

Historical Ethnography and Archaeology of Russian Fort Elisabeth State Historical Park, Waimea, Kauaʻi

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Introduction

There is a sign on the highway in Waimea, Kauaʻi in the Hawaiian Islands with the words “Russian Fort” printed on it. Local residents use the same term to refer to the State Historical Park that the sign marks. I give this introduction not because it is the best, but because it is the one that everyone else gets. Fort Elisabeth was built in Waimea, Kauaʻi following an alliance between Kaumualiʻi, paramount chief of Kauaʻi, and Georg Anton Schäffer of the Russian-American Company (RAC) in 1816. Georg Schäffer and the RAC were forced to leave Kauaʻi in 1817 which left Kaumualiʻi in sole control of the fort. Most tourists visiting the site are surprised to find that Russians were building forts in the Hawaiian Islands, but the story of Fort Elisabeth and two smaller forts (Alexander and Barclay) on the north shore of Kauaʻi (Figure 1) has been “well-tilled” (Barratt 1988:v) for over a century (Alexander 1894; Barratt 1988:15-24; Bolkhovitinov 1973; Bradley 1942; Emerson 1900; Golder 1930; Gronski 1928; Jarves 1844:201-203; Mazour 1937; Mehnert 1939: 22-65; Okun 1951; Pierce 1965; Tumarkin 1964:134-166; Whitney 1838:48-51).

On Kauaʻi, Fort Elisabeth seems to be perceived as a cumbersome and obscure monument to 19th century European expansion, lacking in any connection to traditional Hawaiian landscapes. Within the academic community, little recent attention focuses on the fort other than Richard Pierce’s *Russia’s Hawaiian Adventure 1815-1817* (1965) with a follow-up article by Bolkhovitinov (1973). As Pierce’s title suggests, historical interest in the fort centers on the brief Russian-American Company presence. Some of the historical discussions begin with the first Russian expedition to the Hawaiian Islands in 1804 led by Krusenstern and Lisianskii on the *Nadezhda* and *Neva* respectively (see Barratt 1987) and generally follow the history of the Russian fur trade. When discussions of Hawaiian history are included, they are given as brief introductions to the arrival of the RAC in Hawaii. Thus, by emphasizing the political history and economic motivation of the RAC, Russians are presented as the actors and Hawaiians usually are presented as part of the set. Nikolai Bolkhovitinov (1973:56) goes so far as to ask the following:

Is there a need for returning once again to a study of this subject? Would this not simply be a repetition of facts already known, and do any sort of disputable problems remain in general? Even a brief examination of the historiography would show that we cannot harbor any special hopes of disclosing principally new documents and facts.

Bolkhovitinov does find cause to return to the subject, but it is for the purpose of better synthesizing some of the primary Russian historical accounts. Richard Pierce’s work (1965) is a thorough and scholarly compilation of historical documents written by RAC employees; it

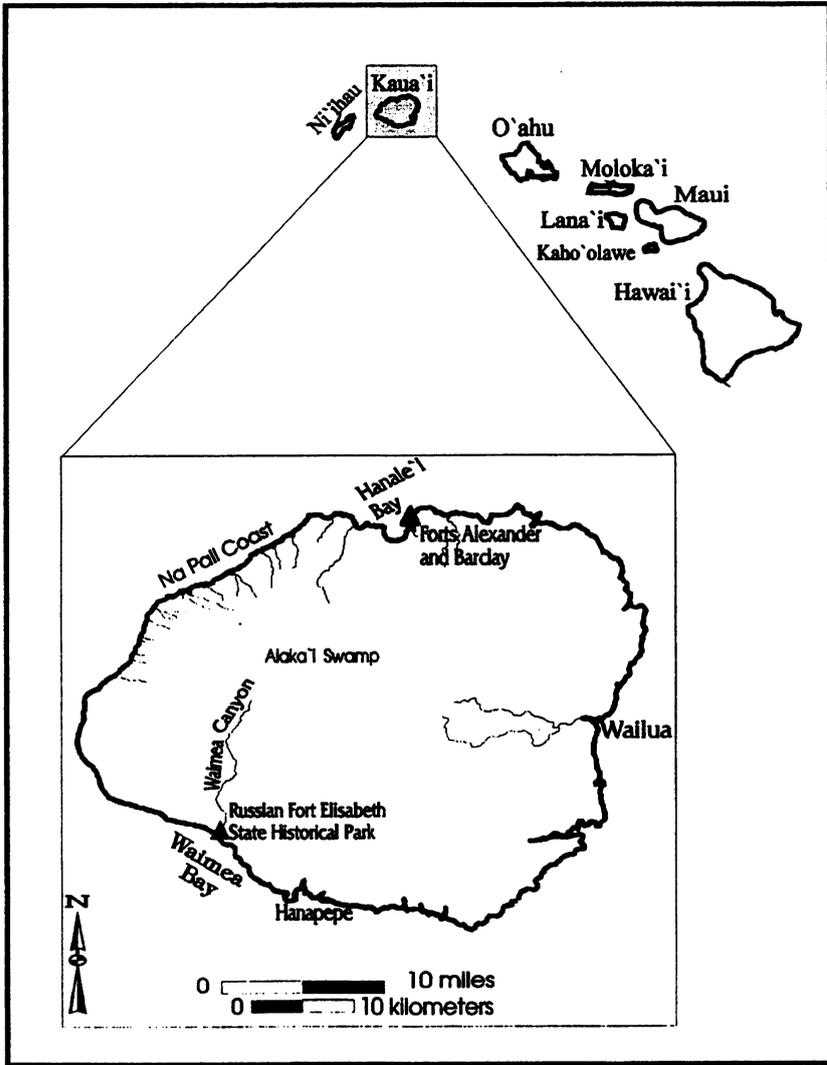


Figure 1. Map of the Hawaiian Islands with a detail of Kaua'i

presents a critical body of data for interpreting Western perceptions of the events on Kaua'i. Yet, I suggest there is much more to consider when attempting to construct an anthropological history of the events surrounding Fort Elisabeth's construction. While Pierce emphasizes the importance of his work in overcoming the scanty details on Schäffer's life, the limited information on Hawaiians is accepted with little discussion. Pierce's opening sentence in his

introduction states “The Pacific Ocean, all but empty of sail until Cook’s epoch-making voyages in the 1770s, became in little more than a generation the scene of a thriving and far-flung commerce” (Pierce 1965:1). While inter-island commerce certainly increased in the Pacific following the arrival of Cook, the statement “all but empty of sail” is particularly unsuited for Polynesia. It creates a false sense of emptiness in an area with a rich history of colonization, exchange, and sociopolitical intensification and consequently subordinates Hawaiians in the events of the 19th century.

Ethnohistorians are re-evaluating historical events from broader perspectives (Biersack 1990; Denning 1988; Linnekin 1990; Sahlins 1981,1985; Valeri 1985, 1990). Their research emphasizes that different cultures usually perceive the same events differently and often participate in new events through creative adaptations of historical tradition. Employing these basic postulates, I re-examine Russian Fort Elisabeth to understand a broader history behind this 19th century monument. In addition to conducting historical ethnography, I incorporate data from archaeological excavations into a new narrative of Fort Elisabeth. The combination of these two approaches challenges Bolkhovitinov’s statement that “we cannot harbor any special hopes of disclosing principally new documents and facts.”

Hawaii in the World System

When Captain Cook’s expedition first discovered the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, they landed at Waimea, Kaua`i and found people living in a highly stratified socio-political system. Chiefs ruled entire islands and frequently fought for control of neighboring islands. Their status was based upon a deified heredity ranking system as well as secular political power. Following Captain Cook’s arrival, their political system began to closely mimic the British monarchy by giving the paramount rulers the titles of “King” and “Queen” (Vancouver 1984:474). Hawaiians entered into the global economy, or what Wallerstein (1974, 1980) called the “World System,” in a way that is not typical of concepts of the “periphery” in World Systems theory. Hawaiian chiefs controlled large amounts of resources, particularly provisions for ships, and in the early 1800s Hawaiian sandalwood was a valuable commodity in Canton. The chiefs exploited their control of these resources to increase their wealth and status (Sahlins 1992:37-81). In the process, they acquired substantial stockpiles of foreign wealth including hard currency, ships, and large supplies of munitions. They also benefited from competition between various foreign powers. In April of 1791, the *Princess Royal* under Spanish command was in Waimea Bay, Kaua`i at the same time that the British ship *Argonaut* under Capt. James Colnett was in the vicinity. Colnett recorded the following in his log:

I wanted nothing from Atooi [Kaua`i], but had sent them, in case of the Spaniards coming to settle there, powder, shot, arms, and ammunition, and a number of other presents for the Chiefs, their wives, daughters, and children, our old and worthy friends. I also left here my remaining livestock consisting of a ram and two ewes, a cock and two hen turkeys, with beans, peas, indian corn, and Callavances (Colnett 1940:222).

It is important to recognize that while foreign people, concepts, and goods entered Hawaii, the process was not a passive one for the Hawaiians. Hawaiian culture was changing, but a changing culture should not necessarily be viewed as passive, subordinated, or weakened.

By controlling the resources that were needed by all merchants, Hawaiian elites took full advantage of their position. They convinced foreign craftpersons to work for them including blacksmiths, carpenters, and sail-makers so that they did not have to depend upon trade for many status goods that could be produced locally (Campbell 1822:99-100; Sahlins 1992:43). In short, Hawaiian culture was transforming in the late 18th century and early 19th century in such a way that the wealth of Hawaiian chiefs was increasing in a fundamentally indigenous socio-political system, and the ability of foreigners to acquire goods and provisions at cheap prices was decreasing.

Ritual and landscape in Waimea

With the concept of a transforming, but active culture in mind, I return to an aspect of Hawaiian ritual, the *heiau*. A *heiau* was a place of sacrifice, often a large stone structure with numerous interior features (see Valeri 1985). Such monumental architecture was dedicated to particular deities, such as Kū, the god of war and politics. Some *heiau* dedicated to Kū, known as *luakini heiau*, were built and sacrifices offered to assure victory in an impending battle. *Luakini heiau* rituals were the only ones that involved human sacrifice. There are several historical accounts of *heiau* on the east bank of the Waimea River prior to the construction of Fort Elisabeth. A *luakini heiau* was noted by Captain Cook and sketched by his artist, John Webber, most likely on the west bank and further upstream from the fort. Cook noted another *heiau* on the east bank, but could not reach it from his position (Beaglehole 1967 vol. III:270-271). A surgeon with Cook, William Ellis, drew a shipboard sketch of Waimea Bay that he used to make a more detailed sketch at a later date (Forbes 1992:28-29). Both sketches show a *heiau* on the east bank of the Waimea River slightly upstream from the eventual location of Fort Elisabeth. This may be a *heiau* 272 feet long by 75 to 81 feet wide, the remains of which Thomas Thrum observed in the early 1900s (Thrum 1906:39). The eventual construction site of Fort Elisabeth in William Ellis' sketches is represented by a small rise on the shore; no houses are visible there except for possible cluster on the east flank of the rise along the shore. The west bank of the Waimea River shows dense clusters of houses. The dichotomy between the dense settlement of the west bank and the sparse settlement of the east bank is of interest when considering oral traditions in Waimea. Local informants told Thomas Thrum that the *heiau* on the east bank was a place of refuge, or *pu'uhonua*, while others told him that crossing the Waimea River to the east side "was the only *puuhonua* of this section of ancient Kauai" (Thrum 1906:39). Places of refuge were imbued with ritual. They were places that could be used to purify breakers of *kapu* (Hawaiian taboo) and provide sanctuary to warriors during battle.

Eight years after Cook's visit, the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte*, British merchant ships under Captains Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon, sailed into Waimea Bay. George Dixon's supercargo, William Beresford, took a canoe ride close to the east bank, but the Hawaiian paddler of the canoe refused to land since the area was *kapu* (Beresford 1968:128). Nathaniel Portlock also mentioned that the paramount chief, Ka'eo, had a residence on the east bank (Portlock 1968:178-179).

In 1796, a British merchant, Charles Bishop on the *Ruby*, made some interesting observations on how the two sides of a "stream" in Waimea were used to separate opposing forces fighting for control of Kaua'i. The only running water near the town of Waimea is the

Waimea River, so I assume that the “stream” refers to the river. Bishop’s account is provided below:

Taheo [Ka`eo] the late King dying, left a Son called King George [Kaumuali`i], a youth of about 17 years, whose Mother had borne several children before she became the wife of Taheo, by a Principal Chief, the Eldest of which is named Teeavey [Keawe], and also Rerowee - they Both claim the Sovereignty of the Island and support it by the Sword. Teeavey, has got Possession of the West side and by far the best and most numerous part of the People in his cause. The other has the East side, and altho not so strong in Numbers, his Party is Resolute and Firm to his cause. While we were here two Battles or skirmishes had happened in which Teeavey tho’ much stronger had no reason to boast of victory. A small stream of water in a valley separates the Encampments of the two armys [sic], and I am told it requires the utmost force of the Taboo to Prevent the armies rushing on to Death or Victory and which the contending chiefs Politically exert, for as Soon as the Taboo is Proclaimed in one camp, for one, two, or three days, it immediately takes place in the other for the like time. In this time, these intervals of war, they sit on the opposite banks of the stream conversing with each other as Friends (Bishop 1966:145-146).

In brief, the nature of Hawaiian warfare in the late 1700s on Kaua`i continued to be a highly ritualized encounter performed according to Hawaiian *kapu*. It appears that the east bank of the Waimea River was Kaumuali`i’s place of refuge from the stronger forces of Keawe in 1796. Bishop’s account and Thomas Thrum’s notes suggest that the east side of the Waimea River was one of the few *pu uhonua* or ritual “places of refuge” on the leeward side of Kaua`i. It also appears that for at least two generations prior to the fort’s construction, the area contained a *heiau* and was associated with Kaua`i’s most elite rulers.

Hawaii’s Russian Adventure

The heading “Hawaii’s Russian Adventure” is a deliberate attempt to reverse the perspective of “Russia’s Hawaiian Adventure” by placing the possessive on Hawaii and thus emphasize that Hawaiians also possess history. As I hope to demonstrate, Hawaiian history is as germane to understanding the events of 1815-1817 on Kaua`i as the history of the RAC. By the time of the first Russian naval expedition to the Hawaiian Islands in 1804, Kaumuali`i ruled over Kaua`i and Ni`ihau. He was the only chief in Hawaii to maintain any degree of sovereignty from Kamehameha I, who had gained control of all the other Hawaiian Islands. In 1810 Kaumuali`i sailed to O`ahu to verbally offer his kingdom to Kamehameha. Kaumuali`i returned to Kaua`i still serving as the paramount chief, but with an apparent understanding that when he died, Liholiho (Kamehameha’s son) was to be recognized as the heir to all the islands. One account says Kaumuali`i also agreed to pay an annual tribute to Kamehameha (I`i 1959:83). Kaumuali`i left O`ahu earlier than planned, however, with the justifiable belief that some of Kamehameha’s chiefs were plotting to poison him. An Englishman in Kamehameha’s court, Isaac Davis, warned Kaumuali`i of the plot. Shortly afterwards, Davis died. It has been suggested that he was killed in retaliation for warning Kaumuali`i (I`i 1959:83-84).

Regardless of the tentative nature of this political situation, 1810 is often cited as the date of the final unification of the Hawaiian Islands under one Hawaiian sovereign. Marshall Sahlins recent introduction to the historical ethnography of Anahulu Valley is typical of the portrayal of a unified kingdom in 1810: "Only now, by virtue of the new means of power [foreign trade], it became possible for one chief, Kamehameha of Hawai'i Island, to realize the objective of a unified kingdom" (Sahlins 1992:3).

The premise of a unified Hawaiian kingdom after 1810 has a secondary effect on the interpretation of the events of 1816 and 1817 on Kaua'i. It implies that the political tension between Kamehameha and Kaumuali'i during the RAC presence on Kaua'i was primarily the result of an imperialistic agenda of Georg Schäffer. This premise is also supported by a statement attributed to Kamehameha in 1817 by a Russian Naval Officer, Otto Von Kotzebue:

But what was the consequence of my hospitality? Even before he [Schäffer] left Owhyee [Hawai'i Island], he repaid my kindness with ingratitude, which I bore patiently. Upon this, according to his own desire, he traveled from one island to another; and, at last, settled in the fruitful island of Woahoo [O'ahu], where he proved himself to be my most inveterate enemy; destroying our sanctuary, the Morai [*heiau*]; and exciting against me, in the island of Atooi [Kaua'i], King Tamary [Kaumuali'i], who had submitted to my power years before. Sheffer is there at this very moment, and threatens my islands (Kotzebue 1967:304).

If this quote is an accurate representation of Kamehameha's words, Kamehameha clearly portrayed Schäffer as the initiator of change. I suggest, however, that this account cannot be taken at face value. Kamehameha had much to gain by portraying Schäffer as the initiator of a rebellion on Kaua'i. In so doing, the Russians were responsible for destroying peace in a unified kingdom. Kamehameha thereby placed a diplomatic responsibility on Kotzebue to restore peace.

Another possibility is that Kotzebue fabricated the idea that Schäffer excited Kaumuali'i against Kamehameha. In 1817, the Russian Navy and the RAC were at odds with each other over the management of the RAC (Chevigny 1965:162). While the Navy gained little by openly undermining the efforts of the RAC, they had their own agenda of proving that the RAC was poorly run under private management and should be taken over by the Navy. By making Schäffer the destroyer of peace, Kotzebue justified his lack of action in support of Schäffer.

The general acceptance of a unified kingdom after 1810 fails to recognize the nature of the political tensions and economic competition between Kaumuali'i and Kamehameha. For example, the American merchants Jonathan Winship Jr., Nathan Winship, and William Heath Davis signed a contract with Kamehameha in 1812 to procure sandalwood in his domain (Phelps n.d.:63-65). This contract, however, did not cover Kaumuali'i's territory, where a separate contract was drawn up with Kaumuali'i for Kaua'i and Ni'ihau (Phelps n.d.:68).

More conclusive documentation of the lack of unification after 1810 comes from a log kept by an American resident in Waimea, Kauai in 1814 and 1815 (Anonymous, "Log of the *Atahualpa*," n.d.). Only the last portion of this log from January to April of 1815 has been

published (Howay 1933). The following entry at Waimea, Kaua`i is dated Friday, March 18, 1814:

...At 9am arrived the Ships *Isabella* [and] *Pennsylvania Packet*[,] Capt[ains] Davis & Meek, last from Woahoo [O`ahu]. Capt. D. informed us that Tamahamaah [Kamehameha], King of the Windward Islands was making every preparation for invading this Island[.] As of late Tamaree [Kaumuali`i], King of this place has refused paying him a Tribute which was granted him by the King at the last settlement of National affairs which was concluded through the intercession of Mr. Thos. Robinson, in 1810.

Thus, Kaumuali`i had committed to breaking his tenuous ties with Kamehameha well before 1815 when “Russia’s Hawaiian Adventure” began. During the War of 1812 Kaumuali`i solicited American merchants to live and store their supplies on Kaua`i as safe haven from the British. The following entry dated April 1, 1814 from the same log demonstrates how the Americans were drawn into a role of protecting Kaumuali`i’s kingdom:

This day a council of war was held at the House (at which all the nobility attended) for the purpose of adopting some effectual means, for the present & Future safety of this Island from the invasion of Tamahamaah King of Owhyhee [Hawai`i Island]. The plan adopted was to send all the men from this Island which belonged to the Windward Islands & to keep themselves in constant readiness for defence. Capts. Davis, Winship & Whittemore at the same time proffered their friendship & protection as far as lay in their powers, at all times. Thinking it not only requisite for the safety of their property, but Justice to Tamaree, the King for his friendly disposition & protection for Americans.

The log goes on to describe the removal of people with affiliations to Kamehameha from Kaua`i, the parading of idols through the town of Waimea, and on September 16, 1814, a human sacrifice:

About 12 O’Clock at night was heard the screeching of some native & in the morning we were informed that it came from a man as they draged [sic] him to the Morai [*heiau*] & sacrificed him to their Idols.

These events are important to understanding “Russia’s Hawaiian Adventure” because all previous histories suggest that it was the arrival of the scheming and ambitious Georg Schäffer in 1816 that prompted Kaumuali`i to rebel against Kamehameha. Such an erroneous perspective presents the Russians as the initiators of change, and relegates Kaumuali`i to the role of a “dupe” (Emerson 1900:17). The long term perspective is that Kaumuali`i constantly sought to align himself with any foreign power that would assist him in maintaining his sovereignty from Kamehameha.

The log of the *Atahualpa* repeatedly suggests that Kaumuali`i was losing the support of the Kaua`i Islanders during 1814, possibly due to the heavy demand for labor in the harvesting of sandalwood. Another chief, alternately referred to in the “Log of the *Atahualpa*” as “Tamahaw-ra-ran-nu,” or “Tamahawnalany” [Kamaholelani] was Kaumuali`i’s *kalaimoku*, or “prime minister.” The writer of the log thought that this chief was about to take control of Kaua`i

from Kaumuali'i. As the War of 1812 was coming to a close in late 1814, the resident American merchants mostly left Kaua'i, leaving Kaumuali'i short of supplies, ships, and munitions. Furthermore, Kaumuali'i refused to deliver any more sandalwood to the American merchants, most likely to quell his developing unpopularity among his subjects. William H. Davis and the Winship brothers left Waimea with their contract unfulfilled only after Davis threatened bombardment of the town from his ship (Log of the *Atahualpa*, September 26, 1814 - October 1, 1814).

With Kaumuali'i's commitment to separating from Kamehameha and his falling-out with the American merchants, he probably was looking for another foreign power to align himself with. It was in these political and economic conditions that the RAC ship *Bering* wrecked in Waimea on January 31, 1815 with a valuable cargo of furs. Captain James Bennett, who was contracted by the RAC, asked Kaumuali'i for assistance in recovering the cargo:

Capt. Bennett waited on the King and requested his immediate assistance in saving the cargo; to which he would comply, provided Capt. B. would give him the ship as she lay and not otherwise, which was thought most expedient as it was evident that she could not be got off (Howay 1933:76).

By February 3, 1815, two-thousand Hawaiians gathered to partake in the salvage (Howay 1933:77) with personal provisions from the ship being taken to Kaumuali'i's house. The following day, the entry in the log of the *Atahualpa* states:

This day the King requested all the crew to assemble at his house for the purpose of obtaining their chests. The King proposed to retain one half of each man's clothes, to satisfy him for his taking them under his charge. We, one and all, replied that if he retained one piece, we would not receive any of them, but get satisfaction at some future day. From observation we have great reason to fear that the King will not grant us even the necessaries for our living, as he is sensible that we are in his power and he will do with us as he pleases.

Captain Bennett, an American, had little political authority to represent either American or Russian interests and it seems that Bennett and his crew were treated with little respect, with the crew being tossed off the wrecked ship and into the water shortly after the wreck. The log had earlier recorded that even a king's house would be "plundered" after a fire (Log of the *Atahualpa*, May 27, 1814), and a similar action was taken by Hawaiians after a shipwreck off of Maui in April of 1814 (Porter 1822:208). Tikmenev (1978:121) also recorded that "Kaumualii alleges that things that wash on his shore become his property." As late as November 30, 1824 Elisha Loomis noted a fire in Honolulu where eight to ten houses burned down and Hawaiians "according to their custom, carried off whatever they could lay their hands on" (Loomis 1937:22). While the taking of personal possessions and the cargo enraged Bennett and the other seamen who were stranded on Kaua'i, the Islanders were appeased by Kaumuali'i and they obtained valuable supplies from a group of foreigners who could do little to protest. All of this was legitimized according to Hawaiian custom. It is also possible that Kaumuali'i foresaw that these goods would be useful political bargaining tools with the RAC. Kaumuali'i, however, did give the shipwrecked men houses to stay in near the beach (Howay 1933:77). On February 7, 1815 a *kapu* commenced on the island where no fresh pork was allowed for 10 to 12 days. Seven workers lost their lives on February 25, 1815 when some ropes snapped trying to right the ship. Afterwards, a barrier was

built in the water, probably in an attempt to quell the waves around the ship (Howay 1933:78). Efforts to salvage the ship continued into March.

To appease the growing discontent of general population, Kaumuali'i had ended the sandalwood trade for the moment and allowed the plundering of the *Bering* and its crew. As for the support of Kamaholelani, this issue was not necessarily resolved. On February, 21 1815, the log of the *Atahualpa* states the following:

By the consent of the King, Tomahowrarory [Kamaholelani] the head chief is mutually to enjoy the charms of Tepoora [Kapule] the Queen, who is a professed enemy to all white men.

Queen Deborah Kapule's genealogical background is poorly known, but Joesting (1984:114) suggests her father was Ha'upu, one of the high chiefs who Kaumuali'i sent to O'ahu in 1810 prior to his visit (Kamakau 1992:195; Stauffer 1994:6). It appears that she was born sometime between 1788 and 1798 (Stauffer 1994:17) with high hereditary status. Her status is indicated by another name that she went by, *Ha'akālou*, most likely meaning "to-cause-to-bow," (Stauffer 1994:7). She wielded considerable influence on Kaua'i throughout her life and was Kaumuali'i's favorite wife (Joesting 1984:113). Kaumuali'i's announcement that he would share his marriage to Kapule with Kamaholelani may have served to strengthen the political bonds of Kamaholelani and Kaumuali'i. That such a bond between the two came about is indicated by Kaumuali'i naming one of his sons after Kamaholelani (Stauffer 1994:6).

With the resolution of Kaua'i's internal politics, Kaumuali'i could once again focus on foreign relations. In February of 1816 the American Captain Ebbets in the *Enterprise* was caught off Kaua'i in a storm having lost all but one of his anchors. Kaumuali'i, rather than waiting to plunder a wreck, sent a boat out with a large anchor in the height of the gale to help Ebbets (ABCFM 1816:35). Though he established good relations with merchant traders through friendly deeds, Kaumuali'i remained unwilling to trade in sandalwood except at a very high price. On April 7, 1816, Samuel Hill arrived at Waimea Bay after a failed attempt to get sandalwood from Kamehameha:

After much solicitation, Tamooeree [Kaumuali'i] was induced to come on board, but like Tamahamaha [Kamehameha], he seemed indifferent to any kind of barter for sandalwood except for a brig or schooner of 180 or 200 tons burthen. I determined on going back to Owhyhee [Hawai'i Island] where I was certain I could purchase some hogs and vegetables in exchange for a quantity of pine plank and joist which I had on board, after which to sail with all possible dispatch for the port of Batavia in the Island of Java [to look for sandalwood there] (Hill 1937:365).

Georg Schäffer arrived on Kaua'i in an attempt to recover the *Bering's* cargo a little more than one month after Samuel Hill's departure (see Pierce 1965:6 and Bolkhovitinov 1973:58). One must ask, if Kaumuali'i had refused to trade in sandalwood just a month earlier for anything less than a large ship, what were his reasons for returning the *Bering's* cargo and giving a sandalwood monopoly to Schäffer? Clearly, Kaumuali'i felt that Schäffer had something extraordinary to offer. Schäffer was willing to purchase two ships for Kaumuali'i, the *Lydia* and the *Avon* (Pierce 1965:12-13). Another reason may be that Schäffer reportedly arrived with a con-

siderable amount of gunpowder in his care, which he readily traded to Kaumuali'i (Whitney 1838:49). Unlike Captain Bennett, Schäffer appeared to have the authority to represent Russia, a powerful European nation that was not heavily allied with Kamehameha. Kaumuali'i had been negotiating for Russian protection as early as 1804 and 1808 when Russian Naval ships came to Kaua'i (Pierce 1965:2-4), and now it looked like he might be able to use their military strength to gain control of other islands.

When the first agreement between Schäffer and Kaumuali'i was made in May 1816, it was to establish Kaua'i as a Russian protectorate and not to conquer other islands. Schäffer was given a stone house as a store room by Kaumuali'i (Pierce 1965:176) that was probably one of three stone buildings built in 1814 (Log of the *Atahualpa*, January 28, 1814; May 16, 1814). Following the signing of the first treaty, part of the ceremony involved taking the RAC flag from the *Otkrytie* and raising it on a mast by Kaumuali'i's dwelling (Pierce 1965:102,126). This was a re-enactment of a ceremony performed two years before with an American flag (Log of the *Atahualpa*, Feb. 8, 1814) and may have been the same mast used on that occasion. Timofei Tarakanov, Ivan Bolokov, Alexei Odnorriadkin, and Petr Kicherov, who were with Schäffer, wrote a joint report in July 1817 which gave some interesting information on this event:

Before he [Kaumuali'i] made his decision, the king gathered together all the images [stress in original] which served him as gods and called in all the priests and chiefs and asked their advice. Gods and men gave answer: "It was good to receive the flag." After the contracts were concluded with the Russian-American Company, they constructed, as a sign of gratitude, a new "morea" [*heiau*] or temple and made sacrifices of various kinds - fruits, and, if reports are correct, two men (Pierce 1965:102).

This may be the last reference to human sacrifice recorded in the Hawaiian Islands, and it came at a time when Kaumuali'i was considering reconquering other islands. Thus, the acceptance of the flag was incorporated through Hawaiian ritual into the unfolding plans of Kaumuali'i. The reference to "contracts" in the plural form suggests that the temple was constructed after July of 1816 when a second treaty was signed. This "secret treaty" stated that Kaumuali'i would provide 500 individuals for the conquest of O'ahu, Lāna'i, Maui, and Moloka'i (Pierce 1965:72). Schäffer was to provide brigs, weapons and ammunition in trade for sandalwood.

If the new *luakini heiau* was built shortly after signing the secret treaty, it was constructed before Fort Elisabeth, where construction began on September 12, 1816 (Pierce 1965:13). Fort Elisabeth was built adjacent to Kaumuali'i's own compound in Waimea using over 300 Native Hawaiian workers, including Kaumuali'i's wives (Pierce 1965:185, 191). Historical documents do not mention whether the traditional *heiau* was maintained apart from the fort. Kaumuali'i either established a Western monument to legitimize his authority that he maintained separately from the Hawaiian monument or the two became associated either physically or ritually.

Several factors can be considered when evaluating these options. The first is that Fort Elisabeth represented a considerable investment of labor. If it was to serve a function entirely separate from a new *luakini heiau* dedicated to the developing plans of conquest, the labor investment for the fort conflicted with the labor that would have been necessary to maintain traditional ritual practices. The scale of the fort was massive, measuring approximately 80 x 100

meters. The walls were built in a common European star-shaped design with stone and adobe. The stone was traditional, the adobe was not. If Fort Elisabeth's original construction is considered only as a Russian military fortification, it is puzzling that it is the only stone fort associated with the RAC in the entire Pacific and the two forts that Schäffer set about constructing on the north shore of Kaua'i were much smaller earthworks. It should also be noted that it was the north shore of Kaua'i, not Waimea, that Schäffer renamed "Schäfferthal" (Pierce 1965:184).

An American missionary, Samuel Whitney, wrote an account of the event based upon what he could learn from local residents of Waimea beginning in 1820. His account states that Kaumuali'i instigated the construction of Fort Elisabeth and was "desirous to secure his [Schäffer's] skill as an engineer" (Whitney 1838:50). Thus, Schäffer may have represented a new kind of specialist who built *heiau*, or *kāhuna kuhikui pu'uone*, who "measured out a plan for a fortress in Waimea" (Pierce 1965:183) just as earlier *kāhuna* had marked out *heiau* plans on the ground for the king's approval (Kamakau 1992:154). A reasonable conclusion based upon the scale, location, timing and method of construction is that Fort Elisabeth was becoming a 19th century amalgam of Hawaiian and European monumental architecture, more specifically, a combination of structural elements from a Hawaiian *heiau* and a European fort; the former was imbued with ritual, the latter with military strategy, and both with social control. The RAC flag was one of the few features incorporated in Fort Elisabeth before the departure of the Russians (Whitney 1838:50), and the acceptance of it, as Tarakanov *et al.* suggest, was imbued with Hawaiian ritual.

A useful comparison can also be made between Fort Elisabeth's construction and Kamehameha I engaging his people to build a Pu'u-kohola *heiau* at Kawaihae on the Island of Hawai'i. Similarities lie in several factors. First, Kamehameha had Pu'u-koholā constructed at a time when he was planning military conquest and needed to establish a unified island. This was the largest *heiau* built on Hawai'i Island, as Fort Elisabeth is the largest monument constructed on Kaua'i. Secondly, chiefly elite participated in the carrying of stones as a symbolic gesture in Pu'u-koholā's construction. In this case, reference is only made to male chiefs carrying stones (Kamakau 1992:154-155). At Fort Elisabeth, references are to Kaumuali'i's wives carrying stones. Kaumuali'i had at least five wives (Stauffer 1994:9-10). The act of Kaumuali'i's wives hauling stone (Pierce 1965:185) is a particularly interesting detail; their labor was most likely related to a symbolic gesture rather than a lack of available labor, but the act of women hauling stone stands in contrast to traditional Hawaiian gender roles in the construction of monumental architecture. This may have been an attempt by Hawaiian women to increase their own status by symbolically participating in alliances with foreigners. Lightfoot and Martinez (1995:483-485) have stressed the importance of such "segmentary group dynamics" in understanding the nature of culture contact and culture change at Russian Fort Ross, California.

Another factor to consider are the patterns of contemporary chiefly complexes. In 1816, a similar example of monumental architecture was constructed in downtown Honolulu that became known as the "Honolulu Fort" for which present-day "Fort Street" is named. Kalanimōkō, the chief advisor to Kamehameha, directed this structure's construction and consulted with a British advisor, John Young, in its design (Corney 1896:157; Emerson 1900:15). Its original name was "Kekuanohu" (Emerson 1900:15). Interestingly, it was built

next to the *luakini heiau* of Pakākā (Westervelt 1915:8), the site of Kaumuali'i's negotiations with Kamehameha in 1810 and the temple dedicated to the transcendence of war following the subjugation of a kingdom (Kolb 1991:51). Ironically, it appears to be Pakākā *heiau* that Schäffer and his men desecrated during their stay in Honolulu in 1816 (Kotzebue 1967:304) since it was near the location where they were beginning to construct a blockhouse and trading houses. To Kamehameha and his chiefs, this action probably carried more meaning than irony. The *heiau*, however, was not dismantled when John Young designed the Honolulu fort. Thus, the fort became another monument associated with a highly ritual chiefly complex. All of the same elements existed in Waimea, but we cannot be certain that they were constructed and used in the same fashion.

Over the first several months that Schäffer was on Kaua'i, Schäffer and some of his men received land grants from various chiefs and chiefesses. What is particularly important to note here is that Kamaholelani was one of the chiefs dealing with the Russians. He gave Schäffer land on both banks of the Waimea River (Pierce 1965:79) and he gave Benjamin Thompson, an American employed by the RAC, land most likely east of the Waimea River (Hommon *et al.* 1975:40-45). Thus, it appears that in October 1816, Kamaholelani was allying himself with Schäffer and his men. Given the ambitious nature of Kaumuali'i's plans to conquer other islands, it seems doubtful that Kaumuali'i would have considered such a plan without Kamaholelani's support. By the time the affair was over, however, Peter Corney recorded "Tama'honreerance [Kamaholelani], the head chief under Tamoree, was averse to these proceedings" (Corney 1896:184). This statement reflects a change in Kamaholelani's position, which would have been critical in Kaumuali'i's decision to break his agreements with Schäffer. It may also reflect Kamaholelani's diplomatic ability to distance himself from the failed plan.

Kaumuali'i forced Schäffer and the RAC employees to leave Kaua'i in June of 1817 when he learned that the Russian Navy and the RAC failed to support the treaties he had signed. At that point, Fort Elisabeth was not completed. Kaumuali'i finished building the fort and remained in direct control of it until 1821. Kaumuali'i maintained it with his own people and munitions. When the first missionaries reached Kauai in 1820, they arrived with Kaumuali'i's son, George Humehume, who had been living in America. Kaumuali'i quickly aligned himself with the missionaries and gave them a grass house adjacent to the fort (Zwiep 1991:105). They lived in a neighborhood replete with eating houses, cooking houses, dwelling houses, a *hula* dance plaza, and another small battery placed on the beach (Mercy Whitney, Manuscript Journal 1820-1821). The missionaries lived between the fort and Waimea Bay between 1820 and 1822 before moving to new locations in Waimea and the neighboring town of Hanapepe. In addition to their physical descriptions of Kaumuali'i's compound, they mention the occurrence of several house fires, a *hula* dance, a Hawaiian puppet show, the beating death of a chiefess, and two funerals including the burial of Kaumuali'i's grandson *inside* the fort.

Kamehameha I died in 1819, and in October 1821, his successor, Liholiho, sailed to Kaua'i and took Kaumuali'i to the adjacent island of O'ahu. The chiefs and chiefesses of the Kamehameha line still viewed Kaumuali'i as a political threat, and in the ultimate act of possession, Kaumuali'i was married to Kamehameha's widow, Ka'ahumanu. In subsequent years, Kaumuali'i generally remained on O'ahu, but he was the recognized ruler of Kaua'i until he died in 1824 (Joesting 1984:96). A battle over land distribution erupted following Kaumuali'i's death between the Kamehameha line and some local Kaua'i chiefs, including

Kaumuali'i's son, Humehume (see Bingham 1847:216-239; Hommon *et al.* 1975:42; Samuel Whitney, manuscript journal entry August 11, 1824). The uprising began with an attack on the fort where chiefs from the Kamehameha line were beginning to administer over Kaua'i. The local chiefs were eventually defeated and the Kamehameha dynasty subsequently administered over Kaua'i lands. At least two victims of the battle were buried inside the fort (Bingham 1847:235), further transforming the interior into a ritual monument to the history of Kaua'i.

Land Claim documents indicate that Hawaiian soldiers, or "*koa*," were stationed at the fort through the 1850s (Land Commission Awards, Native Testimony, vol. 11:32-33, 37, 48-49; Foreign Testimony, Vol. 11 supplement:168-169, 173, 180), and that the structure was at least occasionally used as a prison (Neumann 1897:26). From the 1830s to the 1850s, the political and economic significance of Waimea declined with the development of other ports on the island (Joesting 1984:140). By the 1850s the fort was in disrepair (Bates 1854:238-239). The buildings and small munitions were removed in 1862 (Knudsen 1941), and the large armament was removed in 1864 (Alexander 1894:18).

The earliest known detailed map of the fort is from a Hawaiian Government Survey in 1885 (Jackson 1885), nearly 70 years after the fort's initial construction. The map labels many features in the fort that were already in ruins ("barracks," "officers' quarters," "guardroom," "quarters," "magazine and armory," "flagstaff"). It shows only a trading post outside the fort. These labels create a stagnant, synchronic framework completely obfuscating potential changes in the fort's use. The working-map from the same survey (Figure 2) shows the remains of an old settlement outside the fort, but this was considered extraneous in the final rendering.

Archaeological Investigations

Investigations of the Fort Exterior

There have been several archaeological investigations of the area directly surrounding the fort (Figure 3). In 1972, archaeologists from the Bishop Museum in Honolulu excavated six small backhoe trenches along the coast to the south of the fort (McCoy 1972:11, 33-51). They identified numerous traditional Hawaiian artifacts mixed with 19th century imported material and a rounded gravel paving (*'ili'ili*), possibly associated with a house floor. In 1975, other archaeologists excavated 21 backhoe trenches directly to the south and east of the fort prior to the construction of restrooms and a parking lot (Hommon *et al.* 1975). Very few cultural remains were noted except in the vicinity of the coast. Here, two human burials were identified.

The colorful ethnohistory relating to the area directly outside the fort is fortuitous since our research and previous surveys in the 1970s (McCoy 1972; Hommon *et al.* 1975) show that most of the deposits outside the fort were heavily disturbed by sugarcane cultivation. In the summer of 1993, we attempted to build upon previous testing by focusing our attention on exterior areas that had not been previously examined and we conducted limited additional testing along the coast. In 1994, we also conducted auger testing in the area noted on Jackson's 1885 map as the remains of the old settlement (Figure 3). Since none of the previous testing had screened the sugarcane deposits, it was unclear how much cultural debris may have been disturbed and intermixed with the agricultural layers. Our testing provided the first systematically collected data on domestic refuse densities around the fort.

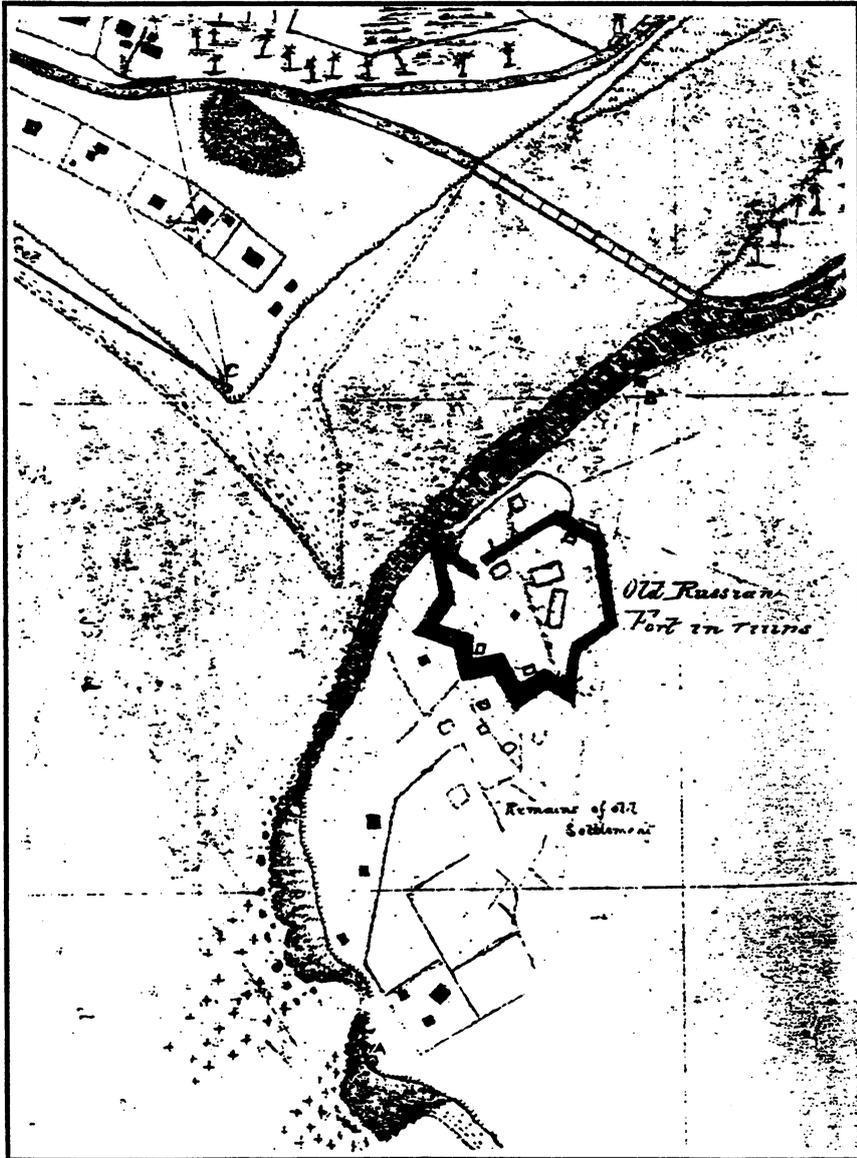


Figure 2. Detail of George Jackson's 1885 "Working Map" of Waimea, Kauai, showing "Remains of old Settlement" outside the fort walls. Hawaii State Survey Office, Reg. #1362

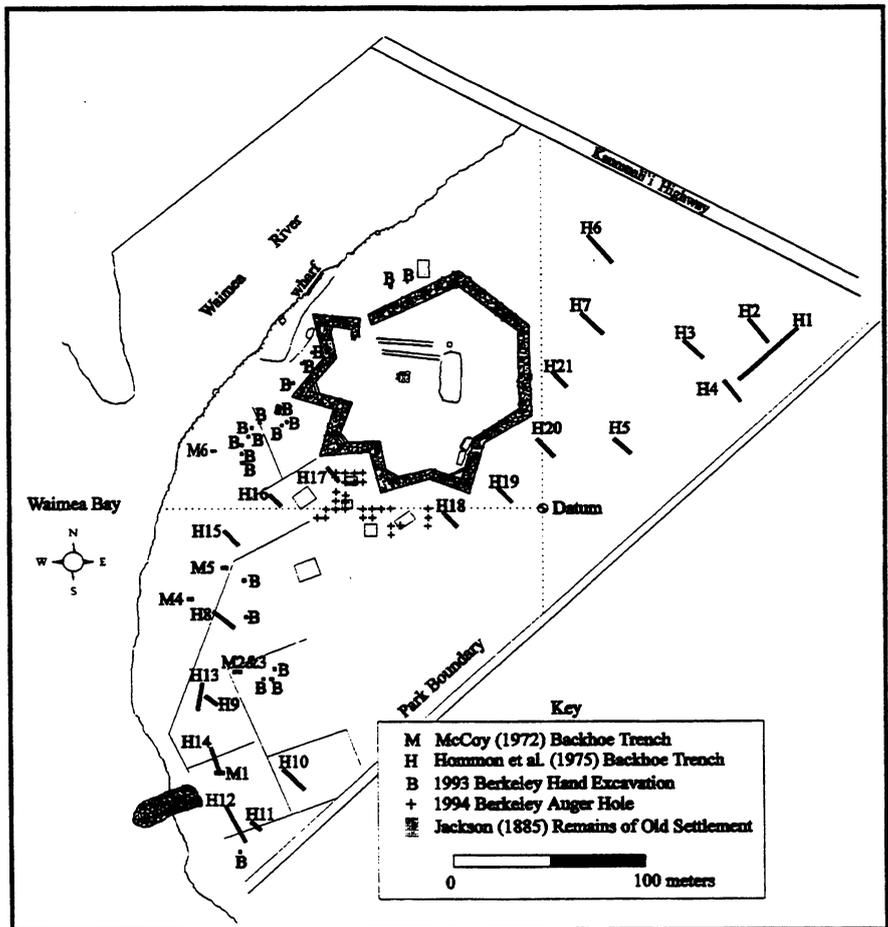


Figure 3. Map showing the locations of archaeological test units outside the fort walls.

From six test-pits placed near the coast to the south of the fort, twelve basalt flakes were recovered. One exhibited uniform grinding on the dorsal surface, suggesting that it had been detached from an adz. We also found twenty-one basaltic glass flakes that are most likely from making expedient flake-tools. Low densities of shell midden and fish remains were also encountered. In addition, three human teeth were found in a single test-pit just to the east of McCoy's trenches #2 and #3, suggesting that a human burial had been disturbed by plowing. Nineteenth century ceramics recovered from the southern exterior include a yellowware fragment, a blue transfer-print willow-pattern whiteware, and a sponge-stamped whiteware sherd that all date to the 1820s or later (Noël-Hume 1970: 131, 170-171). The southernmost test pit contained a pearlware fragment that has a probable manufacturing date prior to the 1820s (Noël-Hume 1976:130). Several possible iron cannonball fragments were also in this unit.

In short, based upon the previous archaeology and our testing, the southern coastal area contained at least three human burials and a sparse scatter of traditional Hawaiian domestic midden intermixed with 19th century material. Based upon his limited testing, McCoy (1972:52) suggested that the Hawaiian midden pre-dates the construction of the fort. Our testing could not confirm or refute this inference, but demonstrates that only low densities of cultural material are intermixed with the sugarcane deposits, suggesting that the site was not extensive and was not occupied for great lengths of time. The most common features were not domestic; they were human burials.

Between the coast and the south fort wall in the area marked "Remains of Old Settlement" on Jackson's 1885 map, we excavated twenty-nine six-inch diameter auger holes in the cane deposits. No lithic debitage was found in any of these auger tests, but sparse scatters of rounded basalt gravel were found in eight auger holes. These stones were probably brought to the terrace as *'ili 'ili* pavings for house floors and were dispersed by sugarcane plowing. Dark and light olive green glass fragments characteristic of wine bottles and case gin bottles were also found in one auger test.

On the terrace between the fort and the Waimea River, bedrock was exposed or lay close to the surface in many places. While the deposits were thin, they were relatively undisturbed. No volcanic glass or basaltic debitage were found here at all, suggesting that prehistoric activity on this bank of the Waimea River was limited. A small stone enclosure (Figure 3) was still visible in this area and contained pig bone, metal cans, highly corroded square nails, a pearlware fragment, and various glass bottle fragments including a hand-tooled dip-molded wine bottle. Fourteen meters north of the enclosure, an *'ili 'ili* paving nearly abuts the rubble at the base of the fort wall, possibly suggesting the location of another house floor. In the two units north of this location on the same terrace, we recovered a small scatter of carbonate cemented plaster, which we called "coral mortar," and riverine silt/clay deposits. The clay and plaster may be the remains of an adobe-walled structure that had been plastered with coral mortar. This was a common building form in mid-19th century Hawaiian architecture. The same area contained pig bone, fish bone, shell, and olive green bottle glass.

By the main entrance to the fort where a "trading house" is sketched on the 1885 map, we documented the presence of a clay-lined pit possibly used for mixing adobe, and an adjacent hearth and midden with abundant fish, pig, bird, and marine shell remains. The only datable materials here were a 1906 nickel found in the fill of the pit and a sherd from a thick-walled creamware vessel, such as a chamber-pot, that was most likely manufactured in the late 18th or early 19th century (Noël-Hume 1976:123-128). The creamware sherd was found on the surface, and is a poor indication of the age of the domestic midden. Hawaiian land-claim records suggest that the commandant of the fort was living in this general area in the 1850s (Land Commission Awards, Native Testimony, 11:32-33). It is most likely that this is what Jackson saw in 1885 rather than a Russian "trading house."

On the river-bank by the main entrance, there is a stone wharf that appears to be where goods were brought to the fort by boat (Figure 4). We mapped the revetment and divers surveyed the river bottom, but could determine very little about the deposits due to poor visibility. We also documented the presence of a tunnel built through the base of the fort wall exiting on the side facing the Waimea River (Figure 5). This may be a "sally port," or secondary exit from the

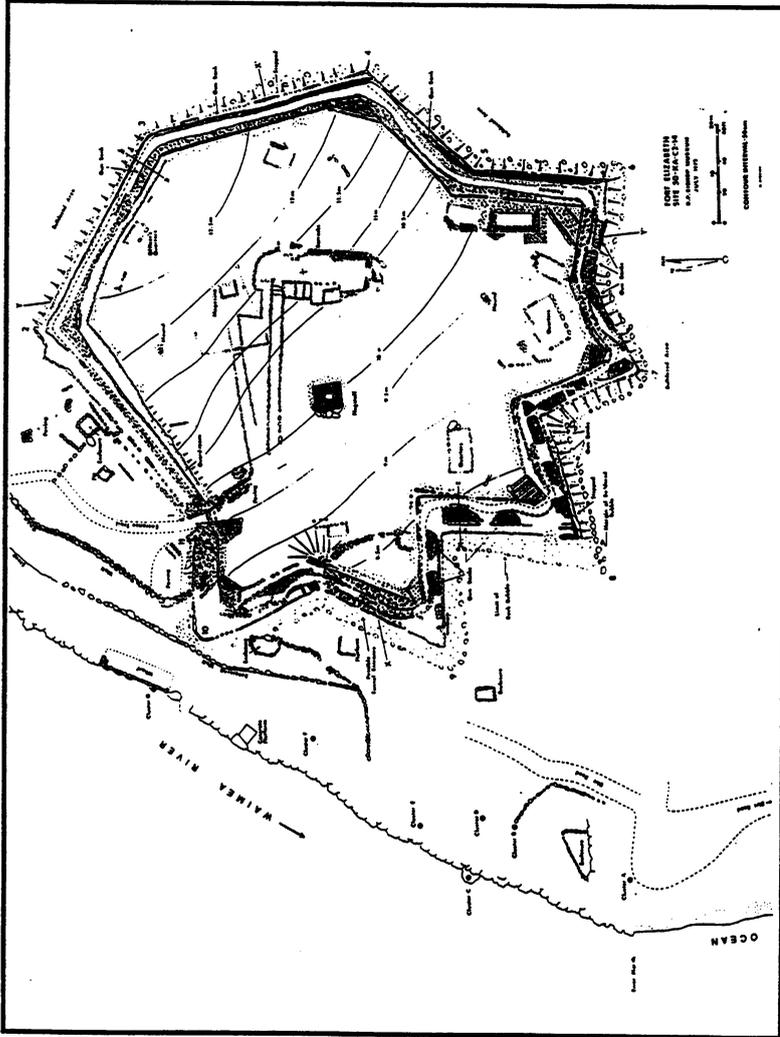


Figure 4. 1972 Surface map of archeological remains at fort Elisabeth. Drafted by Neil Crozier as part of McCoy's 1972 survey. Courtesy of the Bishop Museum

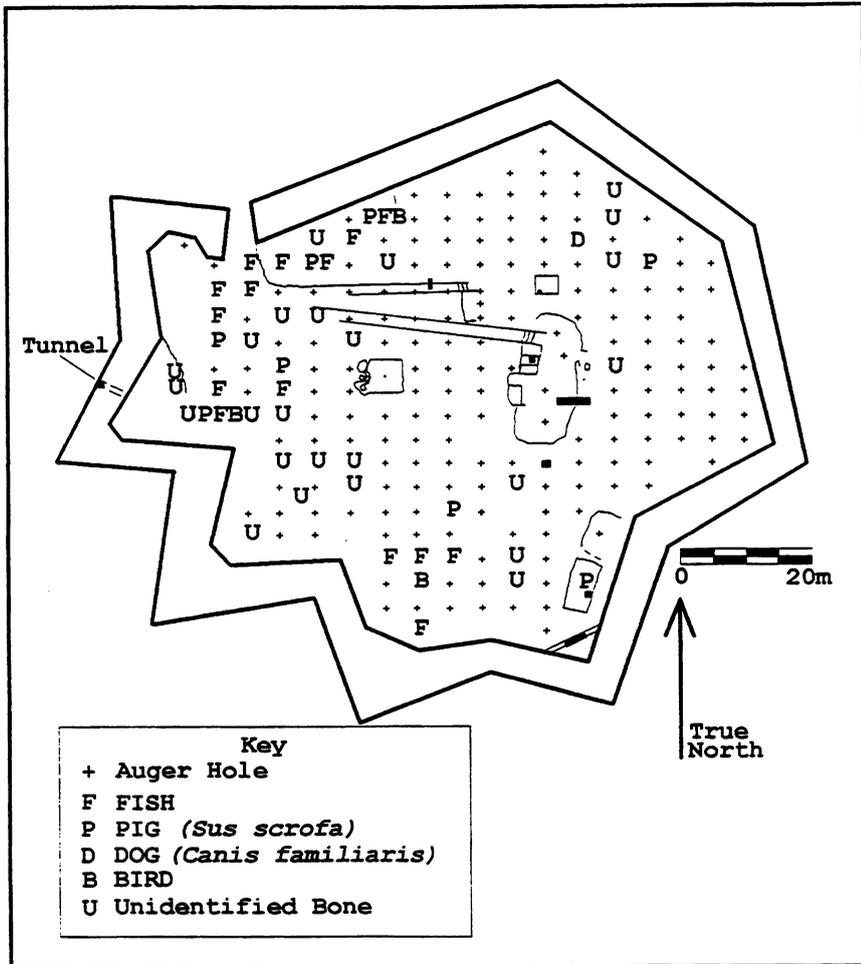


Figure 5. Locations of faunal remains recovered in the fort during auger testing.

fort. This particular design, however, is not evident in dozens of similar forts that I have researched and bears little resemblance to any known *heiau* features.

In sum, our survey of the fort exterior identified no archaeological remains of Russian or Aleut encampments. Instead, the majority of archaeological materials appear to be from after the construction of the fort and the departure of the RAC and are consistent with ethnohistorical data in this respect. In general, we found very little sheet refuse, midden, charcoal, or structural remains. Since historical documents point to at least 50 years of domestic activity here, disposal

of refuse in the ocean or river, and low-visibility grass thatch housing may be partially responsible for the lack of recognizable midden and structural debris. Since this site is on a level terrace at the mouth of the major drainage on the west side of Kaua'i, the paucity of archaeological deposits is in itself interesting. Other than the burials along the coast and sparse domestic deposits in the same vicinity, there is little evidence for prehistoric activity here. One explanation for this paucity of prehistoric domestic refuse is that the east bank of the Waimea River was part of a long-standing ritual sphere of Hawaiian life separated from the domestic landscape on the west bank. This hypothesis is supported by the early historical accounts of Waimea.

Fort Interior

Inside the fort, we have limited ethnohistorical data and archaeology is in the best position to fill many of the gaps. Luckily, significant impacts within the fort appear to be limited to its dismantlement in the 1860s and gradual decay. The missionaries did not frequently report on activities inside the fort, other than mentioning that two individuals were buried there after the 1824 battle (Bingham 1847:235), and that Kaumuali'i's grandson was buried there in 1822 (Mercy Whitney, manuscript journal entry for February 9, 1822). Most interpretations of interior structures come from the 1885 map. Our fieldwork was aimed at testing the validity of the functions assumed in 1885 through an analysis of architectural designs and associated refuse deposits.

The Bishop Museum survey in 1972 cleared rubble from the fort walls and stairways leading to the old cannon emplacements, documented stone pavings by the fort entrance, and generated a detailed surface map (Figure 4). The report provided the first detailed descriptions of archaeological features visible on the surface. In addition to the prominent central features of the "flagpost," "barracks," and "magazine and armory," McCoy located several stone alignments around the interior perimeter that confirm that there were structures in the locations marked as "quarters" and "officer's quarters" on Jackson's map as well as additional foundations not sketched by Jackson. McCoy described the walls of the fort as double stone facings filled with a rubble core of earth and rock. As I previously stated, the use of earth in the construction of *heiau* or other stone structures in Hawaii was not traditional. McCoy (1972:13) suggests that the use of earth fill was a functional consideration for withstanding artillery bombardment. This inference provides a reasonable hypothesis for why the walls of the structure did not follow traditional Hawaiian practices in the construction of monumental architecture. Taking this into consideration, there is no reason to suggest that the use of earth in wall construction is evidence against this structure having Hawaiian ritual significance given the new functional demands of the monumental architecture.

An aspect of the wall construction not mentioned by McCoy is a large oblong boulder in the exterior wall-facing near the entrance. The boulder was placed in the wall in a vertical position. Such stones often represented deities in Hawaiian ritual and were occasionally incorporated in *heiau* architecture (Kirch 1985:168). There is little reason to suggest that the vertical placement of the boulder was a function of foreign architectural design.

Also of interest is the large dry-laid stone platform used as a support for the flagpost:

Fifteen meters W of the barracks is the flagstaff, marked by a roughly rectan-

gular stone mound 5 x 6 meters and 1.54 meters high. A maximum of four tiers of stones is evident at the southwest corner. The top platform, measuring 3.3 meters x 3 meters, is paved. In the center is a stone-lined depression 70 x 80 x 30 cm, for insertion of the flagpole. The mound was constructed on a rock outcrop of basaltic stones averaging 20 to 30 cm in diameter (McCoy 1972:18).

This flagpost base bears a resemblance to stone platforms in *heiau* used for offerings or sacrifice (*lele*). One may argue that it was the only way to support the base of the flagpost over bedrock. Our subsurface investigations of the fort interior, however, revealed that most of the soil is quite deep; a flagpost base could have been erected with much less work.

Subsurface investigations of the fort interior were preceded by non-destructive remote-sensing. Non-destructive tests were attempted by the United States Soil Conservation Service including magnetometer and ground penetrating radar (Doolittle 1990:11,12,14-16), but the results were far from decisive for establishing specific testing locations. Simple metal detection was also difficult since the high iron content of the bedrock and soil resulted in ubiquitous positive readings.

We then used a power auger in a 5 m. grid to identify spatial patterns. The auger results were extremely interesting. Virtually all domestic midden was located around the interior perimeter near small structural foundations. Figure 5 shows the distribution of terrestrial faunal remains. Marine shell, nutshells, 19th century glass, and a sparse scatter of historical ceramics all show similar distributions. No domestic midden was found by the raised central platform in the fort that was assumed to be the "barracks." Coral mortar was found in the vicinity of the "magazine and armory," the "guardroom," and in an additional area by the fort entrance where no building was portrayed on the 1885 map (Figure 6). It was made from burned coral and shell mixed with local sands and silt.

Grain-size and compositional analyses of the mortar suggest that the guardroom coral mortar and the mortar from the magazine and armory were made from distinctive batches of sediment. The scatter of coral mortar by the entrance matches the batch from the magazine and armory and is found in relatively low density. This latter scatter may be explained by the demolition of the magazine and armory and the re-use of its coral blocks. The blocks may have been stacked near the entrance of the fort in preparation for their removal and mortar adhering to the blocks may have fallen off. Nevertheless, there is a consistent scatter of glass, faunal material, shell, and other domestic refuse in this same area that may indicate the former presence of a structure.

Excavation of the "barracks" platform revealed a buried cellar with adobe plaster on the floor and wall (Figure 7). Artifacts from the floor include a musketball and several brass tacks and a small burn area (Feature 15). Wood charcoal on the floor consists of *alaha'e* (*Canthium odoratum*), an indigenous dryland tree. The cellar, however, had been purposefully filled with two meters of fine silt forming a raised platform. Much of the silt deposit still retains imprints of grass, densely packed in the silt, suggesting that adobe blocks were used to fill the cellar. The adobe blocks were not intact and were mixed with unconsolidated silt, and various rocks. In short, it appears that someone went to a lot of work to dig a cellar and someone else went to a lot of work to fill it, creating a platform with no subsequent signs of domestic use. No coral mortar

was found in the fill. Given the nearby vicinity of abundant coral mortar from the “magazine and armory,” the filling of the cellar probably pre-dated the demolition of the magazine and armory. I suggest that the “barracks” was the original magazine and armory, but was transformed into a raised platform before the fort was abandoned.

On the side of the stone platform that faces the nearby island of Ni`ihau are a series of four rectangular stone alignments that we thought may demarcate burials. We placed a 1-x-1m unit in the center of one of these enclosures. Nothing was found in the base of the unit, but the

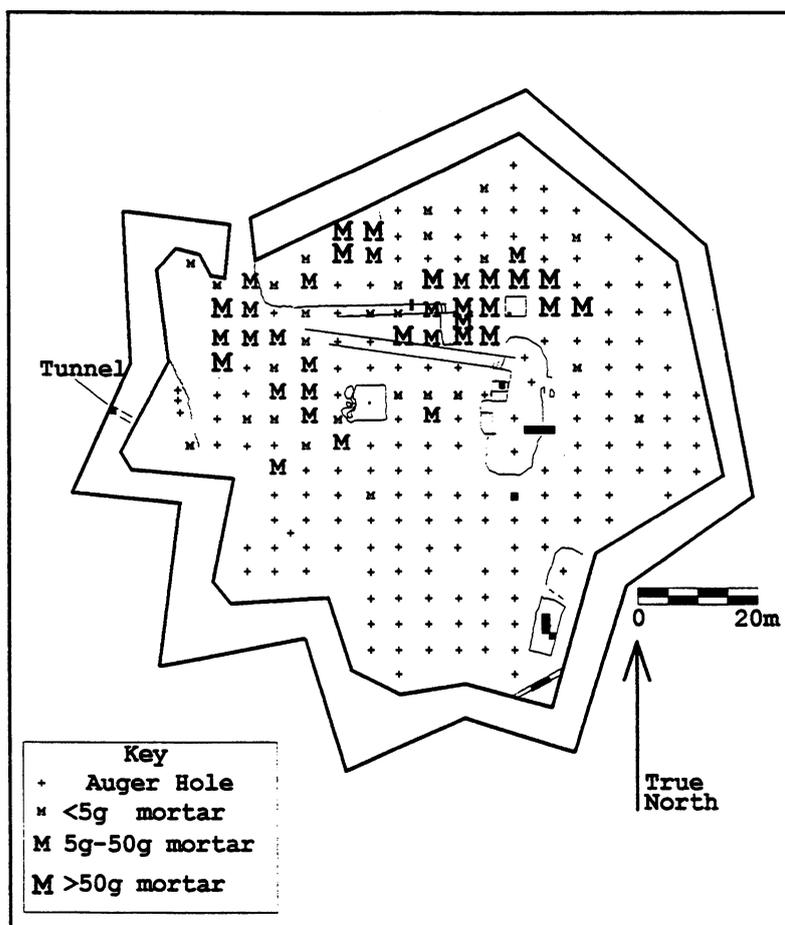


Figure 6. Locations where coral mortar was recovered inside the fort during auger testing

east wall profile clearly showed that we nicked the edge of a nearly straight-sided pit directly to the north of our excavation unit. No human remains were encountered in the small portion of the pit that we exposed, so our evidence from burials is inconclusive. It is clear, however, that someone dug a vertical shaft under these rectangular alignments. Given the central location of the platform and the lack of domestic remains around it, I would suggest that this area was a symbolic monument that potentially contains the burial of Kaumuali'i's grandson and/or the victims of the 1824 insurrection. Only further testing could clarify these issues. An additional point of interest is that we found wood charcoal from the Hawaiian ti plant (*Cordyline fruticosa*) on the edge of the platform. This plant was used in Hawaiian ritual and served to indicate *kapu* (Handy and Handy 1972:222). Of 58 locations in and around the fort where we identified wood charcoal samples, this is the only location where it was found.

Directly north of this platform is what Jackson labeled the "magazine and armory." The pathway to the structure is covered with *'ili 'ili* paving. The only other *'ili 'ili* paving located inside the fort was around the small house floors on the interior periphery. The magazine and armory also has a cellar, but it differs from the cellar at the "barracks" since it is plastered with carbonate-cemented mortar displaying a bright white body rather than adobe. This cellar-hole also is too shallow to allow a person to stand inside it (1.1m deep) and no effort was made to completely fill it. It contains demolition rubble including coral-block fragments sawn from the reef and abundant coral mortar. Imprints in the coral mortar include plaster over grass thatch,

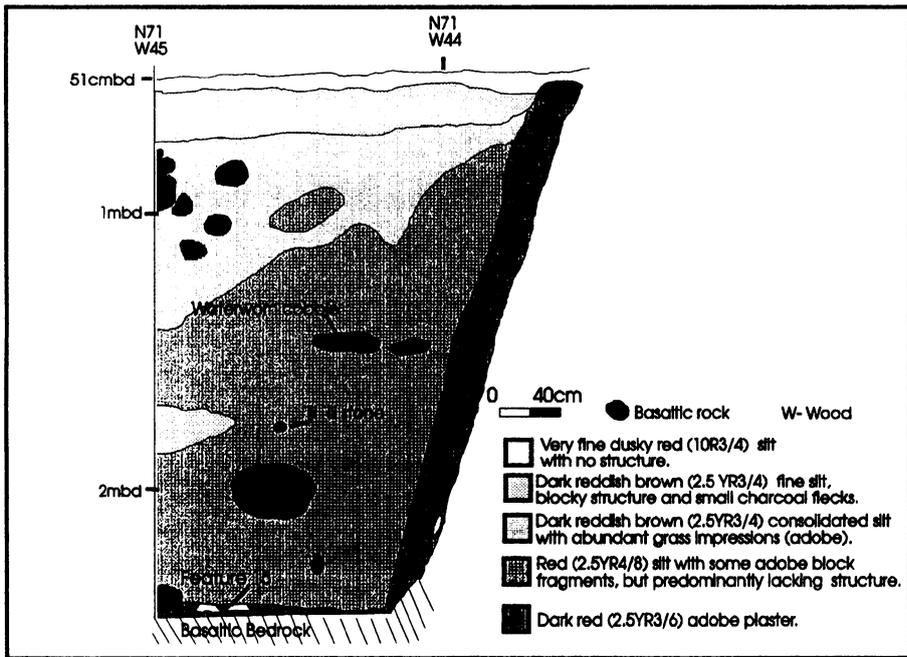


Figure 7. North Wall profile of the cellar-hole uncovered in the "barracks" platform.

plaster over a rock or coral-block face, and mortar from between stones or coral block. Primarily, the imprints are from plaster and from between blocks, suggesting that the structure probably had coral-block and stone walls. The plaster applied to grass thatch may be from a roof.

At this structure, there is little evidence of domestic midden that would suggest that people lived there for extended periods. This in combination with the substantial cellar and solid wall construction corroborates an interpretation as a “magazine and armory.” The heavy coating of coral mortar over the grass thatch could be an attempt at fire-proofing. The need for such protection is supported by missionary reports of four separate fires around the fort in one year. This structure remains a good candidate for a safe storage location of black powder and arms. Due to the fact that adobe was used in the construction of the fort walls and one cellar, I would argue that the coral mortar at the magazine and armory is from a post-Russian period of construction. Making coral mortar was labor intensive and was generally limited to public buildings and houses of elite chiefs and foreigners. A British advisor to Kamehameha, John Young, used coral mortar plaster on his house on Hawai‘i Island as early as 1799 (Apple 1978; Rosendahl and Carter 1988), but the general use of this material appears to be minimal until the late 1820s. The earliest reference to coral mortar on Kaua‘i that I have found is on a house the Whitneys built in 1829 (Mercy Whitney Journal May 15, 1829; Mortelier 1992:106). Samuel Whitney stated in 1820 that there wasn’t enough lime on the island to make soap (Damon 1925:210). The late construction date of the “magazine and armory” is further supported by a buried mortar and rock alignment under the path leading to the structure.

The “guardroom” (directly inside and to the east of the fort entrance) has coral mortar remains with a dark red body and stick-thatch imprints. The kind of imprint in the mortar is completely lacking elsewhere in the fort. The stick thatching may represent a transformation of traditional Hawaiian grass-house framing to support the weight of a coral mortar plaster. While coral mortar was used on both the magazine and armory and the guardroom, the different framing of the individual buildings suggests that the “guardroom” was more expediently constructed. The peripheral location and the less substantial framing of the guardroom may indicate a less significant role for this structure. The mortar may be an indication of an attempt at fire-proofing, but this could be the result of cooking rather than gunpowder storage. Domestic activity at the guardroom is corroborated by abundant deposits of domestic midden including fish, dog, pig, and mollusk.

A final area where we excavated was in the southeast interior of the fort. There are stone enclosures here that were not on the 1885 map and have been assumed to post-date it. The stairway to the southeastern projection is also blocked off forming a wall, possibly for an animal pen. We excavated behind the blocked stairway to confirm that nothing was in the fill; nothing was. We also excavated inside one of the stone enclosures and exposed a gravel paved floor scattered with traditional Hawaiian midden including a drilled dog-tooth canine. Interestingly, the interior of the stone enclosure contained the most military items found inside the fort. These include ten lead musketballs of various caliber, a broken brass trigger, and a trigger-plate that matches a Brown Bess flintlock rifle. The Brown Bess is a British make common in the American Revolution that ceased to be manufactured by the 1830’s (Noël-Hume 1976: 216). Ceramics from the structure include fragments of transitional pearlware from a teacup and a bowl, and a low-grade ironstone from a commercial food-pot. If this is truly a structure built after 1885, it appears that the occupants were collecting old musketballs, gun pieces, and pearlware

ceramics. The low-grade ironstone food pot provides the latest date for the use of the structure sometime in the 1850s or after, and this does little to suggest a date of use after 1885. When Jackson made his map, it was apparently drawn as he thought it looked when the Russians were there (*Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 18, 1885, Hommon *et al.* 1975:180). This note in combination with the archaeological data would suggest that the structure was there by 1885 and may have been in use in the last formal days of the fort's occupation in the 1850s and 1860s.

In sum, there is a great diversity of architectural form within the fort. I suggest that the "barracks" was the original magazine and represents the earliest structure within the fort. It has a central location, matches the construction techniques used in the fort walls, and the use of adobe generally pre-dates the popular use of coral mortar in other sites in Hawaii in the 19th century. There were probably several other structures as noted on Jackson's 1885 map on the perimeter of the fort that may be early features, but their date of construction is less clear. These perimeter locations correspond with greater densities of artifacts in our auger tests. The lack of structural material leaves one to infer that the walls were plank wood, grass-thatch, or adobe, but little was found that would suggest dates of construction. If the walls were plank wood, the nails were also mostly recycled.

Following the initial adobe (and possibly wood or grass-thatch) phase of construction, I suggest that the coral-mortar buildings including the "guardroom" and the "magazine and armory" were constructed and the "barracks" was transformed into a stone-lined earthen platform, possibly incorporating the burials of people who died in the 1824 insurrection and Kaumuali'i's grandson. In essence, the "barracks" became a monument to the fort's own history. It continued to occupy a central location in the fort with no associated domestic activity, and a new magazine and armory was built adjacent to it. Between the flagpost, the platform, and the magazine and armory, the center of the fort symbolized the power, or *mana*, of the monument. This structural layout probably occurred between the late 1820s and the 1840s when the fort and Waimea were still significant in Hawaiian politics.

A final construction phase is represented by the stone enclosures in the southeast corner of the interior that appear to date to the last period of the fort's occupation in the 1850s and 1860s. These structures are stone-lined at their base, and probably had thatched walls and roofs. The lack of labor investment in the construction and framing of these enclosures belies the waning significance of the monument in the later 19th century.

Concluding Remarks

For over a century, historians have told and retold the story of "Russia's Hawaiian Adventure" and of the flamboyant and foolhardy actions of Dr. Schäffer that resulted in the construction of Fort Elisabeth. There is an underlying impression in many of these accounts that Kaumuali'i was only a dupe in an overly ambitious scheme concocted for Russian benefit. This archaeological and ethnohistorical project could have taken the same perspective and would have found nothing more than a few military relics and noted details on the fort's architecture as they relate to classic European designs. But I feel that historical archaeology has both the obligation and opportunity to explore the untold stories. Specifically, I consider it imperative to address the roles and motivations of Hawaiians in order to understand the potentially diverse cultural meanings in this unique monument. As the archaeology and ethnohistory demonstrate,

there is very little about the site that is truly “Russian.” It was built in a land far from Russia and in a time of rapid changes in Hawaiian culture where we have few comparative standards to form expectations of what happened.

Fort Elisabeth State Historical Park contains a manifest representation of the “structure of the conjuncture” (Sahlins 1981:35). Russian texts provide one avenue to help understand that structure, but only begin to address its full form and the nature of its historical transformations. The archaeological data and expanded ethnohistorical research presented herein attempt to portray the complex inter-relationships of indigenous and foreign agendas that form the site’s history. At first glance, the construction of Fort Elisabeth suggests dramatic culture change dominated by European concepts and goals. Many of the fort features, however, can be seen to reflect Hawaiian agendas. These factors include the choice of the fort’s location on *kapu* ground, its monumental size, the choice of stone as a building material, the reasons why the fort was built, the continued modification of the fort after the Russians left, and the reported use of the fort as a burying place. It needs to be recognized that this single structure may have had vastly different meanings through time for the people who built and used it.

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