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**THIRTEEN LETTERS TO ERIK LJUNGSTEDT  
EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES**



SCRIPTA MINORA

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ABRAHAM FORNANDER

THIRTEEN LETTERS TO ERIK LJUNGSTEDT  
EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY CHRISTIAN CALLMER



LUND CWK GLEERUP

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## Introduction

Abraham Fornander, the author of the following letters which are now to be published for the first time, is best known to posterity through his classical work "An Account of the Polynesian Race". Although, for the most part, letters from Fornander are missing, this group of letters to his childhood friend, Erik Ljungstedt, is of great value in giving a more personal picture of Fornander himself. Here, namely, he expresses himself in detail about his experiences, his work and his scientific goals.

Abraham Fornander was born on the fourth of November, 1812, on Öland in Gärdslösa parish, where his father was the rector. He grew up in a cultivated milieu and went to school in Kalmar. In 1828 he was registered at the University of Uppsala and two years later at the University of Lund. In both places he seems to have studied theology and classical languages. Suddenly in 1831, he left his studies in Lund and went to sea. During approximately ten years he visited harbours in North and South America, the West Indies, Japan and Kamchatka. In 1838 he had already visited Hawaii for the first time and in 1842 he settled there definitely. He became chief inspector on a coffee plantation which belonged to an educated Englishman, Dr. Roke. In the latter's library he was able to continue his studies. In 1847 he was married in Honolulu to Pinao Alanakapu, a chiefess from the island of Molokai, who died in 1857.

Enticed by the goldrush, Fornander travelled to California in April, 1849, but came back the same year without having made any great profits. In 1850 he bought a printing house in Honolulu and published several newspapers from 1852 to 1856. He took over the direction of the government printing house in 1858 and published the newspaper "The Polynesian" from 1858 until the end of 1863.

In 1864 Fornander became a member of the King's council and a circuit judge on the islands Maui, Molokai and Lauai. The year

after, the King Kamehameha V appointed him as general inspector for education, a position which he held until autumn 1870. In the spring of 1870 he was again appointed circuit judge on Maui where he also lived during the last years of his life. On the 28th of December, 1886, he was called finally as one of the four members of the realm's supreme court. Fornander seems thus to have benefited from the Hawaiian ruler's confidence and favour.

Abraham Fornander died in Honolulu on the 1st of November, 1887, from cancer of the mouth.

Fornander's very extensive linguistic and ethnographic observations were presented in a work of three volumes: "An Account of the Polynesian Race, its Origin and Migration and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehamea I" (London 1878—85). This work gives the foundations for Hawaii's oldest history and its ethnography. Fornander discusses the Polynesian race in the first volume, according to him its Asiatic origins, its ceremonial customs, its folklore, migrations etc.; in the second volume, he gives an account of Hawaii's history until 1795, and in the third volume he tries to prove the Polynesian language's relationship with the Indoeuropean languages.

Abraham Fornander's papers are kept in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu. A part of these were published by the Museum in three volumes (1916—20).

Further references: B. Hildebrand & C. Callmer, art. Fornander, Abraham in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, 16, Stockholm 1964/66 pp. 283—285.

According to Fornander the Polynesians ("ante-Malays") once occupied the Indian archipelago. In course of time they were overrun by Malay and Hindu immigrants and many of them left and journeyed eastward in quest of new abodes. On their way they found the western islands of the Pacific already settled by the Papuans. The Polynesians were consequently obliged to move on to the, at that time uninhabited, central and eastern islands before they found permanent settlement, establishing themselves on the Fiji group, and there spreading to the Samoan, Tonga and other groups. These events took place in the second century of our era (I pp. 168, 208).

Concerning the localities occupied by the later Polynesians be-



fore their settlement, Fornander (I p. 2) believes, that "traces, though faint and few, lead up through Deccan to the north-west part of India and the shores of the Persian Gulf".

To support his theories Fornander offers several pieces of evidence. He compares Polynesian names with names of places, which he believes the people to have formerly occupied. He also adduces the folklore and the customs of the Polynesians compared with other peoples in the Southeast Asia. Another test for the affinity of races is the language. Fornander believes the Polynesian language to be allied to the Indo-European tongues.

In the second volume of his work Fornander treats the history of one branch of the Polynesians, those who inhabit the Hawaiian islands. This is derived from the "traditions, legends, genealogies and chants" (Pref.), which have been preserved by the people and orally handed down from one generation to another.

The approximate date of the migration of the Polynesians across the Pacific Fornander gives to about the close of the first and during the second century. He does not, however, place the occupation of the Hawaiian islands, among the most mountainous and rugged in Polynesia, earlier than during the sixth century. The settlers seem to have lived secluded and isolated from the rest of the race to the beginning of the eleventh century, when the sources tell of voyages to far-off lands. "An era of national unrest and of tribal commotion seems to have set in from causes not now known or mentioned in the legends . . . A migratory wave swept over the island world of the Pacific . . . Chiefs from the southern groups visited the Hawaiian group, and chiefs from the latter visited the former" (II pp. 6 f.).

From the close of the above migratory era, about twenty-one generations ago, Hawaiian history runs isolated from other Polynesian groups until their rediscovery by Captain Cook (I pp. 168 f.). A detailed history is given of the different islands during this period, founded on the exhaustive genealogies. The islands were held and governed by separate kings; sometimes one island was divided between rival rulers. The establishment of a central authority came late. By 1810 Kamehameha became the king. In 1819 his son and successor launched the Hawaiian cultural revolution, that broke with the traditional religious order and traditional culture. Kamehameha II professed Christianity and recommended

his subjects to do likewise, and thus Christianity became the state religion.

Two generations after these events, Fornander assembled the genealogical traditions, the legends and chants. He used the genealogies for dating, but not without an awareness of their limitations. For the origins of the Polynesian race he relied mainly on linguistic comparisons to build his theory. This part of his account must now be regarded as the weakest, but also ought to be estimated from the standpoint of philological research at that time.

The origins of the Hawaiian people and their initial culture is not yet fully known. There is no doubt, however, that Hawaii has been settled from the Society Islands. The close relationship between Hawaii and Tahiti can be judged by the great similarities in language and archaeological artifacts. According to the archaeological evidence the settlement took place during the two first centuries of our era.

The origins of the Polynesians and their dispersal throughout their island would offer many complicated problems. Their historical unity is demonstrable on biological and linguistic grounds. In physical type they differ from all other branches of the Malayo-Polynesian speaking peoples. Also the Polynesian language forms a distinct part of the Malayo-Polynesian group, also including the Indonesian, Melanesian and Micronesian languages families. The specific interrelationships within this great Oceanic area still remain to be determined. The early history of the Polynesians is uncertain. Their homeland is believed to be southeast Asia.

Fornander's letters to Ljungstedt are written in a clear and skilful style on double sheets of paper, somewhat varying in size (from 25 by 19.5 cm to 28 by 25.5 cm (letter XIII)). The letters vary in length from one to two and a half double sheets (letters V and VII). They were presented to the Royal Library in Stockholm by Louise Ljungstedt, February 5th 1920, and are kept there under the signature Ep. F 5.

Fornander who for several years had been a journalist and a newspaper editor was master of the English language and had a personal style. Of course he spoke and wrote the English language of the American West. It can be noticed in his manner of spelling.

He simplifies the double consonants, as in travelers (p. 26). He

writes -er for -re, as in theater (p. 23). In addition, some of the most conspicuous differences in spelling between British and American English are registered: or for our, e.g. favor (pp. 18, 29, 48), favorites (pp. 11, 51), honor (pp. 16, 25, 37, 44, 51), labor (pp. 16, 26, 52), and -ise for -ize, e.g. characterises (p. 26), civilised (pp. 26, 55), realised (p. 28), recognised (p. 31), and sympathise (p. 21).

The addressee, Erik Christian Ljungstedt, was, like Fornander, the son of a priest from Öland. They knew each other from school and from university. Ljungstedt was born in Köping on the 15th of December, 1811, and after attending school in Kalmar, he registered at Lund's University in 1829, the year before Fornander. He transferred in 1833 to Uppsala University where he completed a law degree. In the year 1834 he became clerk in the General customs administration and worked during the diets of 1840 to 1848 as a notary on the Committee of Ways and Means. From 1840 until 1886, he worked also as secretary of the directorate of "Göta Kanalverk" and as secretary in the Finance Department 1844—48, but left the latter position because of illness. He then bought the estate of Ekholmen in the province of Östergötland where he lived until 1857, when he was appointed as managing director for "Vadstena enskilda [private] bank". Ljungstedt left this post in 1860 and began as accountant for the General customs administration. In 1865, he was appointed departmental head and remained in the civil service until 1878. He died in Stockholm on the 10th of August 1901, almost 90 years old.



*Abraham Fornander*

I

Lahaina, Maui. Hawaiian Islands.<sup>1</sup>  
February 25<sup>th</sup> 1876.

My dear friend Ljungstedt.

Your most kind and friendly letter of October 24<sup>th</sup> last, was duly forwarded by our good friend and my kindest of cousins, Johan Gardell,<sup>2</sup> and for its truly gratifying contents receive my warmest and heartiest thanks. It is a pleasant echo from childhood's time of voices ever dear, and the call is not in vain. "Meminisse juvabat",<sup>3</sup> and I hasten to reply.

Our paths in life separated early. I went abroad. I might perhaps have stayed at home, become a priest and led a quiet life; but an indescribable desire held possession of my soul to see the new world and find or make a way for myself in life. I went to America, and force of circumstances sent me to sea. I followed the sea for 15 years. I have visited numbers of the principal ports in N. America and the West-Indies. I have been to the Azores Islands, to S<sup>t</sup> Helena, to Cape of Good Hope. I have been up and down the coast of S. America, from Conception bay in Chili to Guayaquil in Columbia. I have doubled Cape Horn three times, and I have cruised over the broad Pacific Ocean from Tahiti to Hawaii, from coast of Japan to coast of California; I have been to Kamshatka

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<sup>1</sup> The letters, except the last one, are written from Fornander's farm at Lahaina on the west shore of the island of Maui.

<sup>2</sup> Lars Theodor Johan Gardell (1825—1904) son of Lars Johan Gardell (1788—1860) and Anna Foenander (1804—1863), who was a sister of Fornander's mother Karin Foenander (1788—1820). Johan Gardell and his father were both secretaries to accountants in Visby, Gotland, the latter from 1861 to 1890.

<sup>3</sup> Vergilius, Aeneis I 203  
*forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.*

(Petropaulowski three times),<sup>4</sup> and on my last return from that place to these Islands I remained here and married a Hawaiian girl,<sup>5</sup> in 1847. I will say nothing of the hardships, the escapes from danger, the vicissitudes of life which I experienced during that period. I have stood beneath the portals of death several times, ashore and on the sea,—and the latter in situations more horrible than the former,—yet I never desponded nor mis-trusted the goodness and mercy of my Creator. It was a long and severe ordeal, but an excellent health, a strong constitution, a quiet mind and what the English call pluck, next to the goodness of God, brought me safely out of every peril and difficulty.

But a roving life may have charms of its own for the young. At 35 years of age I had enough of it, and I longed for rest and said to myself with Frithiof:

“för länge jag flutit  
fridlös omkring på det vilda haf”.<sup>6</sup>

I had filled every station from ordinary seaman up to Captain, and my ambition was satisfied, even if my pockets were empty. I married, as I said above, and obtained a situation as Superintendent of a Coffee-plantation belonging to an English gentleman, a Doctor Rooke,<sup>7</sup> whose literary tastes and classical education created a bond of sympathy between him and me. Here I remained quiet and happy, with free access to my friend's valuable library, until the Gold-discoveries in California, in 1849, stirred the pulses

<sup>4</sup> Petropavlovsk, the capital of Kamchatka.

<sup>5</sup> Pinao Alanakapu (1825—1857) was born on the island of Molokai, of which her father, a great medical kahuna (priest and physician) was Governor or High Chief until deposed by a change in prime ministers, as were his father and grandfather before him. Her tombstone in the cemetery in Honolulu says that she was 33 years old at time of death; another source gives her birthdate as 1825.

I acknowledge with thanks a great deal of information, received from Mrs Eleonore Davis, who is an expert on Fornander. Notes which are wholly or partly by Mrs Davis are in the continuation only marked (Davis).

<sup>6</sup> Esaias Tegnér, Frithiofs saga XVI l. 7—8.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Charles Byde Rooke (1806—1858), English physician who arrived in Hawaii in 1829 and began practicing medicine in Honolulu the following year. He adopted a daughter of his wife's sister, Emma, who in 1856 married King Kamehamea IV. Cf. note 98. (Davis)

of the world, as they had not been stirred since the days of Columbus. Of course the Hawaiian islands sent their quota to the new mines, and I was one of the Pioneers. I went there in April of that year and stayed up in the mines during the summer, but I was not one of fortune's favorites, though I made enough to pay my expenses and a trifle more. I returned to my wife and child in December of the same year. In 1850 I bought a printing establishment and became editor and journalist of a newspaper called the "Argus". In 1853 I edited another journal called the "New Era and Argus". In 1856 I edited a monthly Magazine called the "Sandwich Islands' Magazine". In 1858 I took charge of the Government Printing Office and edited a journal called the "Polynesian". In 1864 I was appointed a Member of the King's Privy Council and Circuit Judge over the Islands of Maui, Molokai and Lanai. In 1865, at the personal request of the King (Kamehameha V.)<sup>8</sup> I resigned the latter office in order to take that of Inspector General of Schools, which office I held till the Autumn of 1870, and in the spring of 1871 I was re-appointed as Circuit Judge of Maui etc. which place I still retain.

After a happy married life of ten years my wife died in 1857. We had four children, three of whom died young, and the oldest, my daughter Katy, alone remains to be a blessing, a joy and a pride to me in my old age.<sup>9</sup>

There, my friend, you have the merest outline of a long and checkered existence. I sincerely thank you for the flattering opinion of me conveyed in your letter. I am the same true-hearted, good-natured Abbe Fornander whom you knew in our young days in Gärdslösa, in Köping, in Calmar, in Lund, and I hope that in me you will find the truth of what Horace says, that "*Caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*".<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Kamehameha V (1830—1872) a grandson of Kamehameha I, king of Hawaii from 1863. With him the Kamehamehas came to an end. R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian kingdom*. 2. Honolulu 1953 index.

<sup>9</sup> Though Fornander's letter says he had four children, other sources indicate these were five: Catherine Kaonohiulaokalani Kamakala Kukuiaimakalani (1849—1905), Johanna Margaretha Naokalani Kalanipoo (1851—1852), Charles Theodore Kalililani (1857, lived 2 weeks, surviving his mother by 11 days), 2 stillborn children, a girl born in 1853 and a boy in 1855. (Davis)

<sup>10</sup> Horatius, *Epistulae* I 11,27  
*Caelum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt.*

Permit me to offer my sincere congratulations on your own advancement in life. I fully appreciate that, in a country where the paths to preferment are thronged with aspirants, only personal merits and talents of no common order could secure the prize. And I am equally happy to hear of your domestic fecility. God bless and protect the young, as we have been blessed and protected!—

I should be much pleased to hear what has befallen you since last I saw you in Lund. My brother Thure wrote in one of his letters,<sup>11</sup> which I received while yet I was in N. America, that you had entered the Civil Service,<sup>12</sup> *ni fallor*, but of your subsequent advancement I have not heard till now.

I would also express my grateful acknowledgement of your kind remarks in regard to my contemplated opusculum. It is a work that is taxing my utmost ability and requiring the most patient and laborious research. You have seen the synopsis or prospectus of the work which I sent to Gardell, and you can form an idea. Among the many friends out here, who have encouraged me in my labour, I take special pleasure in mentioning our present King Kalakaua.<sup>13</sup> He is well conversant with Polynesian Archæology, and I have received much and valuable information from him on that subject.

A few days ago, in looking over a file of the "Chinese Repository", a monthly Magazine published in Canton some years ago, I found a notice that on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 1835 there died at Macao Sir Andrew Ljungstedt, a Swede, Knight of the Royal Order of Wasa, aged 76 years, 6 months and 17 days;<sup>14</sup> and that he was

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<sup>11</sup> Thure Fornander must be his elder brother Theodor Carl Fornander (1811—1853), medical officer on the County Council in Borgholm.

<sup>12</sup> Civil service; *cf.* Introduction p. 7. — *ni fallor*, if I am not mistaken.

<sup>13</sup> David Kalakaua (b. 16 Nov. 1836—d. 30 Jan. 1891 in San Francisco) the niece of Kamehameha I, was elected a king of Hawaii 12 Febr. 1874 after the short reign of Lunalilo (1833—1874). In 1887 he was compelled to grant a new constitution which restricted the royal authority.

<sup>14</sup> Anders Ljungstedt, born in Linköping, March 23<sup>rd</sup> 1759, died in Macao, Nov. 11<sup>th</sup> 1835, "superkargör" in the Swedish East India Company, merchant in Canton, later in Macao, Swedish Consul General in China 1816. In 1819 he donated 170,000 "Riksdaler" to establish a technical school in Linköping. His book is entitled: Contribution to an historical sketch of the Portuguese settlement in China and of the Roman Catholic church and mission in China; a supplementary chapter: Description of the city of Canton. Boston 1836.



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the author of a book called "An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China etc.," published in Boston, U.S.A. The notice further adds that Sir Andrew Ljungstedt had founded a Free-School in Sweden, and that the proceeds of the sale of his book had been devoted to the support of said school. What relation did this Sir Andrew Ljungstedt bear to your family? Was he a brother or a cousin of your father?

But I have trespassed the limits of a letter, and must close. Be pleased to give my kind and respectful regard to your wife. Give my Aloha (love)<sup>15</sup> to your children, and believe me ever truly

Your friend and fosterbrother  
Abr. Fornander

Herr Eric Ljungstedt  
Stockholm, Sweden

II

Lahaina. Hawaiian Islands.  
April 24<sup>th</sup> 1878.

My dear Ljungstedt.

Your very wellcome letter of March 23<sup>d</sup> came to hand this morning and, the day's labour over, I sit down with a full heart to answer it.

Thank you, a thousand times, for the insight that you have given me of your past life, since last we parted: to a reflecting mind it is as instructive as it is interesting. I see that your path through life has not always been one of roses; yet, with characteristic perseverance and honesty of purpose, you have succeeded

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Ljungstedt's correspondence is now preserved in the Stifts- och landsbiblioteket in Linköping. Further information in T. J. Arne, *Svenskarna och Österlandet*, Stockholm 1952 pp. 184—187.

<sup>15</sup> Aloha, friendly farewell greeting, "Hello", "Goodbye", "Affection", "Regard" and "How-do-you-do?"

in overcoming every obstacle, and now distinction, competence and happiness fitly crown a long and meritorious life. From my inmost heart I rejoice at, and thank you for, the revelation of yourself that you have made. We have an English proverb that "the *boy* is father of the *man*", and had I never heard of you since we left each other in Lund, I should instinctively have known that you would make your mark in whatever walk of life you might have entered.

I have waited some time for your answer, but I have not waited in vain, and am richly repaid by the full, frank and kindly tone of your letter.

I hope before this reaches you that you have received the First Volume of my book on "The Polynesian Race". The part of the edition destined for these islands only arrived here last month, and I am pleased to observe that out here the book has been well received by literary men and persons acquainted with Polynesian archæology, both natives and foreigners.

It is a risky enterprise to publish a book 7000 miles away from the Author's residence.<sup>16</sup> Errors and misprints will occur, with no possible chance of being corrected; yet, in looking over the work, I find but few errors that a scholarly reader would not at once perceive to be mere misprints and kindly excuse the Author, when it is known that he had no opportunity to correct the proof-sheets of the printer.

As for the work itself, the conclusions I arrive at may be questioned or disputed;<sup>17</sup> but no competent Polynesian scholar will dispute the genuineness and authenticity of the data, on which those conclusions are based. Having seen so many varying theories about the origin of the Polynesians, and all of them extra-forensic, as it were, I was determined to set forth the data which the Polynesians themselves possessed about their Origin and Migra-

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<sup>16</sup> Fornander's "An account of the Polynesian race, its origin and migrations" was published by Messrs. Trübner & Co., London. About the publishing cf. his Preface to vol. 1 p. v.

<sup>17</sup> In the first volume of his work, mentioned above, Fornander attempted to trace the origin of the Polynesian race. According to its folklore and its language he presumed that Polynesians belonged to the Aryan race and that they in olden times, in a Pre-Sanscrit period, had emigrated from central Asia to southeast Asia and from there to the Pacific islands.

tions, and to show the inferences and conclusions to which those data would give a reasonable support. In reading the book you will perceive that the evidence of their origin is nowhere direct and positive, but of the kind which Lawyers call circumstantial and cumulative. I hold that the folk-lore, including the language, of a people is an heirloom of their past, as much so as a pyramid, an obelisk, a bauta-sten or a parchment, and, lacking other proofs, it is a legitimate subject for investigation, in order to discover the source of such people. What do we know of the Origin and Migrations of the Scandinavians, except from their folk-lore and language? And that folk-lore had passed traditionally from father to son for a thousand years before Snorre Sturleson reduced it to writing.<sup>18</sup> Was Odin, therefore, a Myth, and Asagård a gratuitous invention of the Bards? I think not. They point to their Eastern cradle and their Arian relation. It is by following the clue that such folk-lore affords, and collating the data we there find with similar data among other peoples, that we discover connection or divergence between them. This is what I have endeavoured to do with the Polynesian folk-lore. Now that folk-lore presents me with data leading back to the hoariest antiquity, to the dawn or twilight of history, and gives new versions, though substantially the same, of Myths and legends which at that early time passed current around the Mesopotamian basin, when the Cushite race—Chaldean and Arabian—occupied the proscenium of the world's stage. That folk-lore presents me with a language so rich in Arian roots, that I am forced to conclude that, notwithstanding its subsequent mixture with Dravidian or other forms of speech, it was originally, as it remains to this day, a from unknown causes arrested development of the Arian mother-tongue, while the inflexions of verbs and nouns were yet in process of forming, while the unbroken Arian stock still nestled in the passes of the Hindoo-Cush, and long before even the Celtic branch had started on its migrations westward.

It is due to the Polynesians that their own evidence in regard to their origin and their past, should be heard; and that evidence,

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<sup>18</sup> Snorre Sturlason (Isl. Snorri Sturluson), Iceland's greatest historian (1179—1241). His main works are the Edda, Olav den heliges saga and Heimskringla.

with the corollary flowing from it, I have tried in my book to lay before the Public and the literary Amphictyons of the present day.

I am now hard at work, every leisure moment, on the second Volume, extending from the great migratory period of the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the times of Kamehameha I.,<sup>19</sup> and hope to be ready by September, but fear I may not be ready till the end of the year. Our Legislature meets this year and, although I have quitted the political arena many years ago, yet my duties and official labor have been increased from the fact that the Governor of this Island of Maui has gone to the Capital, Honolulu, to attend the session of the Legislature as Member of the House of Nobles, and I have had the honor of being appointed as Acting Governor in his absence, in addition to my ordinary duties as Circuit Judge.<sup>20</sup>

And now a few words about myself. As you may have gathered from my first letter, I have seen the world in some of its roughest aspects, as well as in its blander moments. I have supped with poverty; I have slept with misery; I have stood within the shadow of a violent and untimely death a number of times; yet it is a satisfaction to be able to say that I never growled with the one, nor quailed before the other. It was a rude experience and it met me early, still my heart was ever buoyant and fresh, and with a steady eye and an easy conscience I looked adversity in the face, and always got the best of it. After that stormy period of my life had passed, and I had concluded to settle down on these islands, I have enjoyed as much quiet happiness as I probably deserved; and to the Giver of all good things I am truly and humbly grateful. Socially and personally I am on the best of terms with the world and my neighbors. I have the honor to belong to the "Masonic Fraternity" and the "Independant Order of Odd Fellows".<sup>21</sup> And

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<sup>19</sup> Kamehameha I, the Great (1753—1819), the first king of the Hawaii islands, had control of almost the whole island group in 1795. In 1810 he reached full suzerainty over the last islands, Kauai and Niilhou. R. S. Kuykendall, *op.cit.* 1 Honolulu 1938 index.

<sup>20</sup> Fornander was circuit judge on Maui since August 1870.

<sup>21</sup> Freemasons can be traced back to associations of stone masons in England in the seventeenth century. In 1717 the first grand lodge was organized in London. The organization grew rapidly and spread to other European countries as well as to the North American colonial settlements.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows grew up in England in the middle of

to crown all, I have a daughter who is a pride and joy and blessing to me in my old age.<sup>22</sup> Thus you see how the merciful Providence of God has richly and wonderfully compensated me, in the latter part of my life, for the sufferings and hardships endured in the earlier part.

Gardell kindly sent me several numbers of the "Dagligt Allehanda",<sup>23</sup> from the perusal of which I gather the amazing progress that Sweden has made since you and I were children. Steamboat lines and Rail-roads in every direction. Educational, Agricultural and Mechanical improvements; Legislative reforms, amounting almost to a revolution; Social changes and displacement by emigration, more particularly to America—; all these, reflected in the daily journals are truly wonderful. When first I went to N. America (1831) Swedes were very scarce and seldom met with, and mostly seafaring men. Now, I am told, that in the city of Chicago alone there are 15 Scandinavian Churches with respectable congregations, and 3 news-papers published in the Swedish and Danish languages. In the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota there are over 30,000 Scandinavians, mostly Swedes and Norwegians. In the territory of Utah, among the Mormons, are several thousands. In the State of California they are also numbered by thousands, and there is a flourishing Scandinavian Society in San Francisco. Out here, on the Hawaiian group, there are very few; not more than 12—15. Among these latter is a Mr A. Unna, a Dane, from Copenhagen, and a Sugar Planter on this island of Maui, and who went to Europe last winter on a visit to his relatives.<sup>24</sup> He promised me that he would visit Sweden this Spring or Summer, and I took the liberty to give him letters of introduction to you and to Gardell. He is an old friend of mine, whom I meet often and always with renewed pleasure.

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the eighteenth century. In 1819 the American Order was founded and spread all over the continent. As early as 1846 lodges were instituted in the Hawaiian Islands.

<sup>22</sup> A daughter. See note 9.

<sup>23</sup> Gardell. See note 2.

<sup>24</sup> August Unna (1828—1885) born in Elsinore (Helsingør); arrived in Hawaii 1852. In partnership with his brother Oscar, he owned the sugar plantation called the Hana Plantation on the island of Maui. Appointed Danish consul May 1876 and served until his death on 8 April 1885. (Davis)

Among the other Scandinavian residents in this group is a Capt. L'Orange,<sup>25</sup> a Norwegian, lately arrived, who is commencing a Sugar Plantation in company with M<sup>r</sup> V. Knudsen (another Norwegian and an old settler)<sup>26</sup> whose niece he married. Capt. L'Orange and his wife visited Lahaina a few days ago and kindly called on me. In course of conversation he mentioned that he was acquainted with a Doctor Stolpe who was Director,<sup>27</sup> or something like it, at the National Museum in Stockholm and who, he said, was given to Antiquarian and Ethnological studies and, as he thought, would be pleased to peruse my book. I think it possible that my publishers (Trübner & C<sup>o</sup>) may send a few copies of the book to some of the Book-sellers in Stockholm, so that D<sup>r</sup> Stolpe may obtain a copy there; but in case they should not do so, I would ask it as a favor of you—if you know this D<sup>r</sup> Stolpe—to loan him your copy for perusal, and at the same time convey to him my compliments and the kind remembrance of Capt. L'Orange.

For the Danish poet's (F. P. Müller) work, "Adam Homo",<sup>28</sup> which you kindly offer to send me, I am greatly obliged to you. As you may well suppose, my library of Scandinavian literature

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<sup>25</sup> Henri Christian L'Orange (1843—1916) born in Fredrikshald, Norway, settled in Hawaii about 1877 and became sugar planter first on Maui and later on Kauai. In 1881 he brought to Hawaii two shiploads of Norwegian and Swedish contract labourers for the firm of Castle and Cooke, sugar manufacturers. Later he moved to Florida, U.S.A., where he died. (Davis)

<sup>26</sup> Valdemar Knudsen, born 5 August 1820 in Kristiansand, Norway, was educated at the University of Oslo. He emigrated to the U.S.A. and worked in New York and Chicago. In 1849 he went to the goldfields in California—and must have been there at the same time as Fornander. In 1851 he went to Hawaii, where he managed a sugar plantation and purchased large tracts of property in several areas of Kauai, which are still retained in the Knudsen family. He was active in politics and was elected to the House of Representatives of the Hawaiian Kingdom for several terms, as well as holding a number of political appointments. He was married in 1867 to Annie McHutcherson Sinclair of the island of Niihau. Knudsen died in Honolulu 6 January 1898. (Davis)

<sup>27</sup> Hjalmar Stolpe (1841—1905) was at that time Assistant (Amanuensis) at the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities in Stockholm. Cf. note 91.

<sup>28</sup> Frederik (Fritz) Paludan-Müller (1809—1876) published 1841—48 his poetic novel "Adam Homo".

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is very small; but Tegnér and Oelenschlæger adorn my shelves, and are delightful reading at leisure moments.<sup>29</sup>

And now dear Ljungstedt, I have answered you promptly, and thereby shown you how deeply and fully I appreciate the pleasure of the correspondence now resumed. With my kindest regards to your wife and family, believe me truly your friend and foster-brother

Abr. Fornander.

III

Lahaina, Maui, Hawaiian Islands.  
July 1878.

My friend and Brother.

Your very kind note of June 6<sup>th</sup>, with the photographs of yourself and your four children, were duly forewarded to me by my friend M<sup>r</sup> Unna, and arrived here on the 16<sup>th</sup> inst.; for all which receive my kindest thanks. The package of books which he received from you would be shipped from Bremen on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June and will doubtless arrive here in the early part of October.

I have looked at your photograph again and again with a pleasure that words can not describe; and the crowd of thoughts that rush in upon the mind, while contemplating it, is something wonderful and would puzzle a Kant or a Locke to analyse. When you and I last saw one another, you looked as young and fresh and smooth as your son now does. Such was the very last recollection I had of you: and now, after 48 years' separation, I behold you again with all the unmistakable signs of age, it is true, but—permit me to say—an age with which Time has dealt very gently. You have given me an outline of the interval between 20 and 68, and the transformation from the gay and liber studiosus—to whom

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<sup>29</sup> Esaias Tegnér (1782—1846) Swedish poet. — Adam Oehlenschläger (1799—1850) Danish poet.

a joke came as naturally as his breakfast, and who would pun in Latin as readily as in Swedish—to the staid and mature man—the hard working and hard-worked Official, the man with many cares and great responsibilities—becomes at once intelligible.<sup>30</sup> Still your picture shows you to be a remarkably well preserved man, as we say in English, and may you long continue to be so!

Your childrens pictures charmed me very much. They show intellectuality and character, and are splendid types of “Asa ätten”.<sup>31</sup> God bless them all!

I suppose that my letter to you of date April 24<sup>th</sup> had not arrived when M<sup>r</sup> Unna left Stockholm; and I presume from your silence on the subject that my book had also not yet arrived, though I can not imagine how the delay in forwarding it could have occurred. I know that in April copies of it had been received in Copenhagen and in Germany, and in some of the English Quarterly Magazines for April I see that it is noticed in very fair and even flattering terms—vide “Westminster Review” and “British Quarterly” for April.<sup>32</sup>

Since last I wrote you the Hawaiian Legislature has been in session, and the late Ministry has gone out of office, being succeeded by two native-born Hawaiian Gentlemen and by two foreign born. Sanitary measures, Internal improvements, schemes of immigration and Tariff measures seem to be the most prominent topics of parliamentary discussion. Even if nothing or but very little comes of it in the shape of Legislative enactments, yet it all helps to make those subjects better understood by, and more familiar to, the general public who, in this land of Constitutional institutions and Universal Suffrage—“more Americano”—controls the next elections to Parliament.

M<sup>r</sup> Unna wrote to me from Stockholm and from Copenhagen, after his return, and the pleasure and gratification he derived from his journey to and through Sweden, and which are so vividly described in his letters, were exceedingly gratifying to me. For your courtesy and attention to him receive my warmest thanks.

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<sup>30</sup> On Ljungstedt, cp. the Introduction p. 7.

<sup>31</sup> “Asa ätten”, The Asa family, the Nordic race.

<sup>32</sup> Westminster review N.S. 53 (1878) pp. 542 f. — I have not been able to inspect the British quarterly review.



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He wrote to me also about his visit to Wisby and the death of Gardell's wife.<sup>33</sup> I immediately dispatched a letter of condolence to Gardell. It must be inexpressibly sad to be left alone on life's journey after so many years of loving companionship; to look in vain for the cherished face that cometh not. I have passed through the same ordeal, and from my heart I sympathise with him in his great sorrow.

In about two weeks I intend to go to Honolulu, the Capital of our Islands, and there I will get photographs of myself and my daughter Katy to send to you,<sup>34</sup> so that you may form some idea of our personal appearance.

My daughter bids me convey her kindest "Aloha" to your daughters,<sup>35</sup> of whom she has heard often and lovingly from her cousin Anna Gardell.<sup>36</sup> Katy and I are often talking about visiting Europe and *det gamla Sverige*.<sup>37</sup> It is the pilgrimage of my life, and I hope to see it accomplished some day. I must confess, however, that the prospect is not very bright at present; but in my long and varied life I have learnt what the French call "l'art d'attendre", and fortune sometimes comes to those who know how to wait.

With truest, kindest regards to your wife and children, believe me always

Your friend and brother  
Abr: Fornander

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<sup>33</sup> Johan Gardell's wife Emilie (Emma) Maria Georgine (born Nyberg 1832) died in Visby in 1878.

<sup>34</sup> Fornander's daughter Catherine (Katy) Kaonohiulaokalani Fornander (1849—1905), see note 9.

<sup>35</sup> Aloha. See note 15.

<sup>36</sup> Anna Catharina Elisabeth Gardell (1827—1920) the sister of L.T. Johan Gardell (note 2), unmarried.

<sup>37</sup> "gamla Sverige", Old Sweden.

## IV

Lahaina, Maui, Hawaiian Islands.  
May 24<sup>th</sup> 1879.

My dear brother Ljungstedt.

Your very kind and interesting letter of April 14<sup>th</sup> was received a few days ago, and most heartily I thank you for it.

Believe me that I felt a really warm and sincere sympathy for you, my old friend, when I read that you had twice been prostrated by sickness during last year, and that in consequence you had resigned your position in the Government and retired on a pension.<sup>38</sup> Your relation to that branch of the Government service, wherein you have so long and so honorably labored, and your resignation just at the time when the condition of said service was about to be bettered, strongly reminds me of the old motto, "sic vos, non vobis etc"; but still your country shows itself mindful of past services by providing a Pension Fund for its old servants. In these delightful Isles of the Blest "the March of intellect" or, rather, the resources of the Exchequer have not yet made such a provision. It doubtless will come in good time, for Progress is the watchword; and we, the old servants of the Hawaiian Government, devoutly hope it may come in our day.—

For your kind remarks about my book, and your judicious disposition of the copies I sent you, receive my grateful acknowledgment; and also for your information of the transactions of the Anthropological & Geographical Society in relation to it.<sup>39</sup> Please give my sincere thanks to Dr Stolpe and Consul General Elfving for calling attention to it.<sup>40</sup> It is a work upon which a correct judgment can not hastily be passed; and it is a subject that will force its attention upon the Student and the Politician in years to come, in

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<sup>38</sup> For Ljungstedt's retirement see Introduction p. 7.

<sup>39</sup> The Anthropological society of Stockholm was founded in March 1873 and from 1877 assumed the name The Swedish society for anthropology and geography (Svenska sällskapet för antropologi och geografi). From 1873 to 1877 the society published "Tidskrift för antropologi och kulturhistoria".

<sup>40</sup> Nere Albert Elfving (1832—1891), employed in the United States Geodetical corps, superior officer in the U.S.A. Army; merchant in Stockholm, Consul General of Liberia 1869, U.S.A. Consul in Stockholm since 1871. B. Hildebrand in Svenskt biografiskt lexikon 13. Stockholm 1950 pp. 306—308.

measure as the Pacific Ocean becomes "the theater of events in the world's great hereafter", to use an expression of the American Senator Sumner.<sup>41</sup> The conclusions I have arrived at, that the Polynesians,—though of mixed descent when first conscious of their own existence as a race, through their legends and chants,—were primarily and fundamentally of Arian origin, may appear startling to many who have hitherto classed them as an offshoot of the Malay family: but I have yet to learn under what other theory the amount of Folk-lore that I have collected can be equally satisfactorily classed. As I express myself, with due deference to the opinions of others, at the close of the Preface, "I may have stumbled in the path, but that path alone, I feel convinced, can lead to a solution" of the ethnic relations of the Polynesians.

It would afford me great pleasure, if not inconvenient to yourself as being too bulky or expensive, if you would have the goodness to send me a copy of the Transactions of the Anthropol. & Geogr. Society referred to, in so far as they may touch upon the subject of my book.

I have nearly finished the 2<sup>d</sup> volume,<sup>42</sup> which treats principally of Hawaiian History proper, as collected from the Legends and Chants still existing. It will bring down the history of the Islands to the time of their consolidation under one Government by Kamehameha I., about 1796; from which time the Hawaiian modern era commences, of which there are ample materials, written and printed, from which to prepare a history of its progress from heathenism to Christianity, from Despotism to Constitutional liberty. In August next, probably, I will be able to send the M.S. to London to be printed, and hope it will be out of the Press before next New Year.

The books and pamphlets which you entrusted to Mr Unna have safely arrived, and again I heartily thank you for them. The Legislative debates and reports are very interesting. What a sun-

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<sup>41</sup> Charles Sumner (1811—1874) senator from Massachusetts, chairman of the Committee of foreign relations, was the foremost instigator of the treaty between U.S.A. and Hawaii in 1870. R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian kingdom*. 2. Honolulu [1953] 1966 pp. 218—220.

<sup>42</sup> Fornander finished the second volume of "An account of the Polynesian race" in December 1879. It was issued in London the following year.

burst of political life they betray to a man who, like you and me, had been born and brought up under the old regime of Four Estates and a close session; when Fader Nils Erlandson (or any other name) of Hagby would come home from "Riksdagen" and tell wonderful stories about "Kungen och Kungen's Gumma",<sup>43</sup> about his nuts and his honey etc. and be looked upon by listening crowds as a great man who had seen the world and knew a thing or two.—The Swedish State Calendar is a thoroughly perfect work of its kind and a great credit to those who prepared it.—Adam Homo I have read with unalloyed pleasure.<sup>44</sup> How smooth the versification; how wide the range of his thoughts, from common household affairs to the most abstruse questions of life; and what a fund of humour pervades it.

For your kind and flattering remarks about mine and Katy's photographs I thank you sincerely. My daughter Catherine, or Katy as we call her,<sup>45</sup> is the only one left to me of four children. She has been to me the light of my house and the joy of my heart, in fact the greatest blessing in my old age. She has been living in Honolulu for the past few years, where she is one of the Teachers in the Royal School, with a salary of 400 dollars a year. During the summer vacations she comes up to me in Lahaina, and then I am truly happy. I see her at other times occasionally, when business calls me to Honolulu. But for her, life would to me have no object, and existence no pleasure. You might notice that I have dedicated my book to her. It is probably the only Legacy I will have to give her, and I think the most proper return for all her unvarying love and affection. Besides, some of her ancestors (on her mother's side) are among the most prominent persons, whose lives and reigns will be related in the second volume.

Mr Unna had not left Copenhagen on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March last. He sent me a Danish newspaper, "Fædrelandet", of that date, containing an account of a Lecture that he had delivered before the Geograph. Society in Copenhagen on "Sandwich Öarna". I hear

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<sup>43</sup> "Nils Erlandsson" must be Erland Larsson in Hagby parish, member for the northern district of Öland at the diets in 1815 and 1817/18.

"Kungen" och "Kungens gumma", The King and the King's old lady.

<sup>44</sup> Adam Homo, see note 28.

<sup>45</sup> Catherine Fornander, see note 34.

that he is expected back here before long; when he comes, I will surely remember you to him.

It may interest you to know that in February last the Oriental Section of the California Academy of Sciences did me the honor to invite me to become a Corresponding Member of that Society.

I had intended to have added to the Second Volume of my book a Comparative Vocabulary of the Polynesian Dialects showing their affinity to the archaic forms of Arian speech, so far as such forms have been preserved by its modern descendants. But that portion of my work has swollen to be a volume of itself, and, if life and health hold out, will therefore be issued as a separate work. It is very interesting to me to trace the pedigree of a language to its primary roots, or at least oldest known forms. There must have been a time when the Celt, the Slav, the Goth, the Latin, the Greek, the Persian and the Hindu—neither of whom can now understand the other—must have spoken a common language; at least with such slight dialectical modifications as to be able to converse with one another. Modern philological science, by taking Sanskrit as a standard, has discovered their kindred to each other, but has as yet only partially reproduced that ancient form of speech, of which the Sanskrit and its contemporary sister dialects were the comparatively modern developments. In my humble opinion a critical examination of the Polynesian language will throw a very considerable amount of light on a vast number of those roots, whose actual existence Lexicographers have hitherto either assumed as probable or ignored altogether.

Of Hawaiian life and events I have nothing of special note to relate since my last. Sugar and Rice plantations are increasing in number and value. The Census of the population was taken last December. Its results are upon the whole favorable, and those among us who adopt the ideas of certain political economists and philosophers—that native races are doomed to extinction when they come in contact with the Almighty Anglo-Saxon—are rather silent.

You express in a very delicate and to me highly complimentary manner, your surprise at finding that, with a life so erratic and changeful as mine has been, and with so many apparent disadvantages, I should have been able to keep up and increase the literary attainments with which I started in life. I would answer

—and the answer may benefit other young men in similar circumstances—that amid all the hardships and labor, frivolities and pleasure, at sea or a-shore, I never omitted an opportunity to preserve what I had learnt, and to add to it in some form or other. When rambling about the world in my younger days I acquired several modern languages that have been of great advantage to me in after-life. When settled permanently on these Islands I have endeavoured to keep au courant with the literature of the civilised world; and that in some measure I have succeeded, your kind remarks bear pleasing evidence.

A young Hawaiian, Frank W. Damon, a son of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Doctor S. C. Damon of Honolulu,<sup>46</sup> and who for some years past has been studying in Germany, and who last year and this year has been Secretary of the Hawaiian Legation at Berlin, has written home to his father a series of letters descriptive of his journeys in Northern lands. They have been printed in a Newspaper, edited in Honolulu by his father, and I will send you those letters that treat of his impressions de voyage in Danemark, Sweden and parts of Germany. They may interest you as showing how our old dear Svea land and its people are appreciated by a young warm heart that drew its first breath under our sunny skies. His style is easy and graceful, his observations are quick and true, and his remarks are devoid of that cynical air that characterises too many travelers of modern times. Should he ever, which is possible, revisit Sweden and come within your reach, I know you will receive him kindly for my sake who am an old and good friend of his father.

My daughter, who is now in Honolulu, but to whom I forwarded an abstract of your letter, bids me convey her kind respects to yourself and your wife, and her *Aloha nui loa* to your daughters.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Francis (Frank) Williams Damon (1852—1915) son of Reverend Samuel Chenery Damon (1815—1885). Pastor of Seamen's Chapel and Bethel Union Church for 42 years, having arrived in Honolulu in 1842. From 1843 to 1884 he was also editor and publisher of the periodical *The Friend*, a religious newspaper for seamen. (Davis)

F. W. Damon, *A few weeks in Scandinavia*. *The Friend* 35 (1878) nos. 11—12, 36 (1879) nos. 1—8. Cf. S. E. Bring, *Itineraria suecana* ... Stockholm 1954 (Svenska bibliotekariesamfundets skriftserie. 3) no. 1134.

<sup>47</sup> *Aloha nui loa*, My greatest Aloha. Cf. note 15.

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May God restore you fully to health and activity, and may you enjoy a green old age, which you have so richly deserved.

With best and kindest feelings for yourself, your wife and your children, believe me truly,

Your old friend and brother  
Abr. Fornander

V

Lahaina. Hawaiian Islands.  
June 10<sup>th</sup> 1880.

My dear old friend and brother.

Your kind, full and interesting letter, of April 11<sup>th</sup> reached me in the latter part of May, as I was starting for the Summer Assizes of my Judicial Circuit. That official business disposed of, and returned to Lahaina, I take a day or two to rest myself and to answer some foreign correspondences, among which your own kind letter is to me the most pleasing and enjoyable.

For your kindness and courtesy in regard to the letters of young Damon, referring to his voyage in Scandinavia, I thank you sincerely. The elder Damon and his wife left Honolulu in March last for a tour to Europe and a visit to their son. I shall forward to young Damon, when next I write, the acknowledgment of the Roy<sup>l</sup>: Librarian, M<sup>r</sup> Klemming<sup>48</sup> and extracts from your letter, as well as the review in "Stockholm's Dagblad", which Gardell kindly sent me.

Your remarks about tariffs and free-trade have my heartiest concurrence. I have been a Free-trader all my life, and I have never seen a place or a country come to grief that adopted it.

The two copies of "Några Verser, af L." (your son) were also received by the same mail,<sup>49</sup> for which I thank you and him most

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<sup>48</sup> Gustaf Edvard Klemming (1823—1893) librarian, chief of the Royal Library, Stockholm, 1865—1890.

<sup>49</sup> "Några versar af L." Some verses of Ljungstedt's son do not seem to have been printed.

heartily. I have read them carefully and am greatly pleased. The versification is clear, fluent and melodious; the imagery is well chosen and aptly expressed; but there is an under-tone of yearning, seeking, almost complaining of some un-realised ideal, bordering on melancholy, that arrested my attention as coming from one so young. However, that is a question of temperament, and one cannot be a Bellman and a Stagnelius at the same time.<sup>50</sup> The poetry of shadows, of the dark unaccomplished side of humanity, is often as beautiful and grand as the poetry of light, of the bright and joyful side; and whoever touches either side will never fail of pleased and grateful echoes in human hearts. God's blessings on the young man! There is a niche in Svea's Pantheon for him to fill; may he reach it in your and my life time!

You seem somewhat surprised that the corner-stone of public edifices should be laid with Masonic ceremonies, and you say that such is not the custom in Sweden. I know not the esteem and consideration in which Free-Masonry is *now* held in Sweden, but I remember well that, when you and I were boys, "Frimurare" were looked upon with great doubt, if not positive aversion, as dreadful and mysterious beings, at whose mention old men shook their heads, and children nestled closer to their mother. I am not sure, but I have reasons to think that in those days European-Continental Free-Masonry was still tainted with, or suspected to be a cloak for, and subordinate to, French Jacobinism, Italian Carbonarism or similar subversive associations. Hence, as a precautionary measure on the Continent, Kings and Princes, in their respective States, generally became the Grand-Masters of the Order. Masonry, no doubt, existed in Sweden previous to 1777, but about that time Gustaf III<sup>d</sup> instituted the so called "Swedish Rite", of which the reigning Sovereign is always the Grand-Master, and which I hope has by this time emerged from the shadow in which all Continental Masonry was more or less enveloped during the first half of this century.<sup>51</sup> In England and America, however,

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<sup>50</sup> Carl Michael Bellman (1740—1795) and Erik Johan Stagnelius (1793—1823), Swedish poets.

<sup>51</sup> The first St. Andreas Lodge in Sweden was founded about 1735, and the Lodge of S:t Jean Auxiliaire in 1752. Duke Charles of Södermanland, later King Charles XIII, assumed in 1774 the position as Grand Master. *Cf.* note 21.



Masonry and Politics have been kept strictly apart, and hence the general favor with which the Order has been regarded in those countries. As Masonic traditions evidently connect the present Free-Masons with the mediæval temple-builders and architects, and as the combination of Operative and Speculative Masonry existed as late as the early part of the last century, the custom of employing present Free-Masons to lay the corner-stones of public buildings is but a continuation of an ancient custom that has never created surprise nor evoked criticism in England or America, where Free-Masonry, as now understood, is immensely more prevalent than in any other countries; and in referring to English and American journals, past and present, you will hardly find a public secular building, bridge or monument of any note, whose corner-stone was not laid with Masonic ceremonies.

For your notice of, and your remarks upon, my Masonic address, I thank you greatly. Were we two seated together at your house or mine, and could we discuss the subjects you touch upon orally and fully, I think I might explain—perhaps justify—the expressions which appear to have set you a-thinking, and to which you seem inclined to take exceptions.

You say that with the Hope of Immortality “förstå vi ju hogkomst and medvetande efter döden af hvad vi förut upplefvat”,<sup>52</sup> and you advance the objections of others regarding the new-born child who dies immediately after birth and has nothing to remember, and the old man, who has lost all memory of his past life. Certainly the Hope of Immortality comprises Memory and Conscience, but, as I understand it, is comprises also the Assurance of further development and progress. The mental faculties of the newborn child, that were suddenly arrested from developing in this sphere of its existence, will find place and work for themselves in that other sphere, to which we all are hastening with such a harvest as we have gathered in this, be it little or much. The mental faculties of the old man, that were dimmed by age or paralysed by disease, will be rehabilitated when age and disease no longer obscure them, and his spirit, soul, immortal part, enters

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<sup>52</sup> “förstå vi ju hogkomst och medvetande efter döden af hvad vi förut upplefvat”, we mean memory and conscience of our earlier experiences after death.

upon the next stage of existence, laden with all the memory and all the consciousness, be it joyful or sad, of which his earthly life was made up; and both will develop and progress in measure and degree according to the conditions under which they entered that unknown but inevitable future.

Your criticism of my expression, that without the Hope of Immortality "Man dies as the beast dieth", would perhaps be just, had I been speaking of death from a scientific or technical point of view. I admit that the expression may have originated in the arrogant pride of man and, scientifically considered, be untenable; but it is a very common mode of parlance in the English language—a trope, if you will—to express the utter annihilation which Materialists advocate. As such a trope I used it, and those who heard me so understood it.

Your next exception is to my saying that without the Hope of Immortality "Virtue has no stimulus and Vice has no fear", I hope that, like you, I can do a good act or avoid a bad one without being influenced by the lower motives of hope of reward or fear of punishment; but when I question my own heart, in retrospect, if it was always so, I am forced to answer No. I find that the higher motive of doing good for its own sake, and for the satisfaction and peace of mind that it brings, has grown out of the lower motives of hope and fear by instruction, education, reflection. We were taught as children to do good and God would bless us, and avoid evil lest God should punish. As education, experience, reflection developed our mental faculties, we found that every action, good or bad, was followed by a corresponding consequence and that, by an irresistible logic, that consequence would overtake us sooner or later, here or hereafter. The lower motives of present reward or present punishment were thus enlarged and the good man encouraged to continue in well-doing, assured that "his good deeds would follow him after", while the wicked were deprived of even the faintest hope that death would shelter them from the consequences of their acts. With this larger view of the common doctrine of rewards and punishments good men become resigned to the inequalities and injustice of this world, the practice of virtue, charity, selfdenial, forbearance and forgiveness, becomes easier, and they insensibly cease to analyse their motives or take an account of them. Were it not that the Hope of Immortality

enables us to project the shadows of men's actions into a future life, the wicked would go on rejoicing, and the good would be bereft of that consolation and strength which, in moments of trial and calamity, enable them to calmly look forward to that great Hereafter where their virtues will be recognised. It is thus that we, as Masons, understand and cherish the Hope of Immortality; what it promises and what it enjoins.

In conclusion, I thank you sincerely and earnestly for your remarks. It is always proper and good to look in, and look back, upon one's self as the journey of life draws to its close. We may enter the great hereafter by different gates, but I feel morally sure that we shall meet each other there. You have given me glimpses of your heart, and I know that you are as ready for the journey as I hope I am. And so, with the gayest, most cordial "au revoir"! I drop this subject.

The 2<sup>d</sup> Volume of my book on the Polynesian Race was sent to London in March last for publication, and will probably be out in August or September next. It is purely historical, but I think you will be interested in my description of the Migratory period of the Polynesian tribes, in and about the Pacific Ocean some 800 years ago, as well as my views of the discovery of the Hawaiian group by the Spaniards and by Capt. Cook,<sup>53</sup> whose discovery and whose tragical fate will be treated more impartially and more according to facts, than it has hitherto been the custom to do.

My leisure time is now engaged upon the Comparative Polynes; Vocabulary. My greatest impediment is to procure books of reference. I have to send to England and Germany, and sometimes send more than once before I get what I want; all which consumes time. I am glad to perceive that my views of the connection of the Polynes: language with the primitive Arian receives your concurrence, and I hope to demonstrate that fact more fully when my Compar: Vocabulary is finished. Though the Sanskrit is generally considered as the oldest existing branch of the Arian language, yet you will find—if you take the trouble—as I have found, that various words in the so called Indo-European branches of the Arian have preserved an older, more simple and archaic form, as well as more primitive meaning, than the same words in Sanskrit;

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<sup>53</sup> Cf. note 75.

and this is also preeminently the case with the Polynesian. What it has preserved of Arian speech, is of its very oldest formation. Hence, in my comparison of the Polynes: with its Arian congeners I not seldom fall in with words that are of nearer kindred to Greek, Latin, Saxon etc., than they are to the corresponding words in Sanskrit.

When you say that it seems more natural that mankind "från början skolat kunna ge uttryck åt sina tankar med *lika* ljud, än med *olika*",<sup>54</sup> am I to conclude that you consider the commencement of all language as Onomatopoeic? If so, I would differ with you. Granted that numerous words in every language can be traced to Onomatop: roots, yet there are thousands that must have owed their origin to observation and reflection; and I think it hardly possible that the same objects should have presented themselves to the first men of every race under the same aspects,—made the same impression upon their minds,—and been designated by the same articulated sound of their voices.

For your congratulations upon my having been decorated with the Order of Kalakaua,<sup>55</sup> I thank you. But your remarks upon decorations in general strike me as somewhat cynical. Granted that men of questionable merit are sometimes decorated, yet the envy of the vulgar and the disapproval of the good fall upon them who have thus, without commensurate merit, attained to public honors; while those, whose real merits or services have been thus acknowledged by the Star-dispensing power, are doubly honored by the general consensus of the community in which they live and the approval of good men everywhere. For example, when Eric Ljungstedt was decorated with Nord-stjerne Orden, there may have been others who thought that they also should have been remembered; but I feel morally sure that, if those were really worthy, no scintilla of envy marred their gratification at the distinction bestowed on you.

No momentous events have occurred to ruffle the tide of pros-

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<sup>54</sup> "från början skolat kunnat ge uttryck åt sina tankar med *lika* ljud, än med *olika*", [more natural that mankind] from the beginning should have been able to express his thoughts with similar sounds than with different ones.

<sup>55</sup> The Kalakaua Order was instituted by King Kalakaua (note 13) on February 12th 1874 and had four classes.

ABRAHAM FORNANDER

perity that has characterised the few last years of Hawaiian national life. Our biennial Legislature is now in session, and its Solons do not seem to differ much in the aggregate from those of other contries. Much verbiage and considerable friction of parties in the beginning, but gradually moderation and justice come to the front, and the real, imperative business and wants of the nation receive attention. The sanitary question, the Immigration question, the Monetary question, have each in turn passed the Ordeal of debate, and I believe that the best that could be done has been done in the premises of each; and though Opposition members probably think that they could have done it better, yet the country at large seems disposed to "let well enough alone" and to sustain the Ministers in Office.

My daughter joins me in kindest regards to your wife, your daughters and your son; and with my own warmest Aloha-nui believe me ever truly

Your friend and brother  
Abr: Fornander

VI

Lahaina, Maui, Haw: Islands.  
April 25<sup>th</sup>, 1881.

Herr Eric Ljungstedt R.N.O.<sup>56</sup>  
Stockholm, Sweden

My dear old friend and brother!

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> Febr: last, which I received but a few days ago. It is always a pleasure to me to hear from you personally. I often try to think of you as a septuagenerian, but I can never fully realise the idea. Your image always rises before me as the youthful student, the childhood's friend and foster-brother, active, energetic, lively and gay, equally ready for study

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<sup>56</sup> R.N.O. Knight of the Order of the Polar Star.

or play—*utrique paratus*<sup>57</sup>—and equally excelling in both. And, so thinking, I forget that half a century has marked its furrows on both you and me, and raised a wall between the present and the past,—a well of life's experiences, partly joyous, partly sad, but which none can pass except on memory's golden wings. And I thank God that I am greatly gifted with the faculty of memory. We had our griefs and reverses, no doubt, in youthful days, as we had our griefs and reverses in manhood's prime and later age. The former we have outlived and forgotten; the latter still rankle and harass us, and hence the pleasure with which we turn from the present to the past, or look forward to the future.

I have read your remarks upon Immortality and our hope thereof, carefully and with much interest. As you very justly observe, "Lifvets frågor äro många och stora, de svar vi från [på] dem här kunna få äro deremot alla ofullständiga och gifva oss som resultat endast förmodanden".<sup>58</sup> I admit that immortality cannot be demonstrated as you might a mathematical thesis in Euclid or any other problem of the exact sciences. And the reason why we cannot demonstrate it, is because we do not possess the necessary premises on which to build up our demonstration. We know not the origin of life—not only the *vis vivendi* of the blade of grass and of the worm, but also the *Animus*, the *mens*, the self-consciousness of man—and hence we have no certain data from which to demonstrate its continuance. We simply know it (Life) as a fact, patent and undisputable within and around us. We know it as a force, but know not its origin. However, if we can not *demonstrate* the immortality of the soul, we can *infer* it (if that is what you mean by "förmodande") with a degree of precision that will leave but the narrowest margin between that and absolute certainty; a margin lit up by hope or darkened by fear, but which, whether hoping or fearing, every individual soul must pass as an unavoidable corollary of its own existence. I cannot conceive of the

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<sup>57</sup> "*utrique paratus*", ready for both.

<sup>58</sup> "Lifvets frågor äro många och stora, de svar vi från [=på] dem här kunna få äro däremot alla ofullständiga och gifva oss som resultat endast förmodanden." Life's questions are many and great, the answers which here are given on them are on the other hand all incomplete and give us as a result only suppositions.

destructibility of a Force, such as the thinking, conscious soul of man presents itself to our introspection, and I must therefore believe in its continuity, although I am unable to satisfy myself scientifically as to whence it came or whither it goeth.

I am glad to learn that the 2<sup>d</sup> volume of my book on the Polyn: Race has at last been received by you, and trust you will kindly dispose of it according to former directions and your own best judgment. I have already received several complimentary letters, inviting correspondence, from prominent literary men in England, America and Australia, and in the "Academy"—an English literary Journal of the highest character—of Febr: 26<sup>th</sup> last my work is fairly and well received by a competent writer.<sup>59</sup>

In December last I was agreeably surprised at receiving a Diploma from Stockholm, inviting me to become a "Corresponding Member" of the Anthropol: & Geogr: Society. I acknowledged the honor by the very next mail, but could not imagine how men like Nordenskjöld and Axel Key could think of me, until I saw the name of Elof Tegnér as Secretary of the Society, and then I thought of you and that, through you, my name had been made known to them.<sup>60</sup> If I am right, and I think I am, receive my kindest thanks.

I have also received, under date 14<sup>th</sup> March, an acknowledgment from Herr Klemming, Librarian at the Roy. Library Stockholm, of the reception of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> Vol<sup>s</sup> of my book. Please inform him of the receipt of his letter, and thank him for his courtesy.

And now, dear friend, excuse my brevity this time and with mine and my daughter's kindest regard and Aloha to your wife, your children and yourself, believe me ever truly

Your friend and brother  
Abr: Fornander

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<sup>59</sup> The Academy 19 (1881) no. 460 (Febr. 26) pp. 146 f. (S. J. Whitmee).

<sup>60</sup> Adolf Nordenskiöld (1832—1901) the famous geographer and explorer. Axel Key (1822—1901) professor of pathology at the Royal Institute of medicine in Stockholm.

Elof Tegnér (1844—1900) at that time assistant librarian at the Royal library, Stockholm. Cf. note 102.

About the society, see note 39.

VII

Lahaina, Maui, Hawaiian Islands.

July 17<sup>th</sup> 1882.

Herr Eric Ljungstedt. R.N.O.  
Stockholm

My dear old friend and brother.

After nearly two months' delay I sit down to answer your very kind and interesting letter of April 16<sup>th</sup> last.

How good and thoughtful in you to have taken so much patient care and trouble to have my book presented to Swea's King; and how pleasant to me the result, as conveyed in your own words and in the letter from Kammarherren Printzsköld,<sup>61</sup> by command of the King, to you. My own acknowledgment to you for all this I cannot adequately express in words, and shall not attempt it. I hope we know each other; and I feel sure that it gave you as much pleasure to do me that kindness, as it gave me to receive it at your hands. Thoughts rise of younger days, when we stood shoulder to shoulder, and the one would have bled to defend the other. It is unspeakably sweet in the evening of life to find that early bond of brotherhood and friendship still unimpaired and unbroken.

The two brochures of Prof. Tegnér,<sup>62</sup> which you kindly sent me, have been received. Many, many thanks for them. I have read them attentively and with great interest, and have annotated several places that will be useful to me and will be referred to in the Introduction to my forthcoming work—"A comparative Vocabulary of the Polynesian and Aryan dialects". On that work I am now busily engaged whenever I have any leisure time from Official journeys and Official duties.

I notice what you say about the two odd copies of the 2<sup>d</sup> vol:

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<sup>61</sup> Otto Printzsköld (1846—1930) was at that time private secretary to H. M. the King. He was Lord High Steward from 1916 to his death.

<sup>62</sup> Esaias Tegnér (1843—1928) professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Lund 1879—1908. Prof. Tegnér's brochures are according to a letter from Ljungstedt to Tegnér (25 Sept. 1882; note 77) "Språkets makt öfver tanken" 1880 (The power of language over thought), which is cited by Fornander in *An account of the Polynesian race*, 3, 1885 p. 6 n. 1, and "Ninives och Babylons kilskrifter", 1875 (The cuneiform scripts from Niniveh and Babylon).



of my book. Please retain both of them. I shall write to Trübner in London by this mail to send you two copies of the 1<sup>st</sup> vol: to match; and when you receive them, please carry out your intention and give one set to Prof. Tegnér with my compliments.

It would be very interesting to me to read a Swedish Review of my book by some literary man of competent ability. It has been reviewed in a number of English and American literary periodicals, and is referred to more than once in Prof. A. Bastian's (of Berlin)<sup>63</sup> "Die heilige Sage der Polynesier" (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1881.): beside very complimentary letters from such eminent ethnologists and literati as E. B. Tylor, F.R.S., Hyde Clarke, Esqu., Hubert H. Bancroft, Esqu., Baron Ferd. v. Mueller, F.R.S., R. G. Haliburton, Q.C., and others.<sup>64</sup> And by this last mail I received information from France that an old friend of mine, a Prof. E. Fenard,<sup>65</sup> who resided here several years as Chancelier of the French Legation, intends to translate and edit my book in French. I believe I have told you that the Anthropol. & Geogr. Society in Stockholm and the Academy of Sciences in California have done me the honor to invite me to become a corresponding Member, and that I received the Order of Kalakaua as a recognition from H.M.<sup>y</sup>. our Hawaiian King.<sup>66</sup> So that I feel very much flattered and encouraged by the reception my book has met with both abroad and at home. It is

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<sup>63</sup> Adolf Bastian (1826—1905) chief of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin is considered as one of the founders of the modern ethnology.

<sup>64</sup> Edward Burnett Tylor (1832—1917) professor of Ethnography and Anthropology at the University of Oxford. His most important works are *Researches into the early history of mankind and the development of civilization* (1865) and *Primitive culture, researches in the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, art and custom* (1—2. 1871).

Hyde Clarke (1815—1895) is the author of philological works and of *Researches in prehistoric and protohistoric comparative philology, mythology, and archaeology* . . . London 1875.

Hubert Howe Bancroft (1832—1918) American historian and collector. Author of *The native races of the Pacific states* (1—5, 1875—76).

Ferdinand von Mueller (1825—1895) German-Austrian botanist and explorer.

Robert Grant Haliburton (1831—1901) Canadian lawyer and author.

<sup>65</sup> Em. Fenard (1838—) French translator.

<sup>66</sup> The Anthropological and geographical society in Stockholm, see note 39. — The Kalakaua Order, see note 55.

pleasant to think that one has not altogether lived and labored in vain. But what, in a scientific point of view, is most satisfactory to me is that a prominent English Ethnologist, a M<sup>r</sup> A. H. Keane,<sup>67</sup> has on independant and different grounds come to fundamentally the same conclusions in regard to the Polynesians as I have come to from chiefly traditional sources and the inferences which they lead up to, and thus confirming my position in the very points where perhaps I was weakest. His ideas are expressed in an Essay contributed to the "Journal of the Anthrop: Institute of Gr. Brit: & Irl<sup>d</sup>", Febr. 1880, on "the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races and Languages". He finds—like me—1<sup>st</sup> that the Polynesians are no kindred of the Malays, as has been so gratuitously assumed for a hundred years. He finds—like me—2<sup>d</sup> that the Polynesians descend from a white race,—he calls it Caucasian without further specialisation. But—unlike me—he thinks he finds the nearest relatives and proximate ancestors of the Polynesians in the Khmêrs of Cambodja, and that it was from that section of Asia that they entered the Indian Archipelago; whereas I think they came through Deccan into the Archipelago after having more or less amalgamated with the Dravidians in South-India. Suffice at present that we agree in the two main points—1<sup>o</sup> that the Polynesians are not Malays; 2<sup>o</sup>. that they are descendants of a white race. If, as now seems to be gaining ground among prominent literati, the valleys abutting on the Plateau of Pamir in Central Asia were the "Berceau des Aryas", it is not improbable that two streams of migration may have left for lower latitudes; one going to the S.W., crossing the Hindu-Kush and following the Indus; the other going in a S. Easterly direction, following the river-system of the Irawaddy and the Mekong. The one would debouch in Hindostan, the other in Laos and Cambodja, and both eventually in the Indian Archipelago. I have not yet been able to obtain any satisfactory glossary or information of the language of the Khmêrs, and am therefore at present unable to compare it with the Polynesian. M<sup>r</sup> Keane's treatise only informs me that the Khmêr language is one "*recto tono*", and *not toned*, like the surrounding Mongoloids, Siamese, Anamese, Cochin-Chinese etc.

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<sup>67</sup> Augustus Henry Keane (1833—1912) wrote also books on Asia.

A Belgian Savant, J. van den Gheyn,<sup>68</sup> issued last year a brochure on "Le Berceau des Aryas". He makes a fair and judicious critique of the positions held by various prominent writers on the subject, and he inclines to the opinion, somewhat modified, of Adolph Pictet, that the original habitats of the Indo-European family, before separation, were in Bactria, embracing the Western slopes of the Plateau of Pamir. When the Eastern slopes of that plateau—that "Bam-i Duniah" (the roof of the world) as the Kirghizes and Wakhis call it—shall have been as well explored and described as those of the Western, we may be better able to decide how far the Khmêrs of Cambodja may claim precedence over the pre-Vedic Aryans in settling in the Malay Archipelago and forming the language now known as the Polynesian. So far as the few Khmêr words, which M<sup>r</sup> Keane refers to, may indicate, they do not sound to me like a parent tongue of the Polynesian; and the remarkable fact of similar infixes in the Khmêr and the Malay, which he lays so much stress upon, is totally unknown in Eastern Polynesia.

But I fear I tire you with these disquisitions on subjects that may not interest you as much as they do me.

I notice in a late Engl: Literary Journal ("the Academy", June 3<sup>d</sup>) that Prof: A. H. Sayce<sup>69</sup>—in reviewing a work called "Outlines of Primitive Belief among the Ind.-Europ: races", by C. F. Keary—says that "the Christian Origin of the Ragnarökr or Twilight of the Gods', and the story of Balder—must be obvious to every one". And Prof. Sayce informs us that "in a forthcoming work D<sup>r</sup> Vigfusson will show that the whole idea of Valhalla,<sup>70</sup> with its great God, its Valcyries or armed angels, and its heroes or "elect host",

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<sup>68</sup> Joseph van Gheyn (1854—1913) Belgian librarian, author of several works on ethnology, history of religion and folk lore.

<sup>69</sup> Archibald Henry Sayce (1845—1933) professor of assyriology at the University of Oxford 1891—1919. The review of C. F. Keary, *Outlines of primitive belief among the Indo-European races* (1882) in *The Academy* 21 (1882) no. 526 p. 398 f.

Charles Francis Keary (1848—1917) novelist and writer on history and philosophy.

<sup>70</sup> Gudbrandur Vigfússon (1827—1889) Icelandic philologist, professor at the University of Oxford in 1884. In 1883 he published *Corpus poeticum boreale*. The poetry of the old northern tongue from the earliest times to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

emanates from Christianity like the Pai Marire religion of the [modern] Maoris". And he says further on that Ygg-drasil "originates as a simple blunder". What do you think of that for English criticism of Scandinavian myths and beliefs? And so, according to this learned critic, Walhalla and the whole Edda is but a clumsy paraphrase or parody on Christianity! And yet this Critic is Assistant Oriental Professor at Oxford and one of the foremost Assyriologists and Philologists in Europe.—Great men sometimes have curious little crotchets. Sir Isac Newton wrote a commentary on the Book of Revelation,<sup>71</sup> and Prof. Sayce announces it as "obvious to every one" that our ancient Edda with its Walhalla, its Oden and Balder, its Valkyrrior, its Yggdrasil and Ragnarok, is but a rechauffé of Christianity. Who is D<sup>r</sup> Vigfusson? A Norwegian I imagine by the sound of his name. If so—and I read not long ago that the Norwegians are moving in the matter of establishing a Republic—if so, it is meet and proper that they should repudiate the old Gods and the old faith that made them famous. I hope some Swede or Dane of skill and courage will break a lance on behalf of poor Balder, whom those iconoclasts seek to reduce to a Christian imitation, and vindicate our ancient faith from a comparison with the Pai Marire jumble in New Zealand. But perhaps you are well informed on this controversy. To me, I confess, it was an unpleasant surprise. I wonder what Jacob Grimm would have said,<sup>72</sup> if he were now alive. Well, old illusions die hard sometimes, and I shall cherish mine until I see the proofs to the contrary.

In domestic matters nothing specially interesting from this part of the world. Gardell wrote me, and I learn from other sources, that a M<sup>r</sup> Grip had been sent out by the Swedish Government to investigate the complaints of the Swed. & Norw: immigrant laborers in these islands.<sup>73</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Grip has not yet arrived here. I shall

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<sup>71</sup> In his later years Sir Isaac Newton also was occupied with theological questions. His *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John* were first issued London 1733.

<sup>72</sup> Jacob Grimm (1785—1863) German scholar in the fields of Germanic philology, folk poetry and folk lore.

<sup>73</sup> Johan Anton Wolff Grip (1844—1922) Swedish-Norwegian envoy in Washington and Consul General 1889—1906. *W. Morgenstjerne in Norsk biografisk leksikon*. 4. Oslo 1929 p. 632.

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be pleased to meet him when he comes. I know not why he was sent, unless to satisfy public opinion in Norway. The Swedish Government has a Consul in Honolulu who, it seems to me, could have furnished satisfactory and reliable information.<sup>74</sup> I hope Mr Grip will enjoy his visit to our Islands, and be able to inform his Government, on his return, that, although the Hawaiians killed Capt. Cook a hundred years ago,<sup>75</sup> yet now they have laws as liberal and Courts as just, as any in Europe or America, and that Swedish subjects, so long as they conform to the laws of the land, are as well protected in life and property, as they would be at home or in any other civilised country.

That "Eastern question", whose ghost we thought was laid to rest at the Berlin Conference, is still alive it seems, only the scene is changed from Bulgaria to Egypt.<sup>76</sup>

With kindest love from me and my daughter to yourself, your wife and children, believe me ever

Your true old friend and fosterbrother  
Abr: Fornander

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<sup>74</sup> Johann Conrad Glade (1840—18?) was Swedish Consul in Honolulu 1874—84.

<sup>75</sup> On the morning of January 18<sup>th</sup>, 1778, James Cook (1728—1779), with his two ships, HMS *Resolution* and HMS *Discovery*, reached the three westernmost inhabited islands of the Hawaiian chain: Oahu, Kauai and Niihau. He went ashore at Waimea on Kauai and on Niihau. Cook named his new discovery The Sandwich Islands after the First Lord of Admiralty. On February 2<sup>nd</sup>, he left for the American westcoast and spent the greater part of 1778 looking in vain for the sea passage. Turning south again to spend the winter in warmer latitudes, he brought his ships to the eastern end of the Hawaiian chain, reaching the island of Maui on November 25—26<sup>th</sup> 1778, and the island of Hawaii immediately afterwards. When Cook went ashore in the Kealakua Bay on the morning of February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1779, the Hawaiians attacked him and his men. Cook was struck down and killed at the water's edge.

<sup>76</sup> The Berlin Congress concluded the Russo—Turkish war of 1877—1878 and met from June 13<sup>th</sup> to July 13<sup>th</sup> 1878, when the treaty was signed.

## VIII

Lahaina, Maui. Hawaiian Islands.

Jan.<sup>y</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1883.

Herr Eric Ljungstedt. R.N.O.

Stockholm, Sweden

My dear old friend and Foster-brother!

God bless you and all yours for the kindness and interest you have shown towards me! I received your letter of the 31<sup>st</sup> October last, on Dec: 19<sup>th</sup>, with its enclosures—your note to Prof. Tegnér and his reply—, also the two brochures of Tegnér;<sup>77</sup> for all which receive my heartiest, warmest thanks. You have acted towards me

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<sup>77</sup> Prof. Esaias Tegnér (1843—1928) see note 62. Ljungstedt, in a letter from Stockholm on the 25<sup>th</sup> of Sept. 1882, to Tegnér (Lund Univ. library. Coll. E. Tegnér) introduced Fornander and his work about the Polynesians. Tegnér answered in a letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> October, which does not seem to be preserved. From Ljungstedt's following letter (Motala, 31<sup>st</sup> Oct. 1882) we are informed, that Tegnér sent Fornander and Ljungstedt two papers, "Hemmets ord" (Tidskrift för hemmet 22 (1880) pp. 275—308, 23 (1881) pp. 1—19, 136—146, 193—206) and "Om elliptiska ord" (Forhandlingar paa 2. nord. Filologmøde 1881, Kristiania 1883 pp. 46—78).

Copies of An account of the Polynesian race were sent by Ljungstedt to Prof. Tegnér and to Professor Herman Napoleon Almkvist (1839—1904). Almkvist was appointed assistant professor of comparative philology at the University of Uppsala in 1880 and professor of semitic languages in 1892. K. V. Zetterstéen in Svenskt biografiskt lexikon. 1. Stockholm 1918 pp. 439—441.

In a letter from Lahaina, dated Jan. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1883 (Lund Univ. library. Coll. E. Tegnér), Fornander gives his opinion concerning the linguistic relations of the Polynesian language to the Indo-European languages. He is well aware of Friedrich Bopp's failure in his work "Über die Verwandtschaft der Malayisch-Polynesischen Sprachen mit den Indisch-Europäischen" (Berlin 1841). The great Philologist started from an incorrect premise. "Bopp looked upon the Malay [language] as a corrupted (verstümmelt) daughter of the Sanskrit, and upon the Polynesian as a still more corrupted daughter of the Malay . . . When Bopp says he thinks that the Malayo-Polynesian tongues have sprung from the shreds and patches (die Trümmern) of the Sanskrit, he may be partly right as regards the Malay, but is wholly wrong as regards the Polynesian." Before the historical period the Aryan languages had a stage, 'when the cases were not as yet sharply defined, when the stem could be furnished with a number of unmeaning suffixes' (A. H. Sayce, Introduction to the science of language. 1—2. 1880). But no remains are found—as Schleicher states—of that ancient "Ursprache", written or spoken. Fornander now offers

as a brother, and so I feel and appreciate it, and I firmly believe that it gives you as much pleasure to bestow a kindness, as it does me to receive one at your hands.

I am glad that Trübner & Co attended to my order promptly regarding the copies of my book to be forwarded to you, and I thank you for the disposition you made of them—to Professor Almkvist and to Prof. Tegnér.

As you suggested, I have written to Prof. Tegnér, acknowledging the pleasure which his good opinion of my book has given me.<sup>78</sup> I enclose my letter to him under cover to yourself. Please read it, close it, and forward it to him.

The Christmas season has been a rather busy one with me. Hence my delay in answering your letter. First, the customary Assizes of the Law-Court, a necessary evil arising from the perverseness and litigiousness of mortals. Next, a hurried visit to my daughter in Honolulu. And lastly, in my capacity of Acting Governor, a horse-back ride around this Island of Maui—some 120 miles—connected with the collection of Taxes; from which latter trip I only returned last Saturday. While in Honolulu, Dec: 27<sup>th</sup>, I attended a Masonic banquet given by H. M<sup>y</sup> the King, in the new Palace, to the Members of the Order then present in Honolulu.<sup>79</sup> As the Masonic Fraternity laid the corner-stone of that building (of which I wrote you at the time), and it is now finished, it was thought proper that the first public entertainment and reception there given, should be given to the Free-Masons. It was a grand and enjoyable affair. One hundred and twelve Brother Masons sat down to dinner in the great banqueting hall of the

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the Polynesian language as that “missing link”, as the remainder of that Aryan “Ursprache”, before the flecational system had been fully developed; “in short, when the Aryan [language] still stood in the same semi-nude and agglutinative condition, in which the Polynesian has remained to this day”.

<sup>78</sup> The letter from Fornander to Tegnér does not seem to be preserved.

<sup>79</sup> The new Iolani Palace was completed in the latter part of 1882 and was formally opened with a banquet given by Kalakaua for the Masonic fraternity of the capital on the evening of St. John’s Day, December 27<sup>th</sup>.

The American Minister Resident Rollin Mallory Daggett (1831—1901) journalist, U.S. minister to the Hawaiian Kingdom 1882—85. He edited King Kalakaua’s book *Legends and myths of Hawaii*. The National cyclopaedia of American biography. 12, p. 223. (Davis)

Palace, His Majesty presiding. I had the honor of the second seat on the right of the King, the American Minister Resident having the first.

Since last I wrote to you M<sup>r</sup> Grip, the Swed-Norw: Envoy,<sup>80</sup> has arrived, has visited the different islands and sugar-plantations, and returned to Sweden. I met him twice and was much pleased with the man. If his Report to his Government is to be published, have the goodness to send me a copy. I have a tolerably distinct idea of what it will be, but would like to see it nevertheless.

Thank you for your information regarding M<sup>r</sup> Vigfusson's literary status.<sup>81</sup> I am sorry to say that I do not possess the works of M<sup>r</sup> Bugge, and am therefore unable to form an opinion. You refer to Prof. Tegnér's apparent concurrence with Bugge ("Elliptiska Ord", p. 16.) that Loke "äfven till sitt namn var en gengångare af de sydligare folkens Lucifer".<sup>82</sup> So far as the name is concerned, both *Loke* and *Lucifer* probably refer to the same root as the Sanskrit *Ruch*, "to shine". *Ruchi*, *Rochis*, "light, flame" as the Greek *Λυκη*, *λυχνος*, "light, lamp", as the Polynes: (Fiji) *Ruku*, "the early morning", the Sangvir *Rokadi*, "day", Celebes (Menado) *Roú*, id.; the Gilolo (Gani) and Kaioa Isl; *Lutan*, "fire", Pulo Nias *Lu-woh*, "sun", Teor *Lew*, id.; Malgasse *Mi-lu*, "to shine, glitter", *Lu-lu*, "evil spirits, ghosts, feu follet". But that the conception of Loke in the Eddas was derived from, or in fact is a "gengångare" of Lucifer, I would be loth to admit. In a late English literary journal. "The Academy", Nov. 4<sup>th</sup> 82, just received, I read an article which bears somewhat on this subject. In case

<sup>80</sup> About Grip see note 73.

<sup>81</sup> On Vigfússon cf. the note 70.

Sophus Bugge (1883—1907) professor of comparative philology at the University of Christiania (Oslo) in 1884. His first important work in textual criticism was his edition of the elder Edda, "Norroen fornkvæði" (1867). In his studies "Studier over de nordiske gude- og heltesagns oprindelse" (1, 1881—89) he set forth daring collocations of names, trying to point out that the West-Nordic mythology was in many respects variations on and alterations of Christian legends and classical tales, imported into Scandinavian literature by way of England and Ireland.

<sup>82</sup> Loke, "äfven till sitt namn var en gengångare af de sydligare folkens Lucifer", also in consideration of his name was a transformation of the southern folk's Lucifer. Cf. A. Fornander, An account of the Polynesian race. 3. London 1885 p. 201.



you should not take that journal, I send the enclosed clipping.<sup>83</sup>

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of next month the Coronation of their Majesties, the King and Queen of the Hawaiian Islands, will take place in Honolulu with as great eclat and grand ceremonial as circumstances will admit of.<sup>84</sup> Though in heathen times the Kings of Superior Chiefs of the different islands were anointed by their High Priests when assuming the reins of Government; yet this will be the first coronation on a civilised pattern since Christianity was introduced. Great preparations are making, and a vast concourse of people anticipated. I have been honored with an invitation to attend, and will probably go down to Honolulu about that time.

I am sorry to say that I am making but slow progress on my "Comparative Vocabulary". So many interruptions by Official duties devolving upon me in one way or another, that, except in the evenings when at home, I have but little assured leisure. Still I keep up good courage and write when I can. I have four letters more to complete—m, n, p, w,—and then to copy the whole for the Press, with the Introduction, which will tax my ability to the utmost, seeing that I am not only opening a new field of philological research, but also have to combat a number of errors and prejudices of long standing and in very respectable literary quarters.

Wishing you and yours from my whole heart a happy New Year! beleive me truly and sincerely your friend and brother,

Abr. Fornander.

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<sup>83</sup> The article in the Academy 22 (1882) no. 548 (Nov. 4<sup>th</sup>) p. 329 is written by Alfred Nutt: Obituary, Anton Edzardi.

<sup>84</sup> The coronation of King Kalakaua and Queen Kapiolani took place on Monday, February 12<sup>th</sup>, 1883, the ninth anniversary of his accession to the throne. For further details R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian kingdom*. 3. Honolulu 1967 pp. 261—265.

## IX

Lahaina, Maui. Hawaiian Islands.

Febr. 11<sup>th</sup> 1884.

Herr Eric Ljungstedt. R.N.O.  
Stockholm, Sweden

My dear old Foster-brother.

Many thanks for your kind letter of Sept. 21<sup>st</sup> last year, which I received on October 20<sup>th</sup>.—

The news you therein communicate, about the arrival of the Swed: Frigate "Vanadis" at our Islands in June or July of this year,<sup>85</sup> is truly pleasant and gratifying. I anticipate great enjoyment from meeting so many Swedes of cultured minds and literary tastes. As soon as I hear of the arrival of the Frigate in our waters, I shall hasten down to Honolulu to meet them, and whatever service I can be of to M<sup>r</sup> Stolpe, or any other of them, rest assured that it will be a great pleasure to me to render it. I have just received from the "Anthrop. & Geogr. Sällskapet" the 4<sup>th</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> parts of the Tidskrift "Ymer", and find there on p. 150 an article by M<sup>r</sup> Stolpe on Easter Island ("Påsk-Ön"), which interested me much.<sup>86</sup> He relies in great measure upon the German Geiseler's "Die Oster Insel". I had ordered the last work to be sent out some time ago, but I have not yet received it. I am glad at having read M<sup>r</sup> Stolpe's article before he arrives. It gives me a sort of intellectual introduction to the man and, as it were, a mental aperçu of his way of thinking upon subjects, in which both of us feel a common interest.

Apropos of the Vanadis and her Expedition, I see in "the London Times", Dec: 14<sup>th</sup> last, that she had a narrow escape at Sheerness, England, from being crushed or badly injured during the gale that then raged. It does provoke my old Scandinavian amour propre to see the ignorance or nonchalant superciliousness with which the English Newspapers or writers treat other nations and their belongings. In the Article of the "London Times", which I refer to, the Swedish Frigate is called the "Vanidas" instead of Vanadis. It cannot be a misprint, for it occurs several times. And yet the

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<sup>85</sup> "Vanadis" see note 91.

<sup>86</sup> Hj. Stolpe, Påsk-ön. Ymer 3 (1883) pp. 150—199.

Wilhelm Geiseler, Die Oster-Insel. Eine Stätte prähistorischer Kultur in der Südsee. Berlin 1883.

English of late seem to be very proud of their Northern descent. They might as well have called her "Vanitas" at once.

In regard to what you say about Prof: Tegnér's disinclination to review my book on "the Polyn. Race" until my "Compar: Vocabulary" has also appeared, I regret his decision. I can not say that I feel hurt at it, for he doubtless had the right to consult his own convenience and force in the matter; but, *entre nous*, I confess to a feeling of disappointment. Life is short; and posthumous fame or posthumous blame are nothing to him who is thirsting for a kindly, encouraging word from living lips to living ears. He might have acknowledged receipt of my letter which you forwarded to him. I hope he did. I thought it deserved an answer. Perhaps his letter has miscarried. But—"ça ira". I appreciate his caution. The Pacific and its surroundings are yet a "mare incognitum", it seems, to most of the European Savants, and an innovator on settled systems of classification, like myself, should be approached cautiously.

I know not whether you keep au courant of ethnological and philolog: studies. If you do not, it might both interest and amuse you to learn that the "last word" on the "Origines Ariacae" is that the Indo-European family had its primary home in Scandinavia or, at all events, in the North of Europe. Such are the conclusions of K. Penka (Vienna) and of O. Schrader (Jena).<sup>87</sup> You may remember that in our youth we read or heard of some Swedish Author of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, who learnedly set forth that Paradise was situated in Sweden, somewhere in Öster Götland.<sup>88</sup> Penka

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<sup>87</sup> Karl Penka (1847—1912) author of *Origines Asiacaë*. *Linguistisch-ethnologische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der arischen Völker und Sprachen*, Wien & Teschen 1883 and of *Die Herkunft der Arier*. *Neue Beiträge zur historischen Anthropologie der europäischen Völker*, Wien & Teschen 1886.

Otto Schrader (1855—1919) assistant professor of philology at the University of Jena 1890, professor at Breslau 1909, author of *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*. *Linguistische-historische Beiträge zur Erforschung des indogermanischen Altertums*. Jena 1883.

<sup>88</sup> Olaus Rudbeck (1630—1702) professor of medicine at the University of Uppsala 1660—91, proposed in his work *Atlantica* (1—4, Atlas, 1679—1702) that Sweden was the original home of all races and civilizations, the Atlantis of Plato.

A. H. Sayce, see note 69.

comes to his conclusions from physiological and craniometrical considerations; Schrader argues from philological data. But the strangest thing to me is that an Orientalist and Assyriologist of the ability and reputation of Prof. A. H. Sayce (Oxford) should incline to favor the European, rather than the Asiatic, origin of the Indo-European family.

As generally is the case during the four or five last months of the year, I have been too much occupied officially, both as Judge and as Acting Governor, to give much time to my "Comparative Vocabulary". The Vocabulary itself is finished, but the Introduction, in which I will endeavour to prove my position, is not yet finished. If I live, it will probably be finished this summer, and be printed toward the close of this year.<sup>89</sup>

Thank you for the light you give me upon the Swedish-Norwegian political imbroglio. Like some other people the Norwegians do not seem to know when they are well off. They know, and all the world knows, that they are the freest people in Europe, and yet they are clamoring for a Republic and for separation. I have seen no notice lately of how the trial of the Norwegian Ministers was concluded. Were they acquitted or condemned?

I have received a copy of M<sup>r</sup> Grip's Report on the Swed-Norwegian emigrants to the Haw: Isl<sup>s</sup> from our Government, to whom the Hawaiian Consul at Bremen had forwarded it. It is correct in all essentials.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> volume of *An account of the Polynesian race* was issued in 1885. The preface, written by W. D. Alexander, professor at Punahou college in Honolulu, is dated Sept. 8<sup>th</sup>, 1884. *Cf.* note 99.

<sup>90</sup> In 1881 two groups of Norwegian immigrants arrived in Hawaii to work on sugar plantations. The total number of the two groups was 613. A small portion, perhaps 10 per cent of them, were Swedes. The experiment was not a success, primarily because the people had not been carefully selected. Soon after their arrival some of the immigrants began to make complaints and create trouble. The Swedish government sent out Consul Grip, who spent two and a half months on the islands, visiting the plantations and making a diligent inquiry into the living and working conditions of the immigrants. He found a few small grievances, but reported that most of the complaints were frivolous and unjustified. Most of the Scandinavians soon left the plantations and the islands.

The Condition of the Swedish and Norwegian Laborers on the Hawaiian Islands. Report by Mr A. Grip to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Stockholm [15 pages]. The report was dated Dec. 18, 1882. It was reprinted in the

ABRAHAM FORNANDER

With kindest, warmest greetings to you and all your family,  
wishing you all a happy New Year, believe me truly

Your friend and brother  
Abr: Fornander

X

Lahaina. Maui. Hawaiian Islands.  
July 19<sup>th</sup> 1884.

Herr Eric Ljungstedt. R.N.O.  
Stockholm, Sweden

My dear friend and fosterbrother!

Your kindest of letters of May 14<sup>th</sup> was received on June 12<sup>th</sup>, and with a full and glad heart I now sit down to answer it. There is more than a month between receiving and answering it, but that month has been one of peculiar excitement and pleasure to me.

I had received letter from Doctor Stolpe, dated Rio Janeiro Febr: 4<sup>th</sup>, saying that they would be in Honolulu about June 23<sup>d</sup>. I therefore left Lahaina on June 20<sup>th</sup>, so as to be on hand when the *Vanadis* should arrive. To my surprise I found that the Fregate had arrived the same day a few hours before me.<sup>91</sup> The next day

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Honolulu Almanac and Directory 1884, pp. 41—51. R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian kingdom*. 3. Honolulu 1967, pp. 133 f.

<sup>91</sup> The steam frigate *Vanadis*, completed in Karlskrona in 1862, undertook 1883—85 a circumnavigation of the globe. Commodore O. Lagerberg was in charge of the ship, Captain F. H. A. af Klinteberg second in command, and among the lieutenants was Prince Oscar. K. Hj. Stolpe participated as ethnographical expert, making valuable ethnographic collections during the journey. *Vanadis* arrived in Honolulu from Tahiti on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June, 1884, and left on July 10<sup>th</sup> for Yokohama, where it arrived via Jaluit (Marshall Islands) on August 26.

S. Natt och Dag, *Jorden rundt under svensk örlogsflagg. Ögonblicksbilder från fregatten Vanadis' verldsomsegling 1883—1885 ...* Stockholm 1887. [Bibliotek för resebeskrifningar 14.]

*Vanadis* which did service for many years as a receiving ship at the Stockholm Naval Station sprang a leak and sank in the autumn of 1941, whereupon she was refloated and then scrapped.

I met Doctor Stolpe and Consul Ehrenborg in the afternoon, and in the evening I met a large party of the Officers, including Prince Oscar, Capt Nisson and others, at the Hawaiian Hotel,<sup>92</sup> to all of whom I was personally introduced, and who treated me with great courtesy and attention and drank my health as a countryman whom they were pleased and proud to know.

From that day I was in company with more or less of the Vanadis' officers every day. I made official calls on board the Ship, on Commodore Lagerberg and on Prince Oscar,<sup>93</sup> and was received by both of them with great kindness and—I may say—distinguished consideration, as diplomatists would express it, and which I shall never forget.

With Dr Stolpe I was of course in daily and frequent communication. I liked his frank, genial, jovial way. I fear, however, that he did not make so great an archæological harvest in Honolulu, as perhaps he expected. Our national Museum is very small, and outside of the Museum very little can now be obtained from private parties.<sup>94</sup> In fact, the mine of Haw: archæolog: mementos has been so often and so thoroughly exploit   by foreigners, that now-a-days Boston, London, Paris, even Berlin, contain greater and more varied collections than can be found in Honolulu. Still I believe the Doctor succeeded in getting a few rare objects for the Ethnogr. Museum in Stockholm. Had a longer time been allowed in Honolulu, so that the Doctor could have visited some of the other islands, perhaps he might have made a richer harvest. All the time that the Frigate lay in Honolulu, the Doctor was fully occupied in examining, describing, photographing objects from the public or private collections there or in the vicinity; but he missed entirely some of the ancient Heiaus (Temples) and ancient

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<sup>92</sup> Harald Torgny Ehrenborg (1849—1937) Swedish-Norwegian Vice Consul in Liverpool 1881—1906, acting Inspector of the consulates 1883—85. Prince Oscar, from 1888 Prince Oscar Bernadotte (1859—1953). O. Mannstr  m i Svenskt biografiskt lexicon. 3. Stockholm 1922 p. 775—778.

Johan Rudolf Emanuel Nissen (1841—1896) captain 1883.

<sup>93</sup> Otto Lagerberg (1827—1907) Commodore 1882, rear admiral 1889—90.

<sup>94</sup> The ethnographical collections which Stolpe made, assisted by Fornander, are still preserved in the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm but have never been published.

burial grounds and battle fields,<sup>95</sup> of which there are now no remains on the island of Oahu.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> June Prince Oscar, Capt. Klintberg, L<sup>t</sup> Sundström and an Aid de Camp of King Kalakaua,<sup>96</sup> embarked on board of one of our Island Steamers to visit that eighth wonder of the world, the Volcano Kilauea on the island of Hawaii,<sup>97</sup> and in their absence from Honolulu I returned here to Lahaina for a few days on business. On July 5<sup>th</sup> the Steamer, with the Prince and his party, stopped a few hours at Lahaina on their return from Hawaii. I sent the Governor's boat off to the Steamer, invited the Prince and his suite to come ashore which they did, and I had the honor to receive and entertain them at my house. I then accompanied them in the Steamer to Honolulu, where I remained until the Vanadis left for Japan, July 10<sup>th</sup>.

There, my brother, you have the briefest outline of the Vanadis' sejour in Honolulu. Her officers at once became the favorites of Honolulu society, and deservedly so. They all spoke English fluently, so that there was no impediment to a free and agreeable conversation. Of the balls, parties, dinners, pic-nics etc. etc., which were given to them and in honor of Prince Oscar, by the King, by his sister the Heir Apparent (Mrs Dominis), by Queen Dowager Emma, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, by the Swedish Consul,<sup>98</sup> and by others—of all this probably the Officers, or some of

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<sup>95</sup> Heiau, places of worship and sacrifice. They were rectangular areas paved with uncut stone and often surrounded with a low stone wall. Each heiau also enclosed smaller structures of stone or timber, either as altars or as supporting buildings. W. C. Bennett, *The archaeology of Kauai*. Honolulu 1931 (Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin. 8).

<sup>96</sup> Fredrik Hjalmar August af Klinteberg (1835—1912), captain 1871, post captain of 2<sup>nd</sup> degree 1884, of 1<sup>st</sup> degree 1887, commodore 1889, admiral 1903.

Nils Gustaf Sundström (1846—1931) lieutenant 1875, captain 1884, post captain of 2<sup>nd</sup> degree 1893, of 1<sup>st</sup> degree 1896, commodore 1900.

<sup>97</sup> Mauna Loa and Kilauea on the island of Hawaii are still the most active volcanoes in the world.

<sup>98</sup> Kalakaua (1836—1891) was King of Hawaii since 1874. He was succeeded by his hister Liliuokalani (Lydia Pakivor, Mrs John Owen Dominis, 1838—1917) who reigned for only two years (1891—93). She was the last monarch of the Hawaiian kingdom. *Liliuokalani, Hawaii's story by Hawaii's Queen*. Rutland, Vt & Tokyo 1964.

The Dowager Queen Emma (1822—1885) was the widow of Kamehameha IV.

them, may enlighten the Swedish public by private letters or by contributions to newspapers. But of the party—(partie dansante) which the Commodore and Officers gave in return on board the *Vanadis*, to which all the elite of Honolulu were invited—and which all, who could, attended—it may become me, on behalf of Honolulu, to speak with highest praise and admiration. I have attended many such on different national ships, but for completeness of arrangements, taste of decorations, roominess of deck for dancing purposes, incomparable and apparently inexhaustible supply of the choicest refreshments, the really superior music of the Ship's Band, and—what seemed to me and every one present the greatest charm of all—the spontaneous, unaffected, ever vigilant, never obtrusive, courtesy and attention of all, from the Commodore down to the youngest Officer;—for all this, and I say it with pride, the Swedish Fregate *Vanadis* and her Officers will bear away the palm and be long remembered by Honolulu Society.

I have finished the Comparative Vocabulary, or the 3<sup>d</sup> vol. of my book.<sup>99</sup> It is now being clean-copied for printers' use, and will then be sent to London to be printed. Though I am perfectly sure that my analysis of the Polynesian language as a whole, as set forth in the Introduction, is not only correct, but the only one by which its linguistic affinities can be discovered and a proper comparison instituted; and although I have received the concurrence of the best literati in these islands—men educated at Yale and Harvard Universities in America, and as well acquainted with Polynesian as I am—yet I fear the reception this volume will meet with by European Savants, on the ground, as Prof: A. H. Sayce says, that "all new things are sure to be objected to by those who have to unlearn the old", and because there are so many old assumptions and prejudices to overcome and unlearn before my labor can be appreciated and my object approved. But—"E pur se muove" said a greater man than I,<sup>100</sup> and time did him justice.

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The Minister of Foreign Affairs must be the Premier 1882—87 Walter Murray Gibson (1823—1888), the King's principal adviser.

The Swedish Consul H. W. Schmidt, see note 114.

<sup>99</sup> The manuscript to the third volume of *An account of the Polynesian race* was finished by July, 1884. Cf. note 89.

<sup>100</sup> "Eppur si muove" is ascribed to Galileo Galilei.



ABRAHAM FORNANDER

My claim on behalf of the Polynesian will one day also be acknowledged.

And now, dear brother, with kindest Aloha to yourself, your wife and your children from me and my daughter, believe me

Your friend and fosterbrother  
Abr: Fornander

XI

Lahaina, Maui, Hawaiian Islands,  
June 9<sup>th</sup> 1886.

Herr Eric Ljungstedt, R.N.O.—Stockholm

My dear old friend and foster-brother.

Your very kind letter of April 24<sup>th</sup>, with its enclosure from Kammarherren O. Printzsköld,<sup>101</sup> were duly received May 26<sup>th</sup>. Many, many thanks for the care you have taken, and the trouble I have given you, in attending to the distribution of the copies of the 3<sup>d</sup> volume of my work which I sent to you. You have done perfectly right, and according to my wishes, in giving the 3<sup>d</sup> vol: to the same parties to whom you delivered the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup>. I had no alterations to make in that matter.

But besides the copies that I ordered Trübner & C<sup>o</sup> to send to you, I instructed him also to send a copy to H.R.H. Prince Oscar, another copy to Prof: Esaias H. W. Tegnér in Lund, and one to Herr Elof Tegnér, Librarian, University, Lund.<sup>102</sup> Whether these 3 copies have reached their respective destinations I know not. At least I have received as yet no note of acknowledgment from either of them. From Herr Klemming, Librarian at the Roy: Libr: Stockholm,<sup>103</sup> I received an acknowledgment, dated Jan<sup>y</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> of

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<sup>101</sup> O. Printzsköld, see note 61.

<sup>102</sup> Elof Tegnér (1844—1900) assistant librarian at the Royal Library, Stockholm 1870, Director of the University library at Lund 1883. Cp. note 55.

<sup>103</sup> Gustaf Edvard Klemming, see note 48.

the copy he received. I fear I have omitted to present copies of my book to "Svenska Sällskapet för Anthropol: och Geografi", of which Society I have the honor to be a Corresponding Member. But I shall write by this mail to Trübner & C<sup>o</sup> and instruct them to send the work, with my compliments, to E. W. Dahlgren, the Secretary of the Society.<sup>104</sup>

You say that you wrote to me on Oct: 14<sup>th</sup> 1884,<sup>105</sup> after receipt of my letter of July 19<sup>th</sup> same year. I am sorry to say that that letter has never reached me. The last from you which I received was dated May 14<sup>th</sup> 84, and I have been not a little anxious on account of what I thought the long delay in your answering my letter of July 19—30<sup>th</sup> '84. I am now, however, very glad to see and learn that you are alive and well, and I seriously hope that age will deal as gently with you as it has dealt with me.

You say that you have only had a short interview with Doctor Stolpe, but expect to meet him soon and have him talk of his sejour in Honolulu. I know it will interest you; and his genial, kind-hearted manner will add to the pleasure.

I suppose that I may now soon have the pleasure of seeing some notice, review or criticism of my book from the pen of Prof: Tegnér. It has been noticed, reviewed and criticised pretty freely in England and Scotland and the U: States and, with one exception, very fairly, and I do not complain. The "Academy", the "Athenaeum", the "British Quarterly", the "Westminster Review", (Engl:), the "Scotsman" (Edinburgh), the "Nation" (New York) have honored me with their notices,<sup>106</sup> and so has the "Société de Géographie", (Paris); but from Sweden, except the notice which appeared in "Ymer", of the 1<sup>st</sup> volume, no word of censure or approval has yet reached me. The reception my work has met with out here and in New Zealand, among gentlemen of high literary attainments and as well versed in Polynesian lore as myself, is

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<sup>104</sup> Erik Wilhelm Dahlgren (1848—1934) assistant librarian (amanuensis) at the Royal Library Stockholm 1870, librarian of the R. Academy of sciences 1893, director of the Royal Library 1903—16.

<sup>105</sup> 14, corrected with pencil in the original to 28.

<sup>106</sup> Academy 29 (1886) no. 720 p. 134. The Westminster review N.S. 69 (1886) 279 f. I did not find a review in Athenaeum 1885—86. Inspection of copies of the other periodicals mentioned has not been possible.

very flattering and encouraging. The English literary journals, above referred to, while they accord me great credit and praise for my industry, knowledge of Polynesian matters and wide reading etc., yet hesitate in the main to adopt the conclusions which to me seem the only unavoidable ones, from the data that I have collected and presented. But it is but natural that they should. My conclusions as to an Aryan descent of the Polynesian family is not only a literary and scientific novelty, but, "ut ita dicam", a revolutionary attempt to enlarge the orthodox limits of comparative philology. I am painfully conscious of my many deficiencies, but I am morally convinced that in the near future some one, more able than myself, will victoriously maintain the ground I have prepared.

Is it possible that no complete account of the voyage of the "Vanadis", or even sketches or brochures, have appeared in Swedish print? I have written to Gardell and to my sister Jenny to procure and send me anything on that subject that may have been published;<sup>107</sup> but as yet I have seen nothing except a short notice of the collections made by Doctor Stolpe, published in "Ymer" 1885, 7 & 8 häft: p. XLI etc.<sup>108</sup>

As regards our island-home, we are now in the midst of a parliamentary session, more remarkable for noise than "Noũç".<sup>109</sup> Things will end all right, no doubt. It always does. Our Honorable M.P-s are young as yet in the Constitutional saddle, and are frequently moved by alternative fits of economy and extravagance. To old men, like myself, who do not now meddle in politics, the parliamentary party-play is sometimes amusing. But life and property are safe, perhaps more so than in any other civilised country. The public burdens are very easy: taxes on property only 3/4 of 1 p.c. of its assessed value. Inter-island communication is performed by Hawaiian steamers several times a week, and we have bi-monthly steam communication with California and with

<sup>107</sup> Johan Gardell, see note 2.

Margareta Johanna (Jenny) Fornander (1821—1894) Abraham's sister, who lived in Runsten, Öland.

<sup>108</sup> Hj. Stolpe gives in Ymer 5 (1885) pp. XLI—XLVI a short survey of the ethnographical collections of the Vanadis expedition. Honolulu on p. XLIII.

<sup>109</sup> Noũç, "sense".

the Australian Colonies. Our Exports for last year (1885) was \$ 9.069.318, and our Imports \$ 3.850.544. Thus you see that the country is fairly prosperous in spite of the political crotchets of either King, Cabinet or Parliament.

I know not if Doctor Stolpe corresponds with any one in Honolulu. If he does not, it may interest him to know that Doctor E. Arnin,<sup>110</sup> with whom he was much associated while in Honolulu—has had—to use a mild term—a difference of opinion with our Prime Minister, Mr Gibson,<sup>111</sup> who is also President of the Board of Health, and has been dismissed from his situation in connection with the Leper Hospitals, and intends returning to Germany in a month or two. Doctor Arnin's fine collection of Hawaiian and South-Pacific archeological subjects will be sold here, if he can find a buyer, if not, he will take them home to Berlin.

I notice your remarks about our friends and brothers in Norway. It seems as if they wished to pose before Europe as "the Irish of the North". I hope they will not succeed. The reaction from Danish despotism to their own constitutional liberty appears to have turned their heads. Let us hope that it is but a temporary fit of political indigestion. We have a number of Norwegians in these islands, and I know many respectable and well-educated men among them; and I am glad to say that they value the union with Sweden and are not of that captious, ultra-radical set which seems for the present to have got hold of the Administration of their country.

My health continues passably good. I travel a great deal, and I think that keeps me in vigor and strength.

And now dear friend, with kindest regards to your wife and children, believe me, faithfully

Your friend and foster-brother  
Abr: Fornander

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<sup>110</sup> Eduard Christian Arning (1855—1936) English-born German physician and bacteriologist who spent 26 months from 1883 to 1885 doing experimental research into the cause and cure of leprosy. He was based at Honolulu's then Branch Leper Hospital but also conducted investigations on other islands as well. (Davis)

<sup>111</sup> W. M. Gibson, see note 98.

XII

Lahaina, Maui, Hawaiian Islands.

Nov: 4<sup>th</sup> 1886.

Herr Eric Ljungstedt. R.N.O.  
Stockholm, Sweden

My dear old friend and foster-brother.

Your kind and very wellcome letter of Sept. 16<sup>th</sup>, with its enclosures from yourself to H<sup>r</sup> Elof Tegnér, and from him to you, came duly to hand on Nov. 1<sup>st</sup>. Many, many thanks for your kindness and attention.

I notice what you say about the copies of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> Volume of my book in regard to H<sup>r</sup> Elof Tegnér. But, as I have no correspondence with him, I will take the liberty to trouble you once more in this matter. I shall write by this mail to Trübner & C<sup>o</sup> to send direct to you the entire 3 volumes of my book, and ask you to kindly arrange with H<sup>r</sup> Elof Tegnér in whatever way may appear to you the most proper and courteous. I think I would not ask Prof: Esaias Tegnér to give up the extra copy of the 3<sup>d</sup> Vol. which he has received.

I am right glad to see from H<sup>r</sup> Elof Tegnér's letter to you that his brother, the Professor, has been talking about my book. Hope he will find time to notice it.

A few weeks ago (Oct. 1<sup>st</sup>) I received a letter from H<sup>r</sup> E. W. Dahlgren, Secr; of the Anthrop: & Geogr. Society, Stockholm, and Redacteur of the Society's Journal, "Ymer", telling me that he had "hört sägas att vår förnämste språkforskare på det comparativa området, Prof. Esaias Tegnér i Lund, har för afsigt att göra denna del (3<sup>d</sup> Vol.) till föremål för en vidlyftigare uppsats i "Nordisk Tidskrift".<sup>112</sup> Very good. As the French say: "tout vient à qui sait attendre", and I am content to wait.

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<sup>112</sup> E. W. Dahlgren, see note 104.

"hört sägas att vår förnämste språkforskare på det comparativa området, Prof. Esaias Tegnér i Lund, har för afsigt att göra denna del (3<sup>d</sup> vol.) till föremål för en vidlyftigare uppsats i Nordisk Tidskrift", heard that our foremost linguist in the field of comparative philology, Prof. Esaias Tegnér in Lund, intends to make this part (3<sup>rd</sup> vol.) the object of a more extensive review in the 'Nordisk Tidskrift'.

CHRISTIAN CALLMER

In the meanwhile I am very much pleased with the reception my book has received from Polynesian Scholars on the other groups of the Pacific, more especially New Zealand; men of Collegiate Education, men from Oxford and Cambridge, and who, through long residence are apparently as well acquainted with Polynesian dialects and Polynesian Folk-lore as I am. Their good opinion is very valuable to me.

Another and more tangible evidence of the consideration in which my work is held here on Hawaii is that the Hawaiian Legislature of this year passed an appropriation of 2500 Dollars in my favor, as a National acknowledgment of my merits, services and expenses in preparing and publishing my book; and it passed a further sum of 2500 Dollars to purchase my Manuscript Collection of Polynesian Legends, Chants and other Archæological remains for the use of the Government Library,<sup>113</sup> provided I accept that price. As I am now 74 years old and begin to be troubled by neuralgia, rheumatism and other premonitory symptoms of the "inevitable", the Legislature also passed a law giving me a pension of 1200 Dollars per annum whenever, on account of age or sickness, I should feel it my duty to resign my present Office of Circuit Judge.

Your letter is dated Sept: 16<sup>th</sup>. Our Hawaiian Newspapers of this week report that on Sept: 27<sup>th</sup> the Swedish and Norwegian Consul at Honolulu,<sup>114</sup> Mr H. W. Schmidt had been received at Drottningholm by King Oscar etc. As I gave him a letter of introduction to you, you have probably seen him before he left Stockholm.

You say nothing about yourself and your own health in your letter. I therefore hope it is good, and sincerely trust it may continue so.

With kindest regards to your wife and family, believe me, truly

Your friend and foster-brother  
Abr: Fornander

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<sup>113</sup> Fornander's collections are now preserved in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu.

<sup>114</sup> Henrik Wilhelm Schmidt (1846—1910) Swedish-Norwegian Consul in Honolulu 1885—1906.

XIII

Honolulu May 22<sup>d</sup> 1887.

Herr Eric Ljungstedt R.N.O.  
Stockholm, Sweden

My dear old friend and foster-brother.

Your kind and wellcome letter of April 9<sup>th</sup> was duly received May 14<sup>th</sup>. Many, many thanks.

You say that you heard from Gardell about my sickness and surgical operation. That was correct, and I thank you for your sympathy. But although I survived that operation and apparently became better, yet the nature of the disease is such that I have had to undergo three more nearly similar operations, and expect one more in a few days. My disease is a species of cancer in the tongue and the lower jaw, and, though the Doctors think that they can cure me by frequent cuttings and burnings, yet it will take a long time and will give me ample opportunity to practice patience. What I have suffered and what I am suffering daily, only myself can know. We read of Job as an example of patience. But he was only troubled with boils. Had he had my disease, perhaps his story would never have been written.

I thank you much for your felicitations on my promotion and on my decorations. When Consul Schmidt returned from Europe he brought with him the Diploma of the Nordstjerne Orden, and the following mail brought the decoration. I was right glad to hear from M<sup>r</sup> Schmidt that he had called on you and seen you. His stay in Stockholm was very short, only three days, but one continuous fête he tells me. I am glad to hear that Prince Oscar and the Officers of the Vanadis then in Stockholm showed M<sup>r</sup> Schmidt those courtesies; for when they were here, he certainly exerted himself to the utmost and spared neither time nor expense to make their visit pleasant and agreeable.

Thank you for sending me Herr Elof Tegnér's letter of thanks for the copy of my book. I shall acknowledge his letter.

Our Queen Kapiolani, and the King's sister, the princess Liliuokalani and her husband his Exc<sup>y</sup> I. O. Dominis, went to the U. States last month with the intention of seeing the principal cities there, and then proceed to England to be present at Queen

Victoria's Jubilee;<sup>115</sup> and, when that was over, to visit other parts of Europe. They may possibly visit Sweden, though that is not yet certain; but if they do, you will have an opportunity to see them in Stockholm. As their going to Sweden was not on the tapis when they left here, I did not give Gen<sup>l</sup> Dominis any letter of introduction to you. Should they go there, however, I wish you would find an opportunity to be introduced to General Dominis. He is one of my most intimate and most valued friends. Doctor Stolpe or any of Vanadis' Officers that may happen to be in Stockholm would doubtless introduce you, if you do not feel like introducing yourself.

And now, dear friend, with kindest regards to your wife and family, believe me truly

Your old friend and foster-brother  
Abr: Fornander

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<sup>115</sup> For the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of Great Britain, a great celebration was held in London in June 1887. To this celebration came representatives from all parts of the British empire and from many foreign countries. Representing Hawaii were Queen Kapiolani (1834—1899), wife of King Kalakaua, and the heiress-apparent Princess Liliuokalani (1838—1917; cp. note 98) and her husband Lieutenant-General John Owen Dominis (1832—1891). The delegation also included the King's chamberlain Colonel Curtis P. Iaukea and Colonel James H. Boyd, aide-de-camp to the Queen. Queen Kapiolani and her company sailed from Honolulu April 12 1887 and returned after three and a half months on July 26<sup>th</sup>. The planned tour of the European continent was abandoned upon receipt of news of the revolution in Hawaii. R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian kingdom*. 3. Honolulu 1967 pp. 341—343.



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