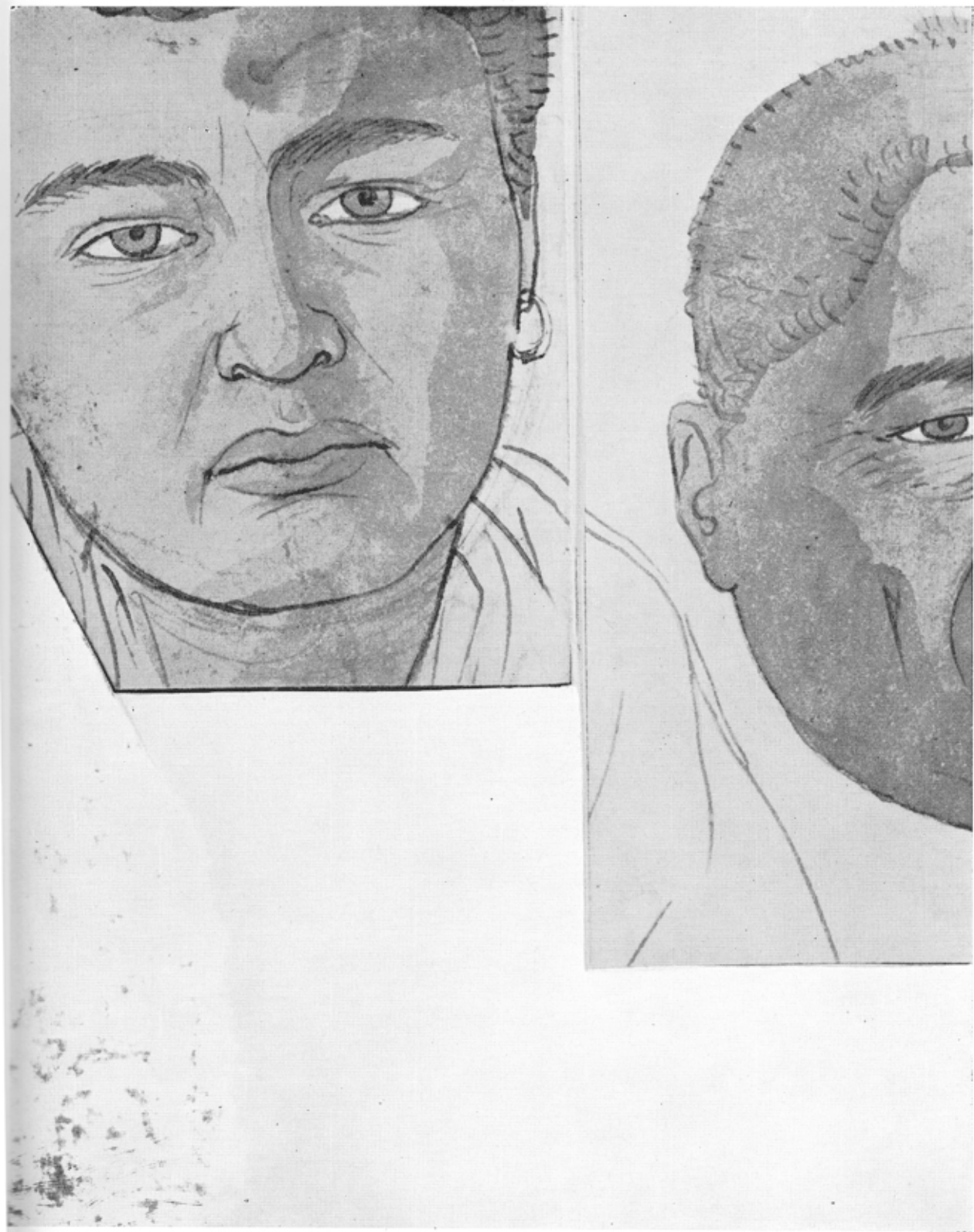


FIGURE 10. FIGURES 8 AND 9 JOINED.

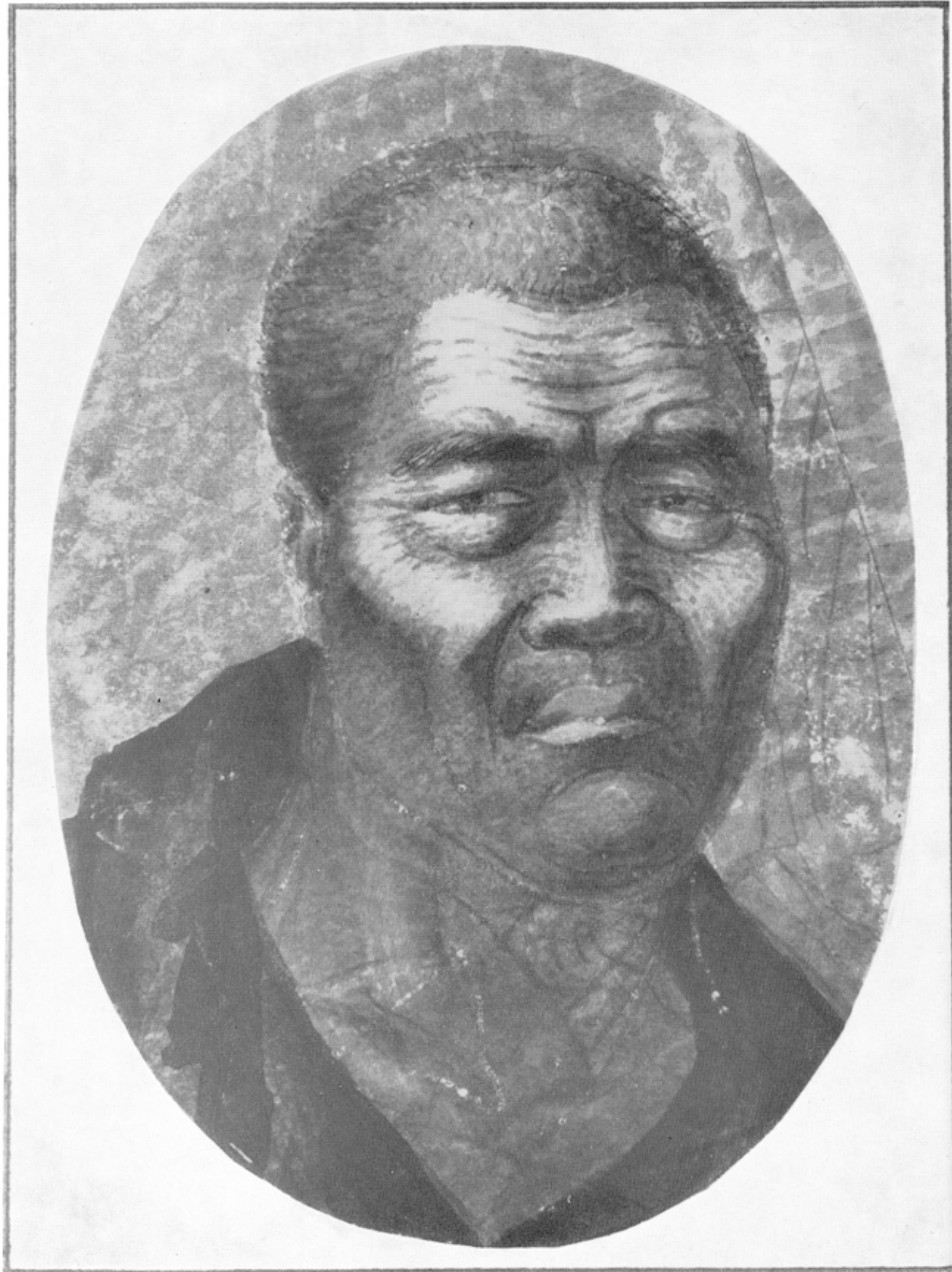


FIGURE 11. "TAMMÉAMÉA, ROI DES ILES SANDWICH." INFRA-RED PHOTOGRAPH TO EMPHASIZE WORK UNDER SURFACE PAINTING, HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS.

Added De Chamisso, "Mr. Young, to whom this page was shown, expressed his doubts of the propriety of such a combination. He advised our friend Choris either to separate the two pictures or not to show them at all. Therefore the page was cut in two before the King was shown to other Hawaiians."

The mention of Mr. Young gives the place where, and the date when, the portrait was cut away from the sketchbook page; for, having missed John Young in Hawaii, the explorers contacted him on Oahu, where the *Rurick* anchored four days later. Choris respected Young's advice on Hawaiian etiquette. Once isolated, the king's portrait would be worked over to give it the propriety it lacked, before being shown "to other Hawaiians." The stay on Oahu is the probable date when the drawing acquired its oval shape and its careful watercolor finish.

One of the marks that previous researchers looked for in their quest for the "original" portrait of Kamehameha was the sailor costume that the king undoubtedly wore at the sitting. Of the more tentative one of the two heads (Number 6-4), Luquiens has this to say, "It could not be Choris' 'original' made when the king was posing, for . . . it is practically essential that the red vest should appear for such identification."

For the same reason, he dismisses the oval portrait, "It is somewhat rough, and shows a small portion of the 'black cloak' about the throat . . . The accounts of both Kotzebue and Choris himself are so circumstantial as to the insistence of the king on being painted in the red waistcoat that we cannot regard this watercolor as being Choris' 'original' made from life."

So plausible is this *sine qua non* of a European garb that it should prove in some way valid in the case of these same two drawings, now that another *sine qua non*, to wit "the drawing of a woman of the middle class," has stamped them as sketched from life.

The head (Number 6-4) stops at the chin; it lacks a neck and the attached neckline that could at least suggest the presence of the English shirt, or that of the Hawaiian costume (fig. 8).

The oval portrait shows the black tapa cloak, it is true, but has not always been as we see it now. It is a visual palimpsest, hiding a complex web of drawn and incised lines under the surface version. These lines coincide with the features and the general shape of the head. Most of them disagree, however, with the painting of the bust, which has the bare neck emerging from the V-opening of the cloak. What these maverick lines configure instead are the European shirt with the tight collar, the flowing tie, the lapels of the vest, and part of the shirt-sleeves (figs. 14, 31).

Thus, hidden under this puzzling portrait of the king in Hawaiian costume is an earlier version, one that showed the king in the red vest. Judging from that part of it which remains exposed over the top of the head, the earlier version was a quill pen and wash rendering. The vest was painted a light red, now

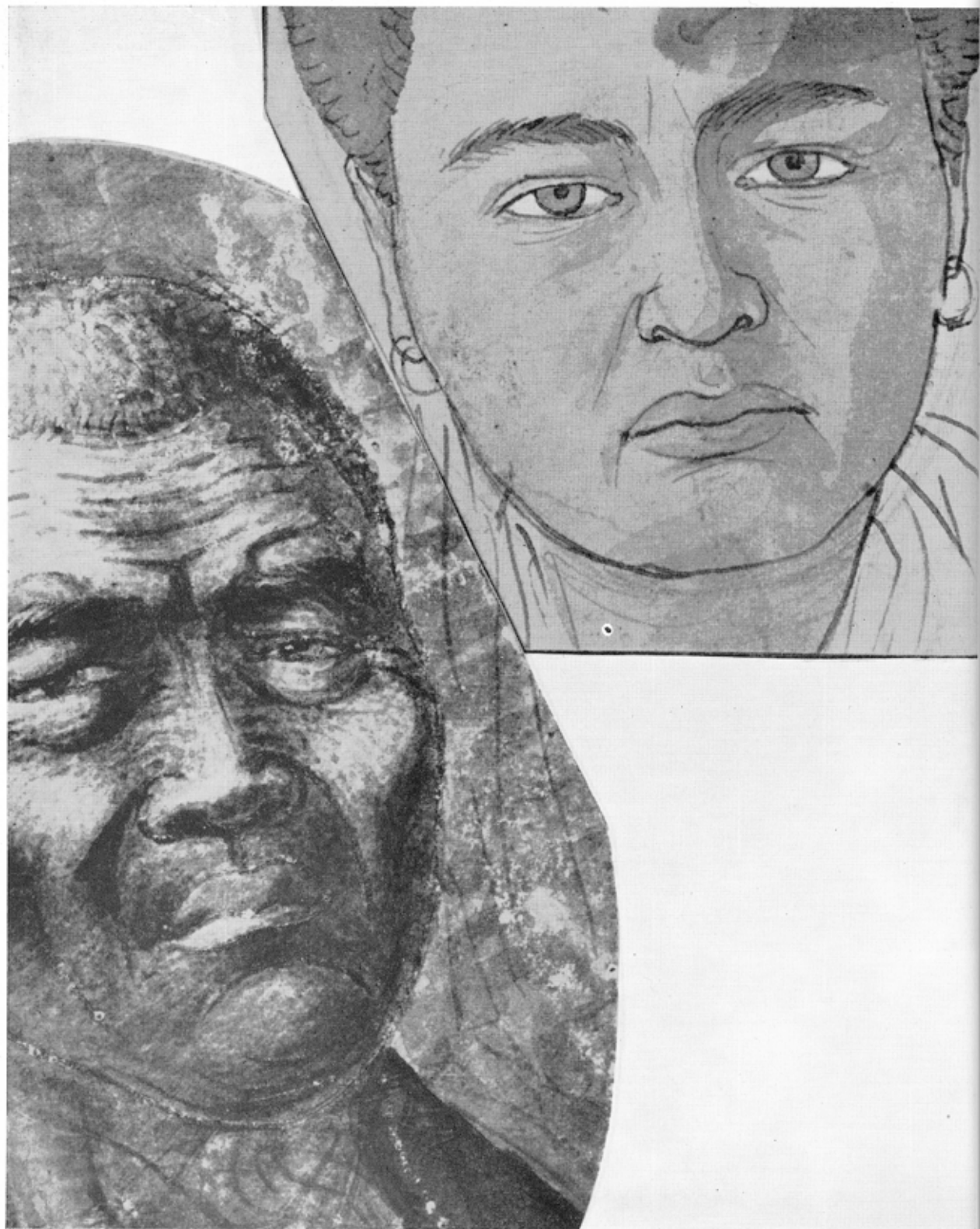


FIGURE 12. FIGURES 9 AND 11 JOINED.

become underpainting, that modifies the dark gray of the cloak at the right shoulder and the gray green of the background over the left shoulder of the king. It was this first version that was used in the reconstruction of the sketchbook page (fig. 13). The further significance of the incised lines will be made clear later.



FIGURE 13. RECONSTRUCTION OF A PAGE FROM CHORIS' SKETCHBOOK.

Wrote Von Kotzebue, "At 8 A.M., Mr. Elliot settled business to our advantage; he came on board with two of the most distinguished chiefs . . . who welcomed us in the name of the king . . . He invited me to his camp . . . whither I went."



FIGURE 14. FIGURE 11 IN A DIAGONAL LIGHT, BRINGING OUT THE INCISED LINES.

Wrote De Chamisso, "Finally, our Captain arrived. The old warrior received him with great cordiality." Von Kotzebue was met by Kamehameha "upon the landing place, and he shook me heartily by the hand, when we had landed. His dress consisted of white shirt, blue pantaloons, red vest, and black neckcloth."

Von Kotzebue missed entirely the morning sitting, over when Kamehameha, still clothed in the costume he had chosen to be portrayed in, left the house where the sitting had taken place to receive the Russian on shore. From then on, Von Kotzebue was guided on a round of events that he records in his book; and these can be cross-checked in De Chamisso's independent account. As what Von Kotzebue did and saw on that day bears upon our problem, we shall follow him briefly through his crowded rounds.

After drinking their mutual health in Kamehameha's house, the king and the captain talked amicably of the unpleasant behavior of earlier Russian guests, both of them deploring it. They then settled the all-important question of provisions before visiting the favorite queen, Kaahumanu, and making another visit, less appreciated by the recipient, to the king's son and heir, Liholiho.

At long length, the delayed meal of *kalua* pig was served to the visitors, with Kamehameha merely watching them. This was followed by a visit to the nearby heiau, in pagan thanksgiving for the peace made secure. Said Von Kotzebue, "When the king is in his murai no one is allowed to enter; but we admired in the meantime the colossal wooden idols." The wait allowed the untiring Choris to do some of his best work: views of the sanctuary (Numbers 12 and 13-1) and individual sculptures (Numbers 3-1 and 4).

Then back to the king's house, where it was Kamehameha's turn to eat, watched by the explorers. After dinner, the king detailed the provisions Von Kotzebue was to receive on Oahu, after which diplomatic presents were exchanged.

It was only then, just before the final leave-taking, that Von Kotzebue mentioned how the king sat to Choris: "The skill of our draughtsman, who had sketched some of the chiefs in a most happy manner and very quickly, was admired even by Tammeamea, but who a long time resisted my entreaties to have himself, as they say here, put upon paper, probably fearing some enchantment, and it was only when I told him that our emperor would be glad to have his portrait that he consented to it."

The fact that there were two sittings seems to have passed unnoticed; yet every other moment of Von Kotzebue's stay on shore can be accounted for. Would he have invented from whole cloth a late afternoon sitting, simply to claim for himself a part of the good will that resulted from the morning venture? He may have exaggerated somewhat his own initiative in the matter, and stressed the reluctance of the king, but among the circumstances he recounts, at least one is incompatible with the mood of the first sitting. That morning, Choris found the king most willing, "I asked Tammeamea permission to do his

portrait; this prospect seemed to please him very much." That afternoon, Von Kotzebue found the king most unwilling, "Tammeamea . . . a long time resisted my entreaties to have himself . . . put upon paper."

It is credible that, when Von Kotzebue pleaded so forcefully with the king to pose for Choris, he knew nothing as yet of the morning sitting. Choris, hoping to do better than he had earlier, would see no reason to interfere. As to the king, he frankly felt restless: "Mr. Choris succeeded admirably well in taking his likeness, although Tammeamea, to make it more difficult, would not sit still for a moment, but was making grimaces all the time," wrote Von Kotzebue.

What was done at the afternoon sitting?

The incised lines that "roughen up" the oval portrait are a complex of at least two distinct sets of lines. Both recognizable sets are tracing lines, made by Choris when he transferred the king's portrait to some other surface. In the Honolulu Academy collection are other examples of his use of the method: In "Kadou, natif des Iles Carolines . . ." (Number 6-7), for example, where the tracing was done from the finished painting, the scratched lines plow a white furrow over the dark watercolor washes.

One of the two sets of tracing lines on the Kamehameha portrait also shows white on dark, and was worked over the finished picture. This was a tracing of the king in Hawaiian costume. Minor departures from the painted version—a neck more thickly set, an even wider V to the opening of the cloak—agree with the lithograph of the king in the black cloak in Choris' published folio (fig. 15). This tracing dates then from his return to Europe, when he transferred the portrait, with variations, from paper to stone.

Of greater relevancy to the present study is an earlier tracing, one that preceded the substantial repainting of the portrait as we see it today. The lines of this tracing show up dark on light; as the wet pigment was brushed over the already scratched surface it saturated the furrows with deepened hues. This early transfer was of the king in European clothes.

As we have seen, it is probable that the thorough repainting of the oval portrait dates from the few days that the *Rurick* anchored at Honolulu. To be any earlier, the tracing would have had to be practically simultaneous with the making of the drawing itself.

A third likeness that Choris painted of Kamehameha is the famous watercolor of the king in the red vest. It is known to have been painted from life, though there is some uncertainty as to which one of the paintings of this type in existence is the long sought "original."

One of the versions is owned by Bruce Cartwright, Jr. (fig. 16). Painted with extreme delicacy on a full sheet of Whatman paper watermarked 1813, it is undoubtedly from Choris' hand. The sheet was once folded in two, resulting in a vertical crease visible in the photograph.



FIGURE 15. TRACING FROM PLATE IN CHORIS' "VOYAGE PITTORESQUE
AUTOUR DU MONDE."



Тамсамса.
Король Сандвическихъ Острововъ.

FIGURE 16. THE GERMAN CAPTION READS "TAMMSAMSSA KÖNIG DER SANDWICH INSELN," WATER-COLOR, COLLECTION OF BRUCE CARTWRIGHT, JR.

Besides the distinct clothes and the ampler spacing, an obvious difference between the watercolor of Kamehameha in the black cloak and that of him in the red vest is a matter of plumb. The king in the red vest is set awry on the page, shoulders tilting downward to the left, with the axis of the head correspondingly on a slant. In contrast, in the portrait with the black cloak he is posed straight within the rectangular frame that Choris carefully ruled around it. The axis of the head remains true to plumb (fig. 11).

In the course of this study, when I joined back into their relative positions the sketch of the woman and the oval portrait, a perceptible rocking tilt to the left had to be given the oval to fit on the reconstructed sketchbook page. It struck me that, in so doing, the head in the oval acquired the slant seen in the portrait with the red vest (fig. 13). It suggested a common root for both watercolors.

A further step was to trace each portrait, and superimpose the tracings into a composite (fig. 17), as in the composite photograph (fig. 18). Figure 17 includes the rectangular frame that Choris ruled around the oval portrait, and the vertical crease in the Whatman sheet on which is painted the portrait in the red vest. Acting as plumb lines, they help one visualize the rocking tilt that started this enquiry.

The composite diagram and photograph show how the watercolor of Kamehameha in his red vest was washed over the linear framework, borrowed by tracing, of the first state of the oval portrait. In the outline of the head and in all particulars of the features, the two pictures that go to make the composite merge into one. The lineal "ghost" of European clothing hidden in the oval portrait neatly fits over the red vest version, but the latter shows minor variations and is more elaborated. Only where both tracings are superposed within the oval area can this concordancy be checked. The parts of the portrait in the red vest that stand alone may well be a clue to that part of the oval portrait lost when the sketchbook page was cut apart on Oahu.

All known facts are reconciled. In preparation for the afternoon sitting, Choris transferred the outlines of the oval portrait in its first state—with its slant and its vest—to a virgin sheet of paper, decorously centering his subject this time. The painter could, and, indeed, did dazzle his captain with his speed and accuracy, for his task at this second sitting must have been mostly one of filling in with local colors the excellent outline already arrived at that morning.

Perhaps the king's contortions, which Von Kotzebue gravely assigned to fear of magic, were after all little more than substantial winks at Choris, whose secret the king shared!

From Hawaii, the *Rurick* went to Oahu for provisioning and repairs, anchoring at Honolulu. An event during its stay was the visit on board of Kalanimoku, Kamehameha's vice-regent for the island, and his retinue. Wrote Von Kotzebue, "They immediately recognized Tammeamea's portrait, and when it became known that we had Tammeamea on paper, we daily received a crowd of visitors who wished to see him."



FIGURE 17. FIGURES 11 AND 14, SUPERIMPOSED.

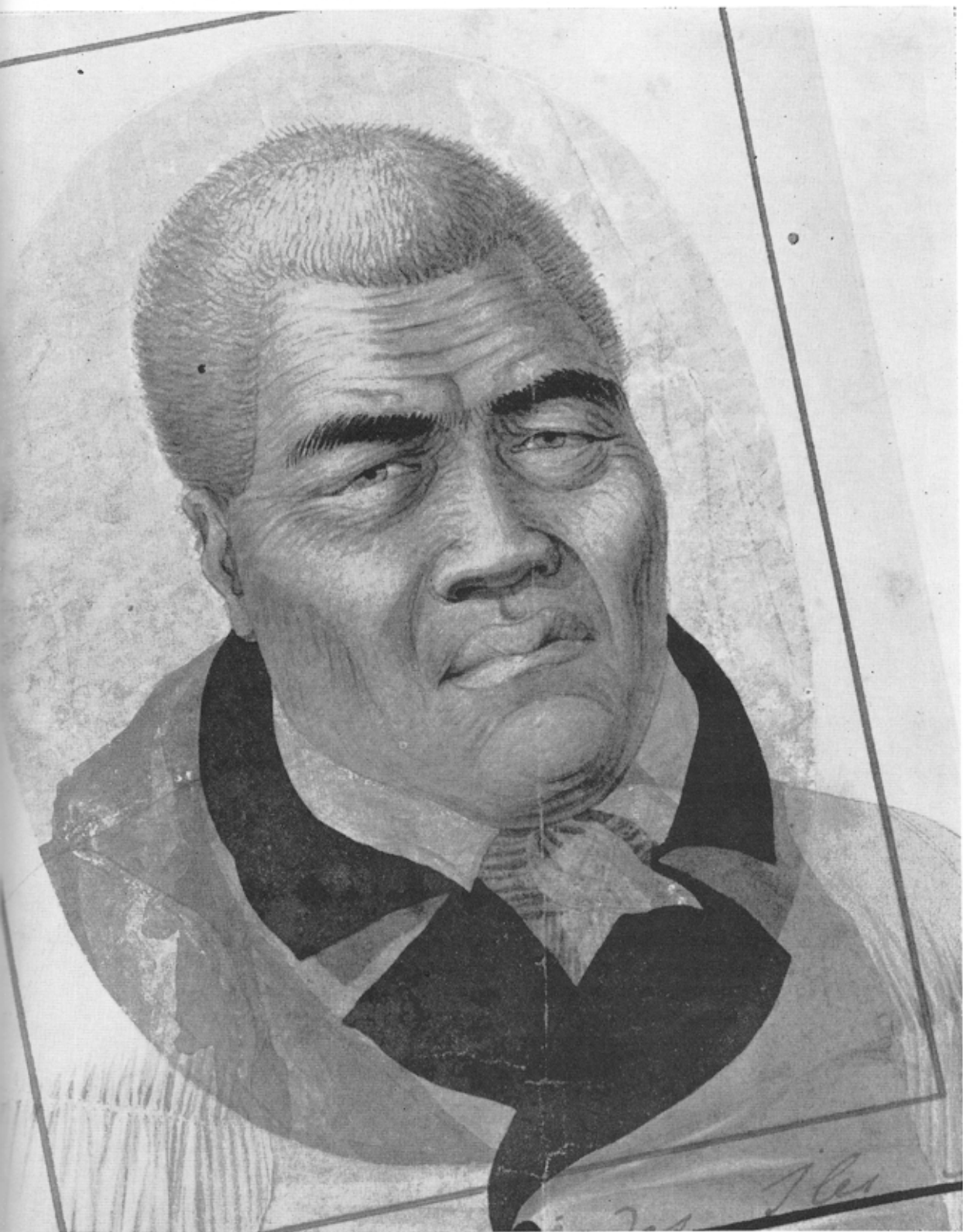


FIGURE 18. COMPOSITE PHOTOGRAPH BY RAYMOND SATO OF FIGURES 11 AND 14 SUPERIMPOSED.

Wrote De Chamisso, "The very lifelike portrait of Tameiameia that had been done by Choris made a great hit. They all recognized it and were much pleased."

De Chamisso went on to tell the story of John Young and the sketchbook page. This episode was told in an aside, "I must not forget to mention . . ." and was said to have been carried on *sub rosa*. It cannot be confused with the display of a Kamehameha portrait that met with social success. While the John Young incident fits all the evidence concerned with the oval portrait, the likeness of the king that was an instant hit can only be the watercolor with the red vest. It alone, of the two portraits, was finished in Hawaii. The oval portrait came into existence as we see it now as a result of old Young's advice, given on Oahu. The portrait in the red vest also fits what De Chamisso goes on to say, "Choris left several copies of this very successful portrait here."

To conclude this study, let us compare in terms of human values the two principal painted versions of Kamehameha's portrait, the one with the black cloak and the one with the red vest. Luquiens proves himself a keen psychologist when he writes, "Choris had been horrified by the king's European costume. He had felt that the much talked-of Hawaiian king should appear in Hawaiian dress. He still balked at the red waistcoat and in his own book undertook to be rid of it, substituting the . . . black cloak." What is described here as a psychological process is strengthened by the physical evidence of the oval portrait. This portrait, on which much labor was spent, was the first version of the king's head that really pleased Choris, the only one of the two sketches done at the morning sitting that he cared to acknowledge openly. It also was the dark matrix out of which emerged the more colorful and widely admired watercolor of the king in the red vest. The portrait in the black cloak remained the painter's favorite, combining as it did the objective facts which came out of the first sitting with the artist's own deeply felt, previously experienced, emotions. Naturally, it was this bust that Choris chose to draw on the lithographic stone for his own publication.

Von Kotzebue, on the other hand, had missed the majestic scene at dawn with which the oval picture was intimately tied. He had never had an opportunity to see the king in Hawaiian costume; and from his point of view, the more successful portrait was that of the king in the red vest. It showed Kamehameha as Von Kotzebue knew him, and was executed at the afternoon sitting that the Russian captain had both engineered and witnessed. Naturally, it was this portrait that Von Kotzebue chose to have engraved for his published report of the expedition.

IV

PORTRAIT IN THE RED VEST: A CHRONOLOGICAL ESSAY

The best known of the Kamehameha portraits that Louis Choris painted, the king in shirtsleeves and a red vest, proved an instant success. The demand it created impelled the artist to make on-the-spot replicas of his original, which were, it seems, politically distributed to intimates of the king. Says De Chamisso, "Choris left several copies of this very successful portrait here."

Enterprising Americans, with an eye to business, lent one of these Choris portraits to Chinese craftsmen for commercial multiplication. Such copies could already be bought in Manila in 1817, and one of them reached Boston as early as 1818.

On his return to Europe, Choris worked out neat copies of his travel sketches for reproduction purposes. Two "Kamehamehas in Red Vests" were thus engraved from refined versions, for the Russian and German editions of Von Kotzebue's report, both published in 1821.

Other artists who visited Hawaii before photography was in common use helped fill the standing demand for still more portraits of the king by painting copies after Choris.

Today, there exist enough early versions of the portrait in the red vest to raise problems: how to differentiate copies by a hand other than Choris' own from his autographic work; and how to single out of Choris' own replicas the original, or originals, painted from life.

On November 24, 1816, Choris painted three portraits of the king at two separate sittings. In the morning, he sketched the king twice on a single page of his notebook which already held the sketch of a woman's head.

At the second sitting, held in the afternoon, with Von Kotzebue present, Choris washed a watercolor of the type usually referred to as the king in the red vest. The afternoon portrait leaned heavily on the morning sketches. As a matter of fact, its lines were traced from the more successful one of the two morning heads.

The first drawing that Choris did from the royal model hardly met with his own approval. This head is strictly but a head. Having observed and sketched

the features down to the chin, Choris stopped abruptly. It is as if, from the chin down, some esthetic dissonance, a sort of psychological block, blurred his vision (fig. 8).

VERSION A



FIGURE 19. FIRST STATE OF VERSION A, DETAIL.

The second morning portrait, as we see it now, shows the king in native dress. As it left Choris' hand on the morning of the twenty-fourth, it showed the king in the red vest. This early state of the portrait is the only one with which we need concern ourselves here.

In it we see what jarred Choris' esthetic sensibility when he stopped short his work on the first sketch: the European shirt that the king wore specifically for the purpose of posing fitted atrociously. Meant for an English body, it was quite inadequate for the powerful torso and the royal bull neck. Its halves

failed to join in front. While the right wing of the collar turned down over the neckerchief, the left wing crept unchecked along the cheek of the king and up to his ear. This disorderly state of apparel was never more than lightly blocked in pencil.

Other pencil lines show another position of the left collar wing, slightly more decorous than the first. At some moment during the sketching, perhaps at the suggestion of the uneasy artist, the king pulled down the rebellious collar wing to a less asymmetrical position. This final version of the morning sketch is the one that Choris used as a basis for the afternoon portrait. (See figure 19.)

VERSION B

Of version B we have two examples: a forceful autographic Choris, owned by J. F. G. Stokes (fig. 21), and a reliable copy after Choris, now in Bishop Museum (fig. 22). Both pictures have related and credible pedigrees. Jules Rémy, French naturalist, author, and amateur painter, states in effect that he copied the Choris original at Kailua, Hawaii, in 1853. The evidence yielded by both pictures strengthens Rémy's story. The differences that exist between the Choris original and the freehand copy underline little more than distinct levels of esthetic accomplishment.



FIGURE 20. VERSION B, DETAIL.

Version B fails to better A's sartorial disorder. The tip of the collar's right wing is buried under the lapel of the vest, and the inward pull needed to close the gap at the front has resulted in serrated small creases all along the neckline. The left wing of the collar still escapes from the vest to climb up the cheek of the king, as in A. With an esthetic guided by chance, Choris has used a *pendimenti*, a ghost line, from the discarded first position of the collar's left wing as a basis for the strong shadow

that the head casts against the white collar, an effective device.

The most important departure concerns the red vest. In A, both lapels of the vest—or at least what was left of them after the portrait was trimmed down to an oval shape—appear normal. In B, the lapels are unaccountably different, with the top half of the left lapel missing, as if it had been clipped away with scissors (fig. 20).

B may well constitute the original portrait, as Choris rendered it from life at the afternoon sitting. Its very shortcomings smack of authenticity. As he met the challenge of the living model, Choris was artist enough to look first for rhythms, colors, and values, and only after that to aim at factual accuracy. He rarely forgot for long, however, that his role with the expedition was scientific and that it was his job to procure an objective record. The factual slip inherent in B suggests conditions of work that oddly mingled inspiration with uneasiness and hurry. On that afternoon of November the twenty-fourth, the artist would have worked just so, hemmed in between a grimacing monarch who refused to be still and the Russian captain, eager to board the *Rurick*.

In Choris' time, the accepted standards of art were more strictly realistic than are our own. The distortion that B entails would have been challenged at once. That Choris superseded B with a factually correct version almost immediately after its completion is affirmed by other than psychological factors.



FIGURE 21. KAMEHAMEHA IN RED VEST, WATERCOLOR, COLLECTION OF J. F. G. STOKES.



FIGURE 22. COPY OF FIGURE 16 BY JULES RÉMY, 1853, COLLECTION OF BISHOP MUSEUM.

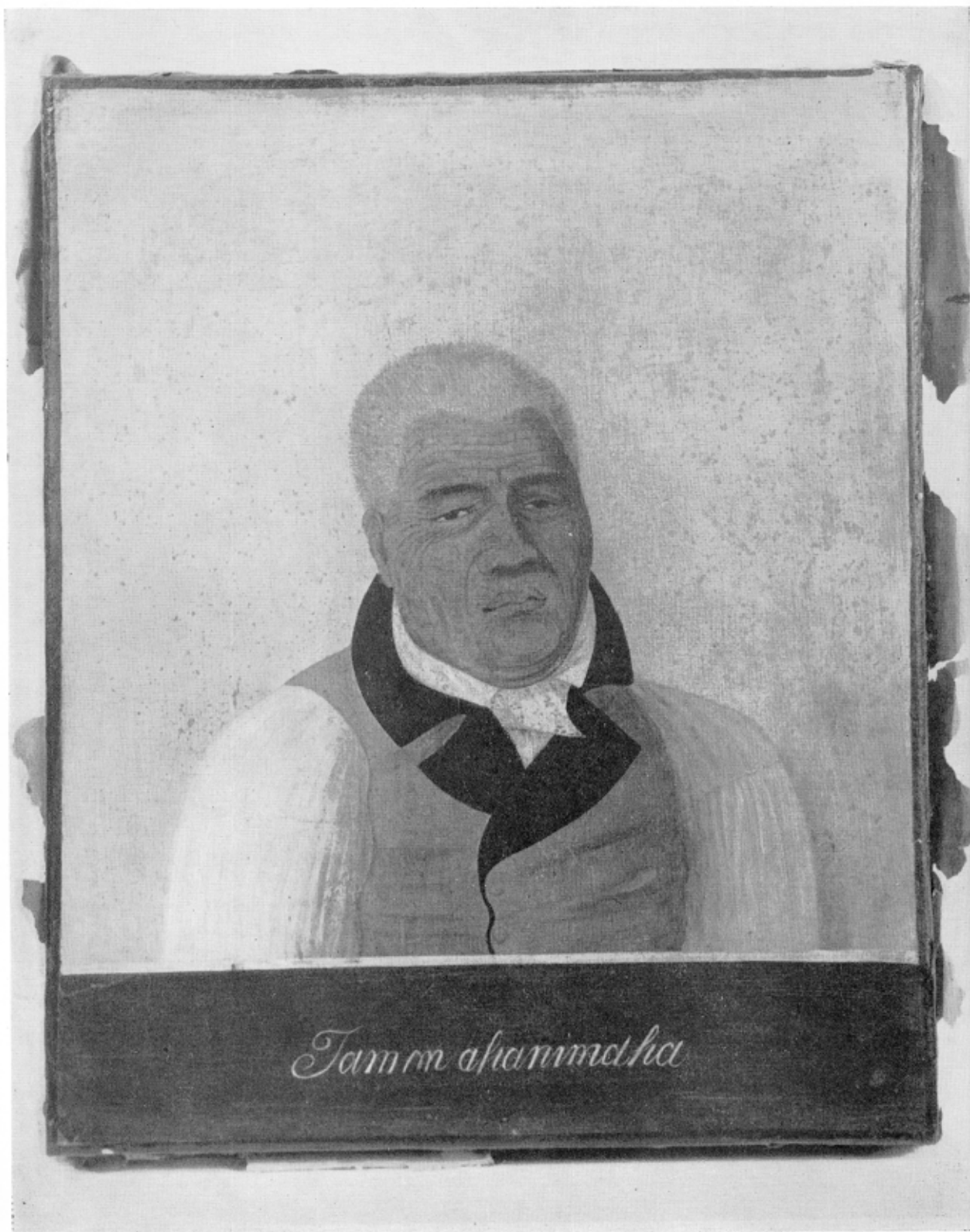


FIGURE 23. "TAMMAHAMMAHA," OIL ON CANVAS, COLLECTION OF BOSTON ATHENAEUM.

VERSION C



FIGURE 24. VERSION C, DETAIL.

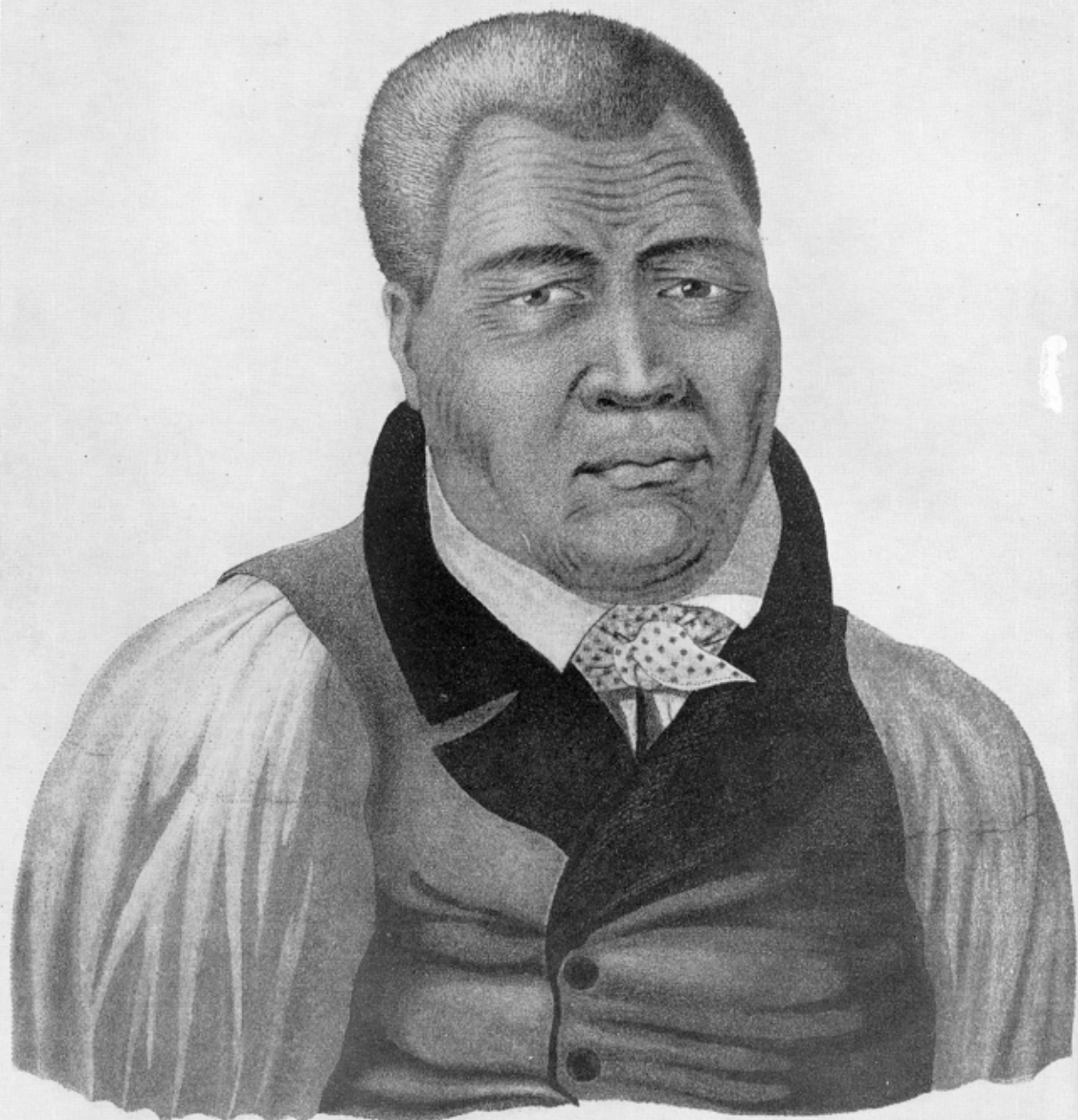
Version C is represented by the oil painting now in Boston (fig. 23). Its pedigree is given in an authoritative contemporary inscription on the back of the original stretcher, "Presented to the Boston Athenaeum by John C. Jones, June 14, 1818." There is no reason to doubt the early date, even though it antedates the return to Europe of the Von Kotzebue expedition.

The routine quality of this copy after Choris makes it improbable that its author, a craftsman rather than an artist, would dare take willful liberties with the original that it was his job to render. As regards the presentation of the subject matter, at least, we have here a faithful enough rendering of an original by Choris. This being true, it is a lost original. The portrait differs from all others that have come down to us. Version C brings back the missing half of the left lapel, pulls down the left wing of the collar one step farther toward the pulchritude expected of kings. The plain red vest is now embellished with black lapels, presumably made of velvet—a feature that will remain unto the final engraving. (See figure 24.)

Probably made in Manila, this copy reached Boston in June 1818. In the light of the slow sailing schedules of the period, and of the time needed to hand-produce copies, the Choris original must have been sent from Hawaii to Manila immediately after the *Rurick's* first stay in Hawaii, in 1816. The Boston picture is proof that Choris, even before leaving the islands, had discarded version B, superseding it with the more elaborated version C, which corrects B's factual slip.

VERSION D

Presumably the watercolor that Choris chose to keep from the series was one of this type. He used it as the basis for the engraving of the king in the Russian edition of Von Kotzebue's report, published in 1821 (fig. 25). The sheepish line of this aquatint is not of a character that could have been improvised on the metal plate, but could have been traced carefully from a now lost original. D's presentation is close to that of the Boston picture, if we allow for distortions



Томмамеа
Горюль Сандвическихъ Острововъ

FIGURE 25. AQUATINT IN THE RUSSIAN EDITION (1821) OF VON KOTZEBUE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.



FIGURE 26. VERSION D, DETAIL.

resulting from the change of media: from watercolor to oil painting in the Boston picture; from watercolor to aquatint in the Russian plate. We must also make allowance for the elegance and the care that Choris bestowed on a published version. The one factual modification is that now both points of the collar overlap the black lapels. (See figure 26.)

VERSION E

This version is represented by the oft-reproduced watercolor owned by Bruce Cartwright, Jr. (fig. 16). In the time sequence of the portraits, it may well be the last of the series, worked out at leisure after Choris' return to Europe. It smooths over the aspect of the "savage" king one step farther. Choris felt his responsibilities toward a public more responsive to conservative proprieties than to picturesqueness in the matter of kings. Perhaps the aquatint, already etched, had evoked some criticism in government circles, as it still reflected, however mildly, the initial sartorial disorder of the royal model. In E, the final curbing of the unruly left wing of the collar is ruthlessly achieved, and its point tilts downward meekly to match its companion. The gap between collar and scarf that gave a Byron-like touch to previous versions is so zealously narrowed that the knot of the scarf, left of center before correction, now inclines to the right (fig. 27).

Version E is the basis for the engraving found in Von Kotzebue's Weimar edition, published in 1821 (fig. 37).

Choris must have felt uneasy at this process of Bowdlerization, even though he knew it must be done. Willing to compromise in minor details, he refused, however, to tamper with the features, more striking than ever when fitted to this bourgeois torso. We know that Choris' unhampered slant, as expressed in his own publication, carried him to the other extreme. In his lithograph of Kamehameha in the black cloak he underlined the wilder facet of the king's nature (fig. 15). He even tampered with the truthfulness of the oval portrait used



FIGURE 27. VERSION E, DETAIL.



Tāmamea I^{te}
König der Sandwichinseln.

FIGURE 28. LITHOGRAPH IN THE DUTCH EDITION OF VON KOTZEBUE'S VOYAGE.

as a basis for the lithograph by enlarging the king's neck to the point of distortion; as if to free it from the carcan of the English collar that had been from the start, as we have seen, an esthetic blight and a continuous embarrassment.

Choris could not in conscience go farther than E to meet the conservative requirements of the public.

VERSION F

Under F, we can group together most post-Choris types of the portrait in the red vest. They lack historical validity, but are witnesses to the trend he had catered to by repeated modifications introduced in the portrait. Engravers who worked at second hand after the published portraits had no scruples in carrying much farther than Choris could have wished the polishing process. Typical of the resulting havoc is the lithograph based on the engraved portrait in the Weimar edition illustrating the Dutch translation of Von Kotzebue (fig. 28). A double-breasted vest of perfect fit and a collar and neckerchief in absolute symmetry frame the features of a gentle, wise old man *à la* Benjamin Franklin, with his hair groomed to a fault. One could believe he once had enough strength to fly a kite, but never that he had enough strength to deflect the spears hurled by seven athletic opponents.



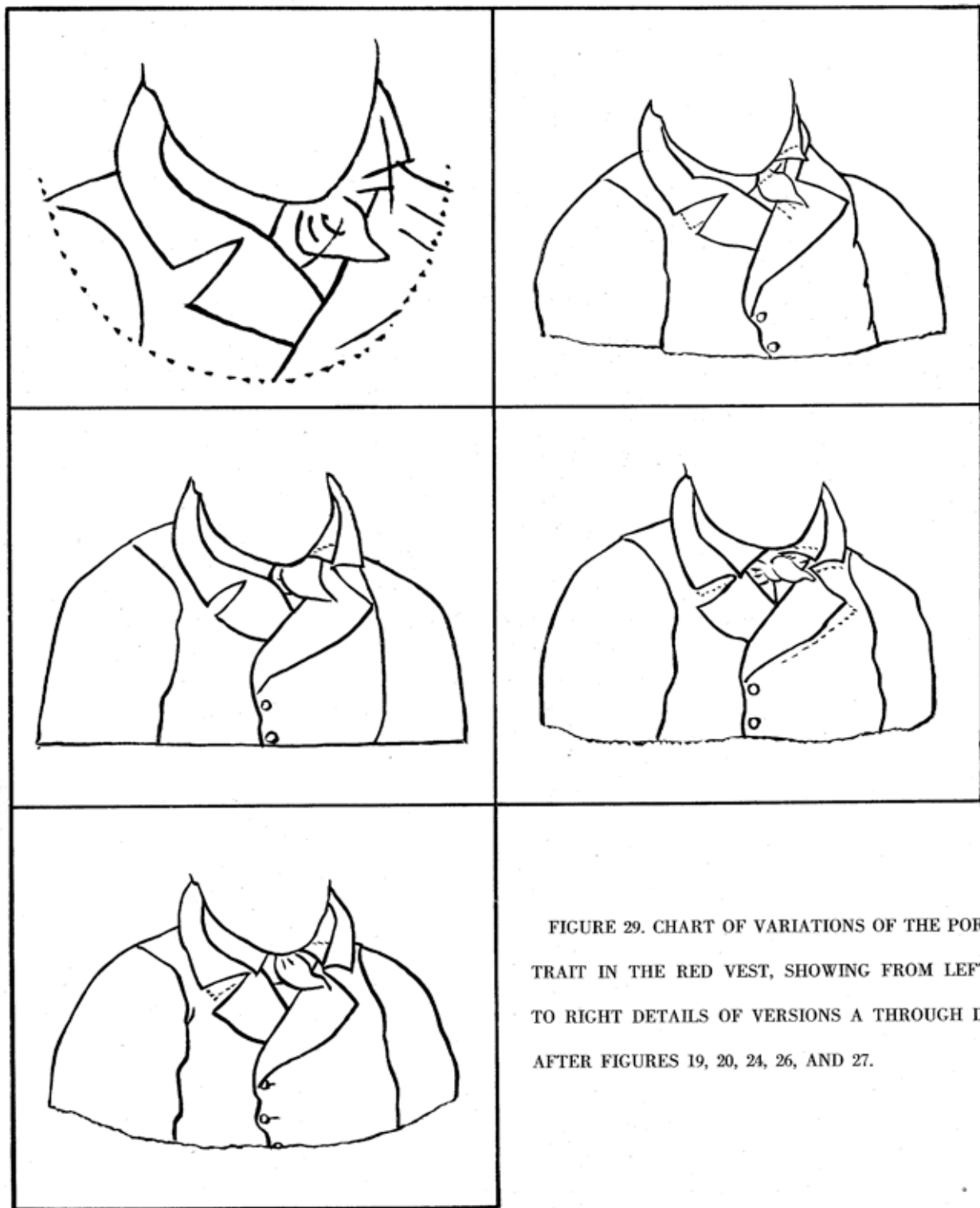


FIGURE 29. CHART OF VARIATIONS OF THE POR-
TRAIT IN THE RED VEST, SHOWING FROM LEFT
TO RIGHT DETAILS OF VERSIONS A THROUGH D,
AFTER FIGURES 19, 20, 24, 26, AND 27.

V

KAMEHAMEHA IN THE RED VEST: CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

1. *Subject:* Head alone (figs. 3, 30).

Medium: Pencil, quill pen, and watercolor.

Ownership: Honolulu Academy of Arts (No. 12153); Donald Angus; "A French nobleman" (Angus), presumably a descendant of the Chevalier de Vèze, attached to H.R.H. the Comte d'Artois, in Choris' time.

Title: Choris' own No. 6-4, labeled by him, "Chef des Isles Sandwich." Drawn November 24, 1816, from life (pp. 17, 18; fig. 10).



FIGURE 30. TRACING AFTER CATALOGUE NUMBER 1.

A catalogue of the portraits of the king in the red vest logically begins with this sketch, even though it is only a head. The sharp stop at the chin line and the missing neck are reminders that the king was wearing his European clothing when this tentative drawing was made.

I feel that what dissatisfied Choris to the point of disowning the drawing as a portrait is that the cast of the features is more negroid than Polynesian. This was corrected in the next study.

Luquiens: "If it represents Kamehameha as it seems to do, it is simply another of Choris' attempts to restudy his material, but abandoned as unsatisfactory and in unfinished condition."

2. *Subject:* Bust in oval, black cloak (figs. 11, 31). In its original state, the king was clothed in a red vest.

Medium: Pencil, quill pen, and watercolor; on two pieces of paper pasted together.

Ownership: Honolulu Academy of Arts (No. 12162), Angus.

Title: Choris' own No. 15, labeled by him, "Tamméaméa, Roi des Iles Sandwich."

Drawn November 24, 1816, from life (p. 18, fig. 12).



FIGURE 31. TRACING AFTER CATALOGUE NUMBER 2.

In its original state, the king's skull was long; it was changed to a round skull when the red vest became a black cloak. The long skull is still clearly visible in the present portrait.

This drawing, in its original state, was the pattern for the other portraits in the red vest issued through successive tracings. This can be proved by superposing tracings or photographs of the different portraits. (See figures 17, 18.) Of the known early portraits, only entry 4 in this catalogue, a freehand copy, fails to coincide. This applies only to the features and outline of the head. In contrast, the items of clothing went through a continuous metamorphosis.

De Chamisso: "The page was cut in two before the King was shown to other Hawaiians."

The cut is on a diagonal at the upper right, hidden by skillful joining and overpainting.

Angus: "It is my belief that Choris drew the 'black tapa' portrait of Kamehameha before the arrival on shore of Kotzebue . . .

"I believe that while the king sat in the odd colored costume of an English sailor for his portrait, Choris preferred to use a sketch of the king which he had probably made while on shore awaiting the arrival of Kotzebue."

Luquiens: "Presumably Choris' study for his own published lithograph of Kamehameha in the 'black cloak' . . . We cannot regard this watercolor as being Choris' 'original,' made from life . . . It may be accepted as Choris' revision from his original drawing, made on shipboard very likely, between the two visits to Hawaii."

Related material: Woman's head (fig. 9); pencil, quill pen, and watercolor; Honolulu Academy of Arts (No. 12153), Angus.

Title: Choris' own No. 6-5, labeled by him, "Femme des Iles Sandwich mêlée avec un Européen," and originally on the same sheet as 1 and 2 (pp. 17, 18; fig. 13).

The diagonal cut, corresponding to that on 2, is on the lower left side.

De Chamisso: "The painter had side by side with the king's picture the drawing of a woman of the middle class. Mr. Young, to whom this page was shown, expressed his doubts as to the propriety of such a combination."

3. *Subject*: Bust with red vest, red lapels (fig. 21).

Medium: Quill pen and ink, and watercolor.

Ownership: J. F. G. Stokes; Mr. Prudhomme, executor of Rémy estate; Jules Rémy; Governor Kuakini; Liholiho (Rémy) or Kalaimoku (Cartwright).

In script, on the back of the portrait, is written in French: "Obtained from Kahana . . . at Kailua, in March, 1853 . . . it looks like the property of Governor Kuikini. 'Portrait of Kamehameha I, drawing by Choris, 1817.'"

In script in back of the mount, written in French is the following:

"This watercolor decorated the palace of Kailua in the reign of Kamehameha II (Liholiho) and became afterwards the property of Kuikini, Governor of Hawaii.

"After the death of the latter, the portrait remained exposed to dampness, to dust, and to insects, on the wall of one of the houses of the king, where I found it in 1853. I made a copy of it of which the scarlet red of the vest charmed the steward, Nahie, who asked me for it, and which I gave to him in exchange for the original.

Jules Rémy"

De Chamisso: "The very lifelike portrait of Tammeamea that had been done by Choris made a great hit. They all recognized it and were much pleased."

Von Kotzebue: "Mr. Choris succeeded admirably well in taking his likeness, although Tammeamea, to make it more difficult, would not sit still for a moment, but was making grimaces all the time."

Cartwright (see 4 of this catalogue): "Original portrait presented by von Kotzebue to Kalaimoku."

Angus: "The captain [Von Kotzebue] gave the chief Kalaimoku the portrait of Kamehameha. This is probably the portrait now owned by Mr. Stokes."

Luquiens: This portrait came to light too late to be included in Luquiens' published study of the portraits. His spoken opinion is that this is "The original, drawn from life."

If the portrait was originally Liholiho's, see entry 18 below. If it was originally Kuakini's, see 15 below. If it was originally Kalaimoku's, see 14 below.

4. *Subject*: Copy of 3, by Jules Rémy (figs. 21, 32).

Medium: Pencil and watercolor.

Ownership: Bishop Museum (library); A. L. C. Atkinson; Nahie, steward of Kuakini's estate.

Title: Captioned by Rémy, "Kamehameha I. D'après Choris, 1817." It is signed, "Mikelemi, 1853."

Mikelemi is the Hawaiian phonetic rendering for Mister Rémy and was probably Rémy's nickname in Hawaiian circles. This artful signature, combining in two words three languages, is a reminder of Rémy's interest in ancient Hawaiian culture. In 1859, he published "Récits d'un vieux Sauvage pour servir à l'Histoire ancienne de Havaii." In 1862, he brought out his excellent translation "Ka Moolelo Hawaii, Histoire de l'Archipel Hawaïien," signed with another one of his Hawaiian nicknames, Lipalani, perhaps the equivalent of "Frenchy."

Though a copy of 3, 4 offers a curious departure from the model. With the same scarlet pigment that so charmed Nahie, Rémy painted the white of the eyes red. For a Hawaiian, this would have held disrespectful innuendoes, as the term *makole*, or red eyes, meant a *kauwa*, a despised untouchable, at the very bottom of the ancient social hierarchy. As there seems to be no justification, either esthetic or naturalistic, for this willful departure, perhaps Rémy was advised by some Hawaiian dissenter who enjoyed a private, if tactless, joke.

A photograph of 4, presented to the Hawaiian Historical Society by Bruce Cartwright, Jr., November 8, 1937, is inscribed as follows:

"Photograph of drawing by Jules Rémy of the original portrait presented to Kalaimoku. Rémy traded this copy for Kalaimoku's original.

"This is 'The Hayselden Portrait,' owned by A. L. C. Atkinson (and probably burned when the Atkinson home at Puuloa, Oahu, burned)."

Added in J. F. G. Stokes' hand is the statement, "Now at the Bishop Museum deposited by Mr. Atkinson probably January 24, 1925 . . . Vest is all red."



FIGURE 32. TRACING AFTER CATALOGUE NUMBER 3.

5. *Subject*: Bust with red vest, black lapels, and red buttons.

Medium: Presumably a watercolor.

Ownership: Whereabouts unknown; but known through De Chamisso's contemporary mention and the existing copy (catalogue entry 6, below). It was once owned by "American merchants," one of whom was presumably John Coffin Jones, Jr.

De Chamisso in a new translation from the German by Dr. Gustav Ecke: "When we reached Manila the following year [1817], American merchants had already gotten hold of this picture, and had managed to get it multiplied for commercial purposes in Chinese painting shops."

6. *Subject*: Copy of 5 (figs. 23, 33).

Medium: Oil on canvas, 10 by 7½ inches.

Ownership: Boston Athenaeum, John Coffin Jones, Jr.

Title: The painted caption is "Tammahamaha," and inscribed on the back of the original stretcher (fig. 34) is the following: "Kamehameha or Tamahameha I, King of the Sandwich Islands. Presented to the Boston Athenaeum by John C. Jones, Jr.; June 14, 1818."¹⁴

There is also a Chinese ideogram, brushed in ink: 利, or *li*. Tseng Yu-Ho, Mrs. Gustav Ecke, kindly translated and paraphrased *li* for me. Used in this connection it probably is a price code, used by the shop owner to mark his merchandise without the knowledge of the customer. Connecting this ideogram with De Chamisso's observations indicates that this picture is one of the Oriental copies that were for sale in Manila in 1817.

There is no reason to doubt the date of Jones' gift, as it is entered in the "Donation Book" of the Athenaeum as June 18, 1818. Thus it even antedates the return to Europe of the Von Kotzebue expedition.

John Coffin Jones was an American merchant representing the Boston firm of Marshall and Wilder. His preserved letters, written in the 1820's, are phrased with commercial bluntness, "This people must be supplied with goods as long as a stick of [sandal] wood is to be found . . . There is money to be made here yet and I hope to get a share of it." (See entry 8 of this catalogue for a Jones sandalwood deal that resulted in profit.)

Jones' firm built ships, outfitted ships, and bought and sold ships and cargoes. His commercial dealings normally ranged from China to Boston, via Manila. He is a likely candidate to be one of the merchants mentioned by De Chamisso.

The strikingly early date of the Boston picture is a guarantee that it is narrowly linked with Choris. It has even been spoken of as "the only portrait from life of Kamehameha." Perhaps here the historian should lend an ear to the art critic before attempting an estimate. The truth is that the pedigree of the



Sammahammaha

FIGURE 33. TRACING AFTER CATALOGUE NUMBER 4.

picture is as excellent as its esthetic quality is average. Choris' watercolors, even at their most casual, rarely fail to suggest the bulk of a physical presence, together with the *anima*, the spiritual presence, of the model. Both bulk and *anima* are here so weakened, despite the more substantial medium of oil painting, that this respectable document can only be accepted as a copy.

One would expect gouache or watercolor on paper to be the more natural medium of an Oriental copyist. There is, however, in this canvas a strengthening of the linear surface design that suggests the Oriental. In an original Choris, such as number 3 in this catalogue, the red vest is buttoned to a strain over the wide torso, each crease adding to the sense of stress and pull. In the Boston picture,

the vest is empty of its solid content, and even the emerging shoulders and arms remain insubstantial. In Choris' version, the lapels of the vest are rendered with a helicoidal twist that clearly implies a third dimension. In the Boston copy, the lapels are flattened into a tailor's pattern. This decorative approach must have been more obvious when the lower margin and inscription held their original brilliancy, golden letters against an indigo blue background.

Such a picture is not as exceptional as it may seem. New England folk maintained steady relations with China, and even the oil medium is not unexpected in a Chinese painting meant as an export to the west. "Many ship pictures were brought home to New England from China, done with great fidelity by Chinese artists at Hong Kong, Lintin or Wampoa . . . Previous to 1830 nearly all of this work was done in watercolors but after that date painting in oils came into favor, especially in America and in the paintings done by Chinese artists."¹⁵

The subject matter of these export works also included portraits, and oils were painted in China before 1830. In the collection of portraits of shipmasters and merchants in the Peabody Museum of Salem are a number of examples. "Eshing, a silk merchant of Canton" was given to the Museum in 1809. It is a portrait in oils, done by a Chinese artist.¹⁶

A similar example, of even earlier date, is connected with Hawaii. It is the portrait of an *ali'i*, Kaiana, for which he sat in Canton, December 1787, to a Chinese artist.¹⁷

Portrait 6 was first reproduced by James J. Jarves, in his "History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands," published in 1843. The Boston Athenaeum has in its files the following letter on the subject:

"Boston Nov 17 1842

"Gentleman,

I am engaged in preparing a history of the Sandwich Islands, and should esteem it a great favor, if the loan of the small portait of Kamehameha I, which hangs in the library, could be obtained for a short time, to be engraved.

Also for my own reference, 'The voyage of the Blonde' which contains some important information . . . I need not assure you that the strictest care would be taken of either or both, should you see fit to grant the favor . . .

(signed) James J. Jarves"

The loan was granted, and the picture was engraved by Joseph Andrews of Boston. The plate faces page 206 in the book.

Phillips: ". . . Choris, the artist of Kotzebue's expedition, painted, as is well known, several different pictures of the king and presented this little panel to Mr. Jones or one of the other merchants as a compliment in return for some favor he may have done for the Russian officers."¹⁸

Angus: "Jones probably got his painting when in the Orient . . . painted in Manila or in China."

Tamamamaha, otherwise known as Kamehameha I

First King of the Hawaiian Islands.

1795-1819.

As described in "America in Hawaii," by
Edmund J. Carpenter, a little book pub-
lished in Boston in 1839.

2
4
1
3
1
11

Kamehameha I, King of the Hawaiian Islands
1795-1819

12150

FIGURE 34. BACK OF CATALOGUE NUMBER 6, SHOWING INSCRIPTION IN ENGLISH AND CHINESE IDEOGRAPH.

Luquiens: "While it is not, strictly speaking, impossible that Choris should have made a hasty version [in oils] of his portrait before leaving the islands, it is easier for me to regard the picture as a copy by some less experienced practitioner . . . The American merchants immediately discovered the trade value of copies; . . . the Boston picture should be such a one."

For the Americans' venture to be profitable, the number of copies must have been substantial. Although the Boston picture is, at present, the only one whose whereabouts is known, the existence of three other copies of that type can be traced (7, 8, 9 of this catalogue).

7. *Subject*: Choris' own Chinese copy, bought by him in Manila in January 1818.

De Chamisso: "Of this 'Chinese edition,' Choris has brought a copy to Europe."

8. *Subject*: Kaahumanu's copy; Loomis is the only source.

Loomis (diary): "May 22, 1821. Today two brigs arrived from Boston. The first brought out Mr. Jones, who is to reside here, having been appointed American Consul for these islands."

Both brigs, the *Inore* and the *Tamahourelanne*, were owned by Josiah Marshall, for whose firm John Coffin Jones, Jr. worked. Loomis wrote on May 31, 1821, "Received an invitation to dine on board the *Inoah*, Captain Grimes . . . The *Inoah* is elegantly built. It was designed for Kah-ah-hoo manoo the Queen dowager. In the cabin is a portrait of Tamahamaha."

In 1820, the rival firm of Bryant and Sturgis had sold to the king *Cleopatra's Barge*, an expensive brig which was luxuriously furnished, though somewhat unseaworthy. The *Inore* was, in turn, Marshall's bid for the royal trade. Battered on the trip, it nevertheless sold for the high price of 3,700 piculs of sandalwood.

Jones' participation in the affair strongly suggests that the portrait Loomis noticed on board was one from the "Chinese edition."

9. *Subject*: Kuakini's copy mentioned by Arago in the late editions of "Voyage autour du monde," beginning with that of 1840.

To my knowledge this passage has never before been translated into English:

"Sir Adams [Kuakini] awaited me at home. His hut, better aired than those I had previously entered was tastefully furnished . . . On the walls were panoplies of weapons that I coveted at a glance, and, in a cheap frame, the portrait of the great Tamahamah, painted by I know not what itinerant dauber."

At its start in 1818, the *De Freycinet* expedition, of which Arago was the draftsman, had met at Table Bay the *Von Kotzebue* expedition, then on its return journey. Thus Arago probably visited with his Russian counterpart,

Choris, and certainly knew of him. When Arago mentions a Choris picture, he acknowledges both the artist and the quality of his work (see entries 13 and 15 of this catalogue).

The king's portrait that Arago saw in Kuakini's house he describes however in very different terms. The passage that I translated, "painted by I know not what itinerant dauber," is in French more specific: *peint par je ne sais quel vitrier voyageur*. Literally, the painter is referred to as an itinerant glass-panes peddler. It hints at a form of folk painting that flourished in Arago's time in provincial France that the French called *églomisé* and the English called "under glass." Painted on the verso of the glass, the picture is looked at through its thickness. To secure this effect, the surface details, such as the lines of the features and the design on a fabric, are brushed in first. To these are added the local areas, painted flat, and lastly the background. The Chinese insistence on line disembodied from form might well have reminded Arago of this folk craft.

10. *Subject*: Choris' own autographic version, with black lapels.

The whereabouts of this version is unknown; but it is known through its aquatint copy (11 below). It is the portrait that Choris chose to keep.

11. *Subject*: A translation of 10 (figs. 25, 35).

Medium: Aquatint.

Printed for the Russian edition of Von Kotzebue's report, published in 1821, in sanguine or brown.

Title:

Таммеамеа
Король Сандвических Островов

I believe this is by Choris himself. The very weaknesses are typical of his lack of ease when working on a metal plate.

12. *Subject*: Bust with red vest, black lapels, and black buttons (figs. 16, 24, 36).

Medium: Ink and watercolor.

Ownership: Bruce Cartwright, Jr.; Francis Edwards, a London art dealer; "a Polish-German nobleman, a relation of Choris," says Cartwright.

Title:

Таммеамеа.
Король Сандвических Островов.

The German script is "Tammssamssa König der Sandwich Inseln."



FIGURE 35. TRACING AFTER CATALOGUE NUMBER 11.

This is the only one of the portraits that has a touch of the ostentatious in its physical makeup. The bust is spaciouly centered on a full sheet of Whatman paper, watermarked 1813. Choris ruled borders of a simple kind on the sketches he meant for public display; but in this portrait, he elaborated the border into a decorative feature. It is washed in three tints harmoniously disposed, malachite green, white, and golden ochre. The bilingual writing in Russian and German suggests that Von Kotzebue, as German as he was Russian, was the intended recipient of the work.



FIGURE 36. TRACING AFTER CATALOGUE NUMBER 12.

The craft is exquisite; the watercolor washes patiently superimposed; the rendering so minute that it gains in quality under a magnifying glass. Choris worked as if he meant this to be a final version, so clearly rendered that it could be of use to an engraver.

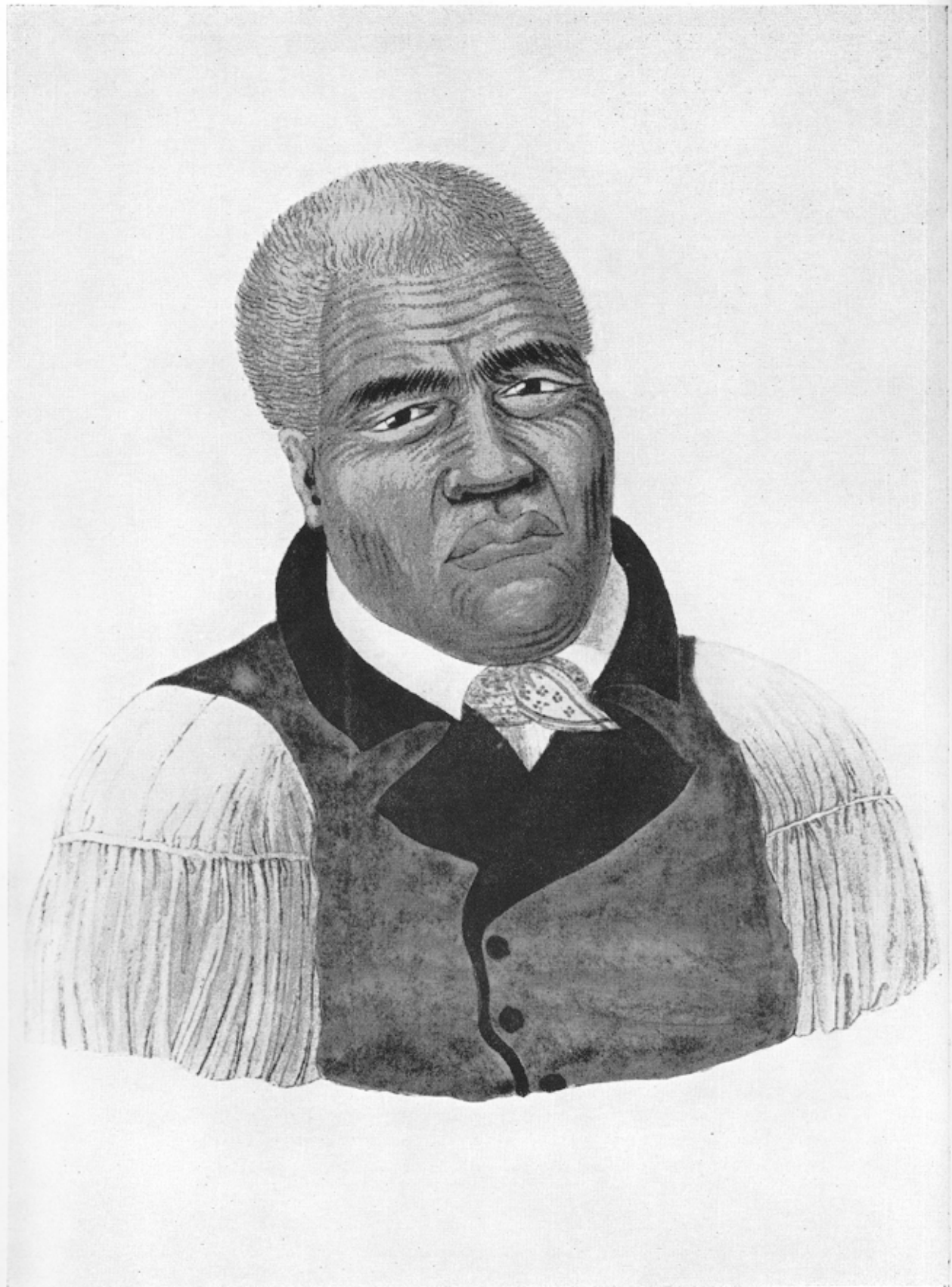


FIGURE 37. THE WEIMAR ENGRAVING, 1821, CATALOGUE NUMBER 13.

Angus: "Copy that Choris executed for Kotzebue's publication . . ."

Luquiens: "It is too precise to be Choris' sketchbook original. It is no doubt Choris' official replica, from his own original, for publication."

13. *Subject*: The Weimar engraving (fig. 37).

This aquatint is not by Choris, but is based on entry 12. It illustrates Von Kotzebue's German edition, 1821. The reduction imposed by the format of the book forced the engraver to some simplifications, but the rendering is faithful enough to presuppose the use of a mechanical aid, probably a camera negra.

A number of portraits now lost have received early mention, but not in sufficient detail to allot them a place in the chronological sequence above. They are entries 14 through 19 below.

14. *Subject*: Kalaimoku's portrait of Kamehameha.

Von Kotzebue (English edition, 1821, p. 204) writes: "October 14, 1817 . . . On parting, I presented him [Kalaimoku] with the portrait of Tamaahmaah, which appeared to give him uncommon pleasure."

Luquiens remarks that the word "the" could imply that Kalaimoku's was the original portrait. If we accept Cartwright's remark (p. 51), this gift would be identical with entry 3. However, Cartwright's designation is unsupported, and at odds with Rémy's.

15. *Subject*: Kuakini's portrait (not to be confused with entry 9).

Arago (French edition, 1822, Lettre CIX, p. 116): "Kookini held in his hand the portrait of Tammeahmah, which had been tolerably well painted [*assez bien peint*] by the draftsman of the Russian expedition, under Captain Kotzebue, and of which he had requested me to make a copy."

16. *Subject*: Arago's copy of entry number 15.

One surmises that Arago humored the powerful Governor of Oahu.

17. *Subject*: Jack's portrait.

Arago, 1840 (my translation): "Meanwhile, the double canoe that Kookini had sent to the King to relay the news of our arrival returned to Kaairooah . . . Besides twenty-four muscular oarsmen . . . it held a royal pilot named Jack, a close relative of the King . . . His loins were girded with a piece of cloth and, on landing, he threw aside a beautiful local cloak, that seemed to curtail somewhat the vigor of his motions . . ."

"Jack noticed me nearby, busy sketching this strange scene. He walked towards me, shook hands, glanced with uneasy curiosity at my sketchbook, and showed me, in a little frame, the portrait of Tamahmah, very well done by the draftsman of the Russian expedition, under Mr. de Kotzebue."

Jack, naked but for a loincloth, produced for Arago a portrait "in a little frame," suggesting that it hung from his neck in locket-fashion. In turn, this reminds us of the oval portrait (entry 2) cut to fit a locket.

However, an earlier version of the same scene (1823) refers rather to the Kuakini-owned picture (14): "Jack soon came to us, and he and the governor had scarcely shook hands when they cried aloud several times, beat their breasts, frequently kissed the portrait of the king [*baisèrent à différentes reprises le portrait du Roi*]; and during a quarter of an hour shed an abundance of tears."

18. *Subject*: Liholiho's portrait.

Arago, who noticed it in Liholiho's hall, wrote in 1840: "on the wall, the portrait of Tammeamah, facing that of Napoleon crossing the Saint-Bernard, by David."

This picture could be identical with entry 3, which Rémy traces to Liholiho.

19. *Subject*: Kaahumanu's portrait, mentioned only by Arago.

Arago (1868, p. 244) describes his visit to Kaahumanu:

"She was tattooed on the tongue. The name of Tamahamah and the date of his death could be read on her arms. The soles of her little feet and the palms of her delicate hands bore designs that I guessed had been sketched by the draftsman of the expedition under Kotzebue.

"When I finished my work [the queen's portrait] she asked me to further embellish her with new drawings. Rives made it known that she eagerly wished for a hunting horn [to be tattooed] on her buttock, and for a Tamahamah on the shoulder, to which I agreed with great pleasure.

"I was barely through when one of the courtiers who stood in attendance to the princesses started to work, tattooing my drawings with the needle at great speed. The next day, it pleased me to see how my work had been made imperishable."

It is worthwhile to check this *piquante* scene against the first version of the same episode.

Arago (French edition, 1822, translated English edition, 1823), wrote, page 92:

"[Rives] left us in the apartment of the Princesses, where, during half an hour, we were at liberty to make our observations.

“The Queen dowager, the favourite of Tammeamah, was stretched out on some very fine mats, and wrapped up in a beautiful piece of cloth of *Lavalliere* colour . . . Her legs, the palm of her left hand, and her tongue, are very elegantly tattooed; and her body bears the marks of a great number of burns and incisions she inflicted on herself at the death of her husband. She offered us some beer with much kindness, drank to us, striking her glass against ours; and on her proposing it, we drank the health of Tameamah . . .

“Our officious interpreter [Rives] however having returned, we went with him to the King . . .”

What with portrait painting, beer drinking, and tattoo designing, it must have been a busy half-hour, if we are to believe both versions of the visit. A casual reference in the 1823 edition (p. 148) gives us a clue, “Many times I amused myself with tracing figures on the shoulders and thighs of the savages, the subjects of which my own imagination always supplied.”

His imagination, in 1823, had not yet supplied Arago with a royal subject for the scene he was to describe so vividly later.

NOTES

1. Choris, Louis, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde . . .*, Isles Hawaii, p. 3, Paris, 1822.
2. Vancouver, George, *A voyage of discovery to the north Pacific Ocean, and round the world . . .*, vol. 2, p. 126, London, 1798.
3. Vancouver, George, *A voyage of discovery . . .*, vol. 2, p. 124, London, 1798.
4. Broughton, William Robert, *A voyage of discovery to the north Pacific Ocean . . .*, p. 38, London, 1804.
5. Freycinet, Louis Claude Desaulces de, *Voyage autour du monde . . .*, vol. 2, p. 534, Paris, 1829.
6. Golovnin, Vassili Mikhailovitch, "The Friend," p. 50, Honolulu, July 1894, English translation by Joseph Barth of extracts from chapters 10 and 11 from *Tour around the world . . .*, St. Petersburg, 1822. [Translated title.]
7. Campbell, Archibald, *A voyage round the world . . .*, pp. 126-127, Edinburgh, 1816.
8. University of Hawaii library translations from the Russian by Ella Embree of reports, letters, and other material concerning the Russian American Company in the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley: manuscript pages 22, 24 (medal), 48 (uniform).
9. Kotzebue, Otto von, *A new voyage round the world . . .*, vol. 2, pp. 193-194, London, 1830 [translation].
10. Kotzebue, Otto von, *A voyage of discovery into the south sea and Beering's Straits . . .*, vol. 2, p. 193, London, 1821 [translation].
11. Kotzebue, Otto von, *A new voyage round the world . . .*, vol. 2, pp. 193-194, London, 1830 [translation].
12. Luquiens, Huc-M., *Kamehameha's Portrait: Hawaiian Historical Society Annual Report No. 45 (for the year 1936)*, pp. 11-24, Honolulu, 1937.
13. In numbering Choris' drawings, the first number is that given by the Honolulu Academy of Arts to the cardboard on which Choris, as a rule, pasted a group of small sketches. The second number is that written, by Choris himself, on each sketch.
14. Data offered by David McKibbin, of the Boston Athenaeum. Thanks are also due to Margaret Titcomb, Librarian of the Bishop Museum, who "scouted" for me while in Boston.
15. Robinson, John, and Dow, George F., *The sailing ships of New England: Marine Research Society, Salem, Mass., 1922.*
16. Portraits of shipmasters and merchants in the Peabody Museum of Salem, pl. XVI, Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass., 1939.
17. Data received from Marion Morse, Librarian of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, together with bibliographical notes on Chinese export art.
18. Phillips, Stephen W., *Oil painting of Kamehameha I at the Boston Athenaeum, Boston: Hawaiian Historical Society Annual Report No. 34 (for the year 1925)*, pp. 40-41, Honolulu, 1926.