

Thomas G. Thrum and John F.G. Stokes: Australian archaeologists in paradise in the early twentieth century

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ABSTRACT

Thomas George Thrum (1842–1932) and John Francis Gray Stokes (1875–1960) were both born in Newcastle, New South Wales but spent most of their adult lives in Hawaii with long associations with the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. Thrum came to Hawaii in 1853 and in later life published details of over 500 Hawaiian *heiau* (temples). His first specifically archaeological paper was published in 1900. Stokes came to Hawaii in 1899 to work for the Bishop Museum's Director, William T. Brigham, and for many years his position was as a museum ethnologist, carrying out archaeological surveys and studying material culture. After Brigham retired, Stokes was never in favour with the new Director Herbert E. Gregory. He was let go by the Museum in 1929. In Stokes's own view he had an 'unmade reputation'. But his own contribution to Thrum's status as the 'Dean of Hawaiian Antiquarians' has been misunderstood, which is why in part his significance as Hawaii's first professional archaeologist has been underestimated.

Keywords: Hawaiian Archaeology, John F.G. Stokes, Thomas G. Thrum, William T. Brigham

INTRODUCTION

This paper introduces two Australians who both spent most of their life in Hawaii¹ and were involved with the early development of archaeology there: Thomas George Thrum (1842–1932) and John Francis Gray Stokes (1875–1960), pictured in Figures 1 & 2. Thorough biographical studies of both scholars would be most useful, but are not the purpose here.² Nor is it within the scope of the paper to attempt a rounded overview of the development of Hawaiian archaeology within the context of the political shifts from Indigenous-ruled Kingdom to 1893, through White-ruled Provisional and then Republican Governments to 1898, to U.S.-ruled Territory and finally, from 1959, as a State of the Union.

Thrum's career is summarised up to and just beyond his retirement from government service in Figure 3, with his post-1905 archaeological involvement and publications highlighted in Figure 4. Relevant archives exist in the Hawaii State Archives and in the Bishop Museum. The only detailed treatment of Stokes's career is by Tom Dye (1991) in the introduction to the posthumous publication of Stokes's monographic treatment of the *heiau* (traditional temples) of Hawai'i Island (Stokes 1991). It is based largely on archives in the Bishop Museum. There is

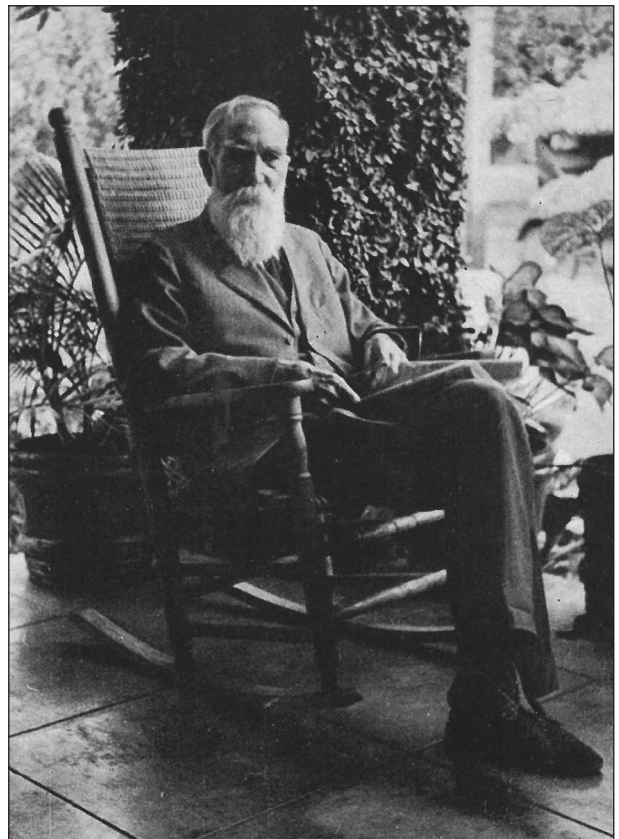


Figure 1. Portrait of Thomas G. Thrum (Source: Kuykendall 1932: 44).

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Figure 2. William Brigham and ‘Brigham’s Boys’, ca. 1900-1. From left to right: Allen Walcott, Alvin Seale, John J. Greene, W.T. Brigham, Director, W.A. Bryan, and J.F.G. Stokes. Reproduced by courtesy of B.P. Bishop Museum.

also a significant Stokes archive in the Hawaiian Historical Society Library, mostly covering his post-Bishop Museum life.³ Some important aspects of his career at the Museum are summarised in Figure 5.

This paper seeks to present a different view of Thrum and Stokes’s collaboration than has hitherto been asserted in Dye’s (1991) study, and assesses their relative contributions to the emergent field of Hawaiian archaeology in the early 20th century.

Both were born in Newcastle, New South Wales, but nearly 40 years apart. Thrum came to Hawaii via Tahiti in 1853 as a child of 11 years, while Stokes arrived as a young man aged 23 to take up a position at the 10-year-old Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (henceforth Bishop Museum or BPBM) on February 15 1899 as one of at that time only four staff. Thrum’s family connection to Hawaii went back to first European contact in 1779 when his great-grandfather accompanied Cook on his ill-fated third voyage. Thrum came to Hawaii when the Hawaiian language was still the dominant one in use in the then-Kingdom, and he would have needed fluency in the language to carry out his business responsibilities over the next decades. Stokes learned Hawaiian as part of his duties at the Museum, at-

taining reasonable fluency in 1908 (Dye 1991:12).

Dye’s contentions were twofold. The first was that:

Brigham’s first colleague in this systematic exploration of ancient Hawai’i was Thomas G Thrum...Thrum’s primary interests in Hawaiian antiquity were cataloguing the ancient *heiau* foundations and collecting the traditional historical materials relating to their construction and use, a project that meshed nicely with Brigham’s interests in the ancient religion (1991: 6).

The second contention was that:

Brigham and Thrum were well aware of the amount of work needed to produce a record of the Hawaiian heritage that would do justice to its scope and complexity, and they quickly appreciated that Stokes could contribute much more to their efforts than maintenance of the collections and the library (ibid:7)

Aspects of both of these contentions are questionable: was Thrum in fact an early associate of Brigham’s in the work of the Museum and, following particularly from the

answer to that question, was Thrum in any way involved in choosing Stokes to pursue a career in ‘Hawaiian heritage’? To examine these questions we need to consider some aspects of the careers of all three protagonists.

BRIGHAM AND STOKES

Kirch (1985: Chapter 1) provides a useful introduction to the history of Hawaiian archaeology. The first archaeological observations, rather than merely site descriptions, may have been made by Otto Finsch on O‘ahu (Finsch 1879, cited in Bowen 1974: 131), although William Ellis also has a claim to being an early astute observer of archaeological remains (see Haddow, this volume). There was much of archaeological interest to be found too in Abraham Fornander’s *Account of the Polynesian Race, its Origins and Migrations* (1878–1885), and Judge Fornander was a great inspiration to those interested in the pre-contact history

of Hawaii, a subject he called ‘Polynesian Archaeology’ (1878:I:ix).⁴

William Tufts Brigham (1841–1926) was the first Curator of the Bishop Museum from its establishment in 1889/1890 and then from 1896 its Director until his retirement at the end of 1917. A Harvard graduate and polymath, he had returned to live in Hawaii in 1889; earlier he had been involved in botanical and other projects there. He had published on a range of scientific and travel matters in the interim (Rose 1980: 21–46). His interests in Hawaiian archaeology are clear from his first visit in 1864/5 onwards. In a letter to Sanford Dole, later to be President of the Republic of Hawaii and its first US Territorial Governor, of August 17 1874, he presented his belief concerning the Hawaiians that ‘their extinction as a nation is fast coming’ and recording their traditions and former customs was an urgent task. He continued: ‘If I ever come to the Islands again I shall search out all the old heiaus and measure

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| 1842 | Born Newcastle, NSW, Australia. |
| 1853 | To Hawaii to join his father, after a year in Tahiti with his grandfather |
| 1855 | Clerk, store of John T. Waterhouse |
| 1856 | Sailed on whaling ships <i>Waverly & China</i> |
| 1865 | Married Anna Laura Brown in San Francisco; 4 children |
| 1867 | Luna (overseer) then sugar boiler at Kohala Plantation. Hawai‘i |
| 1870 | Purchased stationery and news business of Black & Auld |
| 1875 | Commenced publishing [Thrum’s] <i>Hawaiian Annual</i> (continued under various names to 1974) |
| 1881 | Started printing & binding business; published <i>Saturday Press</i> 1881–1886 |
| 1888 | Started publishing <i>Paradise of the Pacific</i> with JJ Williams. Appointed Registrar of Conveyances by the Government of the Kingdom of Hawaii |
| 1891 | Wrote ‘Manoa Valley: descriptive, historic and legendary’ for <i>Hawaiian Annual for 1892</i> : 110–116 (one of his first pieces dealing with pre-contact history) |
| 1892 | Founder Member of the Hawaiian Historical Society. Served as Treasurer for its first year. |
| 1897 | Published the first ‘archaeological’ piece in <i>Hawaiian Annual for 1898</i> : J.K. Farley’s ‘The pictured ledge of Kauai’ |
| 1899 | Thrum wrote ‘Interesting Hawaiian discovery: more picture rocks’ and ‘Ancient idol unearthed’ for <i>Hawaiian Annual for 1900</i> . |
| 1900 | Appointed 5th Vice President of Hawaiian Historical Society for 1901–2. |
| 1902 | Hawaiian Historical Society meeting, January 11: ‘The president, Dr Emerson, then called Vice-President Mr. T. Thrum to the chair, while he read a Paper describing some bones and ornaments which had been exhumed in Waikiki, in the summer of 1900, by workmen engaged in laying sewer pipe...’ (Hawaiian Historical Society 1902: 4). |
| 1903 | A.F. Judd ‘Rock carvings of Hawaii; some possible traces of pre-historic Hawaiians’ and W.D. Westervelt ‘Hawaiian burial caves’ published in <i>Hawaiian Annual for 1904</i> |
| 1904 | Thrum resigned as Registrar of Conveyances –he had served under Kingdom, Provisional Government, Republic and US Territory as Registrar |
| 1905 | ‘Discovers’ Kupopolo Heiau, Wailua, O‘ahu; see ‘The heiau (temple) of Kupopolo & incidentally others’, <i>Hawaiian Annual for 1906</i> . |
| 1905 | S. Andwich [sic] ‘Burial caves of Hawaii’ and W.D. Westervelt ‘The pictured rocks of Naalehu’ [Kaua‘i], published in <i>Hawaiian Annual for 1906</i> . |

Figure 3. Aspects of Thomas Thrum’s career up to his retirement and ‘discovery’ of Kupopolo Heiau. Sources: principally HSA, Thrum Collection, M-143, ‘Thomas George Thrum (1842–1932)’, and *Hawaiian Annual* and *Annual Reports of the Hawaiian Historical Society*.

1906	'Heiaus and heiau sites throughout the Hawaiian Islands' & 'Tales from the temples' [Kaua'i, Ni'ihau & O'ahu]
1907	'Heiaus and heiau sites throughout the Hawaiian Islands' & 'Tales from the temples (part II)' [Hawai'i]
1908	'Heiaus and heiau sites throughout the Hawaiian Islands' & 'Tales from the temples (part III)' [Maui, Moloka'i, Lana'i with additions Hawai'i & O'ahu]
1909	'Heiaus: their kinds, construction, ceremonies, etc'
1911	'Another heiau discovery' [Kaua'i]
1915	'Completing O'ahu's heiau search'
1916	'Maui's heiaus and heiau sites revised'
1917	'More Maui heiau sites'
1920	'More evidence of old temples' [Maui]
1922	'Hawaiian Archaeology', <i>Mid-Pacific Magazine</i> 23(3):248–250.
1924	'Heiaus (Temples) of Hawaii Nei'. <i>32nd Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for 1923</i> : 14–36.
1925	'Leahi Heiau (temple): Papa-ena-ena' [O'ahu], <i>Hawaiian Annual for 1926</i> : 109–114.
1927	'The Paehumu of heiaus non-sacred' (originally given as a lecture Feb 8 1927), <i>Hawaiian Annual for 1928</i> : 71–71
1937	'Complete list of Heiau Sites', <i>Hawaiian Annual for 1938</i> : 121–142 [issued posthumously].

Figure 4. Thrum's major publications relating to heiau sites. All but 1922 and 1924 are in *Hawaiian Annual*. Sources only given in full where not otherwise referred to in the main text.

and map them and try to collect all possible accounts of the worship, of which we know little or nothing' (quoted in Rose 1980: 25).

Brigham had originally been hired by Charles Reed Bishop to write a history of Hawaii, and on the boat over from Australia to San Francisco in late 1888 he had persuaded Acland Wansey, an Australian fellow passenger on the *Zealandia*, to join him on the endeavour. Wansey, from Quirindi in the Colony of New South Wales, was to accompany him on his travels round the Kingdom as an assistant in 1889–1890 (Rose 1980: 37). Brigham again employed him when the expansion of Museum operations allowed, this time from January 1897 as Assistant Curator.⁵ Wansey is significant to the story because he provided the initial link between Brigham and Stokes. When Wansey resigned in October 1898 an application to be his replacement was promptly lodged by Stokes, described by Brigham as 'a friend of Mr Wansey's'⁶ whose letter of application was read to the Trustees.

At the January 13 1899 meeting of the Trustees, Brigham announced that Stokes was on his way and on February 17 he was able to inform the Trustees of Stokes's arrival in Honolulu on the 15th (BPBM Archives, Minutes of the Trustees). In his *Director's Report* for 1899 Brigham was further able to report of Stokes 'in addition to his duties as acting general Curator, he has filled the post of Librarian' (Brigham 1900: 9). The *Report* is also notable for Stokes's first publication, on 'The Mat Sails of the Pacific' (Stokes 1900: 25–32).

In a separate section of the 1899 Report labeled 'Exploration', Brigham noted that:

In October, with Mr. J.F.G. Stokes, the Director at the instance of the Trustees visited Hawaii to measure and critically examine the heiau of Wahiula [Waha'ula], a temple originally built by Pao when he made land in Puna and twice rebuilt. It was the last to yield to the advance of Christianity, and as it is in a remote and unfrequented place the remains are in comparatively good condition... The measurements and observations there obtained are now being embodied in a model of the restored ruins (Brigham 1900: 23–24).

The Waha'ula model, still on display in the Hawaiian Hall at the Museum today, was completed by Stokes in 1902 (Brigham 1903: 7). Brigham had previously visited Waha'ula in 1889, during his historical project and had identified it as being particularly well-preserved as well as having a traditional association with Pa'ao that had been noted by Fornander (1880:II: 35). Stokes stayed on longer on Hawai'i Island, travelling back via Kealakekua and then on to Lahaina, Maui, observing further *heiau* structures on the return journey (BPBM Archives, Stokes Group 2, Box 3, 9).

In 1902 Brigham published the first strictly archaeological monograph relating to Hawaii, his 'Ancient Hawaiian Stone Implements' (cover title) (Brigham 1902b). In the 1902 *Director's Report*, Brigham noted:

Mr J.F.G. Stokes has been my chief assistant now for several years, has acted as librarian of our small but very choice working library, and he has also kept most of our accounts as well as helped in most of the Museum work (Brigham 1903: 7).

1899	February, arrives at Bishop Museum as assistant to the Director & Librarian; October expedition to Hawai'i with Brigham to map Waha'ula Heiau, returns via Kealakekua and Lahaina (Maui) to look at other heiau
1901–2	Makes Waha'ula Heiau model at Bishop Museum (still on display, 2016); January 11 1902 elected to Hawaiian Historical Society at meeting Thrum attended as a Vice-President
1903	Appointed as Curator in Polynesian Ethnology – FIRST 'ARCHAEOLOGICAL POSITION IN HAWAII (AND IN THE PACIFIC?)
1905	(March) Brigham calls for investigation of ancient heiau in <i>Director's Report</i> for 1904
1905	Investigation of findings of wood sculptures etc. in Forbes Cave, Hawai'i Island
1906	Brigham awarded grant from Carnegie Institution for heiau investigations, Stokes to undertake the fieldwork (FIRST GRANT FOR ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE PACIFIC?)
1906–7	O'ahu & Hawai'i heiau research, with list from Thrum – 100+ heiau recorded. FIRST SYSTEMATIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY IN THE PACIFIC?
1908	Salvage archaeology project at Pearl Harbour, published 1909 (FIRST SALVAGE ARCHAEOLOGY PROJECT IN PACIFIC?). Publishes 'Stone sculpturings in relief from the Hawaiian Islands'; attains reasonable fluency in Hawaiian language
1909	Moloka'i fieldwork on heiau as part of Carnegie-funded project; publishes 'Notes on Hawaiian Petroglyphs' (FIRST SYSTEMATIC RESEARCH ON PACIFIC ROCK ART?) and publishes Index to Fornander's <i>Polynesian Race</i>
1910	Moloka'i fish ponds fieldwork; Acting Director for five weeks.
1911	O'ahu & Kaua'i fishponds, Kaua'i petroglyphs surveys
1912	Kaua'i fort & Ni'ihau heiau surveys; Acting Director April to December
1913	Kaho'olawe survey & excavation of Kamohio fishhook manufacturing site (FIRST 'SCIENTIFIC' EXCAVATION IN HAWAII); survey on Maui
1914	Visits O'ahu & Lana'i burial sites with German ethnologist Felix von Luschan.
1915	O'ahu heiau survey with Thrum
1916	3rd trip to Kaua'i for petroglyphs; Maui heiau survey for Thrum
1918	January to end of April 1919 Acting Director of Museum after Brigham retires end of 1917, until arrival of new director Herbert E. Gregory
1919	Survey & excavation at Honaunau, Hawai'i Island. Delivers manuscript on Moloka'i & Hawai'i heiau to Brigham on December 1919 for publication in his book on Hawaiian religion (never published).
1920–22	Ethnological fieldwork in SE Polynesia, especially on Rapa and Ra'ivavae
	October 23 1928, Stokes told services not needed at Bishop Museum after Dec. 31 1929

Figure 5. Outline of Stokes's career at the Bishop Museum 1899 to 1929. Sources: Bishop Museum published reports, as in text, and archival sources.

In the same *Report* Stokes is listed as the Curator of Polynesian Ethnology (Brigham 1903:inside cover), an important promotion that made him the first museum appointee in the Pacific Islands in what quickly became essentially an archaeological post.

Brigham's *Director's Report* for 1904 was dated March 17 1905 (Brigham 1905). In it he noted that

the ruins of the ancient *heiau* and *puuhonua*⁷ have not been studied, and although two types of *heiau* have been recognized,—the truncated pyramid and the walled enclosure,⁸—we do not yet know in what proportion these existed, nor whether the difference in structure is due to a differing cult. All these ruins are fast disappearing... No plans or definite measurements

exist... This Museum should have plans and photographs of every existing ruined *heiau* or *puuhonua* in the group before the Director can complete the account of ancient Hawaiian worship proposed for the Museum publications⁹ (Brigham 1905:7–8).

Brigham went on to note further threats to ancient irrigation systems, petroglyphs and house and village sites that also required detailed recording.

Brigham's interest in *heiau* was already longstanding by 1899, but this wider call for recording of historic sites may well have come at this time from his involvement with a Hawaiian Historical Society Committee set up to record historic landmarks and lobby for their protection.¹⁰ This committee was established in 1903 when Museum

employee and Society member 'Mr Wm. A Bryan moved that a committee of five be appointed to bring before other organisations and the Legislature the matter of marking the sites of important historical events. This was seconded and carried at the January 12 1903 meeting. The President, Nathaniel Emerson, stated that he would name the committee later' (HHS (1903) *10th Annual Report for 1903*: 4). The names of the Committee, all but Brigham being Society members, were published when they had completed their initial report in 1904 (HHS (1905) *12th Annual Report for 1904*: 3).¹¹

In the *Director's Report* for 1906, dated January 11 1907, Brigham was able to report the receipt early in 1906 of a Carnegie Institution grant 'for the exploration of the *heiau* of which the remains in a more or less ruinous state are scattered over the group' (1907: 3–4). He further reported that Stokes,

after some examination and measurement of *heiau* on this island [O'ahu], proceeded to Hawai'i with full camping outfit, and for several months has in the most thorough manner identified sites, where ruins no longer exist, measured and mapped all existing ruins, and connected there with the trigonometrical stations of the island. A fuller report of his work will be given later when the *heiau* of the other islands shall have been explored, but the completion of the circuit of the largest island of the group is a definite achievement that has added greatly to the list of these ancient temples (Brigham 1907: 4–5).

Stokes's wife, Anna Margaret, had accompanied him on this expedition – and many others later – but typically for this period, did not apparently merit any mention.

The 1906 Carnegie grant was the first given for archaeological research in Hawaii, indeed probably for the Pacific Islands as a whole. And Stokes's survey of *heiau* on the Big Island would have been the first sustained systematic survey attempted in Hawaii focusing on a class of archaeological remains; again, it would seem likely that it was the first such systematic survey attempted in the Pacific. Similar surveys were undertaken on other islands by Stokes in the years to come (see below).

Two years later Brigham was able to report a new Stokes milestone of 1908:

The Curator has also made study of the interesting so called 'shark-pens' near the mouth of Pearl Harbor, which the military authorities of the United States must destroy in the improvement of the harbor, and his results are given with this Report (Brigham 1909: 5).

This would count as the first explicitly salvage archaeology project in the Pacific Islands (Stokes 1909).

Further Stokes milestones were to follow. In 1910 he published what was probably the first piece of systematic

research on Pacific Rock Art (Stokes 1910), which contained 50 figures, many of them photographs from his surveys on Hawai'i in 1906 and Moloka'i in 1909 funded by the Carnegie Institution as part of the research on *heiau*. Following on from his Pearl Harbour report, Stokes, commenced a major research project on fishponds and walled fish-traps, beginning with a survey of the fishponds along the southern coast of Moloka'i in 1910 (Brigham 1911: 4). The following year his fishpond survey was extended to Kaua'i, and there was further work around Pearl Harbour and at Moanalua on O'ahu (Brigham 1912: 7).

For five weeks in 1910 he had been acting Director while Brigham was away. Again during 1912 he was called on to take this role for the period April to December.

In 1913 he conducted the first stratigraphic excavation of a shrine and/or fishhook manufacturing site in a rock-shelter on Kaho'olawe Island. As noted by Brigham in the *Director's Report* for 1913: 'The excavations were conducted with the care used in excavating Pompeii: everything was passed over a quarter inch sieve' (Brigham 1914: 9). Stokes reported that 'among two thousand odd fishhooks and files and two or three thousand other specimens there were but six objects of foreign introduction' (quoted by Brigham, *ibid.*). Kirch (1985: 12–13) considered this to be the first 'systematic subsurface excavation at a prehistoric Hawaiian site', but notes that when it was finally published by McAllister (1933) 'the stratigraphic associations so carefully noted by Stokes were ignored'.

After Brigham's retirement at the end of 1917 and an interim period when Stokes himself became Acting Director of the Museum for 16 months, the new Director, Herbert E. Gregory arrived in May 1919 with big ideas for the expansion of Bishop Museum research out into the rest of Polynesia (see Gregory 1921: 13–15; Hiroa 1945: 44–45). Stokes undertook archaeological recording and survey work at the 'City of Refuge' or *pu'uhonua* at Honaunau, Hawai'i, from April to July 1919 (Gregory 1920: 5), before submitting his completed contribution on *heiau* for the monograph on Hawaiian religion to the now-Director Emeritus Brigham on December 21 1919 (BPBM Archives Box 6, 1.1; Dye 1991: 15). He was then among the first wave of researchers sent out as part of the Bayard-Dominick Expedition, planned as two-person teams covering both archaeological and anthropological topics across the archipelagoes of Polynesia. He worked in the Austral Islands, particularly on Rapa and Ra'ivavae, for nearly two years, returning to the Museum in 1922.¹²

Even before he left in September 1920 Stokes had been under pressure from Gregory to write up his researches (Krauss 1988: 51), and the pressure only mounted once he returned. In the *Director's Reports* over the following several years one can detect an increasingly exasperated tone in Gregory's descriptions of Stokes's activities at the Museum, and the listing each year in the *Reports* for 1922 to 1929 of his *Ethnology of Rapa* as being in preparation is particularly telling. In the *Report* for that latter year (Greg-

ory 1930) it was joined by a further in preparation report on ‘The City of Refuge at Honaunau’, which had first been mentioned as in preparation in the Director’s Report for 1920 (Gregory 1921:7).

Stokes’s position was eventually terminated, having been informed in a letter from Gregory dated October 23 1928 that his services would no longer be required after December 31 1929 (Dye 1991:18). The *Report* for the following year (Gregory 1931) omits both publications from the listing of forthcoming works, but *Ethnology of Rapa* makes a brief re-appearance in the *Report* for 1931 (Gregory 1932) before again being dropped.¹³ Later on, Stokes’s sacking was usually referred to as a ‘retirement’; indeed, Stokes never did again have a long-term job until his death in 1960. He remained a productive scholar through the 1930s and into the 1940s publishing very largely historical analyses rather than anything particularly archaeological. He comes across from the material in the Hawaiian Historical Society Archives, however, as an increasingly bitter and damaged person, particularly after the War, and seems to have become quite isolated. He published only a single article after 1943, on ‘Language in Rapa’ (Stokes 1955).

BRIGHAM AND THRUM

How well Brigham knew Thrum in the early years of his involvement with the Museum is not at all clear, despite Dye’s assertions; indeed he provides no evidence to back them up. Thrum’s interest in Hawaiian history was of long-standing. From the beginning of the *Hawaiian Annual* in 1875 he had published historical pieces, mainly on the post-contact history of the then-Kingdom. Thrum was one of the founder members of the Hawaiian Historical Society in January 1892,¹⁴ and its first Treasurer; he later served as a Fifth Vice-President of the Society for 1901–2. Thrum was asked to take the Chair at the meeting on January 11th 1902 while the President, N.B. Emerson, read ‘A Preliminary Report on a Find of Human Bones Exhumed in the Sands of Waikiki’, the first specifically archaeological paper read to the Society. At the same meeting John Stokes was admitted as a member, perhaps the first direct contact between Stokes and Thrum (HHS [1902] *Ninth Annual Report for 1902*: 3–4).

In the *Hawaiian Annual* for 1893 there had been a paper by Brigham on the formation of the Bishop Museum (Brigham 1892) and a further one on ‘Hawaiian Kapa Making’ was published in the *Annual* for 1896 (Brigham 1896).¹⁵ Clearly the two men had had at least some dealings during this period, but nothing to suggest any formal or informal collaboration on archaeological research.

Thrum’s own interest in *heiau* developed after his retirement as government Commissioner of Conveyances in May 1904 (*PCA*, May 13, p.2). It grew out of his publication in the *Annual* for 1904 of a ‘Traditional Account of the Ancient Hawaiian Prophecy “The Land is given to the

Sea”’ (Manu 1903). Some of the events of the tradition took place at a *heiau* in Waialua District, said to be called Kahokuwelowelo, and to have been ‘for priests only’ (Thrum 1905:118). Thrum was intrigued and decided to examine it. Thrum never found the priests’ *heiau*, indeed he claimed to have ‘exploded’ the story, but he was informed about another *heiau* in the area, called Kupopolo.

He announced his ‘discovery’ – he had in fact been taken there by a local Hawaiian fisherman – in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* on July 2 1905. The newspaper printed a detailed plan of the *heiau* drawn up by Thrum and the manager of the Haleiwa Hotel, St Clair Bidgood.¹⁶ Thrum organised for the Landmarks Committee of the Historical Society to visit the *heiau* on August 9 (*PCA*, Aug. 1 1905, p. 9). The invited guests were listed in the *Evening Bulletin* (August 7 1905, 3.30pm edition, page 5), but from reports after the visit it is clear that three out of the five Landmarks Committee members were not willing or able to make the excursion: W.D. Alexander, L.A. Thurston and Brigham.¹⁷

On September 30 Nathaniel Emerson, President of the Historical Society and Chairman of a committee specifically set up to consider the preservation and/or restoration of Kupopolo, wrote to the Hawaii Promotion Committee for assistance in making Kupopolo a tourist attraction. The letter was approved by the other Committee members, Thrum, William A. Bryan, S.E. Bishop, William W. Hall, and A.F. Griffiths, all of whom had been present at the August 9 excursion (reported in *PCA*, Oct. 5 1905, p.5; cf. HHS *Annual Report for 1905* [1906]:11–13). Thrum’s own account of Kupopolo was printed in the *Annual* for 1906 which was released late in December 1905 (Thrum 1905). Thrum’s further involvement in *heiau* research is covered in the next section of the paper concerning his collaboration with Stokes.

Thrum’s first formal involvement with the Bishop Museum came in 1914, when he was approached by the Trustees to complete and edit the translation of the *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Folklore*, taking up a paid position to do this in 1915. The *Collection* was published under his editorship in nine parts between 1916 and 1920 (Fornander 1916–1920). The *Director’s Report* for 1915 is the first time Thrum rated a mention by Brigham, who extolled his suitability for the editing task (Brigham 1916:19). In the *Director’s Report* for 1917 it is noted that the editing of the *Fornander Collection* was ‘under the able editorship of the veteran publisher and antiquarian, Mr. Thomas G. Thrum’ (Brigham 1918:14).

He was elected a member of the Polynesian Society in 1919 (*JPS* 1920:ii). For his work on the *Fornander Collection* and his continuing Hawaiian translation work Thrum was made Associate in Hawaiian Folklore at the Bishop Museum in 1921 by Brigham’s successor, Herbert Gregory, an honorary post he held until his death in 1932.

STOKES AND THRUM

Thrum's links to the Museum had been informal and seem to have been initially with W.A. Bryan, and then with Stokes rather than Brigham directly. The distinction in timing of association with the Bishop Museum between Stokes and Thrum is important as it reverses both the assumed primacy of Thrum's involvement in the field, and the supposed relationship between these two Novocastrians and Brigham.

As noted earlier, the immediate stimulus for Thrum's *heiau* researches may well have been the call for just such recording by Brigham in the first half of 1905 in his *Director's Report* for 1904 (Brigham 1905). However, it has to be admitted that archaeological finds had been garnering increasing public interest at the turn of the century and Thrum's *Hawaiian Annual* was a major forum for publicising them from at least 1897 (see for instance in order of publication: Farley 1897; Thrum 1899a, b; Judd 1903; Westervelt 1903; S. Andwich[sic] 1905; Westervelt 1905).

Thrum's involvement with *heiau* might have stopped with his efforts to publicise and preserve Kupopolo *heiau* in 1905, but there were further developments in Hawaiian archaeology in the latter part of that year that could have encouraged him to broaden his interests in the field. One factor may have been the aforementioned editorial in the *Hawaiian Star* (Aug. 16 1905, 2nd edition, p.4) under the headline 'Public May Own Ancient Heiaus'. It noted that 'a considerable archaeological spirit' had sprung up in Hawaii, mentioning Thrum's research by name and the Historical Society's push to mark important historical sites, but it noted that everyone was ignoring the 1898 Act for the acquisition of *heiau* and *pu'uhonua*, which could 'provide a means for accomplishing much that the Historical Society has in mind'.¹⁸ Soon afterwards, on August 20 came mention of the major prehistoric stone adze quarry near the summit of Mauna Kea on Hawai'i Island (*PCA*, Aug. 20 1905, p.1), and then in mid-November initially vague reports about a major find of wooden carvings in a burial cave on Hawai'i, popularly known as 'Forbes Cave' after the 'discoverer' David Forbes (*PCA*, Nov. 13, p.1 & Nov. 19, p.1, 9). The *Hawaiian Gazette* later announced the discovery of an ancient sled in another burial cave in Kona on the same island and revealed that the Forbes Cave artefacts were now under study at the Bishop Museum (Dec. 5, p.1).¹⁹

That is probably as far as we can go with speculation as to why Thrum's project was suddenly widened beyond Waialua horizons. The first direct evidence we have of this is an April 10 1906 list of nine *heiau* in Wai'anae in a letter in Hawaiian from the Reverend S.P. Kaaia, which has Thrum's draft response, also in Hawaiian, on the back. Kaaia replies on April 18 to Thrum's of April 12 with further details, and again there is a draft of Thrum's response on the back of the letter (HSA, Thrum, M-143: 'Letters Re: Lists of Heiaus [1867-1926]'). Thrum followed up with a field visit there in August.²⁰

In the meantime he took the Steamer *Iwalani* to Kaua'i on June 21, returning to Honolulu on July 8 on the W.G. Hall (*PCA*, June 22, p.4 and *Hawaiian Star*, July 9, 2nd Edition, p.2). His progress can be tracked in the newspaper gossip columns, and in a major article in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (July 10, pp. 1, 8) entitled 'Heiaus By The Score. T.G. Thrum Finds Many Temples On Kauai'. The article notes that he was accompanied by Koloa resident J.K. Farley and had now listed 75 *heiau* on that island, for a running total of 240 including those on O'ahu, Maui and Hawai'i. Although not reported until July 10, another 'discovery' is attributed to Thrum for April 1906 of a historic-period *heiau* on Diamond Head on O'ahu (*Hawaiian Star*, July 10 1906, p.1). In that article it is stated that Thrum's list for O'ahu included 67 *heiau* at that date.

His other *heiau* hunting expedition for the year took place in late August, encompassing Wai'anae to follow up on Kaaia's list, Waialua and Waimea, visiting Pu'u O Mahuka *heiau*, the largest on O'ahu. Mr and Mrs Thrum returned to Honolulu just before September 2; on August 17 it had been noted in an article entitled 'Seeking More Heiau Data' that Thrum was to head off on this quest on or around Tuesday 22 August, being joined by Mrs Thrum at week's end at Haleiwa (*PCA*, Aug. 17, p.9 & Sept. 2, p.12).

It was perhaps after the front-page story of July 10 that Stokes contacted Thrum while he planned his own *heiau* survey on Hawai'i Island, and received a list from Thrum of *heiau* that he knew of on that island. Armed with the list Stokes then set off for Hawai'i on August 7, staying there until January 7 1907. He wrote to Thrum for clarification on the location of some of the *heiau* on September 2, and Thrum replied on September 4 to Kahalu'u on Hawai'i, although a note on the letter states it was not received by Stokes until September 27 (BPBM Archives, Stokes Group 2, Box 5.12). Thrum wrote:

I am glad to learn of the progress of your interesting work, and would like, if convenient to you and not derogatory to the main work in hand and report thereon to receive a corrected list of the heiaus of each district as you complete it.

Stokes's return to Honolulu after the end of the year explains why the initial listing of *heiau* produced by Thrum late in 1906 contains only *heiau* on Kaua'i, O'ahu and Ni'ihau (Thrum 1906a), and the Hawai'i ones are not listed until the next edition of the *Annual* for 1908 (Thrum 1907a, 1907b). Indeed that second listing includes an acknowledgement of 'the courtesy of Dr W.T. Brigham and Mr J.F. Stokes, of the Bishop Museum staff, for the use of the latter's notes through several districts, gathered in his recent tour of Hawaii, on this special quest' (Thrum 1907a: 38). The courtesy was not returned, however, by Brigham. In describing Stokes's Hawai'i survey, he makes no mention of Thrum's assistance in providing an initial list to Stokes (Brigham 1907).

Thrum's Kaua'i survey might be argued to have precedence over Stokes's of Hawai'i Island in terms of being the first attempted systematic survey, but it was clearly not exhaustive, having taken place over only two weeks – compare Stokes's five month sojourn, and his earlier research on O'ahu that year. We do not know how many *heiau* Thrum actually visited during his time on Kaua'i. He lists 75 upon his return, but it is clear that the names of many of these were taken from enquiries by others. Upon publication Thrum (1906a: 43–44) listed a total of 122 *heiau* on the island (plus two on Ni'ihau which he had not visited). We should go with Thrum's figure of 75 *heiau* immediately after his Kaua'i visit as a maximum and note that many of the *heiau* are reported as destroyed and so their sites were presumably not visited; 19 are described in the companion article to his list and plans of six are given (Thrum 1906b: 60–69). This may be close to the number actually observed by Thrum during his visit. At 64 years of age too, one wonders how much hiking around he would have been used to?

The *Hawaiian Annual* for 1909 is given as completing Thrum's listing, with *heiau* from Maui and Moloka'i, and additional examples from O'ahu (18) and two from Hawai'i (Thrum 1908a). At the end Thrum gives a grand total of 421 *heiau*: Hawai'i 138, Maui 39, Moloka'i and Lana'i 24, O'ahu 96 and Kaua'i and Ni'ihau unchanged at 124. Nothing in the companion piece suggests Thrum had conducted any surveys on Maui at that time and he explicitly notes that his Moloka'i information, and presumably that on the sole Lana'i site mentioned, came very largely from William A. Bryan and the surveyor M.D. Monsarrat (1908b: 49).

There is no evidence that Stokes undertook further fieldwork in 1907, but the *Director's Report* noted that he had 'done extensive work on the plans of the ancient *heiau* made by his own careful surveys on Hawaii' (Brigham 1908: 9). As noted earlier, salvage archaeology at the 'shark pens' at the mouth of Pearl Harbour occupied him during 1908 (Stokes 1909). In 1909 he resumed his *heiau* surveys with a visit to Moloka'i in mid-year, during which he also recorded petroglyph sites. His publication on these and earlier rock art observations acknowledges Thrum's research concerning Hawai'i (Stokes 1910). He would also of course have had available Thrum's Moloka'i *heiau* listing which was published before his visit, but it is equally likely that he received his Moloka'i information from W.A. Bryan, the former Museum curator²¹ at that time commencing a career at Oahu College (later the University of Hawaii), who as noted earlier was a major source for Thrum's own listing. Stokes noted that his trip to Moloka'i, like that on Hawai'i was explicitly for 'surveying the ancient places of worship and collecting available data for the assistance of the Director in his proposed monograph on Hawaiian *heiau*, under a grant from the Carnegie Institution of Washington' (1910: 34). Stokes conducted fieldwork on Ni'ihau in 1912, in part to investigate *heiau*; he mapped

one and noted the sites of two more (Brigham 1913: 9; cf. Bennett 1931: 153–4).

Thrum published one article taken from the writings of Kamakau and other early Hawaiian historians on 'Heiaus: Their Kinds, Construction, Ceremonies, Etc' (Thrum 1909) and a report from J.R. Myers, Manager of the Kilauea Sugar Company on Kaua'i of a previously undescribed *heiau* (Thrum 1911).

Apart from these 'desk' reports, Thrum had no further involvement in the search for *heiau* until 'after long interruption in the assumed task' at the age of 73 he resumed fieldwork in mid-1915 on windward O'ahu, for the first time in the company of Stokes (Thrum 1915); by now Thrum was also contracted by the Bishop Museum. The *Director's Report* for 1915, notes the trip 'for the purpose of aiding Mr. T.G. Thrum in the completion of his list of Hawaiian *heiau*. Mr. Thrum's work has been of great value to us in our own *heiau* researches' (Stokes in Brigham 1916: 26). The total of *heiau* for O'ahu is now reported as 108 (Thrum 1915: 91). The interest of Hawaiian informants in identifying *heiau* sites is noted, and a narrative included from Ben Kaoao 'a veteran of the [Punalu'u] valley' (ibid.) on the 'Tradition of the Kaumakaula Temple' (Kaoao 1915).

The following year Thrum took the opportunity of a short trip to Maui between July 18 and 26 to conduct further *heiau* fieldwork (*Maui News*, July 21 1916, p.6 & Aug 4, p.6). He was then able to revise his estimate of Maui *heiau* to 85, noting that the previous listing of 39 needed to be reduced to 36 because of inaccuracies that a field visit was able to correct (Thrum 1916: 61). Later in 1916, Stokes's participation on behalf of the Museum at the Maui County Fair of November 30 to December 2 (*Maui News*, Dec. 1, p.1), subsequently allowed him to conduct further *heiau* survey on that island, recording 25 *heiau* and hearing of 15 more (Stokes in Brigham 1917: 8). Stokes's research was surely no coincidence, and Thrum subsequently published detail of this further survey in the *Annual* for 1918 (Thrum 1917). This provides evidence of their continued collaboration. Thrum is also acknowledged by Stokes for assistance during 1917 in acquiring Hawaiian manuscripts and printed sources on *heiau* that he was having transcribed during that year (Stokes, in Brigham 1918: 6).

Thrum made a further trip to Maui in September 1920, adding again to the list of *heiau* there (*Maui News*, Oct. 1 1920, p.3). This was his final field trip outside of O'ahu, and when he undertook it he was already 78 years old. At this time Stokes was preparing to leave for nearly two years of fieldwork in the Austral Islands, departing for Papeete on September 29 (Gregory 1921: 10) soon after Thrum returned from Maui. Thrum's subsequent publication in the *Annual* for 1921 updated the totals for each island: 139 for Hawai'i, 121 for Maui, 24 for Moloka'i and Lana'i, 108 for O'ahu, and 125 for Kaua'i and Ni'ihau; the total was now 517 *heiau* (Thrum 1920: 147). A final updated listing of the *heiau* on all islands was published posthumously (Thrum 1937).

THRUM AS THE 'DEAN OF HAWAIIAN ANTIQUARIANS' AND STOKES'S 'UNMADE REPUTATION'

In a very telling August 22 1906 letter to Brigham during his first major piece of independent fieldwork on Hawai'i, Stokes wrote 'I have an *unmade* reputation to sustain as an Irishman might say, and I do not propose to let another fellow follow my tracks [and] show up all the things I might have done but did not' (BPBM Archives, Stokes collection, quoted by Dye 1991: 10).

In many ways Stokes's reputation remained 'unmade'. He did an enormous amount of work for the Bishop Museum in his various capacities, but as the longest-serving of 'Brigham's boys' and acting Director for over a year between Brigham's retirement and Gregory's arrival, he never received the recognition nor respect from Gregory that he might have deserved. From his arrival in May 1919 Gregory pushed Stokes hard to write up his reports. Things only got worse after Stokes's return from Rapa. Other monographs on the results of the Bayard-Dominick fieldwork were soon completed beginning in 1921 (Sullivan 1921), although that of his co-worker in the Australs, Robert Aitken on the 'Ethnology of Tubuai', was not in press until 1928 (Aitken 1930).²²

In a rather unsympathetic evaluation of Stokes, E.H. Bryan wrote in a memoir that Stokes's 'major shortcoming was his desire to pursue every subject to its ultimate. Since available information did not permit doing this, much was started, but comparatively little was completed to his own satisfaction, and as a result remained unpublished' (Bryan 1969:viii-ix). After he had been fired, the anthropologist E.S. Craighill Handy wrote to Kenneth Emory, Stokes's effective successor at the Bishop Museum as senior archaeologist, 'Poor old Stokes is out of the museum for good – the only solution for a hopeless psychological short circuit I guess... [He] is trying to complete [his reports on] Rapa and Honaunau at home, I believe' (quoted by Krauss 1988: 223).

When Stokes died on September 9 1960 his death was covered in the *Sunday Advertiser*, under the headline 'John Stokes, Historian, Ethnologist, Dies at 84' (Sept. 11 1960, p.45) and in the *Sunday Star Bulletin* with the less illuminating headline 'Retired Librarian John Stokes Dies' (Sept. 11 1960, p.12); Stokes had not held that particular position in the Museum since 1902! The Hawaiian Historical Society passed a resolution at its meeting of October 6 1960 noting that Stokes had been their longest serving member and expressing their esteem and regret for his passing (HHS, *Annual Report for 1960* (1961): 35–6).

Other organisations he had been part of were strangely silent. He had been a founder of the Anthropological Society of Hawaii in 1926 and had been an officer within it for many years, but its journal *News from the Pacific* had no mention of his death in its issues around that time. The Bishop Museum did not mark his death in their publica-

tions either at that time. He seems to have been forgotten by his disciplinary colleagues entirely.

Contrast this with the coverage of Thrum's death.²³ There were several significant obituaries. One appeared in the *Report of the Director* of the Bishop Museum for 1932 (Gregory 1933: 47–9), where Thrum's significance was placed on an equal footing with other Polynesian ethnologists such as S. Percy Smith, Elsdon Best and Edward Tregear. In the *41st Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for 1932*, it was recorded that at the meeting of December 5 1932 E.H. Bryan had read a paper on 'The Contributions of Thomas Thrum to Hawaiian History and Ethnology' and presented the Society with a bibliography of Thrum's works totalling about 250 significant contributions (1933: 5). In the published version of the presentation, Thrum is lauded as the 'Dean of Hawaiian antiquarians' (Bryan 1933: 13).²⁴

Not surprisingly the *Hawaiian Annual*, of which he had remained editor until his death, gave major coverage to his obituary, with four contributions in the issue for 1933. Ralph Kuykendall, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Hawaii, began his article with: 'In the history of Hawaiian historiography there are three names which stand out most prominently: Abraham Fornander, William D. Alexander, and Thomas G. Thrum' (Kuykendall 1932: 43). Discussing Thrum's *heiau* listings he claimed 'In this work he travelled over all the islands, locating more than 500 heiaus and making surveys and descriptions of many of them' (ibid: 45).

Thrum was rightly celebrated for his published contributions and continues to be referred to although, as we have seen, the amount of fieldwork he undertook has been somewhat exaggerated, and Stokes's part in the *heiau* listing was largely ignored at the time. But Stokes has had a kind of archaeological 'half-life' over the years. Even before his death other archaeologists freely used the archive of his researches at Bishop Museum. His Kaho'olawe work was written up – not however to his satisfaction – by Gilbert McAllister (1933).²⁵ Wendell C. Bennett used Stokes's notes on Ni'ihau in his monograph on Kaua'i (1931: 153–4) and also used Stokes's manuscript notes on *heiau* freely in that publication. Many other Bishop Museum authors acknowledged Stokes's assistance as well and referred extensively to his report on *heiau*, completed in 1919 for Brigham's never published monograph on religion, among other manuscripts. Catherine Summers' *Fishponds* (1964), her *Moloka'i: a Site Survey* (Summers 1971) and *Sites of O'ahu* (Sterling and Summers 1978, original edition 1962) drew heavily on information from Stokes's manuscripts and publications.

In 1956 the Bishop Museum was approached by the National Park Service to prepare a two-volume report on the significance of what was to become by Act of Congress on July 1 1961 the Pu'uho'oua o Honaunau National Park (Bryan et al. 1957; Emory et al. 1957). As Emory told it:

The backbone of the current report is the research of J.F.G. Stokes, who in 1919 was detailed by Bishop Museum to investigate the ruins at Honaunau. His notes, maps, and photographs were at our disposal. Mr. Stokes, though long in retirement, came forth voluntarily to discuss his material. He has allowed the major part of his original manuscript to be incorporated into this report (Emory 1986:86, originally 1957).

It seems that Stokes had kept this material at home after he finished at the Museum at the end of 1929; in the BPBM Archive, Stokes Group 2, Box 4.2 is described as ‘Honaunau by Stokes. This Ms given to K.P. Emory in October 1958’. Long after Stokes’s death the typescript report was finally published with two major sections under his authorship, which constituted just over one third of the text of the original second volume (Stokes 1986a, b); photographs taken by him in 1919 are scattered too through the rest of the report and subsequent publication.

In 1980 Marion Kelly had included an ‘Appendix’ taken from Stokes’s 1919 *heiau* report in her publication *Majestic Ka’u: Mo’olelo of Nine Ahupua’a* (Stokes 1980, in Kelly 1980). This same information was of course also included in Dye’s 1991 edition of Stokes’s *Heiau of Hawai’i*, the major publication of his work to date (Stokes 1991), which included the biography of Stokes and a bibliography of his publications and some of his manuscript material (Dye 1991).

There have been several plans to publish Stokes’s *Ethnology of Rapa* and other Austral Islands’ materials, which would form an even more substantial monograph, but so far without result.²⁶ Edmundo Edwards’ *Ra’ivavae: Archaeological Survey of Rai’vavae, French Polynesia* (2003) relied significantly on Stokes’s pioneering work as did Anderson and Kennett’s (2012) more recent archaeological study of Rapa – see Chapters 2, 3 & 12 in particular. Most recently Ghasarian included extensive translated quotations and photographs from the Rapa manuscript in a chronologically-ordered anthology of Rapa (2016: 526–542).

More pages of Stokes’s original research have been published after his death than during his lifetime. Were the Rapa monograph ever to see the light of day, the disparity would become much more extreme. This is surely a mark of the value of research that was not fully appreciated during his lifetime. Thrum died with a secure reputation, publicly mourned and esteemed. Stokes died in 1960 in relative obscurity, almost forgotten. But his peculiar archaeological ‘half-life’ since then seems set to continue, and interest in his work is still growing (see for instance Flexner et al., this volume).

CONCLUSIONS

This somewhat convoluted tale of our two Novocastrians and their relationship with William Brigham, reveals that, contrary to Dye’s claims, there is no evidence of any early

direct collaboration between Brigham and Thrum. They seem to have maintained no more than a passing relationship until Thrum was directly contracted by the Museum Trustees to edit the *Fornander Collection* for publication in 1915. Thus Thrum had no direct role in establishing Stokes’s early interest in *heiau* research; that was due to Brigham taking him on the 1899 research trip to Waha’ula *heiau* on Hawai’i.

Thrum’s *heiau* research began after a call by Brigham for the recording of *heiau* and other sites published in 1905. It may, however, have been more immediately stimulated by the formation of the Landmarks Committee of the Hawaiian Historical Society in 1903 at the instigation of Museum employee W.A. Bryan, and by an increasing interest in Hawaiian archaeology more generally at that time. As has been established, Stokes commenced *heiau* recording within months of his arrival in Hawaii in 1899.

Thrum’s field research, while significant, was limited to short visits usually of less than two weeks at a time, and can hardly be labeled as systematic in the way that say Stokes’s 1906–7 Hawai’i fieldwork clearly was. Thrum’s research consisted mainly of systematizing information from others, including importantly from Stokes. His aim was a listing for preservation purposes. It was the editing for publication of the *Fornander Collection* of Hawaiian traditional narratives for which Thrum should be particularly remembered. Significant too was his editing of Thrum’s *Hawaiian Annual* over more than fifty years, providing a vehicle for the publication of many important Hawaiian historical papers.

Thrum’s reputation as the ‘Dean of Hawaiian Antiquarians’ seems well justified, but Stokes was the first person in the Pacific to be employed as a professional ‘prehistoric’ archaeologist;²⁷ this is what his position as Curator of Ethnology from 1902 amounted to. Stokes conducted the first systematic archaeological surveys in Hawaii (funded by the first significant grant for Pacific archaeology, from the Carnegie Institution). He published the first salvage archaeology project in the region and the first systematic work on petroglyphs. He also conducted the first recognizably scientific excavation in Hawaii. The judgment of Pat Kirch in the first student textbook on Hawaiian archaeology, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks*, is an apposite one: ‘Stokes should be credited as the first Hawaiian archaeologist’ (Kirch 1985:10).

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most useful. Friends and colleagues in Hawaii (or of Hawaii) have freely provided information and discussions of Stokes in particular and Hawaiian archaeology in general. I would particularly like to single out Malcolm Naea Chun, Tom Dye, Toni Han, Muffet Jourdane, the late Joe Kennedy, Mara Mulrooney, Buddy Neller, Rowland Reeve and Yosi Sinoto. This paper is dedicated to Pat Kirch, of whom I am proud to be a friend, in celebration of his career and to mark his 'retirement'. The paper has benefited from his comments and from those of an anonymous reviewer. None of the people mentioned bear any responsibility for any errors of fact and analysis that the paper may contain.

Endnotes

- 1 In this paper Hawaii is used to refer to the Hawaiian Islands in general, and Hawai'i refers specifically to the largest island of the Hawaiian group, the 'Big Island'. I have omitted further diacritics from Hawaiian words, such as macrons, as usually the spelling referred to is that of the time or as usually presented today in general works and the correct diacritics are sometimes not recoverable or are open to differing interpretations.
- 2 But see Bryan 1933, Gregory 1933: 47–49, Kuykendall 1932 and Restarick 1932 for Thrum, and Dye 1991 for Stokes for biographical sketches. Neither scholar has yet been featured in the Australian Dictionary of Biography (<http://adb.anu.edu.au/> accessed 8/9/16).
- 3 Thrum, very largely, and Stokes, much less so, also feature in the newspapers of the time, which are now conveniently accessible up to 1922 through the Chronicling America website of the US Library of Congress: chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/search/ (accessed September 2016).
- 4 See Davis' (1979) biography of Abraham Fornander (1812–1887).
- 5 Brigham's letter to the Trustees on this matter was dated December 21st 1896, and the post was approved by them at their meeting of January 14 1897 and conveyed to Wansey, then in Australia (BPBM Archives, Minutes of the Trustees, Jan. 14 1897).
- 6 Rose (1980: 38, 48–9) quotes a letter of August 1 1920 from Wansey to Stokes of recollections of his early role in the Museum. He maintained a correspondence too with Brigham around this time, referring to him affectionately as 'pater' (as did Stokes in his correspondence with Brigham). Two letters from Wansey dated 11 November 1920 after a visit to Quirindi by Brigham and December 4th 1923 can be found in the Museum Archives. In the former he talks of his son Alan having in Sydney 'met all the Stokes boys and liked them' (BPBM Archives, Brigham 3.32.8, items 2 & 3). Quirindi is about 200 km northwest of Newcastle where Stokes was born. Wansey died on October 31st 1950 in Quirindi and was buried at Dungog, NSW (<https://www.geni.com/people/Acland-Wansey/600000000148677446>) (accessed 16/9/2016).
- 7 Pukui and Elbert (1986: 358) define *pu'uhonua* as 'Place of refuge, sanctuary, asylum, place of peace and safety'.
- 8 The distinction had first been made by Fornander (1880:II: 59–63).
- 9 This publication had been flagged by Brigham as far back as 1902, where he saw it as one of a series covering 'the history of Hawaii, or rather of the Hawaiians before the advent of other and very different racial influences' (Brigham 1902b:iv). Various of the BPBM *Memoirs* that he wrote from 1898 on were part of this grand scheme. The Hawaiian Religion volume, incorporating Stokes's *heiau* study, was not completed during his tenure as Director and exists in draft form in the Museum Archives (Brigham, Boxes 5 & 6).
- 10 Brigham was never listed among the Historical Society's members and seems to have had very little further involvement with it. It was around 1903 that the Bishop Museum and the Hawaiian Historical Society began to exchange their publications, perhaps following the favourable notice of Brigham's 'Stone' *Memoir* in the Society's Annual Report (HHS (1903) 10th Annual Report for 1902:6).
- 11 The other members were W.D. Alexander, W.A. Bryan (Secretary), F.S. Dodge, N.B. Emerson and L.A. Thurston.
- 12 Stokes was accompanied for the entire time by his wife Anna Margaret, described in the Bayard-Dominick program for 1920–1 as 'volunteer with party'.
- 13 This may have been because Stokes had in fact completed a draft of the manuscript, totaling some 1300 pages, which was deposited in the Bishop Museum and is dated 1930 (Ghasarian 2016:3). Its very length may have rendered it unpublishable under the conditions of the time, or the Director may have deemed it as not of publishable quality.
- 14 The Society was formed as 'a local Antiquarian and Historical Society, affiliated with the proposed Polynesian Society of New Zealand', following an informal meeting at which Thrum was not present on December 29th 1891 (Hoes 1892: 110).
- 15 In 1896, atypically, *The Hawaiian Annual* for 1896 was published early in that year, rather than in December of the previous year.
- 16 The story occurs on page 3. The following day Thrum in a letter to the paper published some corrections to the story, based as it had been on an interview with him (PCA, July 3 1905, p.2).
- 17 The excursion to Kupopolo was extensively covered in the Honolulu papers: PCA, Aug. 10 1905, p.2 (with map of the heiau) by Sol. N. Sheridan, reprinted in *Hawaiian Gazette*, Aug. 11, p.8; PCA, Aug.14, p.6 (with four photographs from the trip, 'taken by Miss Post of Haleiwa'); *Hawaiian Star* Aug. 10, 2nd edition, p.5, by 'S.E.B.'; *Evening Bulletin*, Aug.10, 3.30pm edition, p.7.
- 18 This first legislation protecting cultural sites was passed by the Republic of Hawaii's Legislature and signed by its President in June 1898 (*Evening Bulletin*, June 21, p.8), entitled 'An Act to Authorise the Hawaiian Government to acquire and preserve Ancient Heiau and Puuhonuas or the Sites or Remains thereof'. This initiative had been kick-started in 1897 by Charles Reed Bishop, with the legislation drafted

by the Bishop Museum Trustees' Attorneys (BPBM Archives, Trustees' meetings minutes, 1897–1898).

- 19 In BPBM Archives, Brigham Box 3.14, in the 'Monthly Report to the Trustees' of December 8 1905, Brigham states: 'Mr Stokes persuaded Mr Forbes to allow him to bring back for study a remarkable collection of articles found in a cave'. Perusal of the published shipping schedules shows that both David Forbes and Stokes returned from Hawai'i Island on the steamer *Kinau* on November 18, presumably with the artefacts in question (*Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 18, 2.30pm edition, p.3 'F.G. Stokes'; *Hawaiian Star*, Nov. 18, p.2 'J.T.G. Stokey' – clearly J.F.G Stokes). Brigham quickly published a *Memoir* on the discovery (Brigham 1906b), originally to be included in his 1905 *Report* but thought to be better printed in larger format (Brigham 1906a: 19).
- 20 1906 does seem to be the year in which Thrum consciously took on a more generalized listing of heiau. The *PCA* for November 24 of that year in promoting the forthcoming issue of the *Annual* for 1907 notes that Thrum 'devoted much time this year' to the study of *heiau* (p.9). Much later a *Honolulu Star Bulletin* report of 1916 identifies 1906 specifically as the year Thrum began work for his survey of *heiau* (July 17, 3.30pm Edition, p.4). Thrum himself refers to his completion 'of this line of Hawaiian historic research, assumed in 1906' in the *Annual* for 1917 (Thrum 1916: 52).
- 21 Bryan had left the Bishop Museum in 1907, apparently unable to get along with Brigham (E.H. Bryan 1969:x)
- 22 It included a long section by Stokes, heavily illustrated, on 'Stone implements from Tubuai' of some 35 pages (Stokes, in Aitken 1930:130–164) and a further note on tapa mallets (Stokes, in Aitken 1930: 64–66)
- 23 There is no available online source for newspaper coverage past 1922 and so I have not yet been able to explore the press coverage of Thrum's death.
- 24 It is ironic that at that same December meeting, Stokes presented a synopsis of a paper, published in the same *Proceedings* and directly following Bryan's paper, on 'New Bases for Hawaiian Chronology' (Stokes 1933). Listening to the presentation on Thrum by his former colleague at the Bishop Museum one wonders if Stokes was forced to reflect again upon his own 'unmade' reputation?
- 25 In the BPBM Archive, Stokes Collection, Group 3 Box 1.23 is Stokes's own copy of McAllister's published report, heavily annotated in parts by him. This volume was donated to the Museum by Robert Hommon after 1970. A reassessment of Stokes's research on Kaho'olawe can be found in Reeve (1993) which also includes an Appendix transcription of Stokes's Kaho'olawe fieldnotes (Stokes 1993); accessible online at: <http://kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/κ1CC/17 Na Wahi Pana O Kaho'olawe.pdf> (last accessed 9/10/2016).
- 26 Ghasarian (2016: 3) announced that he will publish a French edition of the monograph in 2017 under the title *John Stokes, Ethnologie de l'île de Rapa* (Tahiti: Au Vent des Iles).
- 27 The distinction here is in contrast to archaeologists involved in the study of so-called Classical civilizations of the Mediterranean.

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Thomas G. Thrum et John F.G. Stokes: des archéologues australiens au paradis au début du 20ème siècle.

RÉSUMÉ :

Thomas George Thrum (1842–1932) et John Francis Gray Stokes (1875–1960) naquirent tous deux à Newcastle, Nouvelle-Galles du Sud, mais passèrent la majeure partie de leur vie adulte à Hawaï, où ils furent longuement associés au Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. Thrum arriva à Hawaï en 1853 et publia durant sa vie les détails de plus de 500 *heiau* (temples) hawaïens. Son premier article spécifiquement archéologique fut publié en 1900. Stokes arriva à Hawaï en 1899 pour travailler avec le directeur du Bishop Museum, William T. Brigham. Pendant de nombreuses années il fut employé comme ethnologue du musée, menant des prospections archéologiques et étudiant la culture matérielle. Après le départ en retraite de Brigham, Stokes ne reçut jamais les faveurs du nouveau directeur Herbert E. Gregory. Le Musée se sépara de lui en 1929. Du point de vue de Stokes lui-même, il souffrait d'une 'réputation non-faite' (*'an unmade reputation'*). Mais sa propre contribution au statut de Thrum comme 'doyen des Antiquaires hawaïens' a été mal comprise, ce qui explique en partie pourquoi son importance en tant que premier archéologue professionnel d'Hawaï a été sous-estimée.