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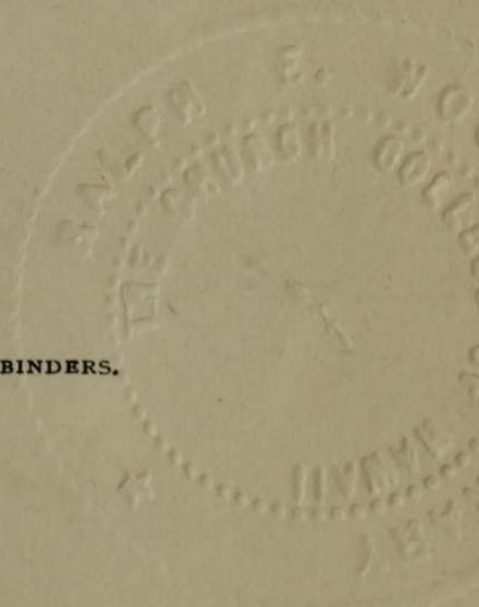
THE OBSERVATIONS AND IMPRESSIONS OF
A NAVAL OFFICER DURING A STAY
OF FOURTEEN MONTHS IN
THOSE ISLANDS ON A
MAN-OF-WAR.

BY

LUCIEN YOUNG,
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AUTHOR OF CATALOGUE OF AMERICAN NAVAL AUTHORS, ELEMENTS OF
NAVIGATION, ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN PERU, ARCTIC
CURRENTS AND WINDS, ETC.

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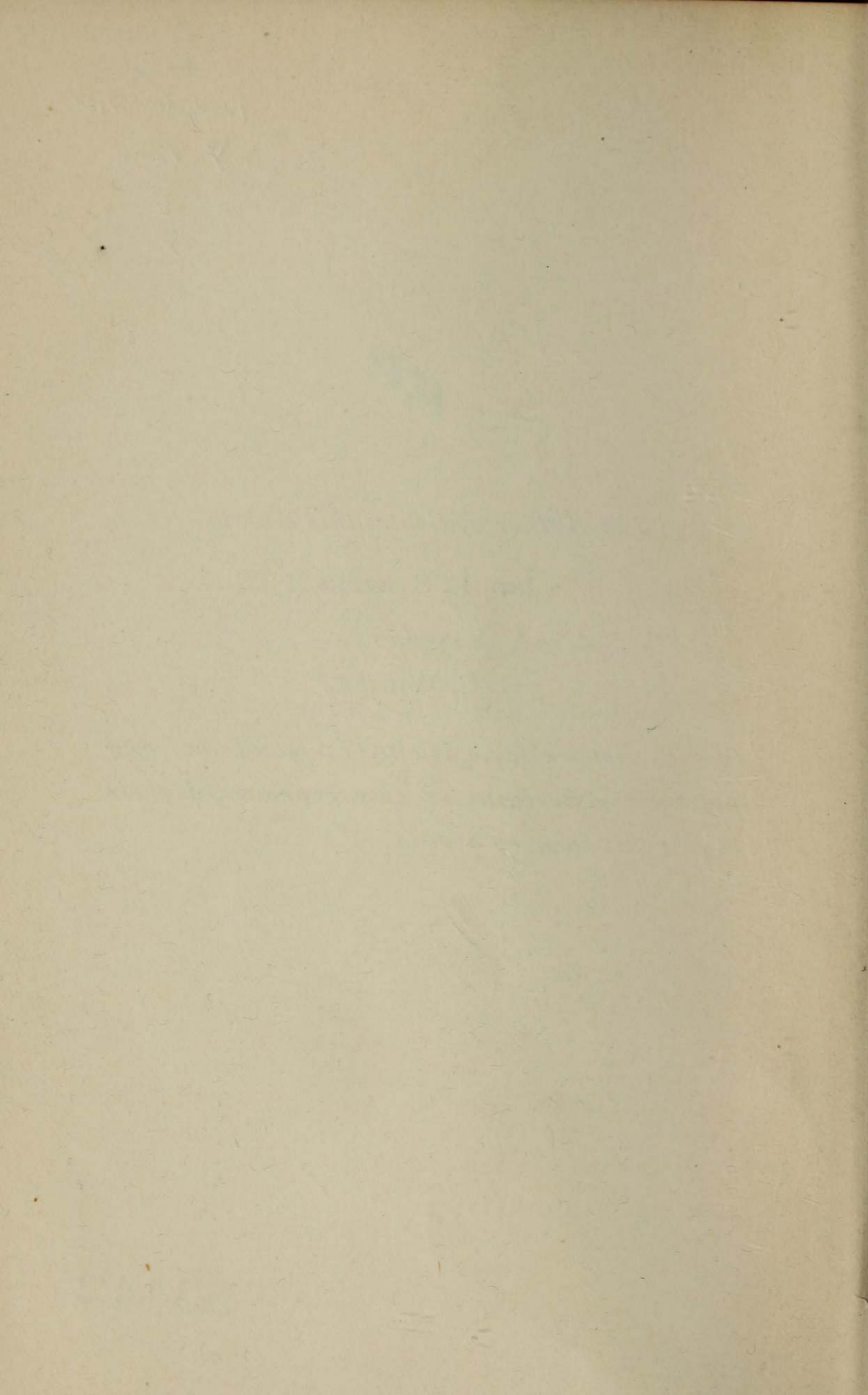
JNO. L. STEVENS

and

G. C. WILTSE,

*two as honorable, efficient, conscientious, and
patriotic Americans as ever represented their
country at home or abroad.*

53442



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PREFACE.

During the period of seven months before and seven months after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, in 1892 and 1893, I was a Lieutenant on board of the U. S. S. Boston, stationed at Honolulu. The period was one of intense political activity and feeling in that city, and the development of republican sentiment, ending in the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani, interested me greatly. The people of Honolulu, of all classes and nationalities, are hospitable, social, and communicative, to a greater degree than those of any other country I have ever visited. Within a few weeks after my arrival I was upon terms of more or less friendly intimacy with nearly all of the leading men of all parties. I was more particularly brought into personal contact with leading royalists, they frequently discussing their plans and projects, without reserve, in my presence. The evident transition state of the country, and the great importance, both from a commercial and a military standpoint, of Hawaii to the United States, caused me to study the people and the situation, as well as the past history of the country, most diligently, and to keep full current notes of the results of my observations and studies.

Upon my return to the United States in the fall of 1893, I wrote out these notes.

About this time the report of Commissioner Blount stating that the Hawaiian monarchy had

been overthrown through the agency of the American Minister and the Boston, the letter of Secretary Gresham to President Cleveland recommending the restoration of ex-Queen Liliuokalani, and the attempts of the President to carry such recommendation into execution, became public.

Knowing of my own knowledge that much of the evidence upon which Mr. Blount based his report was utterly false and unreliable; that his conclusions were, if anything, more misleading than his evidence, and that a deadly wrong had been and was being done to the diplomatic and naval officers of the United States who were in Honolulu at the time of the revolution, I desired to immediately publish my manuscript, and in compliance with the regulations of the Navy Department, submitted it to the Honorable Secretary of the Navy for his inspection, and requested permission to have it printed. No reply was made to my request for two months, when I was forbidden to publish it.

Since the late change of administration I have revisited Hawaii, brought my statements up to date in some respects, and obtained the permission of Secretary Long to publish my manuscript.

I am aware that, in some respects, this is a contribution to by-gone history, and that popular interest in the subject-matter does not exist to the degree that it did when it was fresh in the public mind, but the rank injustice done to Minister Stevens and Captain Wiltse, the Commander of the Boston, both of whom are now dead, and their

associates, and the wicked and malicious misrepresentation and criticism to which they have been subjected, have impelled me, as a duty to the living and the dead and to historical accuracy, as well as in defense of American good faith and the fair name of the Republic, to put on record the facts, which I know to be true from my personal observation and investigation.

LUCIEN YOUNG.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

May 8, 1898.

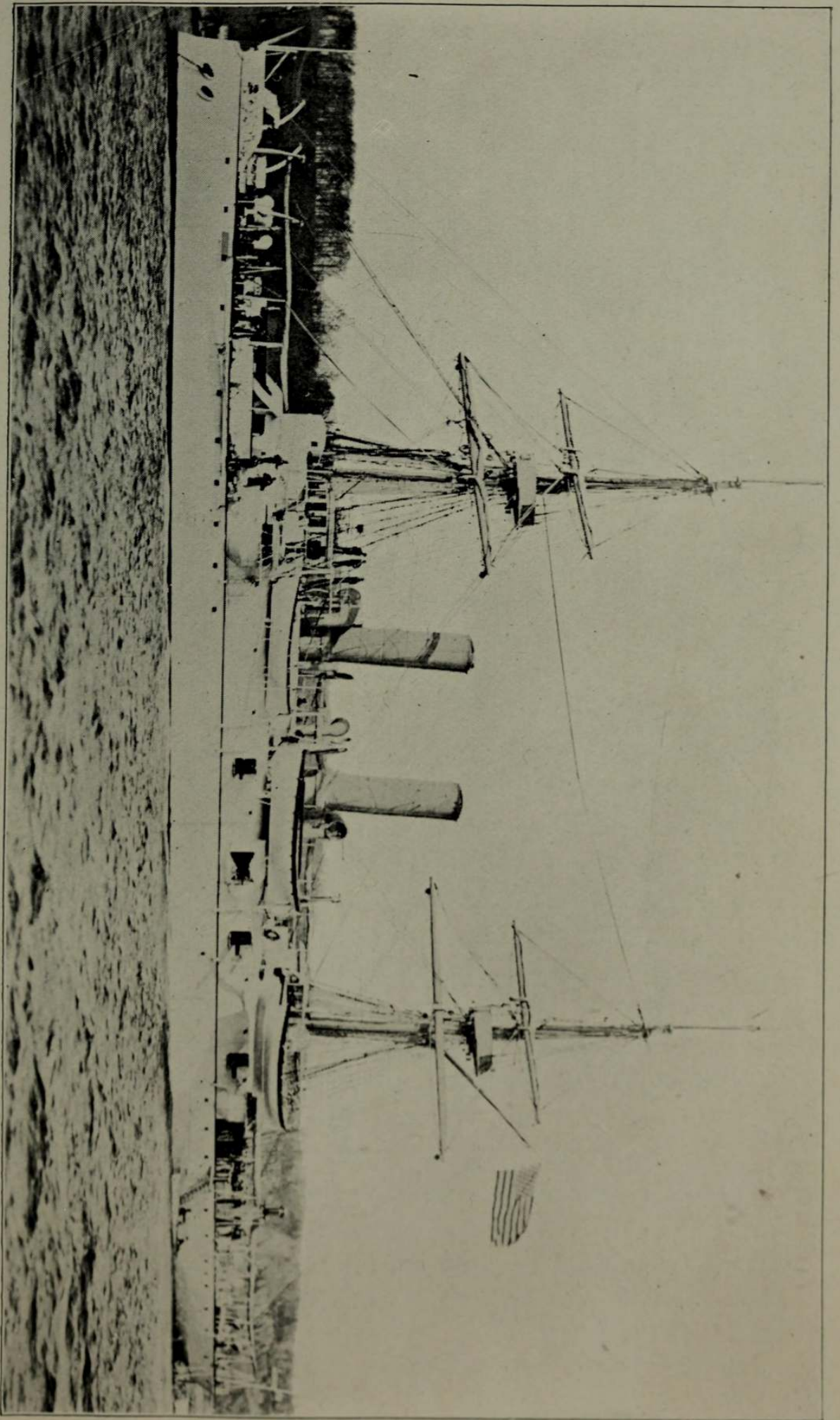
CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS AND THE REIGN OF KALAKAUA.

Prior to the bloodless revolution in the Hawaiian Islands, on January 17th, 1893, resulting in the overthrow of a semi-barbaric monarchy, a large number of people in the United States hardly knew of their existence, beyond a vague recollection of having read of Captain Cook and the Sandwich Islands in their school books. It was not an uncommon occurrence for the merchants of Honolulu to receive letters directed to the "Hawaiian Islands, West Indies." Such was the interest of the majority of the people of the United States, especially in the eastern section, in regard to this most important group of islands in the North Pacific, destined in the near future to become more important to the west coast of the United States than the *Ægean* Islands were to the commercial enterprises of the ancient Phœnicians. The simple overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy would have created but a mere ripple of interest that would have soon merged into the ordinary wave of human progress; but when the resulting Provisional Government appealed for political union with the United States, and the adherents of the defunct royalty accused the sailors of the United States Cruiser *Boston* of having assisted in their overthrow, the Hawaiian Islands became

well known through the press comments. But as the general statements published at the time bore the same relation to rumor and canard that bread bore to liquor in Falstaff's tavern bill, I propose to give an historical account of facts as obtained from personal observation and various sources of information during a stay of fourteen months in the islands on a man-of-war. The official documents bearing upon the subject are so easily accessible that I have not republished any of them, and from the smallness of this volume I have not considered it of sufficient importance to quote authorities. It is sufficient to say that all statements of fact herein contained are either of my own knowledge or the result of careful and painstaking study and investigation conducted upon the ground.

The United States has for many years found it necessary to maintain a constant naval force in the waters of the Hawaiian Islands to protect its growing interests and defend its treaty rights against political agitation and foreign intrigue. In pursuance of this policy, the United States Cruiser Boston, on which I was serving at the time as an officer, was ordered, in August, 1892, to relieve the U. S. S. San Francisco at Honolulu. The Boston is one of the most formidable cruisers of the new navy, of the superstructure class, of three thousand tons displacement and a maximum speed of fifteen and a half knots per hour. Her crew consisted of 280 officers and men, well organized and drilled. The main battery consisted of two 8-inch central pivot



THE "BOSTON."

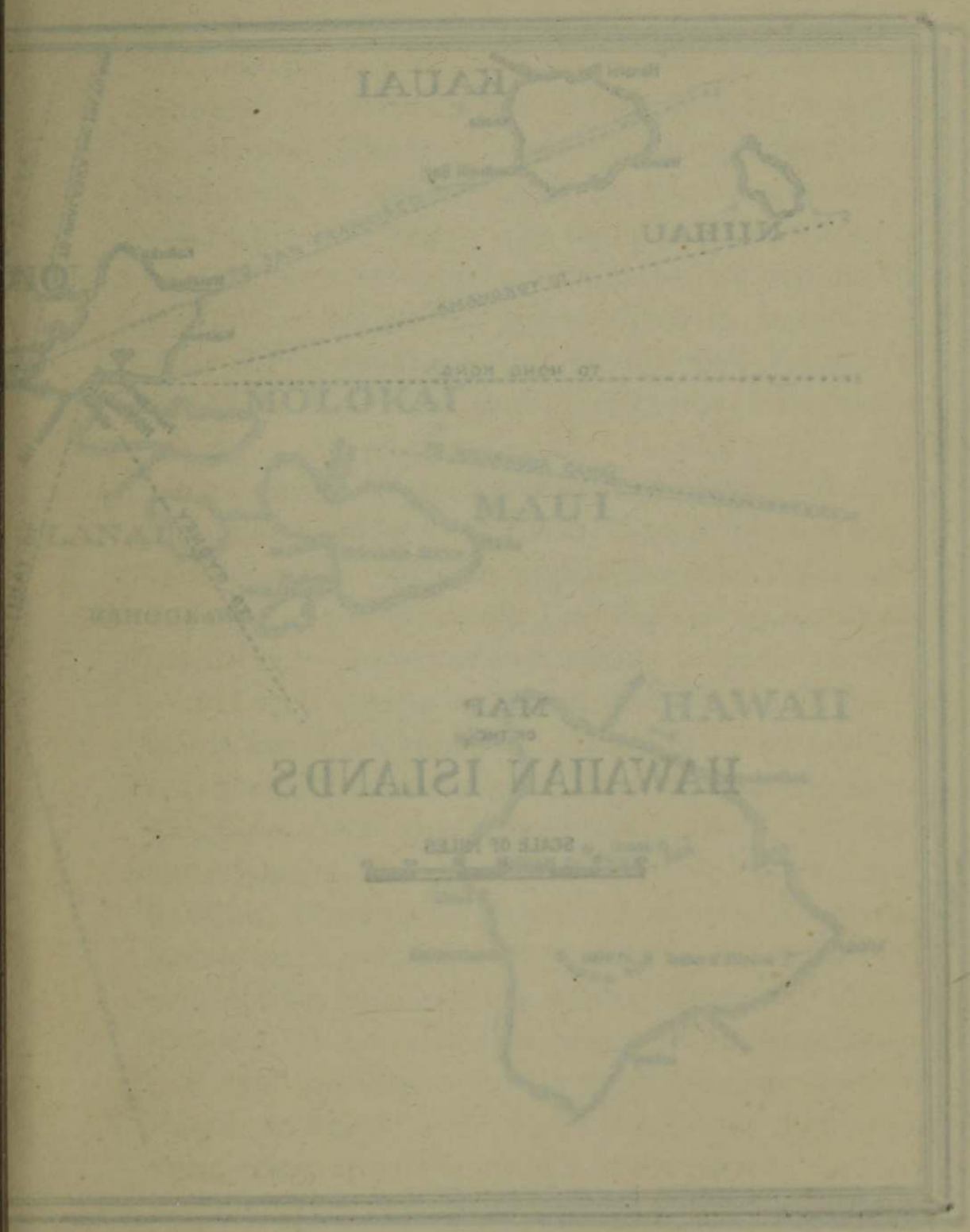
high-powered guns mounted in echelon, and six 6-inch high-powered guns mounted in broadside pivots. The secondary battery consisted of two 6-pounder, two 3-pounder, and 1-pounder rapid-fire guns; two 47mm., two 37mm. revolving cannon; Gatling guns, torpedo outfit, and small arms.

We passed through the Golden Gate, bound for the Hawaiian Islands, on the 10th of August, 1892. A short stop was made at Santa Cruz, and from there we took our parting look at the California coast, steering direct for the Island of Oahu. The occurrences on our voyage from Santa Cruz to Honolulu were, like the generality of modern sea trips, too trivial to be interesting, and too unvaried to afford amusement. No fables of the ancients were realized, and Neptune offered no resistance to our invasion of his watery empire; nor did we see the beautiful goddess Amphitrite skimming the surface of the deep, seated in her coral chariot, drawn by mermaids and surrounded by musical neriads. In fact, we encountered none of the adventures or wonders that surrounded the celebrated voyage of Æneas. We simply had a smooth sea, fine weather, a light northeasterly breeze, and an occasional sight of a passing sailing vessel; yet all on board were cheerful.

Early in the morning of the 24th of August we made out Koko Head, a novel and attractive landmark on the eastern extremity of the Island of Oahu. In a few hours thereafter we rounded picturesque Diamond Head, a lofty extinct volcano,

which marks the entrance to a long roadstead on the south of the island. Steering along parallel with a coral reef that protects the shore from the ocean swell, we soon passed through a narrow entrance in the reef to the snug harbor of Honolulu, the capital of the island government.

The Island of Oahu, the most populous, although the third in size of the Hawaiian group, is about forty miles long and twenty-three wide, and in appearance remarkably picturesque. As viewed from Honolulu on the south, a chain of lofty mountains extends from back of Diamond Head the entire length of the island. The elevated plain of Ewa separates this range from another parallel mountain range lying west of Honolulu. The main range is seamed by deep, shady ravines, which spread out in rolling valleys until they join the plain upon which Honolulu is situated. The whole island is volcanic, and in many parts extinct craters of large dimensions may be seen ; but many ages have elapsed since any eruption took place. In fact, all the islands of the Hawaiian Archipelago are of volcanic origin, and are situated in the Northern Pacific Ocean, just within the limits of the tropics, and extend for nearly four hundred miles in a direction from southeast to northwest, from $18^{\circ} 50'$ to $23^{\circ} 05'$ north latitude, and from $154^{\circ} 40'$ to $161^{\circ} 50'$ west longitude from Greenwich. They are some 2,100 miles from San Francisco, 3,800 miles from Auckland, 4,400 miles from Sydney, 3,400 miles from Yokohama, and 4,800 miles from Hongkong. They



KAUAI

NIIHAU

OAHU

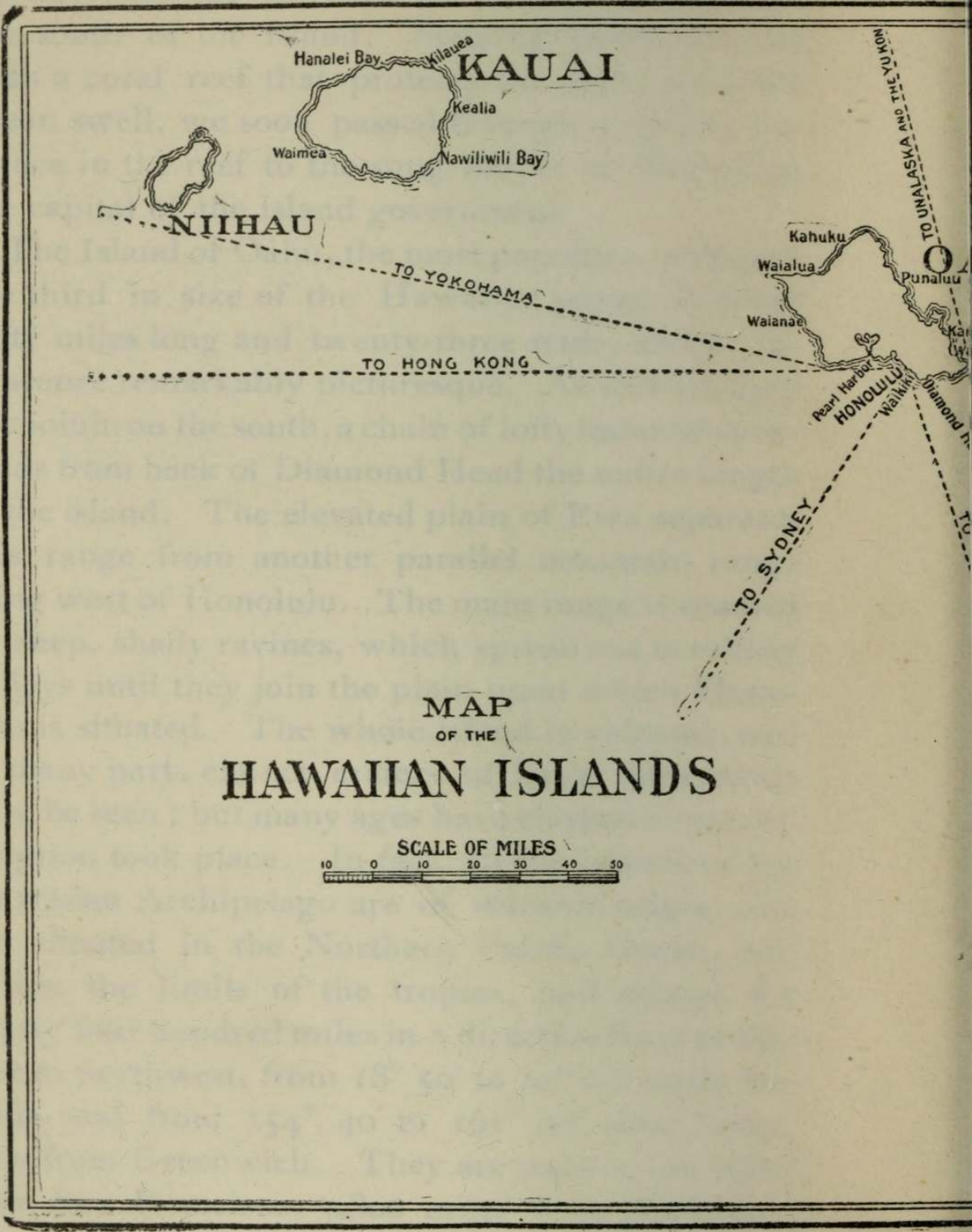
MAUI

HAWAII

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

SCALE OF MILES

TO HONG KONG

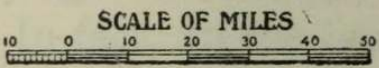


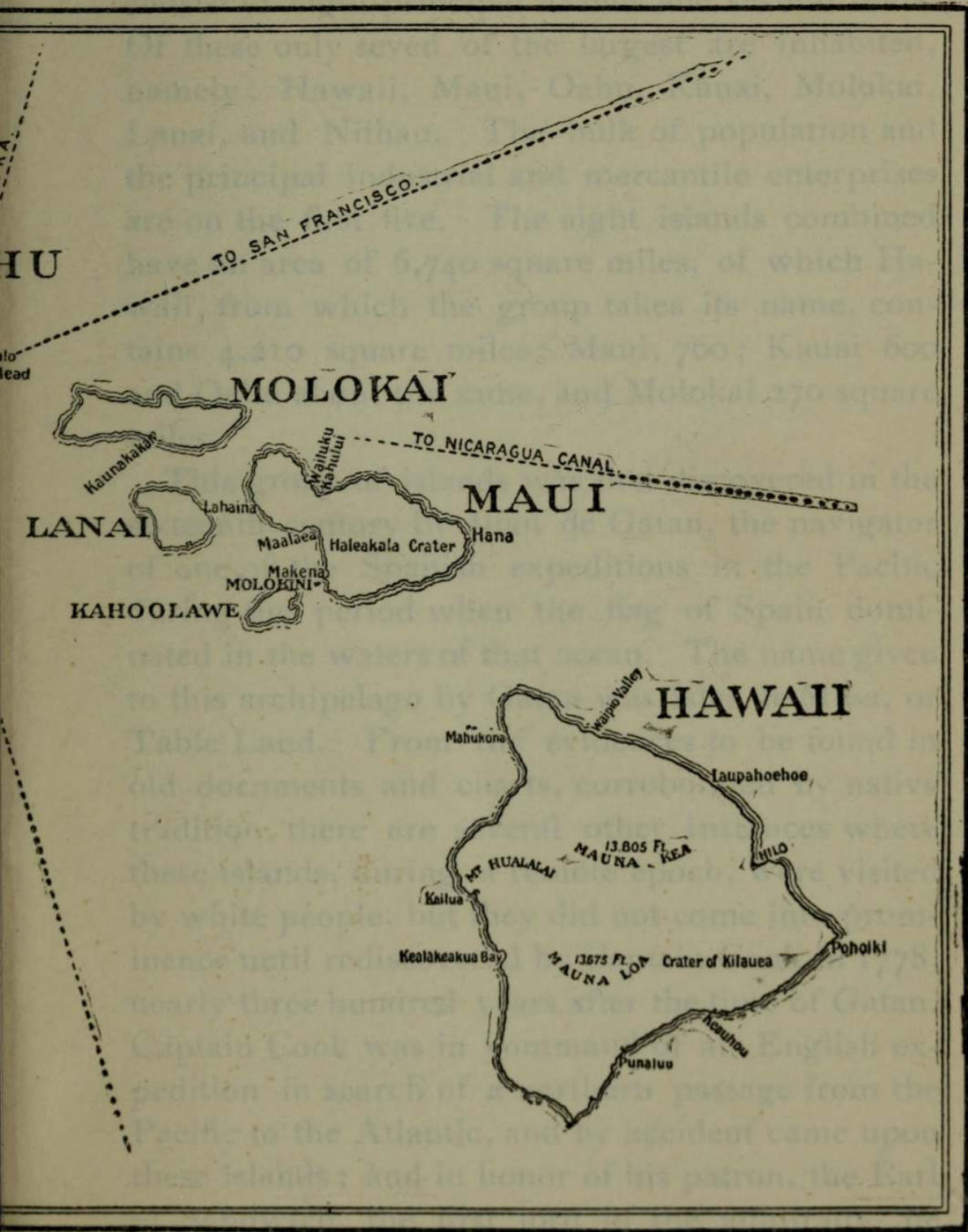
KAUAI

NIIHAU

HONOLULU

MAP
OF THE
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS





consist of eight principal islands and several islets. Of these only seven of the largest are inhabited, namely: Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, Kauai, Molokai, Lanai, and Niihau. The bulk of population and the principal industrial and mercantile enterprises are on the first five. The eight islands combined have an area of 6,740 square miles, of which Hawaii, from which the group takes its name, contains 4,210 square miles; Maui, 760; Kauai 600 and Oahu about the same, and Molokai 270 square miles.

This group of islands was first discovered in the sixteenth century by Juan de Gatan, the navigator of one of the Spanish expeditions in the Pacific during the period when the flag of Spain dominated in the waters of that ocean. The name given to this archipelago by Gatan was *Islas de Mesa*, or *Table Land*. From the evidences to be found in old documents and charts, corroborated by native tradition, there are several other instances where these islands, during a remote epoch, were visited by white people, but they did not come into prominence until rediscovered by Captain Cook in 1778, nearly three hundred years after the time of Gatan. Captain Cook was in command of an English expedition in search of a northern passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and by accident came upon these islands; and in honor of his patron, the Earl of Sandwich, the first lord of the admiralty, he gave them the name of *The Sandwich Islands*. From that time on, and especially after the visit of Van-

couver, the islands became of great importance to the maritime world, and a bone of contention to the European powers for their possession. The officials of France and England took every advantage of the primitive simplicity of the people, who had existed for ages, isolated and unknown to the rest of the world. They commenced a series of petty annoyances and vexatious interferences with the island government which on several occasions gave the foreign representatives pretexts for action with a view to the ultimate subversion of the native government and seizure of the islands. Timely interference and threatening demands of United States officials, of U. S. men-of-war, and American diplomacy were all that preserved the independence of the islands.

At the time of the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands they were inhabited by a race of Polyne-
sians living under a social organization strikingly similar to that of Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries. They had kings, who were hereditary suzerains, having under them a lot of vassal chiefs, who were granted certain tenures in consideration of military service, leaving the common people the mere privileges of villains. The power of these petty sovereigns was limited only by the endurance of the subjects, while the priesthood exercised an unlimited authority in the "tabu," which means "prohibited," or forbidden under the penalty of death. As might be expected, where so many small kingdoms existed within such narrow limits,

war was of frequent occurrence, until a powerful chief, from the Island of Hawaii, gradually conquered the whole of the island and then the entire group, over which he ruled with great ability, wisdom, and good sense for a period of twenty-four years, under the title of Kamehameha I. It was during this reign that the influence of the white race began to assert itself and the whole social and political condition of the people became revolutionized, the power of the heathen priests destroyed, and the way paved for an easy introduction of Christian civilization by the American missionaries, who landed for the first time in 1820, the year following the death of Kamehameha I.

During this long and vigorous reign, in which the chiefs remained in undisputed possession of their lands, there was developed a sentiment favorable to permanent individual rights, which brought about a remarkable change from feudal to hereditary succession; followed ultimately by the buying and selling of lands. White foreigners in consequence became land-owners. In 1833 Kamehameha III came to the throne, and acting under the influences of the incoming tide of civilization and recognizing the defenceless condition of the common people, he, a few years later, proclaimed a "Bill of Rights," which at once transformed a feudal despotism into a constitutional monarchy. The Bill of Rights was followed in 1845 to 1847 by the organization of an executive ministry, the creation of a judiciary department, and the adoption of pro-

visions for an adjustment of land tenure; and in 1852 a constitution was promulgated forming the basis of others which followed. A legislative body was created, consisting of thirty nobles, appointed by the crown, and not less than twenty-four representatives elected by universal suffrage. This constitution was so modified in 1864 as to require both branches of the legislative body to sit and vote together in the same chamber, and the suffrage of the people was restricted by a property qualification and the ability to read and write; provisions which remained in force until 1887.

From the very first, and throughout the ninety-four years in which the Kamehamehas reigned over the islands, American influence dominated over that of all other foreign countries in Hawaiian affairs. American institutions were adopted, the American school system inaugurated, and American laws enacted and put in force, developing property interests, commercial associations and political education almost identical with those of any State within the American Union. To protect and foster these growing interests the United States, as early as 1820, established a commercial agency on the Hawaiian Islands, and, in 1823, Commodore Jones of the United States Navy negotiated a treaty of commerce and navigation, and though it was not ratified at Washington, it was the first treaty ever negotiated by the Hawaiians with any foreign power. From time to time thereafter naval vessels of the United States visited the islands, and on several

occasions protected the autonomy of the native government against the English and French aggressions, based upon trumped-up claims of their respective consular agents. In 1842 the independence of the islands was practically recognized by the United States, the commercial agency was elevated to a diplomatic position by the appointment of a Commissioner, and in 1863 the rank of the United States diplomatic representative was again raised to that of Minister Resident.

During this entire period the continued and steady decrease of the native race, the creation of agricultural necessities and growing of sugar cane, importation of Oriental contract labor, together with the rapid growth of the foreign population, gradually developed a condition favorable to a political evolution calculated to disturb the internal affairs of the government, and injure those foreigners who had invested money in commercial enterprises in the islands. As long as the Kamehameha race of kings governed the islands, American interests were in no danger of being subverted, through internal intrigue, by those of any other foreign power; but in 1874, when the last of that dynasty, Kamehameha V, died, the political affiliations with the English intriguers became alarming and necessitated a renewed energy on the part of American residents and officials to maintain their commercial and political supremacy. Hence after a year's experience of political confusion and uneasy agitation under the elected King, Lunalilo, David Kala-

kaua, supported by the American residents, was chosen, after a stormy election, by the legislature to fill the vacant throne, in opposition to Queen Emma, the widow of Kamehameha IV. Emma was thoroughly imbued with British sympathies and most hostile to the commercial interests of the United States, and her native followers, supported by the English and a lot of beach-combers, bitterly contested the election. They organized a formidable riot and surrounded the Court-House and, when they saw they had lost by a large majority, attacked the building and assaulted the members, driving them from the legislative hall and killing several. Sailors and marines from the two American men-of-war in the harbor landed, and after suppressing the riot, maintained order in the city of Honolulu until Kalakaua was secure on the throne. An English warship also landed men, but they did not interfere.

Kalakaua was only a high chief, in no way related to the extinct royal family, and was reputed to be the illegitimate son of a negro cobbler who had emigrated to the islands from Boston. Before his elevation to the throne, he was a pettifogging police-court attorney. He had held subordinate positions under the government, from which he had been discharged for corruption and incompetence. He drank and gambled inordinately. The assumption of authority afforded him ample means of displaying his natural instincts—those of a Polynesian savage. At times he would disguise these instincts

under a social polish and the appearances of a gentleman. He was superstitious, sensual, and corrupt, and, with the assistance of a class of adventurers of the same type as himself for advisers, it was not long before he committed overt acts in opposition to the promises made to those who placed him on the throne, and sowed the seeds of discontent that ultimately led to the overthrow of the monarchical form of government. His principal adviser and counsellor was an unscrupulous ex-Mormon missionary who had apostasized from and swindled that church, who aided him in estranging the native element from the whites, resulting in a theretofore unknown intense race hatred. A secret society was established, in which a lot of mysteries were combined with obscene forms gathered from the ancient religion of the Hawaiian Islands. Kalakaua became the head of this society, and in the course of time undertook the role of a god, and as such constituted himself the divine guide to the native clergy, and impressed the native race with the fear of himself as a "kahuna," a witch doctor, who assumes to pray people to death or cure the sick at will. One of the great privileges enjoined upon the head of this polytheistic church was to appear among the believers, bereft of all attire, and perform unspeakable rites to prove himself fit for heathen worship. On one occasion, as late as 1890, the King came out upon a dais stripped to the skin, and, in the presence of several hundred pagans, at a secluded

place near Honolulu, fully proved himself an adept in all the filthy performances required by his native followers—performances that, if described, would cause a shade to pass over the cheek of the most depraved frequenter of the slums of Gotham. He would have songs chanted by the native women at the great functions of the court, which were simply exaltations of his powers to employ and gratify the baser passions, and wherever he went his train of attendants sang obscene songs and danced lewd dances. To afford a better opportunity for entertaining his favored courtiers and a few special tourists who wished to witness the savage customs, he caused to be built a large boat-house, in the harbor of Honolulu, and the scenes enacted there beggar description. Gambling, lewd practices, immoral exhibitions, drunken carousals, and the abominations of the hula dance, all combined to establish his reputation as a prince of good fellows with his large retinue of dissipated dependents. By wholesale bribery, the use of soldiers at the polling places, and general debasement of the electorate and the appointment of legislators to lucrative offices while they still held their seats in the legislature, he was enabled to carry through pernicious and extravagant legislation against the will of the people. In short, he became absolute ruler.

With such power unopposed it only required a little flattery on the part of his disreputable counsellor Gibson to work the King's vanity and ego-

tism up to the point of aspiring to the "Primacy of the Pacific." In consequence an old vessel was purchased and fitted out at great expense, and in command of a worthless, drunken, half-pay English naval officer, and manned by boys from the reform school and a few low whites, she was dispatched as a man-of-war, with an embassy to assume a protectorate over the Samoan Islands, as a beginning. On December 26, 1886, a notorious half-caste by the name of Bush was sent as envoy, accompanied by a secretary and other attachés, to King Malietoa. Upon the arrival of the embassy they became the object of hostile demonstrations by the representatives of the German firm who had instigated the revolution then existing in Samoa. The embassy were driven from the hotel, and taking refuge in a Samoan house, they commenced their high jinks. Bush gathered around him the lowest kind of half-castes and beach-combers, and, with a decided appetite for native beverages and mixed drinks, he went on a protracted spree. He was run out of the window at the hotel for insulting remarks, and his disreputable, lewd, and intemperate habits, together with an attempt to introduce the hula, disgusted even that savage, Malietoa, who asked for his recall, and thus ended the attempt at the confederation of the Pacific. The riotous drunkenness and mutinous conduct of the officers and men of the man-of-war were such that a German gunboat had to interfere, and the vessel was ordered to return to Honolulu. The captain took

her, instead, to Pago Pago, where he exchanged her small arms for gin and had a month's debauch. Finally she was brought back, the captain dismissed and the vessel sold.

Failing to become Emperor of Polynesia, Kalakaau was not content with the mere title of King, so, after being on the throne for nine years, he determined upon a useless and expensive coronation, the ceremonies of which would convey to all nations evidence of his autocratic authority. Three years were consumed in preparing for this great pageant. Bombastic notices were sent to all the powers apprising them of the event and inviting their representatives to be present.

To gratify another of his whims and still further clothe his already overburdened egotism, his extravagant dependents caused to be celebrated, at great expense and legislative appropriation of a large sum, the fiftieth anniversary of his birth. The festivities were to extend over a fortnight but were somewhat curtailed by inclement weather. Receptions, presentation of costly gifts, torchlight illuminations, a great feast and grand ball were the general features of this birthday jubilee, winding up with a big hula that was so obscene in its lewdness as to even offend the tough natures of some of his depraved associates. The printer who set up the type and printed the programme of the dances, which was personally prepared by Kalakaau, was convicted and fined in the Honolulu police court for "publishing indecent literature."

On his return from a trip around the world, where he had managed to deceive the high officials of each country he visited by a correct demeanor, modest dress and a knowledge of languages, his innate barbarism, escaping from the long imprisonment on this trip, again asserted itself in bolder relief. The rapidly increasing revenues occasioned by the treaty of reciprocity with the United States were not sufficient to support the expensive and puerile extravagances of Kalakaua, and to meet them he had recourse to exemption money from lepers, unlawful rental of government lands, abuse of the franking privileges, embezzlement of public funds, and gross official corruption, which hardships upon the people must at some time have an end. The financial benefits of the treaty of reciprocity with the United States had the effect to encourage a spirit of forbearance towards the King, but the patience of the respectable foreign element and progressive natives at last became exhausted when the King accepted a large bribe from a Chinaman for an opium license for which he had already taken a larger bribe from another Chinaman. A secret committee of safety was organized and quietly armed, and on the 30th of June, 1887, an enthusiastic mass-meeting passed resolutions to the effect that the administration of the Hawaiian government had ceased, through corruption and incompetence, to perform its legitimate functions and afford protection to person and property. A committee waited upon the King and exacted from him specific

pledges, within twenty-four hours, of future good government on the basis of a new constitution. Kalakaua appealed to the foreign diplomatic representatives to help him out of the dilemma, and they not only refused but advised him to accept the demands of the mass-meeting. Realizing his consummate guilt, and fearing the absolute loss of his crown, the King, much to the surprise of the revolutionists, who expected a fight, pusillanimously agreed to comply with all the demands of the citizens. His capricious and profligate counselor, Gibson, was removed from office and banished the country, and a reform ministry appointed, one that was in thorough sympathy with the people. The King was compelled to sign a new constitution, which was subsequently ratified by a vote of the people, in conformity with the demands of the mass-meeting.

The general provisions of this constitution made every male resident of Hawaii, American or European descent, after one year's residence, who took an oath to support the constitution and laws of Hawaii a legal voter and distinctly enlarged the measure of Hawaiian citizenship. The King was deprived of the absolute right of veto, and the responsibility for the government was placed upon a cabinet, subject to removal only by a vote of the legislature elected by the people. Instead of the nobles being appointed by the crown they were chosen by a special electorate composed of citizens possessed of an annual income of at least \$600, or

unencumbered property to the value of \$3,000, which practically gave to the whites the choice of one-half of the legislature. Another principal measure in the new constitution prohibited members of the legislature from holding any civil office. Emerging thus from an era of bombastic display, political corruption, and gross irregularities, the King was left as a mere figure-head. A large element of the population at first desired the total abolition of the monarchy; but, after mature deliberation, they again exhibited their forbearance, and permitted the King to be tried once more, under the restrictions implied in the new order of administration. At the same time, it was explicitly understood and clearly foreseen that should the monarchy again fall into the hands of adventurers and repeat its imbecility and corruption, it would cease to exist, as it did on January the 17th, 1893. Kalakaua signed the new constitution under duress, and ever after he sought opportunities to regain his lost power. It is remarkable how patiently the foreign element endured and how considerate they were with this semi-barbaric monarchy. To a close observer, however, it was plainly apparent that the foundation of an ultimate abrogation of the monarchy had been laid, and the time was not far distant when it would cease to exist.

Princess Liliuokalani, a sister of the King, had been appointed heiress apparent. She strongly disapproved of her brother's assent to the reform constitution. In 1889 she joined what was known as

the Wilcox plot for the overthrow of the new government and the establishment of herself on the throne. The entire plot was concocted in her home. Wilcox, a half-caste, who had been educated in Italy, at a military school, was to lead an armed revolt, which he did, the rendezvous and arming taking place at Liliuokalani's home. Wilcox succeeded in getting together a few natives and English or Canadian loafers and surrounded the palace. The same people who brought Kalakaua to terms and enforced the reforms of 1887 reorganized and, after a small skirmish, drove the insurgents to cover, killed nine, and took the remainder prisoners. Upon the first fire the military ardor of Wilcox left him, and he immediately deserted his followers and cowardly took refuge in an old gasoline tank lying in the palace yard, and there he remained, until the rest surrendered. The support thus given the King encouraged him in his efforts to recover his lost royal prerogatives, and he was able to find weak white judges to misinterpret the provisions of the new constitution and pervert its plain meanings in his favor. However, the principal constitutional limitations were maintained and the King up to his death remained simply the head of a constitutional government. The country became prosperous, taxes easy, internal improvements were carried on and the revenues were economically expended.

The once strong and athletic constitution of Kalakaua at last began to break down, under the

influences of long and excessive dissipation, and in order to recruit his failing health the King visited California, in an American man-of-war, and on the 20th of January, 1891, he died at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco. Upon the arrival of his remains at Honolulu, nine days later, his sister, Mrs. Dominis, who was acting as regent in the absence of the King, was proclaimed Queen under the title of Liliuokalani, and took the oath to support the constitution.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF LILIUOKALANI.

The frequent attempts of Kalakaua to regain autocratic authority after the adoption of the new constitution led many whites and natives to believe that he would be the last Hawaiian monarch, and had it not been for the sudden surprise accompanying the tragic return of his remains, it is more than likely Liliuokalani would never have succeeded to the throne. It was a well-known fact that she had evinced on every occasion her disgust at her brother's acceptance of the new constitution, and her determination to re-establish the royal pretensions at the first opportunity was manifest. She had, on two occasions before her accession, entered into a conspiracy to supplant her brother even at the expense, if necessary, of walking over his dead body. The moment of her accession she fully intended to abrogate the constitution forced upon Kalakaua and proclaim one, instead, containing all the old prerogatives exercised by the Kamehamehas prior to the existence of a constitution. The cabinet of the late King, realizing the danger of such an act, promptly called upon the Queen in a body, and induced her to take the oath to support and maintain the existing constitution. Liliuokalani had greater courage and was more politic than her brother, but resembled him in superstition, selfish-



LILIUOKALANI.

ness, and savage ignorance, and, like him, was a hater of whites and a promoter of race prejudices. She was such a mistress of dissimulation as to convince many well-meaning people that she was a strict believer in the Christian religion, whereas she was an idolatress and worshipper of the old pagan superstitions of Hawaiian mythology. She kept around her a lot of kahunas and heathen sorcerers to counsel and assist her, and women of openly bad character were her constant personal attendants. She was addicted to the grossest social vices, while her amours were open, flagrant, and notorious. When not under the gaze of her Christian friends, she delighted to take part in just such debauches and savage orgies as her royal brother, Kalakaua, had so frequently indulged in before her. The Queen's first official act was a refusal to recognize the ministers of the late King, and they, upon the advice of the supreme court, resigned, and a ministry was appointed in their stead, composed of men she selected under promise, made in advance, that they would appoint her favorite paramour to the marshalship of the kingdom. This official had absolute command of the police force, and during the Queen's reign he was really vested with the powers of a dictator. His advice was paramount over that of the cabinet ministers, and it was not an uncommon procedure for him to openly, and in the presence of her ministers, oppose or nullify their contemplated acts.

Following the appointment of her ministry, the Queen gradually began to interfere in the removal of government officials, and to appoint incompetent and irresponsible favorites in their stead. She stubbornly, but with more tact and diplomacy than Kalakaua, usurped autocratic authority in all directions, yet with all her power and heathen practices she was unable to obtain the fealty of her brown-skinned subjects. The reason for this was due to the fact that Liliuokalani was not a Kamehameha, but only the sister of Kalakaua, and granddaughter, if she be legitimate, of the first man who was hanged for murder in the Hawaiian Islands; and if not legitimate, as claimed by a great number of residents of the islands, she was only the daughter of the American negro cobbler, named Blossom. When she made a tour in state through her realm, the natives received her with scant hospitality. Her retainers could not even procure a supply of food from the natives, much less presents, as was the custom with ancient Hawaiian monarchs travelling through the kingdom. Fear and dissatisfaction on the part of some whites and many natives led to a secret organization having for its purpose the remedy of existing evils. The Queen, hearing of the formation of this conspiracy, at first conceived the idea of using those engaged in it in the promulgation of a new constitution, and if unsuccessful in obtaining their co-operation, to become familiar with their intents, so as to be able at any moment to remove every possible danger of

disturbance in her contemplated *coup*. To this end she encouraged them in their designs, and diplomatically obtained at least a promise of their neutrality, if not their acquiescence. Then, relying upon the absolute support of the royal guard and the police force, she caused to be prepared a constitution granting her the powers which she craved, which she proposed to promulgate.

Everything was working well, when a large number of men, known to be hostile to her, were admitted to membership. In a feeling of unconcealed distrust, and fearing the legal opposition of the legislature recently chosen by the people, and soon to meet, she urged immediate action. Wilcox, who was one of the leaders, was sent for and given her ultimatum, that he and his colleagues must at once support her plans; and upon his refusal, she broke up the conspiracy, arrested him and a few others. They were brought to trial, and although the evidence was clear, she stopped the trial for fear the true facts would come out. Some of the conspirators fled the country, but others, including Wilcox, were elected to the legislature. This was in 1892. Before the Queen could do anything else in the way of changing the constitution, which she had, under mental reservation, taken an oath to support, the legislature met. The wire-pulling and political intrigue for a time were held in check through the approximately equal strength of three parties that composed the legislative body. The members were chosen at the biennial election in February, 1892,

and in May following took their seats. They were divided into Reform, National Reform, and Liberal parties, and three or four independents. The Reform party was composed of the so-called missionary class, a term applied to all the progressive whites of American nationality or descent, Germans, and Portuguese. They had for their object the enactment of laws beneficial to commerce, the establishment of closer commercial relations with the United States, the construction of an ocean cable, and the development of agricultural interests based upon the minimum taxation for the support of the government. They supported all legislation that had for its object the internal improvements of the country, rigid segregation of lepers and contagious diseases, and were bitterly opposed to autocratic rule or personal power in the Queen.

The controlling power in the National Reform party was the English and Canadian whites, and those who had little or no property interests on the islands; in fact, all the adventurous class and toughs who immigrated to the islands for personal gain regardless of the methods of accomplishment. They favored English interests, and if possible an English protectorate as against American influences or commercial supremacy. The Liberal party was made up from the native members and lower class of whites and hangers-on at the palace. They had no policy and cared for none beyond the bribes or bargains they could obtain from the other two parties to vote in their interests. They were in favor

of universal suffrage and the absolute rule and autocracy of the Queen. From the very first day on which the members of the legislature took their seats log-rolling, wire-pulling, and political corruption commenced. The Queen had this advantage: her ministers could sit in the legislature and vote on all subjects, except on a vote of want of confidence or impeachment. They were of the National Reform party, that stood closer to the native branch and strengthened the Queen's power in all legislation tending to assist her in governmental interference. The American Minister, realizing the situation, affiliated with the Reform party, and through them he was enabled to check moves detrimental to the interests of the United States. On the other hand, the English Minister was an active worker with the National Reform party, and openly and in public used every effort to support them and obtain any advantage beneficial to his country. Having resided in the country for many years and being the head of a large family, some of whom had married into Kanaka families, he had great influence with the members of the National Reform and Liberal parties. It was not an uncommon sight to see him on the floor of the legislative hall, actually lobbying for the passage of some measure detrimental to American interests, or beneficial to British interference, openly expressing his approval or disapproval of current debate. With the assistance of a simple, benighted, ritualistic English bishop, by publicly sympathizing with the Queen and her min-

isters and privately advising both her and the Liberal and National Reform leaders, he exerted a powerful influence. But, from a want of tact and diplomatic knowledge, he relied upon pompous demands and political intrigue with a class of political intimates in the legislative body who would give his secrets away.

The sagacious, well trained and experienced diplomat of the United States, Mr. Jno. L. Stevens, quietly sat in his legation, pulled the wires and every time brought American interests to the front. So well did he play his cards, resulting on every occasion in success, that he became a subject of personal abuse, and an object of intense hatred, by the leaders of the National Reform and Liberal parties. On the street and in public places they would vilify and criticise even his personal and private conduct, going so far as to attack his domestic way of living, and caused the arrest of his domestic for some trumped-up offense of a minor nature, which act was a violation of the national sanctity of the United States legation. On one occasion a leader of the National Reform party, an Englishman by birth, and a noble at the time in the legislature, afterwards a minister of the cabinet, introduced a resolution in the legislature reflecting upon the official acts of the American Minister, and so offensive to the United States government that the House voted to expunge it from the records. In all these attacks the Queen appears to have aided and abetted, but the power and activity of the

Reform members caused her much uneasiness and prevented her taking any decided steps towards carrying out her cherished plan of promulgating a new constitution. Therefore, in order to break the influence of the Reform party and that of the American Minister, while pretending to favor the most cordial relations with the representative of the United States, she conceived a plan of negotiating a loan in England upon a first mortgage of the port dues of Honolulu. A bill to that effect was subsequently introduced by one of her ministers, the same who had on a previous occasion offered the attack upon the American Minister, but it was promptly voted down. The English Minister, together with his wife, actively engaged on the floor of the legislature working for the support of this measure, all of which came under my personal observation while a visitor to the hall.

An English adventurer, a man of no principle but of fine education, was employed by the Queen on a stipulated salary to write articles, in support of her political course and against American interests, for a local paper owned by the Queen, using the name of her coachman as the author of these publications. A position was given to him as manager of the Hawaiian Hotel for his board, that he might, by his position as such, come in contact with tourists, win their sympathy, and fill them with misinformation concerning political conditions. In fact every means was used to further the Queen's ambitious designs, and the business depres-

sion, financial uneasiness, and national danger which naturally followed deterred any commercial agency or local corporation from negotiating any kind of loan from abroad or at home. Everything was in a chaotic state, with inevitable ruin apparent on all sides. The large sugar estates that came into existence through the gratuity of the treaty of reciprocity with the United States were, in addition to the agitated condition of affairs, affected by the provisions of the McKinley tariff, and plainly foresaw that unless something was done towards establishing closer commercial relations with the United States they would suffer, and they therefore became more active in support of the Reform party, which was the party most strongly favoring American interests.

Such was the condition of affairs when the U. S. Cruiser Boston arrived in Honolulu. The U. S. Flagship San Francisco was relieved, and sailed for Mare Island Navy Yard, leaving the Boston to look after American interests and treaty obligations. The political agitation and uneasiness was so great that during the entire stay of the Boston in those waters it was impolitic for her to leave the harbor of Honolulu, except on two short occasions, and as a reminder of the force constantly present a battalion of troops was landed once a week and marched through the streets to the old base-ball grounds for drill.

The causes of the continued and increasing uneasiness and hostility to the Queen, and finally to

the monarchy, were the stubborn efforts of the Queen to trample upon the constitution, and her persistent interference in politics, both directly and through her creatures in office, and by bribing native members in the legislature in order to secure illegal control of that body.

The executive members, or ministry, nobles and representatives sat and deliberated in one chamber presided over by a speaker elected by the whole body. As the Queen attempted to increase her arbitrary power over the legislative branch of the government, that body very soon asserted its constitutional prerogatives, and on the 30th of August voted out the ministry that had consented to her maladministration. The Queen then, against the advice of the leading members of the legislature and the business men of the community, appointed, on the 12th of September, a ministry headed by E. C. Macfarlane, an Englishman by birth and sympathies, a naturalized American, and a domiciled Hawaiian. One of his first acts was to introduce and attempt to push through the legislature a bill authorizing a loan from England upon a first mortgage of the port dues of the port of Honolulu, a stepping-stone to a commercial protectorate by Great Britain, as was done in Egypt. Associated in this cabinet with Macfarlane were Sam. Parker, Paul Neumann, and Chas. T. Gulick, all of whom were of the National Reform party. In three days after they qualified an effort was made to vote them out, resulting in 24 for and 21 against their removal. The

question was referred to the judges of the supreme court, who decided 25 votes were necessary to constitute a constitutional number to pass such a measure. Meanwhile, on the 4th of October, a special election was held in Honolulu to elect two nobles to fill the vacancies made by Macfarlane and Neumann when they resigned to accept positions in the cabinet. A native and a half-white, supported by the lottery and opium factions, were elected over two of the most respectable men in Honolulu, M. P. Robinson and H. Waterhouse. This election had a tendency to strengthen the National Reform party in the legislature, and realizing the danger of such a ministry remaining in office, some of the Liberal party coalesced with the Reform party and a few dissatisfied members of the National Reform party, and on the 17th of October voted to remove the Macfarlane cabinet. They carried the want of confidence by a large majority—32 to 15.

The Queen was obstinate, and knowing this, every irresponsible person in the legislature, and many out of it, urged their claims for a cabinet position, and failing to obtain their object turned upon her. In the little native paper, published by the notorious Bush, she was accused of ignoring the native claims. When the Queen, on November 1st, appointed a cabinet composed of men of no personal standing and representing no property interests, it was voted out in less than two hours by a vote of 26 to 15, being known as the "Nancy

Hanks cabinet," because it made the quickest time on record. By this time the patience of the members of the Reform party had become exhausted, and in caucus with their allies they passed a resolution calling upon the Queen to designate a leader, chosen by a majority of the legislature, to select a ministry.

A ministerial crisis was imminent and political agitation alarming; excitement was intense and business prospects gloomy, with every indication of a revolution. The Queen for the time being surrendered, and selected a cabinet on the 8th of November, known as the Wilcox-Jones ministry. This cabinet had the full confidence of the people and the country felt easy, but it was not long before the Queen began to dictate to them and to interfere with their line of policy, which was for retrenchment and moderate legislation.

It soon became known to the public that severe friction existed between the Queen and the ministry, and during the last of December it was the talk all over the town that there would be a vote of want of confidence against the cabinet. On the 4th of January, Bush introduced the resolution, and upon a vote it failed, 19 to 22. This failure to remove the Wilcox-Jones cabinet insured confidence, and encouraged the belief amongst the leading citizens, as well as by the American Minister, that the Reform ministry had come to stay. The Queen, however, was not contented and did not mean to give up, but sent for the native members, and by bribes and

promises obtained their united support to pass the lottery and opium bills, which every one supposed were dead, she having bargained with the promoters of these measures, for their support in return, to put the Wilcox cabinet out. Hopkins, who was a half-white, and who was elected by the lottery people, moved their consideration, and they passed to the second reading, to the astonishment of everybody, by a vote of 20 to 17, and on the 11th of January they were rushed through a third reading on a vote of 23 to 20. This victory so elated the Queen and her adherents that she took advantage of the absence of members who had gone home, and the following day, the 12th of January, she induced a native member to introduce a vote of want of confidence in the Wilcox-Jones cabinet, and they were removed by a vote of 25 to 16. Upon a canvass of the legislature by her native followers, she discovered the fact that the vote of one white man was necessary for a constitutional majority. To obtain that the Queen sent for C. O. Berger, and promised him that his father-in-law, Widemann, should form a new cabinet if he would vote with the natives. Berger took the bait, and to the disgust of his friends voted that way, and the Reform ministry went out. The Queen had no intention of permitting Widemann to form a cabinet, and when, in apparent compliance with her promise, she sent for him and imposed obligations that Colburn, a half-white and under a cloud, should be named as one of the ministry, Widemann

demurred and he was dismissed. She had made up her mind to appoint a cabinet that would hold over during the interim of two years, in the absence of a legislative body, and be entirely subservient to her arbitrary whims. Colburn was sent for and instructed to form a cabinet of the persons she would name. The native members were instructed to remain away from the legislative hall on the 13th, so there would be no quorum on that day to vote the cabinet out, and the legislature would be prorogued the following day, at noon. Colburn, upon the request of the Queen, named as his associates, Parker, Cornwell, and Peterson. Colburn was a man of notorious rascality in business matters, while all the rest were known to be zealous in their support of the Queen's misrule. The next morning, Saturday, the 14th of January, 1893, the ministry reported to the legislature that the Queen had signed the lottery and opium bills, and they became laws, by which the establishment of opium joints and the licensing of the sale of opium were to be given out, evidently to palace favorites. The exclusive franchise to conduct a lottery was given to a few men representing the Louisiana Lottery Company, which had just been evicted from Louisiana and was to remove its establishment from New Orleans to Honolulu, under a supposed obligation that the government was to receive \$500,000 a year from that company. This annual revenue was, as a blind, to be devoted to internal improvements; and to secure the native votes of the legislature,

promises were held out to them of lucrative offices, so dear to the Kanaka heart.

At noon the legislature was prorogued, and the Queen proceeded to the palace, the approaches to which were guarded by the government troops, and the grounds filled by a mob of natives brought from the other islands and fitted out with new suits of clothing to give coloring to a so-called petition, under which the Queen was now to perform her *coup d'état* by the proclamation of a new constitution, which caused her to lose her throne. During all this time the presence of the American Minister and of the United States ship Boston was a source of disquietude to the Queen and her supporters, as they feared interference by the American forces should any attempt be made to gain arbitrary power by force of arms which should result in injury to Americans or American property. On one occasion, when it was reported a boat had landed at Hilo from a wrecked American vessel, most villainous attacks were made by the royalist papers upon the American representatives, and it was while the Boston was away for target practice the Queen took her fatal step.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the political development of the Hawaiian Islands had been, in the early years of its transition, from a feudal and savage despotism into a free and civilized state, with only a few instances of foreign interference. Under the Kamehamehas the fundamental changes in the social and political organization were effected

without disturbance or bloodshed, and armed resistance and revolutions were unthought of. The Hawaiian kings sought the counsel and service of able foreigners in the administration of the government, and there arose no occasion for foreigners to feel the need of suffrage rights to protect their interests. But with the failure of the Kamehameha line, Kalakaua set himself to work to undermine the confidence of natives in foreigners and injected into the elections the element of intense race hatred. In place of the diminished prerogatives of the sovereign and the increased privileges of the subject, by voluntary acts of preceding kings, there was manifested on the part of Kalakaua a disposition to extend his royal prerogatives and a return to absolutism. His acts inaugurated a series of revolutions that culminated in that of the 17th of January, 1893. The first was headed by the whites to secure responsible government through a representative cabinet, responsible to the people's elected representatives. Other revolutions were headed by the natives, instigated by Kalakaua and Liliuokalani, to regain their lost power, followed at last by a spontaneous uprising of the whites, who again asserted themselves in opposition to the revolutionary act of the Queen. They overthrew the ignorant, selfish, corrupt, and semi-barbarous monarchy and established instead a republican government.

CHAPTER III.

HONOLULU, THE CAPITAL OF HAWAII.

The day following the first arrival of the Boston, the Flagship San Francisco gave a ball in honor of the officers of the former ship in order to afford an opportunity for them to meet the people of Honolulu and become familiar with the situation. To this ball all the leading white and native residents were invited, and it proved a most enjoyable affair. Cordial relations were established and invitations to social gatherings on shore were extended, which proved to be exceedingly pleasant and beneficial, reciprocated by frequent dinners, dances, and extensive receptions on board the Boston. At the first opportunity I went on shore to see the city and was escorted to the Pacific Club, where I met some old acquaintances whom I had known in the States and a number of most estimable gentlemen, with whom I took lunch. The club-house is well adapted for such a purpose in that climate, and is centrally located. Its membership is composed of the very best men in the city. In a stroll about I found Honolulu to be a city of about 25,000 inhabitants, having the appearance of a new England country town. It is situated on low ground with lofty hills behind and an untroubled sea in front; shaded by tropical trees, clothed with a variety of bloom and laden with the perfume of flowers.

The climate is that of a Washington city spring, with an average temperature of 71° . Although as far south as Havana, the heat is nothing to be compared to that of Key West and Cuba. Honolulu is tempered by breezes that always blow, and by rain that falls in intermittent showers. There are a few broad avenues, but most of the streets are narrow and go winding aimlessly through the town, hardly wider than passing teams require and with sidewalks where but two people can walk abreast. The residence portion of the city has the appearance of a land of country villas, as each homestead is surrounded by large yards, botanical gardens, and tropical trees, most of which have been transplanted from other countries and even improve upon their native appearance when grown here. The business portion of the town does not strike one in an architectural sense, but the street scenes are most interesting to the stranger. White duck suits and panama hats give an equatorial glamour; while the Kanaka in his negligé suit, with floral circles hung about the shoulder, his feet unshod, and his attitude extremely restful, presents a marked contrast to the swarm of Orientals in their native dress, sailors from the men-of-war in the harbor, and tourists from every civilized country. The female natives wear a Mother Hubbard gown, a wreath of flowers called "leis," and go barefooted. No one can accuse the female native of prudishness, and her appetite for poi, raw fish, and the hula dance is unappeasable, while her fondness for

gin, licentiousness, and kahuna doctors is a besetting sin. She is an expert on horseback as she gallops from place to place astride, with body erect and firm as that of any cow-boy, her divided skirts flapping to the breeze.

Frequently you meet with the offspring whose nationality is hard to trace, produced by the intermarriages of Chinese and Kanakas, Japanese and natives, Portuguese, whites, and half-castes—a sort of composite issue which is often an improvement on the mated types. The best class of white people are as refined, polished, polite, and accomplished as one will meet with in any city of the civilized world, and their hospitality is unsurpassed. They live in luxurious homes, fitted with the products of American and European art, and are supporters of every religious and moral movement. Though largely of an admixture of the New England element, there are many whose ancestry came from every section of the United States. There are excellent hotels, a large opera house and other places of amusement; fine churches and magnificent schools and hospitals. The sanitary condition of the town is most excellent; there is a beautiful palace and commodious government buildings, extensive water-works, majestic scenery, zestful sport, glimpses of savage life, delightful homes, and all the attributes of the most perfect state of advanced civilization.

The town is lighted by a complete electrical plant with an installation equal to that of any city,



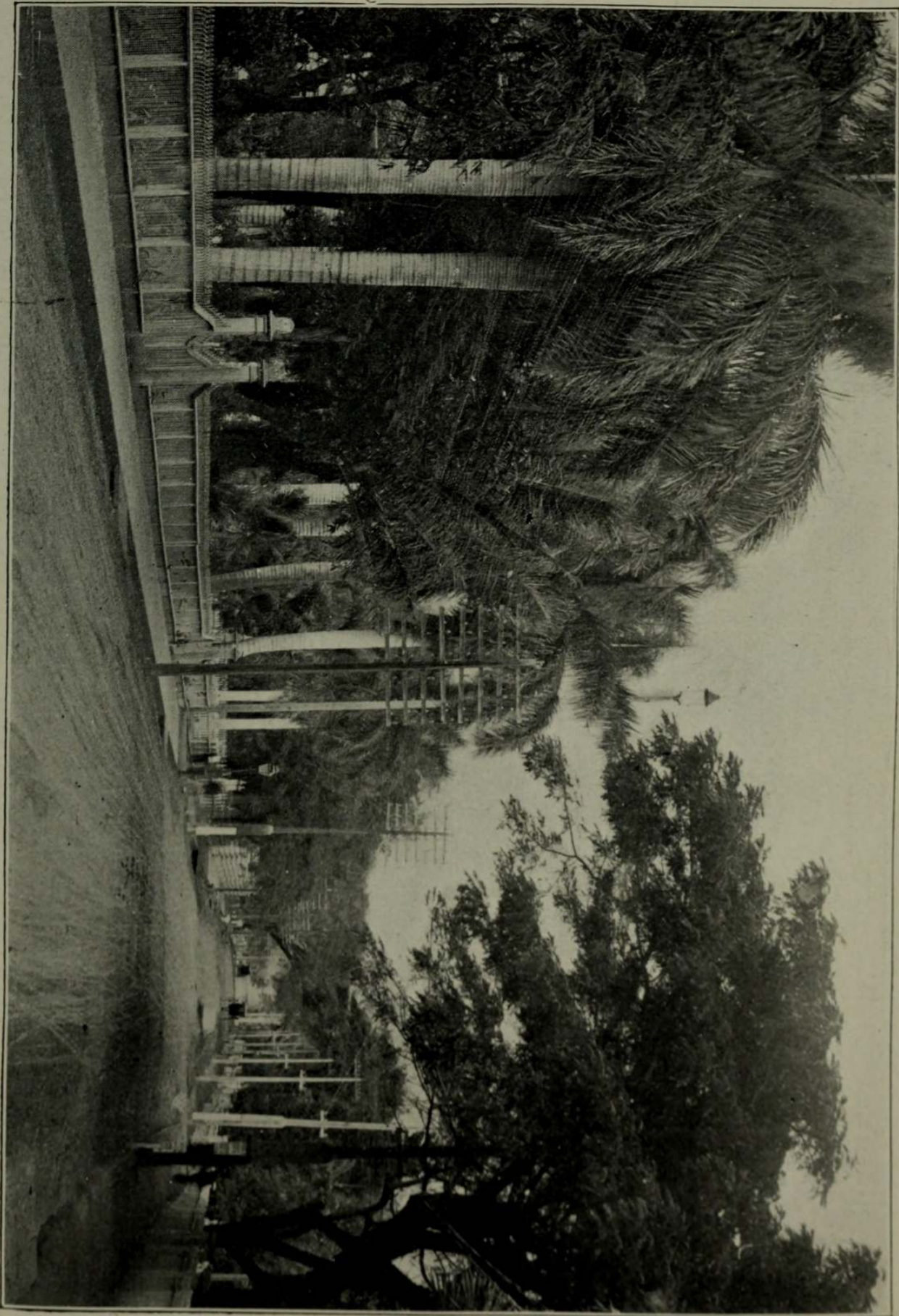
NATIVE RIDING COSTUME.

and the telephone system is the best I have ever seen, with a corps of operators that cannot be excelled in politeness. The telephone is the means of communicating all manner of information, from the market order to the arrival of a steamer or the time of day. The stores are neat and filled with all the articles of luxury as well as necessaries to be found in those of the large cities on the continent. A system of street-car lines meanders through the town, but these are mainly patronized by the Chinese and lower class, there being a lot of nice carriages that will take a person anywhere in the town for twenty-five cents. There are foundries, workshops, and ship-yards, but no manufactories. Down on the docks it will be seen, from the character of the freight handled, that Honolulu is the port of distribution of all merchandise for the islands, and is dependent on the industrial enterprises of the country. On the wharves are bags of grain, cases of goods and machinery of all descriptions; furniture, bricks, and cement, on which are marks showing that they are from abroad. There are no metals or minerals to be found on the islands, and the iron foundries are wholly dependent upon the coal and iron shipped from abroad in sufficient quantities to meet the necessities of the country. The articles of export are rice, sugar, coffee, raw hides, bananas, and pineapples.

To the rear of the central portion of the city is an old extinct crater, called "Punch Bowl," that rises to

an elevation of five hundred feet above the sea-level. From the summit a fine bird's-eye view of Honolulu can be obtained. A fine roadway winds about the slopes that are dotted with the cottages of thrifty Portuguese. Back of Punch Bowl hill is the famous Tantalus Mountain, up which a splendid road enables one to obtain a view of surpassing beauty, from a height of 2,000 feet above the sea-level. Below is the city, immersed in a wealth of foliage, as though every quarter of the subtropical world had been laid under tribute, and beyond this the broad Pacific meets the gaze. To the west rise the beautiful Waianae Mountains, in front of which are the lowlands of innumerable rice fields and the Ewa plantation beyond the Pearl River locks. To the east rises the old extinct volcano called Diamond Head. On one side is the beautiful and historic Nuuanu Valley, and on the other side are the cocoanut-fringed shores of Waikiki. The hillsides are not under a state of cultivation as a rule, although the soil is fertile and covered with a rank growth of stiff grass possessing little or no nourishment for stock. Near the summit of Tantalus the ground has been covered with a thick growth of transplanted trees and laid out into villa sites. The land outside of this artificial forest is covered with the wild guava, which bears fruit as big as the lemon, and impassable patches of lantana, the seeds of which are scattered broadcast by an imported bird from India called the mynah.

One of the most beautiful sights in the vicinity of



NUUANU AVENUE—HONOLULU.

Honolulu is the trip to what is known as the Pali, a pass through the mountains to the windward side of the island, up Nuuanu Valley. The ascent is gradual for about four miles, through an avenue lined with handsome houses, set in grounds filled with rare trees and plants, over an excellent road to the apex of the pass, down which there is on the other side a sheer drop of nearly one thousand feet. It was over this cliff that Kamehameha the Great drove the remnants of the army of the Oahu chiefs when he conquered the island. A winding road down this cliff has been constructed for the convenience of descent. From the north side of this pass, and far below, the country spreads before the eye like a relief map, while on each side are sharp volcanic cones and mountain crags that pierce the clouds.

Another intensely interesting trip from the city is a ride on the railroad to Pearl Harbor and the Ewa sugar plantation. Near Pearl City is Raymond Grove with its large dancing pavilion, a favorite rendezvous for pleasure-seekers and picnic parties. The scenery on the road from Honolulu to Ewa is rather picturesque, with glimpses of mountain valleys on the one side and rice fields and the ocean on the other. Pearl Lochs is a favorite resort for aquatic sports, such as boat-racing and yacht-sailing. The drives about the city are smooth and picturesque. They run past groves of coconut trees and royal palms, taro patches, where the poi root is grown, banana plantations, and brackish ponds where fish are fattened for the market.

The favorite drive and bathing resort for the leisure class, white and tinted, is along the road to Waikiki. This place is four miles from the heart of the city, and is a curved shore line occupied by lovely villas. The ocean breaks on the coral reef several hundred yards from the beach, between which and the shore the water is still and transparent, affording most excellent bathing and fishing, in water with a uniform temperature of about seventy degrees the year round. The famous King's Cocoanut Grove is passed on the way, and just before reaching the beautiful Kapiolani Park is the little villa of Liliuokalani, close on the beach and shut in by a high board fence. This little villa has been the scene of many royal orgies of her late Majesty. Kapiolani Park is a government reservation, and in the center is the race-track, where some good sport is seen during the race season, especially on the eleventh of June, or Derby Day. Between this park and the beach is the Sans Souci Hotel and bathing houses, where one can lounge about in reclining chairs or hammocks on the large porches and enjoy the cool sea breeze, obtain a fine meal or refreshing draft. The great annoyances, however, are the insects, which, by the way, are of foreign importation. In the old times there were no mosquitoes here; in fact the name of them is not to be found in the Hawaiian language. The whaling ships brought the pests in their stagnant water-butts, and the residents even claim to know the very ship that brought the first consignment to

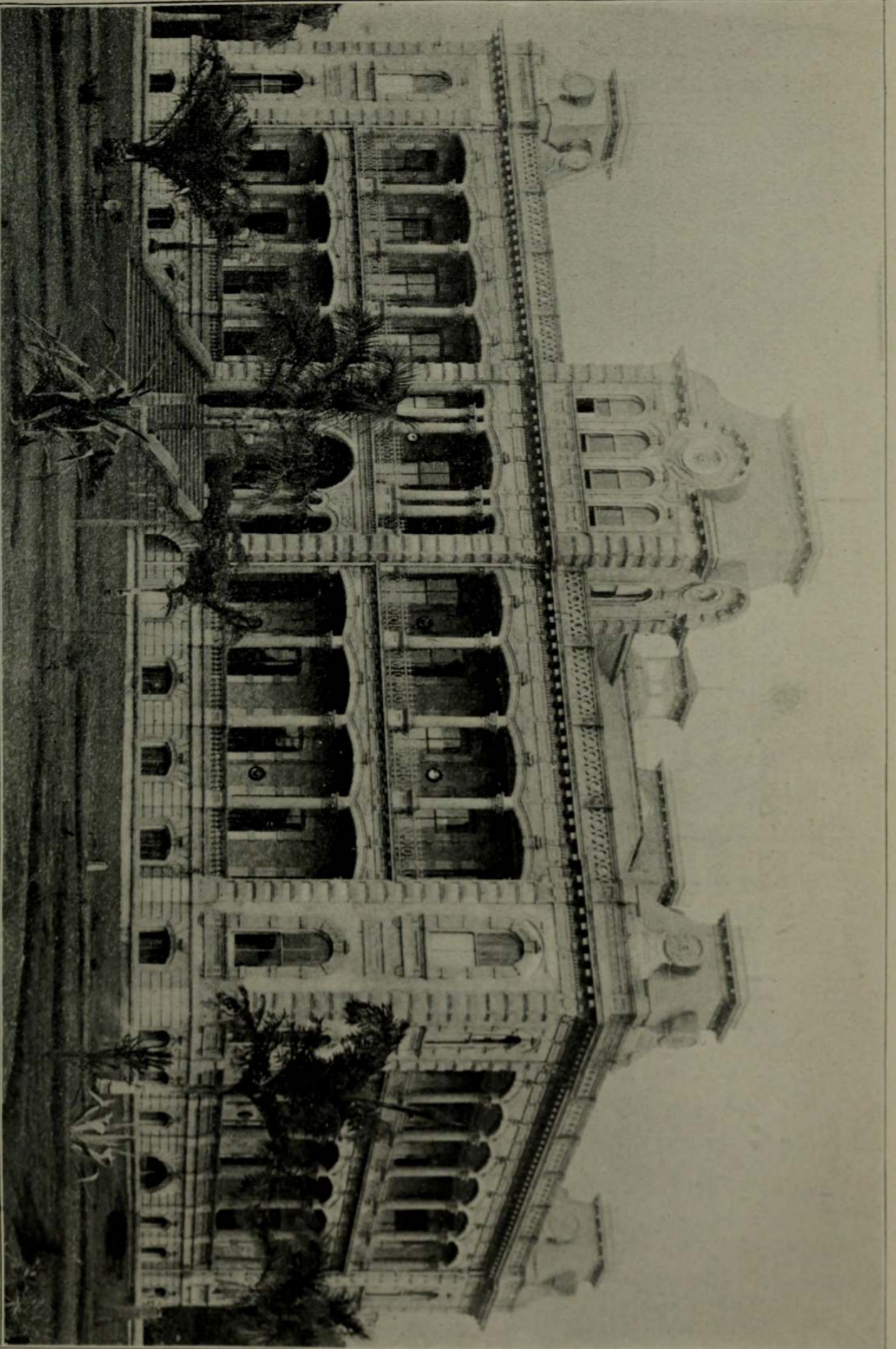
the islands. Be that as it may, the harpooning gentry are of two kinds—those that trouble by day and those that ravage by night. The two species are quite distinct as to size and shape, as well as habits. The day pest is noiseless and painful, while the night prowler is noisy and poisonous, and between the two they make life anything but pleasant. The centipede and barbed scorpion have also found their way to the islands, but from the nature of their food and habits they are no more poisonous than the honey-bee. The islands are exempt from snakes, although a planter once imported some to kill the rats and mice in the cane fields, but they were killed before they had time to propagate and no more are allowed to come in.

In order to enjoy the beauties of the mountain valleys that open out on the plains it is necessary to go on horseback, as by so doing the head of each valley can be reached without trouble. In the Pauoa Valley the ride leads up to a point where, on the right, the eye overlooks the whole of Manoa Valley. The latter is closed in by high precipices, down which slide numerous water-falls, one of which forms at the base of the precipice a pool of clear cold water, affording an opportunity for a refreshing bath. The next, or Palolo Valley, is most interesting to a botanist, as high up in its encircling peaks is a crater filled with peculiar vegetation, delicate varieties of ferns and mosses, which are elsewhere found in small bunches, but here they entirely cover trunks of trees, and the further one

goes along the moist trail the greater is the variety to be found. Even those who have no special acquaintance with ferns will be struck by the variety and size of the specimens to be seen here. There are about one hundred and fifty varieties of ferns to be found on the Hawaiian Islands.

The paucity of crime is very noticeable, and it is an uncommon thing for the people to lock their houses. Such a thing as theft is very rare. The prison is built on a coral reef extending into the harbor and connected with the mainland by a narrow road. The prisoners are of many nationalities, and they do much of the hard labor in the streets of the city, working under overseers.

The city post-office is in the center of the business portion of the city, in close proximity to the steamboat landings and large warehouses. Through this office the mails from all parts of the world are distributed to the other islands, and upon the arrival of a mail steamer the scene in the vicinity is most interesting. The Hawaiian Hotel is situated in grounds comprising an entire square of about four acres. This large area affords ample room for a lawn and beautiful walks, which are laid out most artistically with flowers, plants, and tropical trees. There are a number of pretty cottages scattered about the inclosure, all under the hotel management, which afford accommodations for several hundred guests. The apartments open out on broad verandas from which a magnificent view of the mountains in the rear may be seen through the



THE PALACE—HONOLULU.

tropical foliage that surrounds the balconies. On the front lawn is an ornamental band-stand where musical concerts are given upon the arrival and departure of all foreign steamers. Across the street from the Hawaiian Hotel is the Central Union Church, but recently completed at a cost of \$130,000. It is built of volcanic rock and fashioned after the most modern church architecture, with a capacity of seating a thousand or more people.

Diagonally across to the southeast of the hotel grounds is by far the most attractive building in Honolulu, the new palace, built in 1880-'81, at a cost of over \$300,000. It is a very modest piece of architecture, built of brick and covered with cement, and is surrounded by 11 acres of tropical park. The interior is finished with many kinds of native woods that take a high polish. The structure is two stories and a basement, with extensive balconies. The basement is divided into kitchens, servants' quarters, and store-rooms. On the first floor is a large hallway from which a broad stairway ascends. To the right of this hallway was the throne-room, a plain apartment in white, with two gilded chairs on a dais at one end and a round sofa in the center, with carved gilt chairs along the side of the room. Across the hall and at the front of the palace was the drawing-room, and off this, opening upon a tiled piazza, were the dining-room and royal council chamber. The second floor had three bed chambers, a library and parlor. About the various walls were hung oil paintings of

the royal personages from Kamehameha the Great to Liliuokalani, royal orders and portraits of distinguished Europeans, and in all this array there was not the portrait of a single American. This palace, which had been the scene of court festivities and semi-savage orgies of Kalakaua and his sister, the ex-Queen, for a number of years, was taken by the Provisional Government as an executive building, and as such it is now used.

Just in front of this building, known as Iolani Palace, is the government building, or Aliiolani Hall, situated in a spacious ground. In this structure are the rooms of the supreme court, offices of the ministers and other executive offices, and the legislative hall. In front is an heroic statue of Kamehameha the Great. From the steps of this building the Provisional Government issued its proclamation abrogating the monarchy, and it was upon its tower that the United States flag was hoisted when the temporary protectorate was declared by the American Minister, and afterwards hauled down by the orders of the United States Commissioner. Another building of historic interest is the Oahu College for the education of foreign children. Through its educational advantages many distinguished men of the islands have taken their degrees from Harvard, Yale, and other American colleges.

Several charitable institutions ornament the city and have done much good. One of these is the Lunalilo Home, an attractive and comfortable place

for indigent Hawaiians. The Queen's Hospital, partially endowed by the widow of Kamehameha IV and partly supported by the government, is centrally located in the midst of extensive grounds through which several avenues of rich palms mark the approaches to the building. In this building or institution the natives receive treatment free, and it is open to all nationalities. Just outside the western limits of the city is the hospital for the insane; it consists of a number of small cottages, and the inmates are of all nationalities. The next, and one of the finest institutions in the country, is the Kamehameha School, which was founded and endowed by Mrs. Bishop, a princess of high standing and great wealth. Since her death her husband has liberally donated monetary gifts until there has been more than \$1,000,000 spent on its completion and endowment.

It comprises over thirty buildings in all, about two miles from town, on a beautiful location of high ground with the mountains in the rear and the sea in front, giving a cool and healthy breeze both night and day. The material from which the buildings are constructed is a dark gray volcanic rock, somewhat resembling coarse granite, and quarried in the vicinity. Connected with the school is an interesting museum containing Hawaiian antiquities, a collection which not only illustrates the ethnology of the islands, but every bird, fish, insect, shell, or plant, a collection which gives an accurate and scientific knowledge of the products

of the islands in a remote past. It contains also an interesting collection of curiosities illustrating the condition of the Hawaiian people ages ago, and gives a most excellent idea of the advance in art made by the natives prior to the advent of the whites. The Kahilis, the insignia of royalty, are made of feathers, cylindrical plume-like ornaments, in the shape of a duster or fly-brush with long slender handles. On state occasions and royal processions there was a gorgeous display of these Kahilis, and the bearers were very close to the sovereign. A great variety of kapas or native cloth of different patterns, texture, and color is interesting, and as a manufacture most creditable to Hawaiian industry. From them one can trace the strip of bark through every process to the finished product of bark cloth. The handicraft of the Hawaiian fishermen is well shown here in many kinds of nets, fish traps and hooks of fine workmanship. Of the last some are made of human bones, or shells from a tiny size to the large shark hook that was always baited with human flesh. Wooden calabashes or bowls form another attractive sight, made from the wood of the Koa and Kou, resembling mahogany and rosewood in color and graining. Some are for the cooking of fish, or roasting pig and dog. Others are in size from the poi-bowl to the great trough in which the body of a chief was dissected and his bones cleaned, or for the great cannibal feast, although there was no cannibalism in Hawaii. The feather cloaks here

preserved are works of art, of a bright yellow hue, and made from feathers taken from under the wings of tens of thousands of birds of a species now almost extinct, which makes their pecuniary value much greater than their intrinsic utility. Some of them are said to be worth more than \$100,000.

The harbor of Honolulu is very spacious and stands as the highest foreign port in the world as to the amount of tonnage of American shipping visiting it. Improvements at the entrance have been made so that vessels of the deepest draught can now go alongside of the docks for handling freight.

Of late years a Bureau of Information has been established in Honolulu for the distribution of valuable Hawaiian information to the other countries of the world. This bureau has done much towards advancing the business prospects of the islands, and it will not be long, under the present system of responsible government, before Honolulu will become a great resort as well as commercial center.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW THE TIME WAS EMPLOYED IN HONOLULU.

As soon as the cruiser Boston was secure in the harbor of Honolulu, on the morning of the 24th of August, 1892, a national salute of twenty-one guns was exchanged with the Hawaiian battery on shore, and in the afternoon of the same day formal calls were made on the officials of our own and the Hawaiian governments. The following day the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, accompanied by three nobles of the realm, returned the calls and were received with customary honors and a salute of seventeen guns on leaving the ship. Officials of other nations paid visits of ceremony in the course of the few days following, and the quiet harbor of Honolulu was disturbed by an endless roar of cannon as these officials left the ship. On the afternoon of the 27th of August the flagship San Francisco got under way and left the harbor bound for San Francisco. Our men manned the rigging, and while the band played a few lively tunes they gave their parting friends three rousing cheers and God-speed on their homeward voyage. The San Francisco gone, the Boston settled down to the task of putting everything in shape for the protection of American interests on the islands, and in accordance with the custom on such occasions, and in maintenance of friendly relations, the

commanding officer, through the United States Minister, made known to the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs his intention of calling upon the Queen with the officers of the *Boston*, and desired to know when it would be most agreeable and convenient. In reply to this request we were notified the Queen would be pleased to receive us at the palace at 10 A. M. on the 29th of August. Accordingly, the commanding and other officers who could be spared from the ship went on shore dressed in special full-dress uniform, and, escorted by the United States Minister Resident, proceeded in carriages to the palace entrance, where we were received by the royal guard drawn up in line at a present arms, with the band playing the national air of the United States. Ascending by the steps of the main entrance to the large hall, we were met at the door of the palace by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Chamberlain. After waiting a few minutes, the Chamberlain threw open a door on the left of the hall and announced that the Queen was prepared to receive us. Preceded by the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs and the United States Minister Resident, we followed in columns of two according to rank, and the presentation of each took place. The Queen was standing at the further end of the room. On her left stood four half-white ladies in waiting, and on her right were four aids, each in the regimentals of a colonel, and to her rear were the royal kahili-bearers. A few compliments were passed, and,

after a short conversation with the attendants, we all, according to royal etiquette, backed out. The ceremony was rather stiff, and the head of the little semi-savage kingdom appeared to be up in all the customs of the most powerful monarchs. Queen Victoria was never more exacting in ceremonious requirements than this relic of barbarism.

The Queen was rather portly, of medium height, and plainly dressed. She was about 54 years of age, with a full, round face, broad across the cheeks, thick lips, rather dull expression, and a countenance indicative of a severe temper and strong determination. She was darker than the ordinary native, showing evident traces of negro blood.

With the exception of one, her maids of honor were beyond middle life, and were far from being attractive, either in appearance or intelligence, but they served the purpose of lending show.

The 2d of September was the Queen's birthday and we were given the first opportunity of seeing some of the surviving evidences of Hawaiian heathenism. The occasion was a great holiday, and during the day the Boston was dressed aloft, from stem to stern, with bunting, and a salute of twenty one-guns fired at sunrise and at sunset. The Queen gave a reception, "luau," or feast, and a hula in the palace grounds. The hula, while it did not possess all the abominable features of vulgarity associated with the ancient dance, nevertheless consisted mostly of indecent posturings and passionate movements, of the nature of the so-called

“coochee, coochee” dances of the East. This was the last time the hula was ever placed on exhibition by royalty, and it is more than likely it will never again be. Natives came from all quarters to partake of the feast, and at Pearl River Lochs all kinds of aquatic sports were indulged in, such as swimming-matches, boat-races, and yacht-sailing, and in the surrounding country the natives had luaus and hulas that did justice to the customs of past days of heathenish practices.

One of the ministers of the government, a noble of distinction in the legislature, took me at night across wet taro-patches to a secret grass house in the country, to see a hula as it was given before having been modified. After witnessing this performance I was not surprised that its main features are interdicted by law. None but those of the most depraved sensuality could enjoy its performance. From the notoriety and national character of this dance most of the tourists visiting the islands have a desire to see it once, and as its worst features are prohibited as a misdemeanor, a few girls are quietly kept on exhibition for the money derived from the show. Not far from the city, and off the road leading to Waikiki, is an old residence kept by a native and in this building the tourists were entertained with this royal sport. A young man of no moral standing in the community and rather shady in his habits, but the keeper of a liquor establishment in Honolulu, a boon companion of the royal family, usually made the arrangements for the profits he

could make out of the sale of a few jugs of cheap gin for the girls and a commission from the regular fees given by the visitors. On these occasions the police never interfered, and it was not an uncommon thing to see cabinet officials in attendance giving countenance to the illegal dance. Even in the homes of some of the reputed respectable white residents I have seen the ladies of the house indulge in the dance, and though somewhat modified it was still sensual.

The monotony of a long stay in one place was broken in the latter part of September, when the news came that an American merchant vessel, the *William Campbell*, had foundered at sea, and that the first mate in charge of one of the boats, with five others of the crew, had landed at Hilo, on the Island of Hawaii. He reported another boat, containing the captain with his wife and child and the rest of the crew, as missing at sea, making their way for Hawaii. We got under way at half past three on the afternoon of the 29th of September, and stood to the southward and eastward in search of this missing boat. We passed the Island of Maui at night, early the next morning sighted the Island of Hawaii, and at 2 P. M. came to anchor off Hilo, and sent a boat for the American Consular Agent, who came on board bringing the mate of the unfortunate vessel. From the information obtained from the mate we got under way and stood around to the southward of Hawaii, using every effort to obtain some information of the miss-

ing boat. We steamed out to sea and then inshore, scanning the horizon and the beach with powerful field-glasses. During the night a signal light was made out which we supposed to be the long-looked-for captain of the Campbell. Guns were fired and rockets sent up to attract his attention, but it proved to be a native fisherman, and we gave up the search as hopeless and headed the Boston for Honolulu, arriving at our old anchorage on the afternoon of the 3d of October. The boat journey of the mate from the time he left the abandoned vessel to the time of arriving at Hilo was the longest ever known to have been made at sea in a little open boat, being 2,200 miles. The survivors were cared for and sent to the United States, but the captain was never heard from.

A few days after our return the keeper of one of the public institutions gave, in honor of his birthday, a grand luau, to which the Queen and all the leading natives were invited. An invitation was also sent to some of the officers of the Boston, myself included. It was given near the city limits and hundreds were in attendance, old and young. The reception was held in the house. When all was ready the spread was given under a thatched grass shed near by, and for the prominent guests was laid on a long table in the shape of three sides of a square, while the common people seated themselves about a spread on the ground. Facing the opening of the table were the inevitable and indispensable hula dancers, keeping time to the thumping on

calabashes by some old toothless hags in the rear. On a raised platform in an alcove was perched the Queen, and at the proper time she moved to the table and took a seat, which was the signal for all to follow. It fell to my lot to be seated between two half-white damsels and opposite the Queen. The dishes that were spread before us consisted of all manner of native delicacies, poi in wooden bowls, raw fish, roast dog, fowl, and pig, squid, live shrimps, salted sea-weed, and other condiments of a similar character. Each individual would thrust the fingers into a common poi-bowl when a mouthful was wanted, give a peculiar twist of the hand, and hold aloft a round ball of the mushy paste, and when through laughing and talking push the morsel down the throat. Then he would reach into a little calabash and pull out a raw fish, which is considered a special delicacy. Live shrimp were taken down in the same way. The slimy squib, with a bad smell and an eye that stares unhappily about, appeared to be a rare delicacy. The guests would reach over and break off a toothsome tentacle, which, when it touched the native palate, made him feel that the choicest part had not been withheld. It took a strong nerve and stronger stomach to sit by and see all this, much less eat anything, and together with the sickening smell of cocoanut-oil, with which my two neighbors as well as others had smeared their hair, made it anything but pleasant. No one was permitted to rise, under the rules of royal etiquette, until her Majesty had

finished her repast. Finally the Queen rose from the table, greatly to my relief.

The native luau is one of the leading characteristics of Hawaiian hospitality, and from its preparation to its consummation is exceedingly interesting. It is seldom given by a single individual, but several persons combine, each adding to the quality and variety of edibles. Thus one person will supply the poi, another the pig, dog or fowl, while others will furnish the fish, bananas and other fruit, and they will give their last fowl or pig for such occasions. When the great event is determined upon, depending upon the fattening of a certain pig or some noted occasion, they will all meet at the designated place and commence the preparations, which entail a great deal of work, the natives exhibiting an industrial spirit that is never witnessed on any other occasion. Some will go to the woods for ferns, ki-leaves, and other plants suitable for decoration; others will dig the oven in the ground and prepare the food for cooking, exercising great care in selecting stones that will not explode as they are heated. While the food is cooking they make a spread on the ground, consisting of ferns and ki-leaves laid out with much care. When the food is cooked it is taken out and put on the improvised table piping hot, and each one takes his place, squatting on the ground with his legs folded under the body, and the feast commences. No knives or forks are used, but each one eats with his fingers, and the greatest cordiality and good will prevails.

They will gorge themselves to such an extent that for days after they are unfit for anything beyond a lazy loitering about on the grass, never thinking of the future. On all occasions like this both male and female adorn themselves with wreaths of flowers called leis. One of the picturesque scenes in Honolulu is a cluster of flower women seated about on the sidewalk selling flower wreaths of their own manufacture.

The monotony of every-day life was again broken on the 28th of November by another Hawaiian national holiday, known as the anniversary of recognition of Hawaiian independence by England and France. Boat-racing, yacht-sailing, and the usual luau and games to amuse the crowds were the main features of the day. New Year, Christmas, and the holidays of the United States and other countries were observed with appropriate celebrations. Washington's Birthday, Decoration Day, and the Fourth of July were observed in such an enthusiastic manner as to lead one to suppose that for the time being he was in a typical American town. The United States flag was exhibited on every side, and the American patriotism displayed equal to that of the most ardent supporters of the free and liberal institutions of the great republic. On Decoration Day, on the 31st of May, the local G. A. R. post of 40 old veterans of the civil war in the United States marched from their encampment hall to their lot in the cemetery and paid homage to the memory of their heroic dead by holding

literary exercises and garnishing anew the graves of their old comrades, of whom there are a number buried there. Appropriate speeches were delivered and the ceremonies were as imposing as would be found on a like occasion at any national cemetery in the United States, the government offices and business houses closing at noon and the local military as well as the U. S. naval forces participating in the parade.

The day on which the election of the President of the United States took place polling places were opened in Honolulu and as much enthusiasm displayed as though their votes were to be counted in the selection of the executive head of the republic. A great many votes were cast, Cleveland receiving a large majority over Harrison. When the steamer, bringing the news of the result in the States, hove in sight, the wharves and house-tops were covered with people anxious to hear the news. Just before the steamer arrived at the wharf some one on board formed with his bent arms a large C and it was at once known who was the successful candidate, the intelligence being received with cheer after cheer.

The local election for two nobles to fill vacancies occasioned in the legislature by resignations to accept cabinet positions was outwardly quiet and orderly. There was much bribery and wire-pulling among the natives, resulting in the choice of two candidates put up by the opium and lottery rings. The average native Hawaiian is a natural politician, likes to talk and is fond of discussion;

open to monetary considerations, defective in logic, and careful to turn every incident to his own advantage regardless of inconsistencies and with no regard for the future. His inherited instinct and intuition lead him to follow the dictates of the chief under whose rule he was servile, and he has little power to think for himself. This feeling of dependence was continued under the monarchy and fostered by some of the foreigners who perpetuated in some degree these relationships. The native is deficient as a legislator, possessing no originality or constructiveness, and when some pernicious measure was proposed in the legislature he readily fell a prey to demagogic arts. It was to this native weakness that a minority but aggressive party in the legislature was enabled, during the legislature of 1892, to vote out so many cabinets, and, until near the close of the session, to control legislation. Lobbyists and local politicians of a character fashioned after the "heelers" of the tough wards of New York or San Francisco, unscrupulous and ready at all times with proper gifts supplied by the bosses, vied with the Queen's agents in tempting the legislators to do their bidding, and the native members fond of office, unwilling to work, and with small salaries readily became willing tools.

On one occasion I had a very favorable opportunity to witness the methods of political corruption in Honolulu. I was invited by a supporter of a measure pending before the legislature to attend

a luau and drinking bout to be given that evening to some of the native members of the legislature in order to obtain their votes on the following day for the passage of the act in question, which was opposed by many of the white members. About seven o'clock in the evening a little red-headed Irishman and a friend of his, both of the down-town gentry, called for me at the hotel in a carriage, and informed me they had been instructed to take me to the place of rendezvous. When I was seated in the carriage they drove down town by one of the drinking establishments and took in a goodly supply of cheap gin and sour beer. They then drove to a little shanty situated in the suburbs of the city. We entered by a back door into a dark room, and after stumbling over a few more boxes of gin and beer that had been sent ahead, a door to a larger room was opened by an old toothless hag, who was the only female present, who appeared to be on the most intimate terms with the little politician, as their greetings were of the most familiar kind. In this large room were gathered many of the native members of the legislature, and as we entered they rose and shook hands, receiving us with the most cordial salutations and alohas. The degree of secrecy and manner of reception indicated at once the methods of this little Irish politician, and it was apparent that nothing was to be said or known outside of this meeting until after the votes were cast on the following day. Cheap gin was immediately passed around, not in small glasses

but by the table-glassful, and many stone jugs were soon empty. Nothing was said at the time about the purposes of the gathering, but simple good fellowship prevailed. In a short time we were ushered into an adjoining room where, on the floor, was the spread or feast in genuine Hawaiian style, a bottle of beer and a stone jug of gin marking each man's place. The little Irishman took a seat on the floor at the head of the spread, and his companion at the foot, my place falling between a full-blooded Kanaka and a half-caste Chinese and native, the rest being seated around on the floor. The old female acted as hostess and waited on the guests. Drinking and feasting commenced, and as the legislators began to show indications of the inner man being propitiated, the wily politician began to unload his eloquent appeal for the passage of the bill, and explaining the advantages each would receive should the bill become a law. Personal flattery, and the legislative importance each held in the legislative body, were dwelt upon with much adroitness, and frequently he would hold his glass on high and propose a toast to the measure, which was echoed by each member as he would drain his glass. Now and then, as the bacchanalian festivities proceeded, the little Irishman and his friend would pass around and drink toasts to each individual, tipping glasses and dexterously dropping a coin into the hand as he passed along. More gin was brought out, and the capacity of these sons of the soil was beyond conception.

They emptied jug after jug, but finally the spell was broken and each exhibited evidences of intoxication, when the politician changed from argument to threats and demands. By midnight he had received written pledges from each to vote as directed on the following day. As a divergence, and in honor of my presence, a native would now and then fire off a series of word pyrotechnics to the health of America, and for fear I might not appreciate his love for the United States over and above that of his colleagues, he would take me into an adjoining room and explain that he was for America, and give me advice to beware of the others, all of whom were said to be sympathizers of Great Britain. By the time it was all over, every legislator in the party had inflicted me with the same dose. At midnight the party broke up, and as they separated to go to their respective homes they were informed by the little Irishman that if they broke their promises on the next day, he would see that his friends would no longer pay their board bills, to which an answer was given in a chorus of drunken shouts that disturbed the still night air. They all marched into the legislative hall the next day, and when the bill came up they voted for it to a man.

I knew repeatedly of legislative acts carried in this way, especially when the Jones-Wilcox cabinet was voted out and the opium and lottery bills passed. Such was the hold the common whites or National Reform party had with the native mem-

bers of the legislature, and it was no wonder that the progressive people of the Reform party, representing the tax-payers and property-holders, became so disgusted that they failed to put in an appearance in the legislative hall after the Jones-Wilcox cabinet was voted out.

The average native Hawaiian is weak, not wicked. He is naturally conservative. Under the Kamehamehas, and now again under the Republic he responds to honest leadership. The House of Representatives under the Republic consists of a majority of natives, who in the absence of the degrading influence of the crown and the National Reform party, which has been disintegrated and absorbed in the ultra royalist faction, have done good work. The worst enemies of the native Hawaiian have been the Kalakaua family. He and his sister, Liliuokalani, ever since their family came into power, have constantly been the center of a baleful, degrading influence, exalting immorality, drunkenness, heathenism, and race hatred, for their own personal, selfish ends. But for this the native government and the monarchy could have retained power indefinitely, without interference or opposition from the whites.

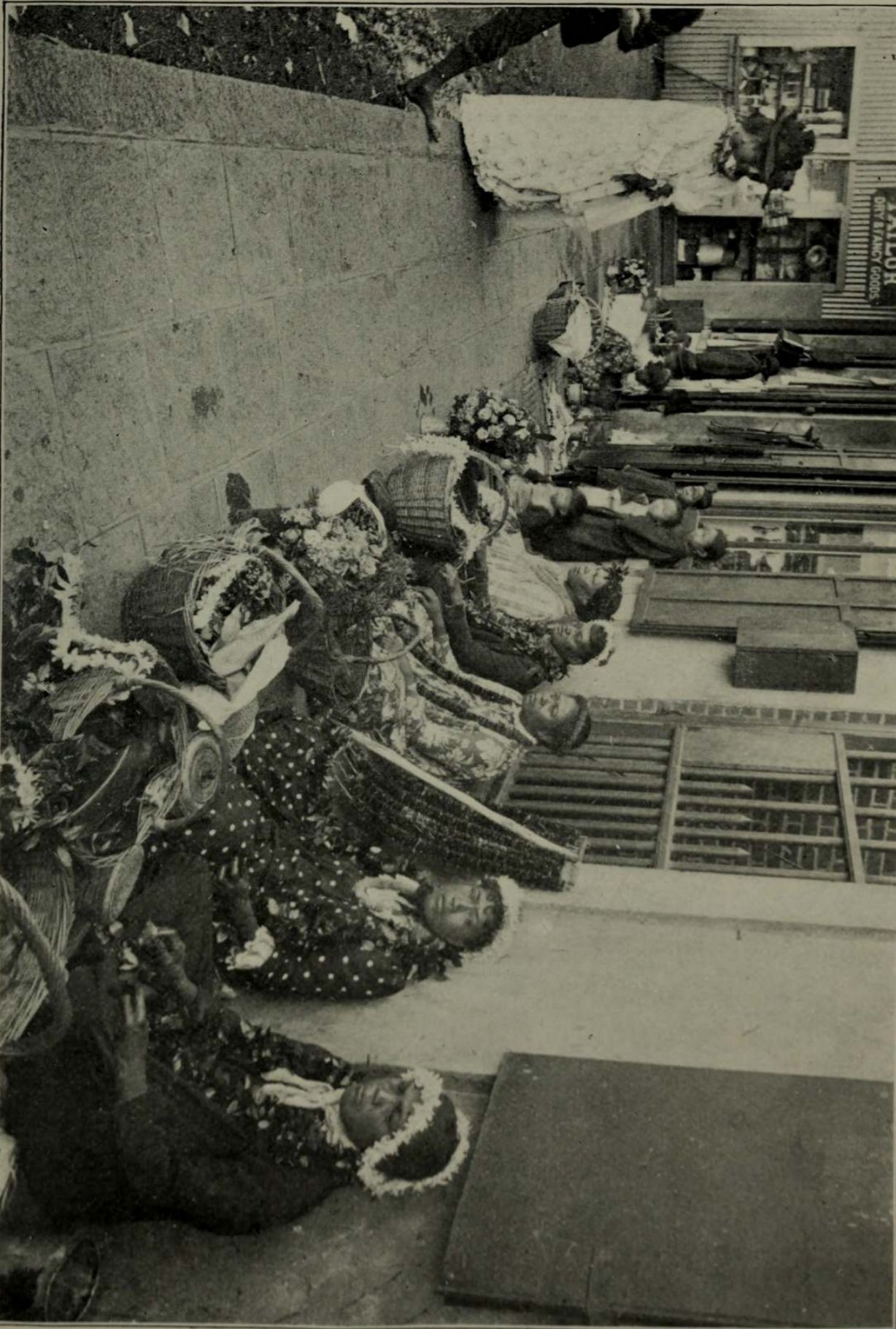
The downfall of the monarchy was the direct and inevitable result of an attempt to arbitrarily subjugate men of the Anglo-Saxon race, whose homes and property were at stake, by illegal means.

Another important Hawaiian holiday was the 31st of July, known as Restoration Day, the anni-

versary of the restoration of Hawaiian independence by the English admiral after the islands had been seized by the captain of one of the vessels of his fleet upon trumped-up claims by the consul of Great Britain. The friction arising from national prejudices between the American and English residents on the islands led to severe troubles between the Hawaiian government and the foreign powers, which culminated in 1843, when the British consul, in a false statement of facts, urged Captain Paulet to demand redress for imaginary wrongs sustained by his countrymen. Captain Paulet, taking advantage of the occasion, made most unjust demands, evincing a determination to accept nothing short of the cession of the islands as redress. This demand was eventually complied with under protest. During the negotiations national feeling ran high between the American and English residents. Singular as it may seem, there was lying in the waters of the harbor at the time an American sloop of war named Boston, which came to the rescue, as the other United States Cruiser Boston appeared on the scene of the final overthrow of the monarchy. In order to enforce his demands, Paulet threatened to bombard the town, but Captain Long of the Boston notified the English captain that if any damage should be done to American property he would immediately open fire upon him from the Boston, and in support of this threat he immediately cleared ship for action and placed his vessel in position for a raking fire of the English ship. Shortly afterward the United States Frigate

Constellation, under command of Captain Kearney, came into the harbor. When made acquainted with the state of affairs, Kearney showed his disapproval of the English flag flying over the islands by inviting the Governor and princes on board, and with the Hawaiian flag at the mainmast-head fired a salute, and made every effort to show his sympathy for the native people, much to the discomfiture of Captain Paulet. As soon as Admiral Thomas, then at Valparaiso, Chili, heard of the cession of the islands, he made sail in his flagship for Honolulu and restored the rights and prerogatives of the King; the English flag was hauled down and the Hawaiian flag resumed its place. The square in the city where the ceremonies took place is now one of the most attractive garden spots in Honolulu, and is named after the Admiral, "Thomas Square."

On this day the usual amusements, luaus, hulas, and festivities were indulged in. The arrival and departure of steamers from and to the United States, the Orient and the colonies afforded another diversion to the dull every-day life of Honolulu, as on all such occasions the rank, wealth, and beauty of the city are on hand to decorate their departing friends with leis and chaplets of flowers until some of them are so covered up that it looks as though they must suffocate. The royal band was always in attendance upon such occasions, giving selections of national and operatic airs. At night a band concert in the grounds of the Hawaiian Hotel or at Emma Square two or three times a week is another



NATIVE FLOWER SELLERS—HONOLULU.

feature distinctly Hawaiian in its lavish hospitality.

One of the disturbing influences in the community during our stay in Honolulu was a church scandal occasioned by the Anglican bishop making an effort to coerce the American contingent of the Episcopal church into recognition of his supreme will. The Americans, together with a number of the more liberal members of the congregation, refused to accept such authority on the part of the bishop, whereupon, although the former had contributed nearly all the funds, nearly a hundred thousand dollars, with which to build the new cathedral, the bishop attempted to close the doors to all except those who agreed with him. It was finally settled by the bishop taking one part of the day for his services, his opponents holding separate services. The bishop was a ritualistic, orthodox bigot, possessing a strong aversion for Americans and a warm admiration for royalty, whereas the pastor was a man of strong intellect and liberal views, exceedingly popular, and a fine pulpit orator. The result was that the bishop remained as a figure-head with a skeleton congregation, while the pastor did the work, and carried the congregation with him.

According to the last census, the different religious denominations claim 30,000 Protestants and about 20,000 Catholics. The Protestants as a rule are in sympathy with American interests on the islands, whereas the Catholics are favorably disposed to native rule, notwithstanding the teachers in the Catholic schools are mostly Americans.

CHAPTER V.

POPULATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PEOPLE.

The population of the Hawaiian Islands is decidedly mixed. By the census of 1896 it numbered 109,020 persons. Of these the natives numbered 31,019; part Hawaiian, 8,485; Chinese, 21,616; Japanese, 24,407; Portuguese, 15,191. The rest were Americans or Europeans. Those of American birth or descent constitute the most intelligent, influential, and largest property-holders of the community.

There are a number of very respectable English residents, of good character and abilities, but the majority of them are imbued with a sense of superiority, and seem to entertain the opinion that Americans have obtained advantages which should have gone to England. They feel deeply aggrieved at seeing the Yankee assert himself in Hawaii. Though not given to any genuine consideration of the sovereign rights and claims of the aboriginal race, they are nevertheless, with few exceptions, sympathizers with the corrupt royalty, and constantly intriguing against American influences. This is especially the case with Theo. H. Davies, the self-constituted guardian and champion of Princess Kaiulani, whom he took to England and educated there. He has become wealthy through the reciprocity treaty with the United States, but

is most bitterly hostile to everything American. He was for many years English consul, a position now held by his partner, Mr. Walker. Mr. Davies now spends a large part of his time in England, but returns to Honolulu every year, where he poses as the friend of the natives, proclaims his willingness to protect them from the wicked Americans, makes long speeches and prayers in the native churches, and incidentally sows a crop of domestic discord and race prejudice. Whatever may be the policy of the British government toward Hawaii, the clique which trains with her consular representatives in Honolulu are responsible for nearly all the anti-American feeling in Hawaii, as they feel it an insupportable grievance that the Hawaiian Islands have not become a British stronghold in the North Pacific.

With very few exceptions, the Germans, Scandinavians, and other Europeans are supporters of the republic and opposed to the monarchy. The Portuguese are a desirable class of laborers and make good citizens. They are of European descent, but were originally brought from the Azores and Madeira by the Hawaiian government as laborers on the plantations. Over 7,000 Portuguese children have been born in the islands. The Hawaiian-born white population numbers 14,000. Upon the subsequent introduction of cheap Oriental contract labor, the Portuguese became the leading mechanical and expert workmen on the various internal improvements. They are very strong in their opinions and sympathies with the United

States. In the exercise of their rights of suffrage they form an important adjunct to the strength of the Reform party, and co-operate with the most responsible men of the community.

In the summer of 1865, under arrangements for the importation of laborers made by the Hawaiian Bureau of Immigration, 500 Chinese were brought to the islands as contract laborers, and these were followed by others in great numbers until their immigration was checked in 1886. They are a patient and industrious people, and in the struggle for existence have crowded the improvident natives from the rich bottoms and taro-fields. On every hand can be seen their rice-fields and taro-patches, truck-farms, and poultry-yards, giving evidence of their thriftiness. Some of them have become very rich. Coming as they did to the islands in large bodies composed almost exclusively of men, they soon began to intermarry with the natives, and a mixed race is the result, but of an improved type, in many instances, to the mated pair. However, the distribution throughout the islands of a large number of wifeless Chinese, in close contact with the natives, has had a pernicious influence upon the social life of the Hawaiians, necessarily destructive to the purity of native families.

The Japanese began to come to the islands in 1868, but it was not until 1884 that the consent of the Japanese government was obtained for the systematic immigration of its subjects; and then only as contract laborers. Early in the following

year they commenced to arrive in great numbers. From that time to the present the Japanese have been coming, many returning as their three-year contracts expired. At first they consisted of a very low caste of Japanese, gathered from the riffraff of the cities, but later they were gathered from the interior and were a better class. They are a combative set, ignorant, mulish, and mutinous, and are likely to give great trouble to the government as their numbers increase. Under the terms of their contracts they are partially held in check. If the laborer is idle he is docked a portion of the day, and if he refuses to obey orders or to work he is arrested and tried by the civil courts, and, if found to be in fault, is ordered to return to work; on repetition of the offense he is punished with a light fine, which is taken from his wages. If he persists in a refusal to work, or is mutinous in conduct, he is given a term of imprisonment.

The native race is thriftless and indolent but amiable and attractive, physically strong, cordial, and generous. They are in general above the middle stature, well formed, with fine muscular limbs, open countenances and features, frequently resembling those of Europeans. The higher class, or remnants of the chiefs, are tall and stout and their personal appearance is so much superior to that of the common people that they look like a distinct race. Their hair is black or brown, strong and frequently curly. Their complexion is neither yellow nor red, but a kind of olive, and sometimes

reddish brown. The question of their origin is merely speculative, but it is pretty well settled by native tradition that their ancestors migrated from one of the Samoan Islands, which was the chief center of dispersion for the Polynesian race. The Phœnicians, who were of Hamitic origin, originally came from the shores of the Persian gulf, and carried with them the nautical traditions and commercial customs of the most ancient times. As they were in the habit of using the Ægean Islands for a port of call and distribution, and as a means of keeping secret their communications with the rich countries of the west, it is more than likely the Chaldean navigators in a remote period had a similar custom in the use of the Samoan Islands to preserve their knowledge of the existence of the rich islands of the Pacific Ocean and of the American continent. From this it would appear the earliest inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands originally came from Southwestern Asia, a conjecture that is borne out by the fact that domestic animals of Asiatic origin were found among them. They had dogs, the common hens and chickens and pigs, which are certainly of Asiatic origin.

The ancient Hawaiians were very bold and skillful navigators, and often made voyages of great length to the Polynesian islands to the south. They had a knowledge of astronomy, knew the planets and had names for the brighter stars. Their year was 365 days. They practiced agriculture and constructed immense canals for irriga-

tion. Accustomed to the water, they were wonderfully expert fishermen and built large fish-ponds for rearing select varieties. Situated as they were, thousands of miles from the discord and anarchy that convulsed the archipelagoes of the south, as they grew dense in population, struggling for individual supremacy, the Hawaiians developed into comparative peace and prosperity, and settled down to the task of working out a destiny in advance of the aborigines of the other Pacific islands.

They were in a state that admitted of a rapid transition to civilization without war. This easy transition from barbarism to civilization, and sudden adoption of the Christian religion in place of superstition and idolatry, has been regarded as a signal instance of the triumph of Protestant propagandism. But it is a mistake to cherish the idea of their having become thoroughly Christianized or enlightened, as the greater part of the natives, from Liliuokalani down, are more or less tinctured with their ancient superstitions and idolatrous worship, practicing the old forms, and in secret praying to their old-time gods. The idols have been destroyed or hid away, yet in secret haunts, concealed from the public gaze, the natives still practice their incantations and believe in the mysteries of their time-honored religion. Liliuokalani supported heathen sorcerers, with whom she was on terms of intimacy, making them her secret confidential advisers. Her Christianity was but a mask. Some of the native pastors are worshippers

of the old gods, and heathen at heart. Civilized doctors have great difficulty in alleviating pain or destroying the germs of disease owing to the prevalent heathenism of the patients and their faith in the kahunas, or native "medicine men," who teach that diseases are due to some offended deity that must be propitiated.

The natives believe that an individual who possesses the means of employing a kahuna may inflict with painful disease, and even death, any person against whom he has feelings of hatred or revenge. They also believe that these sorcerers by certain incantations can discover the author of the disease. A great many natives are brought to their death by the pretensions of these ignorant medicine-men, whose influence is so great upon the minds of the people that in all manner of distress or disease their spiritual aid is sought for relief. A pig or a fowl for sacrifice is at all times necessary for the ceremony, and the fees to the kahuna are regulated according to the wealth or standing of the employer. The kahuna who is supposed to have most influence with the gods is most frequently employed, and derives the greatest emoluments from his profession. The offerings on such an occasion are accompanied with heathenish ceremonies and sacrifices, and are not lacking in mesmeric or hypnotic phenomena. Violent sweatings and purgings, as well as other great physical severities, are frequently used to promote the expulsion of the demon, and, from the anxiety and dread, the mental apprehen-

sion is so great that the victim often dies when no disease originally existed. The sufferer is told that a kahuna is at work against him; he at once sickens, becomes prostrated, and frequently dies. Very recently the sister of Liliuokalani, Princess Likelike, mother of the heiress apparent, Kaiulani, died from the effects of this heathen superstition. Human sacrifices were in vogue up to 1820, but ceased then.

The Hawaiian religion was the embodiment of beastiality and malignity, that frequently lapsed into crimes of lust and revenge. The various legends of their gods abound in attributes of the most excessive animalism and cruelty. Lewdness, prostitution, and indecency were exalted into virtues. One of the most foul practices intimately connected with Hawaiian idolatry, and forming an essential part of its services, was the hula dance. The chief posturings are illustrated and varied with elaborate art, accompanied with chants of unspeakable foulness of diction and description, elaborated with foul wit and jest and extolling impurity. The motive of the dance is grossly sensual. Sometimes it is performed to the music of the orchestra, but usually the accompaniment is the thumping of calabashes and a weird song, in the Hawaiian dialect, unfit for civilized print. The dances commence by the appearance of the performers in the middle of a ring. Seated on the ground behind them are the musicians. The hula girls wear a short frock over the loins, their legs bare to the knees, and around

their ankles are circles of grass fringe. Their heads and shoulders are ornamented with circlets of flowers called "leis." A weird chant from among the squatted musicians, accompanied by the thumping on the calabashes, starts the dance, at first slow, but as it proceeds the music grows louder and more discordant. Each hula dancer, keeping time to the music, gives an exhibition of indecent pantomime. With body erect and shoulders motionless, they keep up a constant gesticulation with the arms and hands and nervous stamping of the feet as the hips are made to rotate about as though they were pivoted to the small of the back and knees. The performers at times join in the strident chant. The dance is exceedingly tiresome and seldom lasts more than ten or fifteen minutes, when the performers pause to refresh themselves with cheap gin, and the next act commences. A dancing debauch usually lasts all night, and as a rule ends in a promiscuous drunk.

The hula was Kalakaua's favorite pastime, and he kept a dancing troupe of his own for the amusement of not only himself, but to entertain his favorite courtiers and special tourists at the boat-house. The dance requires years of training, and cannot be acquired by an adult any more than an acrobat can be developed from an old man. The extreme vulgarity of the hula has been interdicted by law, but in secret it is carried on with the same lewdness and obscenity as in the olden times.

It must not be forgotten, however, that it has



A HULA GIRL.

only been seventy years since these people commenced to receive Christian civilization, and for the past twenty years the entire tendency and influence of the reigning family has been of the most degrading character, so that it is small wonder that the retrogression of the common people is so in evidence. Relieved from this blighting influence, there is already an upward tendency in the native moral tone. Unfortunately, the native population is rapidly decreasing, and ultimate extinction threatens the race. From a period prior to the advent of the white race they have continued to steadily decrease. At the time of the discovery of the islands by Captain Cooke, in 1774, there was, upon a moderate estimate, a population of 250,000, which has dwindled down to less than 30,000 pure natives at the present date. This decrease was greatly augmented by contact with the whites, but prior to their coming the elements of decay were already in operation, owing to the entire absence of morality. Chastity had no recognition in the social organism, and, unlike other races, the female was aggressive in solicitation. A woman who withheld herself was considered sour and ungracious, and it was a matter of good form that all proposals should come from her. It was the universal practice for the mother to place her hands on the hips of the infant female as soon as it could stand up, and by careful manipulations teach it the sensual and abominable movements of the hula, that upon arriving at maturity she might, with that accomplishment,

attract the favor of some influential chief. Hospitality was thought to be neglected if the host did not supply his visitor during his sojourn with the women of his family, and there was no more impropriety attaching to it than in the free life of animals.

This condition of society naturally led to wholesale infanticide, which was practiced by all ranks of the people. However numerous the children were, parents seldom reared more than two or three, and many spared only one. All the others were destroyed, sometimes after birth, and the infant living a week, a month, or even a year, was still insecure. The method of destruction was usually by strangulation, frequently by burying them alive, often in the floor of the house, within a few yards of the bed, and the spot where the mother took her meals. The principal motive for this crime was idleness and the trouble of bringing up children. Every effort has been made to check this criminal practice, and infanticide is not now more common than elsewhere.

The diseases brought by the contact with the whites have done much towards decimating the race. For instance, on two occasions the ravages of small-pox were terrible, and the measles made sad havoc among their ranks.

Other infectious and epidemic diseases largely added to the destruction of the population, but venereal diseases were the chief agent of depopulation. From the very first intercourse with the

crew of Captain Cook, the amiable and social nature of the Hawaiians caused to be introduced these scorching and withering diseases that ran like wild-fire through the nation. Captain Cook made every effort to prevent the women from swarming over the ships and sought to keep them from the crew, whom he knew to be infected with venereal disease. It was utterly impossible for him to overcome the impetuous and aggressive action of the females. The chiefs even met in council and sent the females to the vessels to entice the crew for nails and pieces of copper. As a result the women became inoculated with the malady, and in less than nine months the disease spread through the islands, multitudes dying, while the survivors remained with poisoned bodies and enfeebled constitutions, causing them to fall early victims to other maladies. One of the results of this physical taint was the enfeeblement of infancy, and the largest increase of mortality was, without doubt, among the infants. Those born with the taint of syphilis, with its inward and outward corrosions, had little prospects of surviving.

One of the most loathsome and incurable diseases, evidently the outcome of the syphilitic taint, in this virgin race, is leprosy. This disease was first discovered in the islands in 1853, and was introduced from China. Since then it has claimed about 4,000 victims. It very rarely occurs among the whites. Scientific and medical experts from all over the world have been employed by the Ha-

waiian government to study the disease, and, if possible, to find some cure. So far, it has baffled the medical fraternity. Some have reported it to be the outcome of too much fish food and improper diet; yet if such was the case, why did the natives not develop it before, as from all ages they have been a fish-eating people? Others lay its origin to the want of cleanliness, yet, personally, there is not a cleaner person in the world than the Kanaka. He not only bathes frequently, but is almost amphibious. Again, it is asserted that the disease is an aggravated form of tertiary syphilis in a race virgin to the disease, and this is more likely the case. The disease is but slightly contagious, and heroic doses of iodide of potassium seem to give relief, two essential features of tertiary syphilis. Its general appearance is of the constitutional and not the ulcerated form, and the period of incubation of the germ after once implanted in the body is probably from two to five years, and death occurs in from four to seven more years.

In an experiment by inoculation a convict who was sentenced to be hanged submitted to leprous inoculation on condition of sparing his life. Two years after inoculation the disease made its appearance, and in less than four more he died. The efficacy of the experiment was destroyed, however, by the fact that there was leprosy in his family, from whom he might have caught it. Inoculation of animals has produced no perceptible result. The contagiousness of the disease is so slight that the

doctors and attendants at the hospitals and settlement never contract it. In one instance a native woman was married three times. Each of her husbands contracted the disease and died from its effects, yet frequent medical examinations developed no trace of the disease in the woman. Again, a pronounced leper has for years lived and cohabited with his wife, and she has not contracted the disease; and of some sixty children born of leprous parents who have been cared for by the government, only two or three have developed the disease. In the absence of knowledge as to the method by which the disease is communicated, and in view of the fact that it was spreading rapidly among the natives, who have no fears of the disease and mingle freely with lepers in the most intimate daily intercourse, an act was passed, in 1865, segregating all lepers and providing a hospital and isolated establishment for them at government expense. A site was selected on the north side of the Island of Molokai, about 50 miles from Honolulu. The site so selected is situated on a narrow peninsula, comprising about 5,000 acres, surrounded by the ocean in front and shut in on the rear by a precipice from two to three thousand feet in height. To this location the government in 1866 commenced to segregate the lepers, sending 140 that year. The number receiving treatment there at present is about 1,100. Several lovely villages of these poor creatures have grown up, and all means that governmental aid and popular charity can devise have been

taken to alleviate their sufferings. They are provided with hospitals, a Y. M. C. A. hall, a public library and concert and lecture hall, provided with a piano, organ, seats, &c. There are three churches—Roman Catholic, Congregational, and Mormon—and a boy's and a girl's home, each built by donations from wealthy white residents of Honolulu, which are presided over and managed by Catholic sisters—all Americans, from a sisterhood having its headquarters at Syracuse, New York. There are about 800 horses in the settlement, and horse-racing is one of the holiday amusements. Wives and husbands are permitted to accompany each other into this exile. A band of music plays in the public park several days in the week, and medical treatment is administered by efficient specialists, the whole being under the supervision of the government board of health. No nation in the world provides more liberally for its afflicted than does Hawaii.

Prior to the exiling of patients to this settlement an examination is made at the Kalihi hospital, near Honolulu, and not until they are beyond all doubt suffering from the disease are they sent to Molokai. The natives regard this segregation of their leprous relatives as a cruel and uncalled-for hardship, and Kalakaua practically permitted the law to lapse in his efforts to control native influence; but now it is so rigidly enforced that but few lepers are at large. Either from segregation or because the disease has run its course, the number of lepers is gradually decreasing, and ultimate extinction is hoped for.

Another great curse to the native race is their natural fondness for stimulants. Even before the arrival of the whites a narcotic called "awa" was a favorite beverage, and when taken in excess has a tendency to waste and paralyze the system. A liquid was also made from fermented sweet potatoes, but the strongest alcoholic beverage was concocted from the macerated and fermented ki-root. With the introduction of the foreigner came the products of the still, and this craving appetite knew no bounds. The previous mild orgies were transformed into a carnival of excess and contributed largely to depopulation. The narcotic influences of opium took with the natives under the tuition of the Chinese, whose smoking joints are exceedingly numerous. Importation of opium is prohibited by law, but the quantity smuggled is very large. Some idea of the quantity sold on the islands may be obtained from the fact that two Chinamen paid Kalakaua bribes, one \$75,000 and the other \$80,000, for the privilege of securing a license, for which \$25,000 a year was paid, to sell it. This fondness for alcoholic stimulants and narcotics, with its resultant exposure, is one cause for the decrease of the Hawaiians.

The native Hawaiian race is doomed to extinction. They cannot compete with other races, and as new conditions are evolved, and a possible overcrowding of the islands by thrifty and capable classes in the near future takes place, the little remnant of natives will soon disappear as an im-

portant element in the population of the country. Like all semi-savages, they are poetical, eloquent, and fond of holding office ; but the Hawaiian, with his superficial civilization and inexperience in practical government, is incapable of governing or controlling the stronger races, which now outnumber him three to one. He has already passed from the stage as a controlling factor in Hawaiian government, although under firm and capable leadership he does not make a bad citizen.

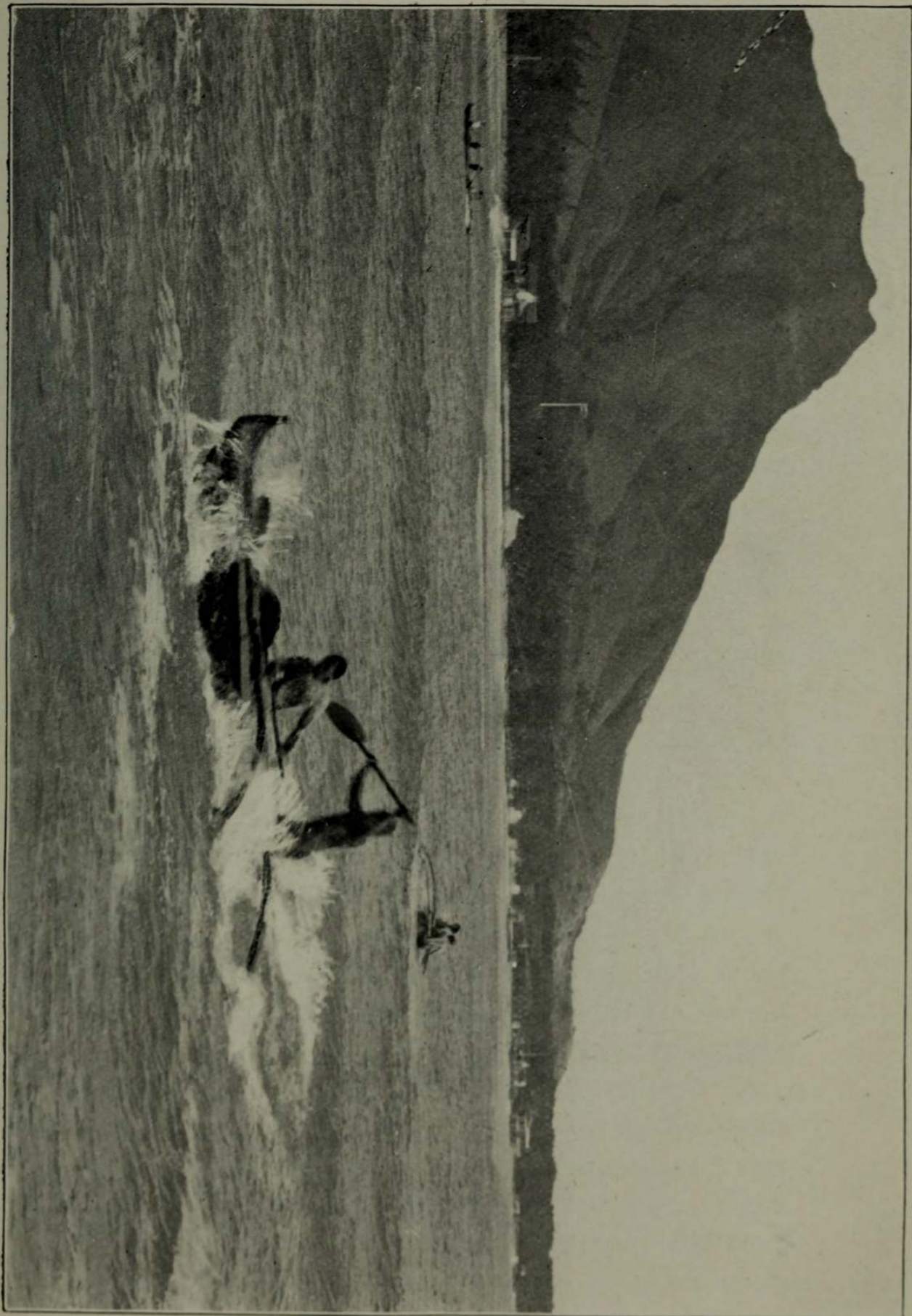
CHAPTER VI.

NATIVE GAMES AND SPORTS. .

The native Hawaiians are natural sportsmen, and some of their games would favorably compare with those of civilized races. One of their most popular and delightful sports was surf-riding. Familiar with the sea from birth, they have no dread of it, and are as much at home in the water as on dry land. On these occasions they use a board generally six to ten feet long and rather more than a foot wide, sometimes flat, but more frequently convex on both sides. The natives choose a place where the deep water reaches to the beach and where the surf breaks violently. They take their boards and pushing them ahead swim perhaps a quarter of a mile or more to sea, dodging the billows or diving under them as they roll towards the shore. Arriving far enough out, they adjust themselves on the rear end of the board, lying flat on their faces, and upon the approach of the largest billow, paddle with their hands and feet toward the shore. The breaker catches up with them, and by skillful manipulation it is made to bear the board forward upon its face at an angle of 30 or 40 degrees, with the speed of an express train, to within a few yards of the beach, when, by a quick movement, they slide off the board, and grasping it in the middle dive under the water while the wave

breaks on the shore. Sometimes the swimmer assumes a sitting or standing position on the board in the midst of the foam, balancing himself in a way that would prove fatal to even the best American swimmer. The larger the waves, in their opinion, the better the sport. They have a variety of games, and gambol as fearlessly in the water as the children of the United States do on their playgrounds. Occasionally a light canoe, holding from one to half a dozen people, is used instead of a board. This is less difficult than board-riding, and is one of the favorite amusements afforded tourists at the Waikiki beach, a few miles from Honolulu. In the olden times all ranks and ages were equally fond of this sport, but when the king or queen or any high chiefs were playing in the surf none of the common people were allowed to approach the place.

Another favorite amusement with the common people was the throwing of a blunt dart, varying in length from two to five feet, and thickest about six inches from the point, after which it tapered gradually to the other end. These darts were made with great care and ingenuity, of a hard wood and highly polished. They were thrown with great force and exactness along the level ground previously prepared for the game. The ground was laid off into a court about fifty or sixty yards long, upon which two or more darts were laid down at a certain distance, three or four inches apart. The excellence of the play consisted in the dexterity with which



SURF-RIDING—WAIKIKI, HONOLULU.

the dart was thrown. He who in a given number of times threw his dart most frequently between the stationary darts without striking either of them won the game. Again, the play was a mere trial of strength. A mark was made in the ground from which the player must throw his dart. He balanced the dart in the hand, retreated a few yards from the starting point, and then sprang forward to the mark and threw it along the ground with great force. All the darts were left wherever they stopped until all were thrown, when each player ran forward to the other end of the course to see who had made the most successful throws.

In throwing darts, casting spears, and dodging them the Hawaiians were great experts.

A game somewhat similar to the dart-throwing was bowling, and the skill with which the native Hawaiian could handle the ball would compare with the most expert ten-pin player of to-day with all his knowledge of how to make the spare, strike, lighthouse break, or Dutchman's bridge. The native game consisted in bowling a highly polished stone disk, three or four inches in diameter and an inch thick, with a slight convexity from the edges to the center. They were made of compact lava, or of a white alluvial rock, and were highly valued and carefully preserved, being always oiled and wrapped up in native cloth after having been used. A narrow course about half a mile in length was made on the ground, similar to that made for dart-throwing, and at one end, about thirty or forty yards from

the starting mark, two sticks were stuck in the ground only a few inches apart, and between these the parties at play strove to throw the stone without striking either of the stakes. At other times the play was to see who could throw the disk farthest along the course. Sometimes the inhabitants of a district, believing they had the champion, would challenge the other people of the whole island to bring a man to compete with their favorite. This game required great bodily exertion, yet the natives would play it for hours with restless avidity and untiring effort.

In athletic sports boxing was a favorite national game, was regulated by fixed rules, and presided over by umpires. The usual contestants were the chiefs of different districts. When they entered the ring they were usually attended by a large crowd of partisans. The fight was severe and determined, and when a knock-down occurred or blood was drawn, the partisans of the victor indulged in deafening yells, danced and beat drums, while the champion would strut around the ring with an air of a John L. Sullivan, challenging others to the contest, until he finally met his match. It was not uncommon for several of the contestants to be left dead on the field during one of these games. Wrestling and foot-racing were much practiced, as well as jumping the rope and kite-flying.

Another popular sport was sliding down hill on a long narrow sledge. The runners were from twelve to fourteen feet long, and two or three

inches deep, made of hard wood, highly polished, and curved at the forward end. They were set up about four inches apart and fastened together by a lot of cross-pieces, on which two long tough sticks were fastened and connected by wicker-work. A smooth narrow track was made of cobble-stones or dry grass down the side of a steep hill, extending to a great distance over the adjoining plain. The performer would grab the sledge about the middle, run a few yards to the starting place, and, with a good start, would throw himself upon it and shoot head foremost down the hill, going sometimes half a mile before stopping. In all these games the natives indulged in various kinds of gambling. Scarcely any individual resorted to a source of amusement but for the purpose of gambling; and at those periods they exhibited all the excitement, anxiety, and rage which such pursuits invariably produce. These feelings were not only visible in every countenance, but were fully acted out, and all the malignant passions which gambling engenders were indulged without restraint. The female would hazard her beads, cloth, beating mallet, and every piece of clothing she possessed, except what she actually had on. The male would risk his implements of husbandry, his hatchets and adzes, and even the mat on which he slept. All were eager to stake every article they possessed on the success of their favorite player, and when they lost all, would become frantic with rage and tear their hair from their heads. These scenes frequently ended in quarrels, sometimes of a serious nature.

A complicated game like our checkers was played with black and white pebbles upon a board divided into numerous squares. One of the favorite gambling plays consisted in hiding a small stone under one of several pieces of native tapa or cloth, so as to prevent the spectators from discovering under which piece it was hid. The parties at play squatted on the ground, each one holding in his right hand a small elastic rod about three feet long and highly polished. The small end of the stick had a narrow slit in it through which was drawn a tuft of hair or piece of ti-leaf. The players were usually divided into two parties of five persons each, and the pieces of tapa were placed between the two parties. One person was selected on each side to hide the stone. In doing this the stone was taken in the right hand and passed along several times underneath each piece of tapa and finally left under one of them. All this time the other side was closely watching to see where it was deposited. The stone deposited and hand withdrawn, the opposite party would then point with the sticks to the piece of tapa under which they guessed it to be concealed. The cloth was instantly lifted up, and should the stone be under it that side had won the hiding, and the side that guessed right the greater number times won the game.

As almost all the men were taught the use of various weapons employed in battle, they frequently engaged in martial exercises or warlike games. One of these exercises consisted in throwing stones

with a sling at a mark, and it was remarkable with what precision and accuracy they would, with great force, strike a small stick fifty yards away, rarely ever missing it.

The throwing of a javelin and catching and returning it, or warding it off to avoid receiving any injury, was another game. This feat was one of Kamehameha I's greatest accomplishments, in which he excelled to an astonishing degree. He was known to have six men throw their javelins at him at one time, three of which he caught and returned to his assailants, two he parried, and one he dodged.

Wrestling was an athletic practice of the youths as a preparation for the single combats usual in almost every one of their battles. Sham battles were frequently indulged in, when large numbers would take part. Divided into parties they would advance and retreat, attack and defend each other, and engage in all the manœuvres employed in actual warfare. They took great delight in these gymnastic and warlike exercises, and spent a great deal of time in their practice. In actual hostilities it was not an uncommon occurrence for the result to be decided in a single combat. A boastful warrior would advance beyond the line of his companions and in opprobrious terms challenge his enemies to mortal combat. A warrior from the army of the other side would come out to meet him, and the duel would be continued until one or the other was disabled or slain.

Although actual warfare may not be considered one of their games of amusement, yet their mode of carrying on war was the result of their national character and training, and some account of their system of military tactics and methods of fighting will probably be acceptable in this place. The native traditions are full of accounts of plundering expeditions of one island against another, or the murderous battles between the various independent chiefs of different parts of the same island. No pretext was wanted to commence the fight. It was simply started by one party who thought themselves powerful enough to invade with success the domains of their neighbors and plunder their property. Not until the introduction of fire-arms and the subjugation of the whole group by Kamehameha I did this custom cease. Whenever war was in contemplation sacrifices were offered, and advice sought from the war gods through the appearance of the entrails of a hog or fowl that was sacrificed, or by the interpretation of dreams. If the expedition was of great magnitude or threatened imminent danger, human sacrifices were offered to the war gods. These victims of sacrifice were either captives or individuals who had broken tabu or made themselves obnoxious to the chiefs. The number offered at one time varied according to the importance of the enterprise. War was never declared without the approbation of the gods made known through the priests, having due regard to the views agreed upon in a public meeting of the

chiefs and their warriors. As soon as they were ready, the chiefs and priests fixed upon the time and place for commencing and the manner of carrying it on. Messengers were sent to all the districts under their authority to require the attendance of a sufficient number of men provided with their weapons, kukui nuts for torches, calabashes and portable provisions. If the circumstances justified it, all persons capable of bearing arms were summoned, and any one failing to obey had his ears slit and was led to the camp by a rope. This slit was ever afterwards a mark of cowardice, and was so humiliating that very few ever lingered behind. When all had assembled at the place of rendezvous a general muster was held by the inferior chiefs, and the number present reported to the commander-in-chief. They then went into camp on some plain, or near the banks of a river, or in a deep ravine secured from sudden attack, and threw out pickets. Near by they usually constructed a fortress, including a spring, for the protection of the women and children. The field chosen for battle was generally on some uneven or broken ground or rugged tracts of lava, and from the elevated positions they fought with slings and stones, and repelled the assaults with spears and clubs. When compelled to fight in the open plain, their tactics were of a superior kind. They advanced in the form of a crescent, with the wings thrown back, center considerably in advance and reserve to the rear. A line of skirmishers was formed along the entire front, composed of the

slingers and javelin-throwers. The high chief led the center. In passing a defile, or when engaging in a narrow pass, the wings were massed to the rear and the center led, deploying by divisions after emerging from the defile. The priests kept to the rear, and just before the engagement commenced were consulted by the chiefs, and if the auspices were favorable they brought out the images of the war gods and placed them near the head chief. Prayers were offered and speeches of encouragement made to the assembled warriors, when the signal was given and the onslaught commenced. As the fight progressed the priests bore near each chief the image of his particular war god. After the fight was over it was the duty of the priests to sacrifice a certain number of prisoners in honor of the gods.

The usual mode of fighting was by a succession of skirmishes, but at times the whole army would engage except the reserve, which was used with much skill when required.

Sometimes their disputes were settled in a great naval engagement, and fleets of hundreds of canoes were opposed to each other with a skill equal to those of the flotilla engagements of the ancient Phœnicians. They went into the fight with boastful shouts and confusing noise. The first victim slain was treated with barbarity: his hair cut or torn from the top of his forehead, his ornaments stripped off and his body dragged to and mutilated on the altar as the first blood to the war

god. When routed in the field they fled to some sacred enclosure, and if successful in reaching that place of refuge they were preserved, but if intercepted they were slain. If they took to the mountains they were pursued for weeks and months, and if discovered were cruelly massacred. If taken prisoners they were taken before the high chief, who passed judgment, by which they were either slain or spared. If spared, their persons became the property of the captor as slaves. The victors usually buried their dead, but the bodies of the vanquished were left on the field to be devoured by hogs and dogs, or suffered to rot. When completely routed, the country of the vanquished was portioned off to the chiefs of the victorious army, and the wives and children of the defeated were made slaves and treated with great cruelty. If the battle was a draw, a flag of truce, or messenger with a plantain tree or branch of the ki-plant, was sent by one side with proposals, and if agreed to they were ratified in the temple by sacrifices, feasting, dances, and public games, and a wreath of a particular plant was deposited in the temple as a record of the treaty.

With the introduction of the whites the ancient games almost ceased, those of the new-comers were adopted instead, in which the natives have proven themselves exceedingly expert. They have several base-ball clubs in Honolulu, and in the frequent matches against clubs composed of whites they are often the victors. There is a centrally located and

spacious base-ball ground, amphitheatre, and all accommodations for the public in Honolulu. Great enthusiasm is shown for the sport, and on occasions of a match game the élite of Honolulu turns out.

In boating, the natives take to the long narrow shell with as much skill as they did in their old time-honored canoe, and in the many regattas at Pearl river and Honolulu harbor they are frequently victorious over their white competitors.

Rifle-shooting and target practice come in for their share as an amusement, and the natives have a team that has made a good record for disfiguring the bull's-eye at short and long range.

One of their favorite sports of to-day is the "tug of war," which consists in a certain number of men on one side matched against an equal number on the other. Each side, taking the most favorable position for bringing all its strength into play, holds on to one end of a rope and pulls against the other until the mark in the middle of the rope is drawn across the limits of the field, when the game is decided. The test requires not only strength, but judgment, knack, and endurance. Sometimes they will tug at the rope for hours before either side wins. The bowling-alley has superseded the old disk-rolling floor, and in this modern game the native is also an expert.

With the introduction of fire-arms, and the moral superiority of the white inhabitants, the natives have become exceedingly docile and a remarkably peaceful race of people.

Horse-racing is a favorite sport. On nearly all the islands there is a well-regulated track, and at the regular meets the races are hotly contested, with good exhibitions of speed.

In the field the sport is magnificent. Quail have been imported from California, and though they will not remain on the lee side of the islands, do well on the windward side, which makes the sport a little more difficult. Japanese and Chinese pheasants have also been imported and do well, having multiplied in sufficient numbers to permit shooting them. Domestic turkeys became so plentiful that the surplus took to the woods and went wild, and turkey-hunting has become quite a sport as well as a means of supplying food. In the mountains there are wild geese, most delicious in flavor, but as they occupy the higher regions of the mountains they are difficult to reach by the sportsmen. During the winter months, or what is known as the rainy season, the marshy ponds around the lowlands of the islands are filled with many species of wild ducks and fowl, and the sport is extremely fine. Numerous ducking clubs and preserves have been formed and it is not unusual for a few gentlemen from Honolulu in two days' outing to bag as many as one hundred ducks. On the northern side of the Island of Oahu there is a series of marshy ponds, near which is the most popular club on the islands, its membership being composed of many of the leading gentlemen of Honolulu. In the winter months also a kind of upland plover make their way to the islands from their breeding ground to the

north. The great distance to this breeding ground is shown by the impoverished condition the plover are in upon arrival on the islands, but only a week or so after landing they become so fat as to be dull and slow in flight compared with their rapid movement at first. They are a most deliciously flavored bird, and the sport in shooting them exceeds that of any other of a similar nature on the islands. They feed along the beach and marshes or outlying points, and the sportsman simply takes a stand on one of the projecting reefs while a dog is sent around to flush them, or in the absence of a dog an attendant is sent the rounds. As they fly from one place to another they nearly always cross the spit, and a good shot is obtained. Three sportsmen and two attendants bagged over five hundred in three days on the western end of the island where the field was not so frequently shot over. As the birds fly across the little water indentations to cross the reef or spit they are very likely to fall in the water when shot. It is therefore necessary to have a good retriever, of which there are many good ones in Honolulu.

At other times during the year dove-shooting is the favorite sport in the field. These doves are a little larger than the ordinary dove of the United States and somewhat smaller than a pigeon, having a wreath of white mottled feathers on the top of the head. They fly with a swiftness equal to that of a blue-rock pigeon, and when coming towards a person are hard to kill. They feed along the rich rice bottoms and cultivated fields, and when flushed

fly singly towards a certain cover of woods. Hence to enjoy the sport the marksman takes a stand, as much concealed as possible, near some opening through which the birds usually fly. Early in the morning they leave their roost, and late in the afternoon are again on the move, but in the middle of the day one person goes to a favorable spot on one side of the fields, and another to one on the opposite side, so that as the one fires he drives the birds to the other, and *vice versa*. The sport is very fine and not too much work, and unless the wind is blowing hard can be indulged the entire day.

Of the large game, the little spotted deer have been introduced on the Island of Molokai, and become so numerous as to be an injury to the forests. In the mountains, however, there are a great number of wild cattle and wild hogs on five of the islands, and the sport in chasing them, joined with the danger accompanying the hunt, is highly exciting and very interesting. The hunt is made on horseback, and the weapon is the rifle, hence it takes a good shot and cool judgment to be successful. A wounded bull is no insignificant foe, for he will attack man or beast when in that condition.

There are great numbers of wild goats in the mountains of all the islands, which are much hunted for sport. They are very destructive to vegetation, and in some places men are hired to exterminate them. The skins used to be exported, but the price is now so low that this is only done on a small scale.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HAWAIIAN RELIGION.

The description of a race of people is incomplete without an account of their religion. The religion of a people has always been considered to have an immense formative power over them. For instance, the religion of Egypt and Chaldea, of Greece and Rome, by its exaltation of the higher elements of character, laid a foundation upon which advanced civilization became possible, while all those nations which worshipped evil gods became corroded and poisoned in their social and political life. The Hawaiian religion was of the latter kind, polytheistic and idolatrous, coupled with oppressive restrictions, superstitious exactions and human sacrifices. It was impure and malignant, evil and unclean, possessing strong tendencies to animalism and cruelty, lust and revenge.

This diabolical religion drew its greatest strength from idolatry and sorcery which brought their evil gods down to living, active powers, interposing in all circumstances of life, and holding the people in habitual fear of the powerful gods and their subordinate demons. Their lives were constantly threatened by them, and every illness, however slight, was the deadly touch of a god. In fact the people were held in abject slavery to the gods and their priests who represented them. The high

chiefs even bowed in submission to their rules and dictates and dreaded their vengeance. Their highest gods were absolute embodiments of beastiality and malignity, and their various legends abound in attributes of loathsome filthiness incapable of being printed without extensive expurgation. Yoked to such unclean beings the people lost all sentiments of morality, and lewdness, prostitution and indecency were exalted into virtues. In the construction of their idols or images of the gods, an effort was made to depict their lineaments in as revolting and horrible a manner as their imaginations could conceive. They peopled the sea and air, the sky and heavenly bodies, as well as the valleys and volcanoes, with vindictive and malignant spirits who were subservient to the arts of the haughty and powerful kahunas, or priests.

While believing in a future life, the Hawaiians recognized a distinction in the lot of the dead. They divided the future realm into four separate and distinct regions. The heaven beyond the clouds was reserved for the departed spirits of the noble chiefs. For the souls of the great heroes there was a hidden land or fairy island in the distant west which was said to have been seen sometimes by the mariners in the far-off horizon, covered with cocoanut-trees and rich foliage, and beautiful to behold, but as they approached, it receded before them like a mirage. For the select few of the common people who, through life, had been scrupulous in observing the religious rites and

the laws of tabu there was an upper region of the lower world where quiet, peace, and comparative comfort existed, which was presided over by the great god Wakea, the reputed ancestor of the race. The last, or terrible inferno, where the majority of the dead were conducted, was the lower region of the world, filled with misery and woe, noise and disorder. It was presided over by the notorious and wicked god Milu, a former chief of Hawaii, who was given this power for his excessive evils during lifetime. From each of these spiritual dwelling-places the souls of the departed were permitted to emerge in company with some particular god, who would conduct them back to earth, where they were not only supposed to watch over the destinies of their survivors, but at times their bodies would become reanimated and youthful, and the existing generation would see and know their parents and ancestors. In time all who had died would be restored to life and resume the same position and authority originally held before death.

The means by which the various legends and religious rites were transmitted was through the kahunas, or priests, who were divided into several hereditary orders. It was their special duty to commit to memory and teach their children the long prayers used in the temple service, and the genealogies and tales of prowess of the chiefs and their ancestors. They were the learned class, who kept alive the knowledge and handed down the traditions of what was known of astronomy, history, or

medicine. They selected and executed the victims for human sacrifice. The lever by which the chiefs and priests compelled implicit obedience to their will was the tabu, a complete system which covered the entire daily life of the people with a vast network of regulations and penalties. The people were, at no period of their existence, exempt from its influences, and no circumstance in life could excuse their disobedience to its demands. The death penalty was often inflicted on those who violated the tabu. It was not only a legal requirement, but a religious ordinance; hence its violation was not only a crime, but a sin. It was divided into many kinds, some permanent and others special and temporary. Those relating to the chiefs, the idols, and the temples were permanent, while others belonged to particular times, or were imposed arbitrarily by the king.

During a common tabu, the men were only required to abstain from their usual avocations and attend at the temple when prayers were offered, every morning and evening. During the strict tabu the requirements were most oppressive and the prohibitions strictly enforced, and every breach of them was punished with death. For days the strictest silence was observed; every fire and light in the district was extinguished; no canoe could be launched, no person could bathe, no tapa be beaten, or poi pounded; no dog could bark, pig squeal, or cock crow. On these occasions the dogs and pigs were muzzled, and the fowls put under large calabashes.

All the common people prostrated themselves, with their faces touching the ground, before the sacred chiefs when they walked abroad. It was tabu for men and women to eat together, or have their food cooked in the same oven, and it was death for a woman to enter the chapel for the family idols or the men's eating-house. The best kinds of food, such as pork, bananas, cocoanuts, turtles, and certain kinds of fish, were tabued to the women on pain of death.

During each month there were four tabu periods of two nights and one day each, dedicated severally to each of four gods. These four tabus were so sacred that the king spent the time in the temple in prayer with the priests, while the congregation stood with uplifted arms for quite awhile, at the beginning and ending of the prayer. Sacrifices were offered and profound silence was observed. Tabu was sometimes laid on places and things by affixing certain marks, the purport of which was well understood. When the fish of a certain locality were tabued, a small pole was fixed in the rocks on the coast, in the center of the place, to which was tied a bunch of bamboo-leaves or a piece of white cloth. A cocoanut-leaf was tied to the stem of a tree when the fruit was tabued. If the chief wanted any portion of a tenant's crop he simply caused a pole to be placed in the patch, and from that time on it was tabued, and it was death for the tenant, who had raised it, to use any of it. In collecting taxes the assessor went his rounds carrying with

him a certain idol and preceded by a man who, upon arriving at the boundary of a land, set up a pole which placed the land under tabu, and no one could leave it until the taxes were paid in full. If anything was to be exempt from use for a certain period of time a tabu was placed upon it. For instance, a certain kind of fish had a sacred character, and was tabued during certain periods of the year. When cattle were first introduced on the islands they were tabued for ten years.

The ceremonies by which the people worshipped their gods were elaborate and complicated. From the building of a canoe to the dedication of a temple all enterprises were attended with prayers, offerings, and sacrifices. In addition to the worship of the four principal gods the people in every avocation in life had their patron gods, who had to be propitiated, and innumerable omens had to be observed. The dedication of a temple was the most laborious of their religious services. Many days were occupied in the preliminary rites of purification. A religious procession was formed, and headed by a man personating the god and accompanied by a priest, made a tour of the district levying contributions from the tenants. They managed to complete this tour on the evening of the new moon, when a responsive service was held in the temple, before the whole population, and the priests sprinkled the people with holy water, prepared for the occasion. A tree was selected in the forest from which the principal idol was to be

made, and a great procession was formed and marched to the spot, headed by the chief and priest with a crowd of attendants carrying idols and various offerings and leading a human victim. Upon arrival at the tree the priest recited the ritual and the chief offered prayer and killed a hog. If no sound of man or beast, insect or fowl, had been heard, it was a good omen, and the doomed man was then brought forward and offered to the god, after which his body was buried at the foot of the tree. The consecrated hog was baked in an oven on the spot while the tree was being cut down. A feast was then held, and the procession reformed with the feather gods in front, the rear men carrying the new idol and yelling at the top of their voices. It was death for any of the inhabitants to meet this procession, and when it returned to the temple the images were finally deposited in their places amid the shoutings of the people and the beating of drums. The final ceremonies were then held in the temple, where for days the entire multitude took part. Prayers were offered by the priests amid various evolutions of the people and the image-bearers. Finally a hole was dug near the altar, in which another human victim was buried and the image erected over the dead body. Other and subsequent ceremonies, sacrifices, and offerings were performed before the temple was finally dedicated.

The temples differed much in variety of plan and construction. The priesthood were divided

into several orders, some of which were more severe and exclusive in their ritual than the others. Other temples formed places of refuge and were inviolable sanctuaries in time of war, or for any fugitive who had broken tabu or committed any sort of crime. The gates were always open and any one pursuing a fugitive to within the walls of the sacred inclosure was put to death. After remaining a few days in the temple the refugee could return unmolested to his home.

In every avocation in life the native Hawaiian had some form of ceremony, incantation, and offerings to the tutelar deities. A man could not even build a canoe or use a new fishing-rod without prayer and sacrifice to his patron god. The building of a house was in accordance with superstitious rules, even to the arrangement of the sticks, and in the case of a chief's house human sacrifices were required. In the building of a canoe an idol was brought out and tree selected, the flight of birds noted, and offerings made. After it was finished a final sacrifice was offered, and in the launching, if the silence was broken, the canoe would not be safe. About the only act in life that was not accompanied with prayers and sacrifices to the gods or with religious ceremonies was marriage. In the case of marriage not even the favor of departed ancestors was invoked, and the husband could dismiss or kill his wife without ceremony or cause. When a male child was born, offerings were made to the priests and prayers made to the gods. When he

reached four or five years of age he was permitted to partake of tabu food, and forbidden to eat with women, a sacrifice was offered and a feast given, and he was circumcised. But the female child was left to its chances and suffered the same restrictions under the tabu as were imposed upon matured women. The female child was not even allowed to be fed with a particle of food that had been kept in the father's dish or cooked at his fire.

With regard to the dead, their interments were conducted in great secrecy and without ceremony, and took place in the night. The people had a superstitious dread respecting the places where the dead were deposited. They were exceedingly superstitious about ghosts and haunted places. During the first few days after death, the spectres of the deceased haunted the sepulchre and endeavored to strangle their enemies, often inflicting death, but they grew weaker and weaker day by day. The remains of the chiefs were secreted in the most inaccessible caverns, and frequently the bones of the legs and arms, and sometimes the skull of the king and principal chiefs, who were supposed to have descended from the gods, or were to be deified, were preserved, and either deposited in the temples for adoration or distributed among the immediate relatives, who carried them wherever they went. The other parts of the body were either burned or buried. The bodies of the priests and chiefs of inferior rank were laid out straight, wrapped in tapa and buried in that posture; the

priests within the precincts of the temple. A pile of stones or a circle of high poles marked the place of their interment.

The common people committed their dead to the earth in shallow graves, and the bodies were placed in them in a sitting posture. The upper part of the body was raised and the face bent forward to the knees, with the hands put under the hams and passed up between the knees, the whole bound together with a cord and then wrapped in a coarse mat and buried.

Sometimes the inhabitants of a village deposited their dead in one large cavern.

The fishermen, after wrapping their dead in red native cloth, cast them into the sea to be eaten by the sharks, in the belief that the sharks would be animated by the spirit of the dead and never devour the survivors. The bodies of human sacrifices, and those who broke tabu, were left to rot, after which the bones were piled up in the temple. The method of killing was by strangulation or by striking with a club or stone, within the precincts of the temple, or the victim was decoyed into the bush by cries of help and knocked in the head. The next morning after burial, it was necessary for those persons who were defiled by handling the dead to bathe in fresh water and seat themselves in a row at the door of the house, when the priest would come along with a calabash of holy water, pronounce the form of purification, and they became clean.

Although the funeral rites were not attended by any ceremony, the death of a great chief was accompanied by human sacrifices and with paroxysms of grief so violent that the people lost all reason. They would knock out their front teeth, shave one side of the head, and tattoo their tongues. The whole community would exhibit a scene of confusion and cruelty that the most barbarous condition could devise. The people would run to and fro without clothing, acting more like demons than human beings. Every vice was practiced and every species of crime perpetrated. Houses were burned, property plundered, murders committed, every base and savage feeling gratified without restraint, and long forgotten injuries revenged with unrelenting cruelty.

If the service in the temples, idolatry, and the restrictions of the tabu imposed such great severities on the people, they did not have the debasing influences that sorcery had. The basis of sorcery was a kind of spiritualism, hypnotism, and faith cure, with a belief that all forms of sickness and disease were caused by evil spirits, with whom communication could only be held through the sorcerers. There were many omens by which the sorcerer judged whether the patient would recover or not. In addition to prayers and sacrifices, herbs and hygienic treatment were also used. They had, through their arts, powerful agencies of death, and were great experts in the knowledge and use of poisons. Some of these sorcerers were so expert

in their profession that superstitious fear of them was often sufficient to make the victim give up all hope and pine away until he died. They were frequently employed to use their black art to gratify personal revenge upon an enemy, after which the speedy death of the unsuspecting victim was sure to follow. To accomplish his purpose it was supposed to be necessary for the sorcerer to secure something connected with the person of his intended victim, such as the parings of the nails, a lock of the hair, and the like. For this reason the chiefs always kept their most faithful servants around them, who carefully buried everything of the kind or sunk it out at sea.

The more respectable class of sorcerers were the astrologers, soothsayers, and prophets. They were comparatively harmless persons, attached to the high chiefs as counselors. They helped to keep alive the knowledge of astronomy and navigation and kept up a continual study of the heavens, predicted future events and changes in the weather.

The Hawaiians believed that each individual was possessed of two souls, one of which occasionally left the body in trances and dreams and returned again. The sorcerer was believed to have not only the faculty of seeing the souls of living beings, but of catching them. If he desired, he could either squeeze them to death or imprison them, whereupon the owner of the soul would be terrified and willing to do anything that the sorcerer required.

Kamehameha II, in order to ameliorate the

condition of his wives, and women in general, whom the tabu had sunk into a state of extreme wretchedness and degradation, and to destroy the power of the priests, abolished idolatry, and the tabu system by which it was upheld, a few months prior to the advent of the missionaries. One of his first acts upon coming to the throne was to commit several violations of the tabu, especially the tabu which prohibited men and women from eating together. The abolition of idolatry was the immediate occasion of war. The high priest acquiesced in the acts of the King; but some of the subordinate priests and chiefs took up arms, and in a decisive battle, in December, 1819, the rebels were completely overthrown, their leader killed, and forces scattered. This resulted in the destruction of their idols, the abolition of the system of the tabu and of human sacrifices. The people were thus left without a religion, opening the way for American missionaries, who arrived and commenced their labors early in 1820. The devotees of the ancient cult, with its cruel and bloody ceremonies, though cowed by the changed condition, were not exterminated, but continued to exercise powerful influences. There have always been those who have clung to the faith of their fathers, who in secret have kept up the worship of their ancestral gods and the superstitions relating to sorcery, and the influence of this faith is destined to survive for generations to come. Under the royal favor and sanction of Kalakaua and his sister, Queen Liliuokalani, the heathen doc-

trines of the past were publicly revived, and the influence of the kahunas over the people encouraged; the King even securing the passage as late as 1884, by a subservient legislature, of an act authorizing the licensing of kahunas. This determined spirit of retrogression is what finally wrought the downfall of the monarchy.

CHAPTER VIII.

RESOURCES, PAST AND PRESENT.

At the time of the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands by the whites, the industrial resources of the country were of a nature to support only a barbarous race of people. The sea supplied a great portion of their wants, and as fishermen the Hawaiians were unsurpassed. They used a great variety of hooks, lines, nets, and other apparatus, fishing in the shallows, on the reefs, and even going miles out to sea in frail canoes and catching fish from depths as great as a hundred fathoms. All kinds of superstition attended success in their fishing, and the hook made from the shinbone of some noted chief was of incalculable value. Such was the importance attached to particular hooks of this kind that different tribes have gone to war for the possession of one, and to avoid the use of their bones for that purpose it was the custom for faithful attendants to hide the remains of their chiefs in some secret cavern or bury them at sea.

Sharks were caught for sport, and eaten to some extent. Shark hooks were very large, and were frequently baited with human flesh. One method of catching these monsters was to carry pointed sticks which were thrust between the jaws of the shark or into his vital parts. Men would perch themselves upon some outlying rock or swim

around in the clear warm water, until they caught a glimpse of a shark, and then jump or dive under the big fish and attack it as it would turn on its back to bite. As a rule the fight would result favorably to the man, but sometimes he was worsted. In the shoaler waters and inside the reefs, large schools of rare edible fish run, and were caught in great quantities by the natives, in various forms of nets. Certain kinds were placed in the large ponds to fatten. These ponds are large and shallow, made by the construction of long sea walls, requiring much time and labor. Sluices and gates are provided to permit the flow of the tide and the admission of spawn. When once in, the fish cannot get out, and can be easily caught as needed.

The importance attached to the supply of fish food caused canoe-making to be one of their greatest industries, which, like all other works of a similar nature, was accompanied by superstitious incantations and ceremonies. When completed the canoe was christened, not by the breaking of a bottle of wine over the bow, but by sacrifices to a particular god of the sea. In the case of a large canoe for some noted chief a human sacrifice was necessary to insure its safety and lucky voyages. These canoes were low, narrow and light, drawing but little water and made out of a single tree. Some of them were upwards of fifty feet long, one or two feet wide, and sometimes more than three feet deep. The body of the canoe was generally covered with a black paint, made of various

earthy and vegetable materials, in which the bark and oil of the kukui tree were the principal ingredients. On the upper edge of the gunwales was neatly sewed a wash-board or small strip of hard white wood about six inches wide. These wash-boards met and closed over stem and stern. The tackling was very simple, consisting of a stub mast supporting a sail made of mats in the shape of a sprit. The paddles were large and strong, with an oval-shaped blade and round handle, and were made of the same hard wood employed in building the canoe. Neither the canoe nor paddles were carved or ornamented, but were nevertheless very neat. To give the canoe greater stability and steadiness, curved outriggers extended to one side and supported a narrow float, giving the whole the appearance of a catamaran. In these canoes the natives would go through any kind of surf, with a velocity that would excite the apprehension of any man-of-war's-man, were he even in a good whale-boat. Should they capsize, the natives swim around, right the canoe, and get in as though no accident had occurred.

The wonderful productiveness of the Hawaiian Islands made it easy for the natives to obtain a livelihood on shore, and had it not been for the system of tabus and traditions, by which the common people were held in subjection and their privileges confined to a practical serfdom, life would have been one continual pursuit of pleasure. Bananas, yams, and other edible plants grew wild in all the

valleys of the wooded districts; while bread-fruit, cocoanuts, and a wild apple constituted the indigenous fruits of the islands. The most important of all the vegetable supply for food was the taro, and the cultivation of this plant occupied all the farming abilities of the native Hawaiian. It consists of two kinds, the upland and the lowland. The former grows on the hillsides, in dry ground, whereas the latter, or more important staple, is propagated, like rice, under water. Long irrigating ditches were constructed to supply the water, and great skill was required in preparing the bed, to obtain a good crop. The ground was leveled off and enclosed by a low wall impervious to water. The floor of the patch was made as rich and as free from clods as possible, and the tops cut from the ripe roots set out in hills several feet apart. The water was let in upon them, to remain until the crop was ripe, usually about twelve months. The only labor required was to keep the weeds out, and keep a depth of about six inches of running water. The climate permits planting at any time, so that a continuous supply of ripe taro can be insured. No other plant yields more food to a given space. The root of the taro is oblong, from three inches to a foot in length, and three or four inches in diameter. The substance of the root is somewhat like that of a yam, but more fibrous. Before it is cooked the taste is exceedingly pungent and acrid. The young leaves of this plant are cooked either separately or with meats, making a delicious green,

known as "luau." The method of preparing the root by the natives is by cooking it in a stone oven or pit in the ground. The stones are first heated red-hot and then, after brushing off the dust and ashes at the bottom, the taro is laid in the oven till it is full, and a few leaves spread on top. Hot stones are then placed on these leaves, and a covering of leaves and earth over the whole. In this state the taro is steamed or baked about half an hour.

Potatoes, yams, fish, and meats are cooked in the same manner. From the baked taro poi is made. This is the national dish of the Hawaiian people. The baked root is pounded into a moist paste and thinned down by the addition of water, when the mixture is allowed to ferment. To a stranger it appears to be almost tasteless, but upon use it becomes very palatable. It is very nutritious, easily digested, and can be retained on the stomach of an invalid when no other food can be. When thinned down to a thick liquid, by either the addition of water or milk, it is called a poi cocktail, and is most soothing to the stomach and highly beneficial to an invalid. A pudding called "kulolo" is made by the natives by mixing poi with the grated meat and milk of the cocoanut, which is sweetened and baked. Cocoanut mixed with sweet potato, and baked, forms a compound called "poi-palau." In no case does poi ever induce dyspepsia and its kindred afflictions. With poi the natives usually eat the roasted kukui nuts salted with a coarse salt,

which is regarded as a great condiment. Limu, a kind of sea-moss, is also eaten with relish by the natives.

Another very important plant much used by the natives is the ti. It is a slow-growing plant with a large oblong root, which, when first dug from the ground, is hard and fibrous, almost tasteless, and of a white or yellow color. The leaves are of a lively, shining green. The natives bake the root in large ovens under ground. After baking, it appears like a different substance, and is of a yellowish-brown color, soft though fibrous, and saturated with a highly saccharine juice. It is sweet and pleasant to the taste, and much of it is eaten in this state. It is used to make an intoxicating drink by bruising the roots with a stone and steeping the mass with water until it ferments. The liquor is then drawn off and drunk without any further preparation. Since the introduction of the still by the whites the fermented mass is distilled, making a powerful liquor called "okolehao." It is an excellent antiscorbutic, and as such became very useful to the whaling ships on their long voyages. The leaves are the best provender obtainable on the islands for stock taken to sea. The ti-leaves were woven together and formed a short cloak which the natives sometimes wore. They are also universally used to the present day to tie up meat, fish, and other articles in the markets, and in which to wrap meats which are to be cooked under ground, imparting a delicate flavor thereto.

The kukui (candle) nut, a heart-shaped nut about the size of a walnut, was used by the natives for many purposes. The tree furnished a gum used in preparing varnish for their tapa; and when burned to a charcoal and pulverized, was used for tattooing the skin, or for making paint. The hard shells of the nuts were removed and the kernels slightly baked in an oven, when they were strung on the center rib of a cocoanut leaf and burned as a torch, giving a tolerably good light. The nuts were also baked or roasted, and eaten with a coarse salt.

The meat supply of the natives was exceedingly limited. The only indigenous quadrupeds consisted of a small species of hog, with long head and small erect ears; dogs, lizards, and a small animal between the mouse and a rat. In the mountains there were several varieties of birds and wild geese, and near the lagoons or ponds in the vicinity of the seashore there were great numbers of wild ducks and other aquatic birds, and plover. The domestic fowl was raised as an article of food. Fish were eaten raw, dried, or baked. Pigs, dogs, and fowls were killed, dressed and baked in the oven. In this way the flavor was much improved over that of the other methods of cooking. No labor was required to raise hogs and fowls; they were simply permitted to roam about. The dogs used for food were of a breed that was rather small in size, something like our terrier, and when raised for food were exclusively fed on vegetables and poi. From experience I can say the flesh is sweeter than that of the pig,

and much more palatable than that of goats or kids.

With the introduction of the whites, the abolition of the tabu system, and the distribution of lands, the industrial conditions underwent great changes. For several years after the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook, very few vessels communicated with them; but later on, when Vancouver and other navigators made public the accounts of their voyages, nearly every vessel employed in the Pacific visited the country. Hence in the course of time a regular market was established for the sale of the products of the islands, and the harbor of Honolulu soon became crowded with ships of all nations. The discovery of sandal-wood in the mountains opened a profitable channel of commerce, and from 1810 to 1825 its sale became a source of great revenue to the islands. Adventurers, chiefly from the United States, opened an advantageous trade by collecting it from the natives. They found a ready market for it in China, and the goods from that country were brought in return, laying the foundation of an extensive trade. The chiefs became very rich and accumulated large treasures from the supply of this precious wood, by means of which they were enabled to purchase guns, ammunition, liquors, and vessels, and the luxuries of life. They indulged in all manner of extravagances and created extensive establishments, the maintenance of which soon exhausted their means. Dissipation, ruinous pur-

chases, and expensive ideas combined to leave them in a worse condition than they were before this boom.

The sandal-wood requires many years to arrive at a fit state for the market, and there being no cultivation of a fresh supply it soon became exhausted. The common natives were forced to exceedingly severe labor and suffered increased oppression, being obliged to remain for months at a time in the mountains, searching for the trees, felling them and bringing the wood down on their backs to the royal warehouses. The odor of sandal-wood is very strong and is retained for years after the tree is cut. The wood was extensively used by the Chinese for the manufacture of fancy articles and ornaments and to burn as incense in their joss-houses. With the failure of a supply of sandal-wood, the profits arising from the sale of salt, and from the port dues from merchant vessels visiting the islands, were not adequate to meet the expenses of the government, much less liquidate the debts of the chiefs.

Attempts were made to manufacture sugar from the cane, which grew very abundantly and in great luxuriance. Tobacco, coffee, and spices were introduced, and an attempt made to raise cotton, which was tolerably successful the first year, but by neglect the crop was not gathered and it rotted in the pod.

In exchange for an immense quantity of vegetables, hogs, and native presents, Vancouver, on

his second and third voyages to the islands in 1793-'94, landed some live stock, consisting of cattle and sheep, and a tabu was laid upon them for ten years. In consequence of this tabu they increased very rapidly, until now there are not only large cattle ranches on the islands, but the mountains are full of wild herds. Later on, in 1803, Captain Cleaveland, on his way from California to China, touched at the islands and landed a few horses, which soon multiplied, and the natives became expert horsemen, making excellent cow-boys.

The principal receipts of the islands for a long while were from the sale of supplies to the whale-ships, of which a great number made their headquarters at Lahaina or Honolulu. This source of revenue continued up to the civil war in the United States, when the whaling fleet suffered so much that the industry never recovered.

At first the cultivation of sugar-cane and manufacture of sugar met with many obstacles, in consequence of the lack and great cost of the proper machinery and plant. The first sugar plantation was started on the Island of Kauai in 1835, under a concession, signed by the king, to Ladd & Co., an American company, by which certain lands were leased for the purpose of agricultural development. A start was made, and though labor was cheap the methods were so crude and wasteful that but little progress was made, and the company failed. With the importation of laborers from

abroad, and the hope of reciprocity with the United States, the sugar industry revived, but it never amounted to much until 1876, when a treaty of commercial reciprocity with the United States went into effect. Under the provisions of this treaty an era of unexpected prosperity set in and the production of sugar and rice increased more than was ever dreamed of. Not only the rich valleys that were well watered were planted in cane, but large tracts of previously barren land were brought under cultivation by extensive irrigation. Canals were constructed for that purpose. Artesian wells were bored, and the water pumped to heights of four and five hundred feet. Great mills were erected at enormous cost, and sugar became the chief product of the islands.

Although the rainfall on parts of the islands is sufficient to supply the growing wants of vegetation, in other parts everything requires irrigation, as the soil is disintegrated lava, frequently over beds of porous coral. Some of the irrigation ditches are forty miles in length, through dense woods, tunneled through solid rock, and spanning wide canons by means of substantial iron bridges, wooden fluming or steel piping. The Ewa plantation, near Honolulu, one of the largest, was originally a worthless and unproductive area of land, unsuitable even for pasturage; but by means of artesian wells and enormous pumps the water is pumped through pipes to an elevation of several hundred feet to irrigate the cane. It is now one of the finest plan-

tations on the islands. There are about sixty sugar plantations on the islands, covering about 90,000 acres of land, employing about 20,000 laborers, with a yield per annum of about 225,000 tons of sugar. It requires an average of eighteen months for a crop to mature, and the ordinary yield is about three and a half tons per acre; yet on specially rich alluvial soil the yield is sometimes as great as nine tons to the acre. Steam plows, the latest improved cultivators, and the most modern, elaborate, and perfected machinery are used. Both the diffusion and crushing methods are used to extract the sugar from the cane.

The cane is cut and stripped in the field and by means of portable railways is transported to the mills. It is then run between several sets of large rollers, steam being applied to the crushed material between each set of rollers to extract the juice; or if the diffusion method is used the cane is cut into thin slices by means of revolving knives, and the juice soaked out in tanks of hot water, under hydraulic and steam pressure. After the juice is extracted it passes through filters into clarifiers, where it is heated and skimmed, passing thence into the boilers, where it is boiled down into syrup. From these boilers the syrup passes into a vacuum pan, where it is boiled to granulation, passing thence through centrifugals, where it is freed of all molasses or syrup, the dried sugar dropping into bins for bagging and shipment. The molasses is boiled, granulated, and passed again through the centrifugals, making a lower grade of sugar.

The market for the sugar produced in the Hawaiian Islands is the Pacific Coast of the United States and Canada. For a number of years the entire crop has been purchased by the American Sugar Trust, but this year (1898) about two-thirds of the crop has been sold to rival refineries in New York and San Francisco.

The passage of the McKinley bill giving a bounty on domestic sugar, and the cultivation of beet sugar in California and the northwest, and placing imported sugars on the free list, lowered the price of Hawaiian sugar so much that the value of Hawaiian sugar property was materially lowered. It became apparent that the country could not exist on a single industry that was liable to fluctuations by every modification of the American tariff laws; hence the cultivation of new products on the large extent of country unsuited for the culture of sugar or rice was commenced.

Rice, which is also admitted free of duty to the United States under the provisions of the reciprocity treaty, is extensively cultivated. Its culture is principally carried on by the Chinese, and in the markets of San Francisco it grades with the best shipped from China. The ground is plowed and well harrowed and the field then submerged and the water allowed to stand until the crop ripens, when it is drawn off. The method of cultivating rice is crude and primitive. On a small field the Chinaman thickly sows the seed. When the plants are about six inches high they are pulled

up and taken in great bales on the backs of men to the field for planting. The plants are set out in the mud by hand, in rows about eight inches apart. As the crop begins to ripen it takes about all the time of one man to about ten acres to scare off the small birds that devour the crop. When matured the water is run off for the ripening of the straw, and the crop is harvested with hand-sickles. It is spread on the ground to dry, and then bundled and carried to the threshing-floor. The grain is separated from the straw while on the floor by walking a lot of horses or Chinese cattle over it, and by beating the straw with hand-flails, the straw being then carefully raked off and the chaff separated by fans. The rice is then milled. Very little of it is shipped to the United States as paddy.

Coffee cultivation has been begun with most flattering prospects. Hawaiian, or Kona coffee, as it is called, takes a high place among the best coffees in the world. The trees are grown anywhere from the sea-level to 3,800 feet above the sea. In three years from the time of setting out, the plantation will yield expenses, and in five years commence to pay well. One of the greatest difficulties in coffee-growing is the blight, but by the introduction of peculiar parasites and lady-bugs for each kind of pest the various blights have been very nearly eradicated.

The cultivation of tea has met with good results. It grows to better advantage on the higher elevations than in the lower sections. The high price of labor has prevented its extensive cultivation.

Hemp has been experimented with, and the samples grown were pronounced by experts to be of good length, clean, strong, and fairly bright. The plant is free from enemies among the insect tribe, and it is not injured by rain or storms nor by drought. The expense of cultivation is almost nothing, and the yield per acre was found to be at the rate of thirteen and one-half tons of clean fiber.

Ramie, or vegetable silk, grows luxuriantly, but the want of proper machinery to prepare its fiber for the market has prevented development of the industry.

Tobacco has been produced of a quality that compares favorably with the best manila wrappers. There is no question but that the raising of tobacco in the islands can be made a paying industry.

The soil and climate of Hawaii cannot be excelled for the production of tropical and subtropical fruits, and their introduction has added largely to the industrial enterprises of the islands, especially so in the case of semi tropical fruits, such as the avocado pear, banana, pineapple, orange, lime, and lemon. The avocado pear is common to the West Indies and Mexico, and of different varieties, varying in size and color, the largest being about six inches long and weighing upwards of three pounds. The trees grow to a large size in the Hawaiian Islands, and the fruit is of a superior quality. It is of a butter-like consistency, with a nutty flavor, and makes a delicious dressing for salads. The

mango grows in great profusion, and several varieties are used for making chutney. The best qualities of mangoes were imported from Jamaica and India, and, for eating, their flavor is exceedingly fine. The mango tree is an evergreen, with small glossy leaves, makes a good shade-tree, and the gum which exudes from the trunk is used in medicine. It is very prolific, and bears fruit which ripens during several months of the year. Frequently trees are found with ripe fruit on one side and blossoms on the other.

Cocoanuts, which grow along the shore where nothing else will, are now very little cultivated. If attended to they will, after about ten years from planting, bear steadily for generations. Not only the nut, but the husks or fibrous covering and the leaves furnish valuable marketable material.

The saponilla, soursop, cherimoya, custard-apple, jack-fruit, pomelo, papia, citron, mammy apple, water-lemon, granadilla, pomegranate, and tamarind are some of the desirable exotic fruits that do well in the islands.

Vegetables of all descriptions are raised the year round, and watermelons and cantaloupes are superior to those grown in most countries.

Pineapples were introduced in the islands by some of the early navigators. They grow wild on all the islands, but the later introduction of a superior quality, and recent revival of the industry, have developed quite an export of this fruit. There are some twenty-five varieties, known by different names

in the various localities from which they are obtained. Near Pearl City is quite a plantation where a most excellent variety is cultivated. They have good shipping qualities and grow to a good size, some reaching the extreme weight of seventeen pounds for a single fruit, though a fair average is from six to ten pounds. The season of pineapples is from the middle of May to the middle of August, although some varieties bear fruit throughout the year. In the year 1893 no less than 60,000 pineapples were shipped from the islands.

The banana business has of late become of great importance. At present bananas are raised in very small patches, yet in the year 1892 there were \$175,000 worth of bananas shipped from the islands. There is a great market for bananas on the western coast of the United States, and the cost of raising them is very small.

Along the mountain ranges is a most luxuriant growth of trees and vines, large forests of magnificent trees whose wood is beautifully marked and takes a high polish that would place them in competition with the best walnut or mahogany for the manufacture of ornamental furniture. All conditions considered, the future industrial outlook of the Hawaiian Islands is very flattering, and as soon as the large leaseholds shall expire, and the government lands shall be taken up and developed, there will be a great increase in production. A desirable class of people have begun to look about for both large and small investments in the islands,



PACKING PINEAPPLES—PEARL HARBOR.

and in this they are encouraged by the recent establishment of an honest and reliable government. All that interferes with an exceedingly rapid development of the industries of the country is the uncertainty of the political future. If annexation to the United States takes place, development will proceed with giant strides. Otherwise a period of uncertainty and anxiety may be looked for, for capital is ever wary of investment in a country in which political stability does not exist. Although the present government of Hawaii is honest, able, and progressive, for many reasons there do not exist in Hawaii the elements, in sufficient numbers, necessary to maintain a stable, independent government. It is the opinion of the thinking men of Hawaii, almost without exception, that if annexation to the United States does not take place, the alternative left to the people of Hawaii will be England or anarchy.

CHAPTER IX.

LAND TENURE.

One of the most important features of Hawaiian evolution is the system of land tenure, past and present, by which the soil was distributed and is now held by the present owners. At first, during the time of the earliest native occupation of the islands, there were land and water enough for all, and possessions were based upon use only. Industrial enterprises were commenced; canoe-building was developed; the manufacture of native cloth flourished. Great engineering feats were undertaken, such as irrigating ditches and sea walls, inclosing bays and reefs for fish-ponds, and implements of stone and wood for mechanical and industrial works were invented and improved upon. As the different communities began to crowd the limited areas of the valleys, and the population grew until the whole group was stocked with people, the principles of land tenure developed from the patriarchal system into one of tribal or communal ownership. The improved condition of the lands by irrigation led to strict rules for the distribution of the water supply, and the developed localities acquired a special value. As the population continued to increase, and the best lands became occupied, an increasing demand gave them a market value, giving rise to disputes over boundaries,

and gradually developing a feudal system of land tenure. The head men acquired the rank of chiefs, and class distinction became very marked, by which the people were divided into a nobility, comprising the kings and chiefs; the religious order, including priests, sorcerers, and doctors; and the common people or laborers.

Internal wars were frequent, and the ambition of the chiefs for political power and personal aggrandizement led to their increased importance, which was prejudicial to the rights of the common people, who were oppressively taxed in support of the wars and in defence of their chiefs from the attacks of ambitious rivals. Necessity for the protection of life and property caused the people to become closely attached to some chief, who afforded protection in consideration of service and a portion of the produce of the soil. The chiefs assumed not only political power, but also that of a sacred and religious character, claiming to be of divine origin and in close alliance with the invisible rulers, and they were looked upon with superstitious awe by the common people, who became separated from them by a wide and permanent distinction. When they went abroad all the common people prostrated themselves upon the ground, face down. Death even became the penalty for the slightest breach of etiquette. It was death for a common man to remain standing in the presence of the King, or even at the mention of his name, or when the King's food, drinking water, or wearing apparel

was carried by; to enter his inclosure or house without permission, or even to cross his shadow or the shadow of his house; to touch his head or occupy a position above it. It was the custom for any one approaching the King's presence to crawl on the ground and leave in the same manner. No one but a chief could wear the red or yellow feather cloak and helmet or ivory clasp, and his canoe and sails alone were allowed to be painted red. Wherever he went he was surrounded by a retinue of attendants, some of whom carried the royal kahilis (feather ornaments); others took charge of his spittoon, while others were always at hand to knead and shampoo him whenever he desired. There were also in attendance priests, sorcerers, bards, and story-tellers, with dancers, drummers, and buffoons. With a growing power like this the chiefs became not only the owners of the soil, but of all the products that grew out of it, as well as of the time and labor of the people. The constant wars between the rival chiefs resulted in the smaller or weaker of their number allying themselves to some one of the more powerful warrior chiefs, until each island was under the control of its high chief, when finally the whole group passed under the sovereignty of Kamehameha I, about 1790, and the feudal system was complete. Each of these smaller chiefs divided his territory among an inferior order of petty chiefs, who owed to him the same service and obedience that he owed to the high chief. In this way the land was subdivided again and again, down

to the serfs who tilled the soil. The common people received not more than one-third of the products of their industry, while the other two-thirds were divided between the chiefs of different grades. The taxes were paid in articles of food, vegetables, fruit, hogs, dogs, fowls, and fish, ku-kui nuts for light, kapa, nets, calabashes, and feathers, besides personal labor on certain days of every moon, which consisted chiefly in working the taro-patches of the chief. They were made to work on all public works, such as building and repairing the temples, fish-ponds, houses, and canoes of the chiefs.

Whenever the chief travelled about, his horde of retainers were supported entirely by the contributions of the people, and if sufficient quantity was not forthcoming, the people were plundered of almost everything they had. Upon the death of a chief, or the accession of a new one, either by inheritance or conquest, it was the custom to redivide and distribute all the lands among his adherents. The only redress the common people had was the privilege of moving from one land to another and joining the forces of a new landlord, becoming in each case merely tenants at will and liable to be dispossessed at any time, subject to the personal whim of the ruling chief. Thousands of unoffending people would in this way be sent houseless and homeless to find a resting-place in some other section of the country. This redistribution of lands was carried out with great severity, and especially so if the chief came into power as

the result of war. When the islands were conquered by Kamehameha I, the fullest and severest application of this custom was carried out. He divided the lands among his principal warriors and chiefs, retaining a portion to be cultivated by his own immediate servants or attendants. Each principal chief divided his lands anew and gave them out to an inferior order of chiefs, by whom they were again and again subdivided, passing through the hands of five or six persons, from the king down to the lowest tenants. Each island was divided into several districts, and each district was subdivided into long strips extending, as a rule, from the sea to the mountains, so that each chief should have his share of all the products of the mountain regions, the intermediate cultivated land and the sea. These strips were again subdivided into smaller holdings, which in turn were divided into patches. Each division had a carefully defined boundary and a name.

During the long reign of Kamehameha, affairs became settled, and the long and undisturbed possession of the lands by the chiefs developed a sentiment favorable to permanent individual rights in land, which finally crystallized into law. Upon the death of Kamehameha I, his son came to the throne, and it was his desire to redistribute the lands according to custom, but the united opposition was so strong that beyond a few assignments among his intimate friends he relinquished his purpose, and from that time on until the year 1839

the chiefs remained in possession of their lands. In that and the following year laws were passed to prevent evictions without cause and the wanton seizure of the property of the tenants. This increased security of tenure led to activity in land transactions. Chiefs transferred lands to others, they became a marketable commodity, and incited speculation in buying and selling. The King even gave away and sold some of his personal lands, and foreigners became land-owners. But these sales carried with them no permanent title to the lands, as the act of the chiefs was simply an expression of an opinion, and not a binding law. Nevertheless, purchasers felt a degree of security in their holdings through a public sentiment favoring permanent occupation and hereditary succession. Besides, the possession of lands by foreigners with strong governments back of them, and zealous consuls to insist upon their claims, supported by men-of-war in the harbor, rendered their occupation secure.

When Kamehameha III came to the throne the unsatisfactory status of land tenures was pressed upon his attention, and realizing the defenceless and wretched condition of his people, he became deeply interested, and with the increasing demand of the foreigners for the right to buy and hold land, brought about a national crisis forcing the King to decided action. The King, in consequence, consulted the chiefs and conferred with the whites on the subject, resulting in a proclamation of a Bill of

Rights on the 7th of June, 1839, by which protection was secured to the persons of all the people, together with their lands and their property, while they conformed to the laws of the kingdom. Although the Bill of Rights did much towards defining the rights in lands granted by it, the feudal right of controlling transfers of land was still retained by the King, and all lands forfeited for non-payment of taxes reverted to him personally. His consent was necessary for any transfer of real estate in the kingdom, for real mortgages, and for the seizure of land for debt. Upon the adoption of the constitution of 1840, the question of the proportionate interests of the King, the chiefs, and the common people in the lands of the kingdom was one of great difficulty, and the necessity of an organized government, separate from the person of the King, became apparent even to the chiefs. This was carried out by three comprehensive acts in 1845, 1846, and 1847. The King retained all his private lands as his own individual property, subject only to the rights of the tenants. Other lands were designated by him, about one-third of the lands of the country, to maintain the royal state, since known as "crown lands." One-third of the lands were set apart as the property of the Hawaiian government, subject to the control of the sovereign as pointed out by the constitution and laws; and one-third to the chiefs, and common people, each receiving what he was actually in possession of. The division in nowise interfered with the

lands that had been or might be granted by the King or his predecessors in fee simple to any Hawaiian subject or foreigner, nor with unexpired leases. It was left optional with any chief, holding lands in which the government held a share, to pay into the treasury one-third of the unimproved value of said lands, or surrender portions of land in lieu thereof, which payment or surrender extinguished all claims of the government to them. The division between the King, chiefs, and the people was carried out in 1848. Laws were also passed providing for the purchase of land from the government by private land-holders. A record of the division and sales by the government is contained in books of registry of land titles, deposited in the office of the Minister of the Interior.

In 1850 most of the chiefs ceded a third part of their lands to the government in lieu of paying for the government interest therein, receiving allodial title for the remainder, this being accepted by the privy council. By these cessions the crown lands received their designation from the King's donation, and much of the government land was derived from the chiefs. In all the awards of each of the divisions the rights of the tenants were reserved, and the acts of 1850 and 1851 protected the common people in the right to take wood, water and fish from the sea appurtenant to the land, but gave them no right to pasturage on the lands of the chiefs.

By the act organizing the Executive Department a Board of Royal Commissioners to quiet land

titles was created. The Land Commission began its work in 1846, and made great progress in adjudicating the claims of the common people, but its powers were not adequate to dispose of the still unsettled questions between the King, the chiefs, and government. As the chiefs and tenants alike were required to make proofs of ownership to the lands they occupied, and failing to do so their rights were barred, the result was that the ignorant natives failed in many instances to comply, and so lost their property. The division between the King and the chiefs was effected through partition deeds signed by both parties. The chiefs then went before the commission and received awards for the lands partitioned off to them.

Kamehameha III and his immediate successors dealt with the crown lands as their private property, selling, leasing, or mortgaging them at pleasure, until 1864, when the supreme court decided they should descend to the successors to the throne. The following year the legislature passed an act to relieve the royal domain from encumbrances and to render the same inalienable. It provided for the redemption of the mortgages on the estate which had been incurred by the kings, by the issue of exchequer bonds not to exceed \$30,000, and enacted that the lands reserved by the act of 1848—*i. e.*, the crown lands—should be henceforth inalienable and descend to the heirs and successors of the Hawaiian crown forever; also that it should not be lawful to execute any lease for a term exceeding thirty years.

A board of commissioners of the crown lands was created consisting of three persons appointed by the King, two of whom were to be appointed from among the cabinet ministers. The King thereupon, in consideration of the payment by the legislature of the debts with which the estate had become encumbered, and of the income rents, renounced all personal claim to the lands which were set apart for the successors to the throne, instead of being governed by the general laws of inheritance. Since that time the government has exercised control over them, and the legislature has passed various acts relating to their disposition. The courts have also, by several decisions, drawn the distinction between these lands and the private lands of the Kamehamehas and their heirs. Now that the Hawaiian royalty has ceased to exist, the republican government claims title to these lands as the "successor" to the kingdom, and is selling the lands to actual settlers.

On the death of Kamehameha V, the last of the old line of kings, his half-sister, Princess Ruth, inherited his private lands. The boom in sugar, under the reciprocity treaty with the United States, had its effect about this time and Claus Spreckles made his appearance on the islands. He was desirous of obtaining a fee-simple title for a sugar company of certain rich crown lands on the Island of Maui, and secured from Ruth a quitclaim of all her interest or claim in and to the crown lands for the small sum of \$10,000. These lands are now

worth millions. This conveyance was disputed, but the Prime Minister of Kalakaua compromised the claim without taking it to the courts, an act was carried through the legislature to authorize the commissioners to transfer to Spreckles 24,000 acres, more or less, in fee simple, worth some \$500,000, and a royal patent was issued to that effect. Spreckles then applied for a perpetual monopoly of the water for irrigating this tract, and upon refusal by the cabinet to grant it, he made an effort to secure the removal of the cabinet by a vote of the legislature of want of confidence. Failing in this, he made a bargain with the King by which the latter sent messengers at 2 o'clock in the morning demanding the resignation of each member of the cabinet. This was one of Kalakaua's first arbitrary and despotic acts, for which Mr. Spreckles was directly responsible. He then appointed a new ministry, who granted to Spreckles the water privilege for thirty years at a small annual rental.

The crown lands until recently were generally leased to corporations for cane culture and grazing, at very low rentals, for long terms of years. Legislative efforts were made to have them divided up (some 876,000 acres) into small farms for the settlement of industrious and thrifty farmers. The monarchy prevented this, but it is now being rapidly done under the republic. Between the years 1850 and 1860, most of the desirable government lands were sold, generally to natives, but in consequence of their thriftless dispositions they soon sold out,

and the natives have become largely landless. Subsequently the natives purchased government lands under an act providing for the sale of residence lots from one to fifty acres each.

In 1850, one-twentieth of the lands belonging to the government was set apart for the purpose of education. Another large tract, known as the Bishop estate, a gift from a native, Mrs. Bishop, is devoted to educational purposes.

The chiefs generally were extravagant, got into debt, and, as they obtained title to their lands, these debts were mostly paid with lands which have become a part of the plantations. The distribution of the lands at present is about 830,000 acres of government lands, about 876,000 acres crown lands, and about 1,850,000 acres of private lands. Of these, in 1892, Europeans and Americans owned nearly 1,060,000 acres; natives, 257,000; half-castes, 530,000; Chinese, 12,000, and Japanese, 200 acres.

Many of the old surveys made under the orders of the commission are full of defects. Some of the surveys are recorded which were made with a ship's compass or a pocket needle, with no allowance for variation. Very little attention was paid to local marks or topographical features of the country. This has resulted in many overlaps and gaps. General maps of districts or tracts giving the location of claims were scarcely thought of. Portions of government lands, sold to private parties, were surveyed at the expense of the pur-

chaser. The pieces sold were of all sizes and shapes, and were surveyed without reference to previous surveys of adjoining land, frequently cutting across each other, leaving the worthless and unsalable portions after the rest had been sold. An efficient government survey bureau has been engaged for many years, however, in straightening out this tangle, and has now reduced the system to comparative certainty. A most careful and exact trigonometrical survey of the country has been made, and the details of most of the districts filled in. The present head of the government is an able lawyer, thoroughly posted on the landed system of the islands, and under an act drafted by him government lands with good and sound titles can be purchased.

CHAPTER X.

TRIP TO THE OTHER ISLANDS AND THE VOLCANO.

A failure to remove the Jones-Wilcox cabinet by a vote of want of confidence exhibited a strength in the cabinet, revived business interest, elicited expressions of satisfaction amongst the people, and indicated a final settlement of the political crisis, which made it justifiable for the Boston to leave the harbor for a long-needed target practice. The Boston got under way on the 4th of January, 1893, with the U. S. Minister and his daughter on board as passengers and proceeded to Hilo, situated on the Island of Hawaii, about 250 miles from Honolulu.

Just prior to leaving Honolulu I drove about town in a carriage with the ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and in listening to his talk with a number of the native members of the legislature, and their answers, I became convinced that a movement was under way to oust the cabinet, and that the chances were in favor of its accomplishment. In a conversation with the United States Minister, Mr. Stevens, shortly after, I remarked that I believed that the cabinet would be voted out before the adjournment of the legislature, and from what I had heard from reliable royalist sources, the Queen had no intention of permitting them to remain in office until the meeting of the next legislature; that she

was using the lottery and opium bills as a leverage to induce the natives to vote solidly for the removal of the cabinet. The Minister replied that the Wilcox cabinet had come to stay; that he was pleased to know all was at last settled in Honolulu to America's interest, and expressed satisfaction at being able to have peace and quiet during the rest of his stay on the islands, and time to devote to some literary work. He was talking confidentially and with manifest sincerity, for he was an aged, frail man, in no condition to seek or endure the excitement of political strife attendant upon the overthrow of the monarchy, which did, in fact, hasten his death, which occurred a little over a year after.

This is extremely important, in view of the cruelly unjust charges since made by political opponents of Mr. Stevens that the overthrow of the monarchy was the result of a scheme of the American Minister.

On the way to Hilo it was not long before the Boston was abreast of the Island of Molokai, which is mountainous and thinly settled. The northern side is, to a limited extent, cultivated near the sea, and is the home of the lepers. The southern and eastern portions have rich valleys and plains that only await capital and irrigation. On the right was the Island of Lanai, a small, barren islet, wholly given up to sheep-raising. It has rich lands, only needing irrigation to bring them into cultivation. We next came to the Island of Maui, the second largest island of the group. It is about 48 miles

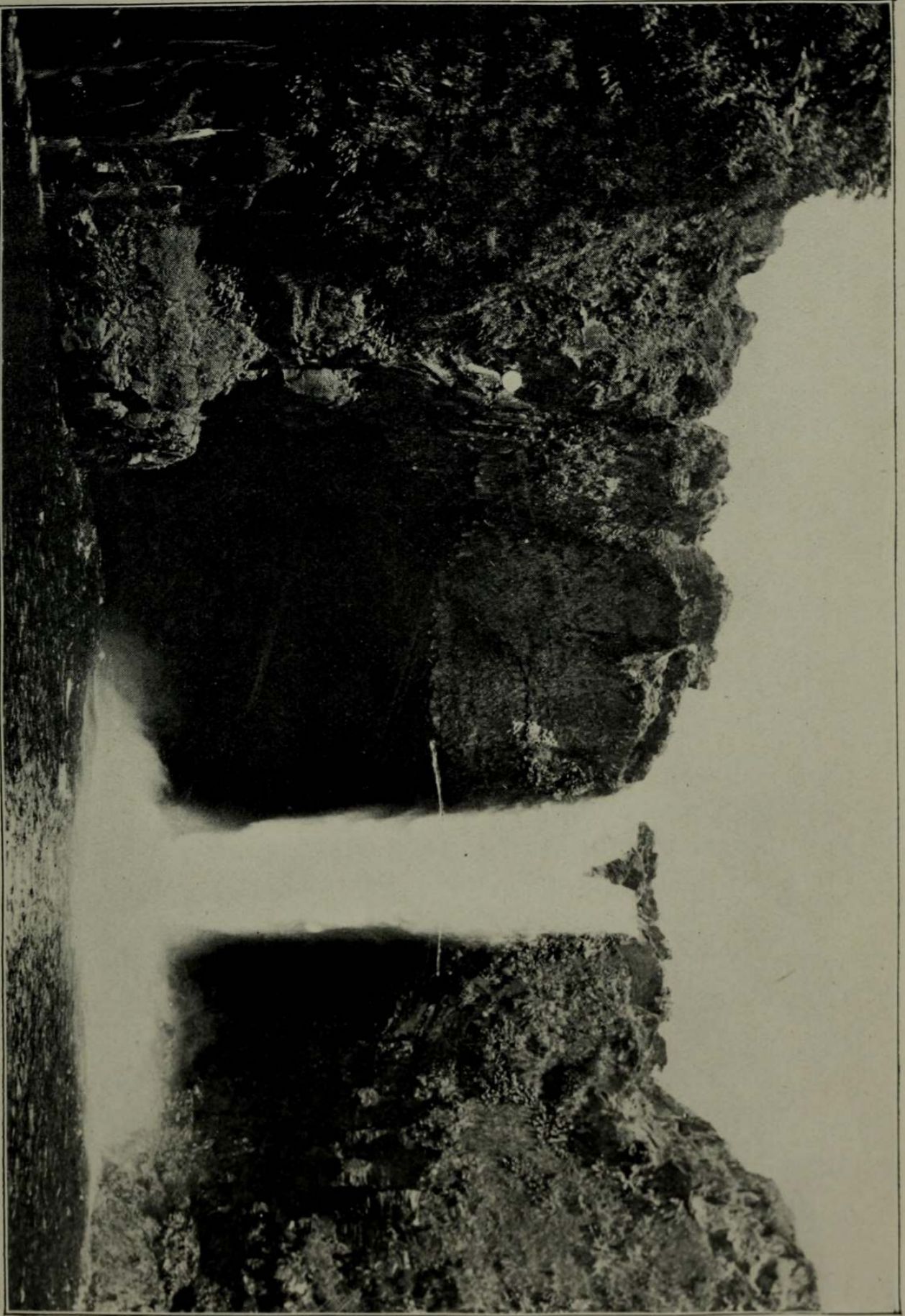
long and 30 miles wide. It is famous in ancient Hawaiian military history, and is now the scene of great enterprise and industry. At a distance it appears like two distinct islands, but on nearer approach, a low, narrow isthmus is seen to unite the two peninsulas. These two peninsulas were probably produced by the action of two adjacent volcanoes. The southern peninsula, which is the larger, is 10,000 feet high and frequently covered with snow. The hills are steep and rugged, and frequently marked with extinct craters or ancient streams of lava. In places where the volcanic matter has undergone decomposition, the ground is covered with trees. The northern slope of the island and the isthmus is well watered and in a high state of cultivation. On the western half of the island the mountains are 6,000 feet high and contain a large valley of great beauty. On the summit of the eastern half of the island is Haleakala (the house of the sun), the largest extinct volcano in the world, the crater of which is 19 miles in circumference, with walls upwards of 2,000 feet high.

From the steamer-landing at Kahului, on the northern side of the island, is a railroad to Wailuku, and to and beyond Spreckelsville through the great sugar-plantations. Lahaina, on the western side of the northern peninsula, is the old capital of the kingdom. At one time it was a most beautiful town, composed of lovely homes and attractive public buildings. It was the great port of call and rendezvous for the whaling fleets of the Pacific in

days gone by, but is now simply a dilapidated village of ancient buildings and abandoned houses, scattered about beneath a thick foliage of shade-trees and cocoanut-palms. Through these trees a glimpse of cane fields can be seen running up to the foot of immense hills in the rear, that are cut by deep ravines between rugged bluffs.

Leaving Maui, we were in a few hours off the north coast of Hawaii, the largest island of the group. The scenery along the northern or windward side of the island is both grand and beautiful. The land terminates in cliffs, varying from 200 to 2,000 feet in height, plunging down almost vertically into the Pacific. The long, heavy swell of the ocean, driven for several thousand miles before the trade-winds, breaks with great force against these bluffs, throwing spray high into the air and decorating the walls with innumerable small rainbows, produced by the soft rays of the morning sun. These bluffs are frequently cut by deep ravines, canons, and narrow gorges, through which copious streams discharge their waters in magnificent waterfalls and foaming cataracts, tumbling into the sea, giving an additional splendor to the scene. Above these bluffs, the surface slopes upwards towards the mountainous interior, at first with a gentle acclivity, then steeper, until at length it is almost precipitous, culminating in the snow-capped mountains of Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa, upwards of 14,000 feet high.

All along the coast-line can be seen the rich cane-



RAINBOW FALLS—HILO.

fields, sugar-mills, and plantation-houses, little villages, school-houses, and church-spires, while in the valleys and ravines and on the face of the bluff there is a luxurious growth of ferns, vines, and tropical vegetation. About three miles inland from the cliff-bound shore is a forest some ten to fifteen miles in depth, so dense that it can hardly be penetrated. Higher up, the sides are clothed with bushes, ferns, and mountain plants, while still beyond, the summits are composed of dark lava, partly decomposed, and entirely destitute of every kind of verdure, snow lying there throughout the year.

Finally we let go an anchor in the Bay of Hilo, from which a black sandy beach rises gently to the pretty little town of Hilo, situated at the mouth of the Wailuku river. Nature has been prodigal in her gifts of beauty to this town by the sea. On either side of the streets are merry bubbling streams, and every little nook and hillside is banked with masses of ferns and plants. Stately trees are in leaf, and roses and lilies bloom the year round. It is difficult to imagine any scenery more lovely than that which borders the Wailuku river, which has its source on the slope of Mauna Kea, and in its course dashes in foaming cataracts over cliffs, through dense tropical forests, and past the rich lowlands into the Bay at Hilo. Along its banks are scattered houses, and the lands adjoining are very fertile, producing all the tropical fruits in profusion. Just across the bay from Hilo is

Cocoanut Island, with a delightful white-beached bathing-place, where picnics are held. The people of the town gave us a grand reception there one afternoon. This island was the legendary scene of one of the greatest exploits of the last of the heroic kings of Oahu. To obtain the daughter of the great Kamehameha, the chief of Oahu quietly stole ashore here, abducted the sleeping princess and carried her from the magic shore across the moonlit waves in safety to his home, and as the picnickers while away the time on the wave-lapped beach, beneath the clustering cocoanut-trees, they still feel that Love treads the bleaching sands, a willing captive.

Hawaii is the largest and most southern island of the group, and resembles in shape an equilateral triangle, somewhat less than 300 miles in circumference. Nowhere else can the results of the interior forces of the earth be seen to better advantage than in Hawaii. The bulk of the island has been estimated to be 2,600 cubic miles of lava rock above sea-level, and it is remarkable that the soundings around the island show that less than four miles from shore there is a water depth of three and a half miles. The Pacific, if laid bare, would show these islands as a number of mountains, 32,000 feet high, with truncated tops, and presenting an appearance just the reverse of the mountains we see on shore. Instead of their being covered with vegetation at their bases, while their tops are barren, or covered with snow, they would be perfectly bare at

their bases, and all around their tops they would be covered with beautiful vegetation and coral polypus. Unlike other volcanic piles of the world, which are covered with cinder cones, the lava of the great volcanoes of Hawaii flows out evenly in enormous deluges, running sometimes for months, or even a whole year, with little or no explosive action, except at the point of exit, which gives to the colossal piles an exceptional form—a great dome with a nearly flat summit—in the center of which is a sunken pit, two and a half to three miles in width, and upwards of a thousand feet in depth. At intervals an outbreak of lava occurs through huge fissures which open in the side of the mountain. The lava spouts out in gigantic fountains from 200 to 1,000 feet high, collecting into a river of fire from a mile to two and a half miles in width, which flows toward the sea, varying its velocity according to the slope. Sometimes it runs ten miles an hour, and at others it spreads out into great lakes and fields, making little progress for days. As the flow descends, small rivulets are shot out on the sides, which soon blacken and harden, only to be covered by another and another stream. As the surface cools it remains hot within, and beneath the hardened covering the liquid river flows on, advancing sometimes less than a hundred yards a day, leaving in its train fragmental products from which are formed, by explosions, steep conical hills. These flows are destructive of everything within their path. In 1880 the flow stopped within half a

mile of the beautiful little town of Hilo. So mild in action are these flows, as a rule, that an observer may stand a few feet to the windward of one, so near that the heat will make the face tingle, yet without danger. The people flock to witness the sublime spectacle, and display as much eagerness to approach the scene as the people of other countries show to get away from one. These lava-flows have crossed and recrossed one another in a confused network, in the paths of which desolation is complete. The more recent ones are black masses of lava, covering many thousands of acres of valuable land. The vast central valley between Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea is a vast tangled wilderness of lava-flows, which sometimes extend down the mountain-side for miles without a break.

The last great flow occurred in 1887. A stream of molten lava broke through a fissure in the side of Mauna Loa, nearly 7,000 feet above the sea-level, and in three days it reached the coast, a distance of 20 miles. The most extensive flow of recent years took place in 1880, and came near destroying the town of Hilo. The lava stream burst forth from the eastern slope of Mauna Loa, 11,000 feet above the level of the sea, and continued to flow for nine months. Along the entire upper line of its advance, it was one crash of rolling, sliding, and tumbling mass of red-hot slag, from 10 to 30 feet in height, accompanied by tremendous roaring and incessant explosions. Its progress was from the interior plain down through dark forests and dense

jungles, toppling over mammoth trees, filling up streams, and driving before its lurid glare every species of beast or fowl, until finally ceasing to flow, within a half-mile of Hilo. Some of these eruptions are attended by a preliminary series of earthquake shocks and destructive tidal waves. Others are accompanied by no such phenomena.

After a few days off Hilo, engaged in great gun target-practice, a fellow officer and myself were given an opportunity to visit the greatest active volcano in the world, the volcano of Kilauea. We made arrangements the evening before with parties on shore for a conveyance, horses, and guide, and early in the morning started out in a light buggy over an excellent macadamized road being built by the government to the volcano, but not then completed. The road took us through cultivated fields and avenues of rich tropical jungle and foliage up a gradual incline until we reached the lower slopes of the majestic Mauna Loa on our right, with a beautiful vista of rich fields, fern-forests, and the broad Pacific on our left. Arriving about noon at a small tavern on the side of the road known as the Half-Way House, we stopped for refreshments, and then drove on until we reached a point near the terminal of the finished road, about 25 miles from Hilo. There we met our guide with saddle-horses, and a man to take care of the buggy. In the saddle, and preceded by the guide, we entered a narrow trail leading through an intensely thick and marshy fern-forest. The horses were

protected from sinking by a corduroy of fern logs. For about three miles we were in this forest, emerging into an open, covered with tough grass and shrubs, between great lumps of lava-rock, and the trail became easier. For six miles more our way lay over rough and desolate tracts of lava occasionally covered with a thin layer of soil on which grew, here and there, a green tuft of grass, a straggling shrub or creeping vine. In every direction we could see little conical hills of lava in distorted forms, resembling small extinct craters.

Late in the afternoon the welcome Volcano House hove in sight, and all about were to be seen jets of steam rising from the ground in every direction. The Volcano House stands but a few feet from the edge of the great crater. Its close proximity to the crater subjects it to frequent shocks of earthquake, and it looks as though it might be insecure, yet no accident has occurred since its erection. The vicinity is marked by fissures, cracks, and steam-holes. Over some of these fissures and holes are deposits of sulphur, and from these pipes are led into the hotel, forming natural steam and sulphur baths, highly beneficial upon a return from the tedious trip to the crater. From the front of the hotel we could look down into the great crater, which is nine miles in circumference and 600 feet deep, with perpendicular walls, stretching out like a great plateau. In this crater and about three miles distant is the active lake of molten lava, the smoke from which could be distinctly seen.

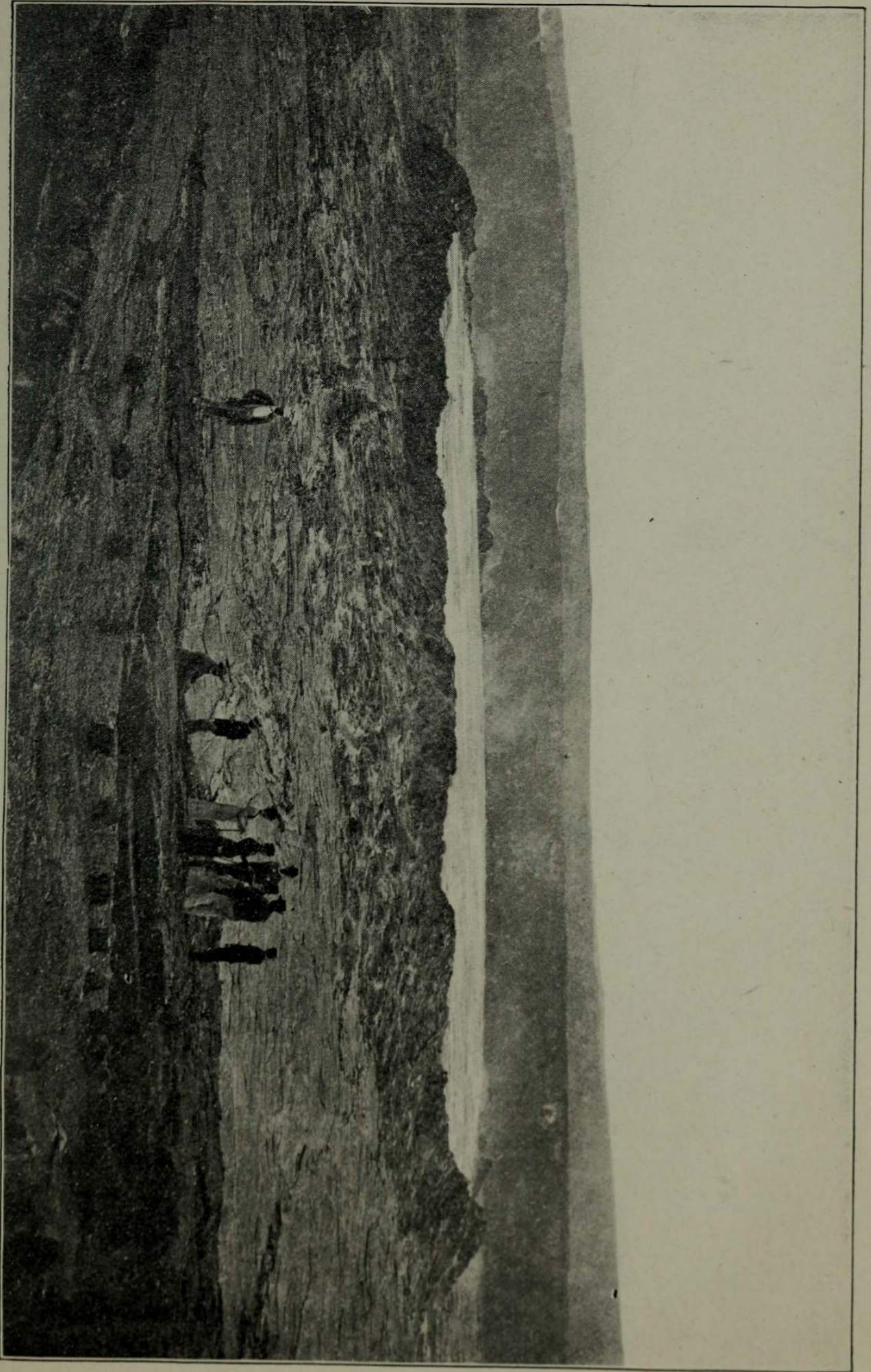
So soon as we had rested a little, our impatience to see the lake before dark caused us to arrange at once for the descent. Fresh and experienced horses were secured, and with a crater guide we set out once more. Just in front of the hotel we descended into the great crater by means of a steep zigzag road. The floor of this vast pit is covered with black lava hills in gigantic convolutions, fantastic forms and irregular shapes, piled up in endless confusion, while the level portion is crossed by many cracks and fissures, from which jets of hot steam and sulphuric vapors are constantly arising. This glistening surface crackles under foot like a thin icy crust on snow, but is firm underneath, except in some places, where the brittle covering treacherously conceals a fissure or cavity. Myriads of thread-like filaments of lava resembling twisted hair are seen floating in the air or deposited here and there, the products of volcanic fires—a product similar to blown glass. This is known as “Pele’s hair,” Pele being the mythical fire goddess of the lake. Over this great waste a trail has been constructed to within a short distance of the final pit, in which is situated the burning lake. At the end of the trail there was a paddock, where the horses were left, and we went the remainder of the distance on foot. We arrived in time to view the scene by daylight, and to make the descent about 300 feet into the inner pit, to within a few feet of the molten mass.

In this great bed we saw a volume of liquid fire,

like molten iron, moving to and fro, surging and hissing like a sea in a storm. Conducted by the guide, I went across a thin shell of lava, burning to the soles of the feet, and over crevices through which the livid fire could be seen only a few inches down, until I came to the edge of the cone-shaped wall that confined the liquid mass of some twenty acres or more. Ascending to the top of this cone, I stood within a few feet of the boiling lake, and with a stick stirred its surface. The heat was intense, as the lake of fire, boiling like a caldron, covered in places with hardened crust, separated by great lanes of fire, surged and rolled its heavy surf against its enclosing walls. The whole surface was constantly changing, fountains were playing at many points, and liquid tongues of fire would leap up as the congealed surfaces would meet with a crash, and new lanes form, sometimes opening clear across the lake. One of the fountains broke out just in front of me, and threw its clots of melted stone over the wall close to my right. I immediately climbed down the cone and made for the bluff in a straight line, against the advice of the guide. One of my feet broke through into a crevice and the whole sole of the shoe was burned off. In less than an hour the cone on which I had been standing fell in and the lava overflowed several acres.

After that I followed the guide, and reaching the top of the bluff surrounding the pit, we sat down and waited for darkness to set in, that we might

LAKE OF MOLTEN LAVA—KILAUEA.



get a good view of the lake by night. As daylight faded away, the walls of the pit began to glow with the reflection of the lurid volcanic fire, and the heavy gases hung in clouds, like reflectors in the star-lit sky. As the darkness deepened, the light from the lava grew brighter, while the jets and surges of molten fire continued without intermission, fountains of liquid fire shooting up some thirty feet. The peculiar sullen or angry roar of the fiery surf was distinctly heard, sometimes like the noise of cannon or rattling fire of musketry. The crust, which by daylight appeared to be uniformly black, now showed a network of cracks and fissures, through which the light of the molten mass could be seen. All of a sudden the fiery flood on the left rose above its embankment, and in an instant a lava stream began to flow, and soon became a river of living fire, covering a large space on that side of the pit. The effect was grand and suggestive of the great hidden force within the bowels of the earth. We sat for hours looking down on the boiling mass, entranced and fascinated. At last fatigue and hunger reminded us of the lateness of the hour, and we retraced our steps to the hotel. Arrangements had been made beforehand, so that we had dinner served immediately on our return. After dinner came a chat in the cosy room, by a cheerful fire, over what we had just observed, a quiet smoke, an exhilarating sulphur bath, and a good night's rest in comfortable spring beds.

One of the very interesting objects in the hotel,

and over which a number of pleasant hours can be spent, is the register in which the various people who have visited the volcano have written their impressions, and sketches have been drawn of the lake at different stages. The tourist may find a different scene in the great pit of Kilauea upon each visit. Sometimes the lava will overflow and fill the entire pit, and then without warning suddenly drop out of sight, hundreds of feet, as though the bottom had fallen out; then again rise to the surface.

A couple of years before my visit, the lake disappeared down a pit a thousand feet deep, into an unknown abyss. When I was there it had risen again to within 300 feet of the surface of the inner pit. This was a repetition of what must have happened on a grander scale, when the crater was formed, for the entire floor of the great crater, three miles in diameter, was formed by one of these great "break downs." The lake continued its upward tendency until it completely filled again the great inner pit, overflowing all over the floor of the main crater, until it again fell in, in July, 1894. The inner pit is now (April, 1898,) about 1,500 feet across and 500 feet deep, an inaccessible well with hot lava at the bottom. After two days' pleasant enjoyment of the cool crisp weather of this altitude, 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, we turned our faces toward Hilo and arrived in due time.

Upon our return to Hilo a plunge in one of the

large stone bathing pools for which the place is famous had the effect of removing the soreness and fatigue caused by the long horseback ride.

The next morning we returned to the ship, and the *Boston* got under way and steamed to Lahaina, where we engaged in target practice in the roadstead, with the secondary battery. This being completed, orders were given on the evening of the 13th of January to have steam up and all preparations made for getting under way at midnight for the return to Honolulu.

Shortly before that time, the inter-island steamer from Honolulu came into port and anchored near the *Boston*. The purser, who was an intimate friend, came on board, bringing the Honolulu papers, and stated that the Wilcox ministry had been voted out the preceding afternoon, and another one appointed in their stead. I immediately informed Captain Wiltse and the American Minister; they both expressed much surprise and asked which of the white members of the legislature had joined in the vote, which information could not then be obtained.

The *Boston* got under way at midnight and steamed slowly back to Honolulu. When off Diamond Head a pet dog fell overboard, and the ship steamed around the spot looking for him for over an hour. Not finding the dog, the *Boston* was once more headed for port, and about 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the 14th of January she was moored in her old berth in the harbor of Honolulu.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ACT OF THE QUEEN.

As soon as the Boston came to anchor I was sent for by the commanding officer, who read to me an invitation from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to be present at the prorogation of the legislature on that day, January 14th, at noon. The Captain, in compliance with this invitation, instructed me to put on special full-dress uniform, and in company with the American Consul-General proceed to the government building as the representative of the ship on that occasion. After having dressed myself as directed, I went on shore and met the Consul-General at the consulate, and we took a carriage and drove to the government building. Upon arrival, and before entering the hall, I was informed by a very prominent citizen that the Queen, immediately after the adjournment of the legislature, was going to proclaim a new constitution from the palace—a constitution that would abrogate the rights and privileges of all foreigners in favor of native rule and autocratic power; that danger was imminent, and he wished I would return to the ship at once and inform Captain Wiltse. I laughed at the matter, and in reply said I placed no credence in the report, to which he said he had the news from the very best of authority,

one of the cabinet ministers, and urged I should inform my commanding officer, which I declined to do. On entering the building I spoke to the Consul-General of what I had heard. He remarked that the gentleman who informed me was of a rather nervous disposition, and that he placed no credence in his statement, nor did he believe the Queen contemplated any such movement.

At the door of the legislative hall we were met by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and conducted to seats assigned to us. The legislative hall is a spacious room, about sixty feet long by thirty feet wide, having at one end a raised platform or rostrum and speaker's desk. Just in front of and below the speaker's desk is the clerks' circle, and beyond this was the hall proper, where both nobles and representatives sat together as one body, and behind them was a railing separating the legislators from the section allotted to visitors. Not long after we took our seats, the hall proper began to fill with members of the legislature, foreign officials, and distinguished guests. The space back of the railing was packed with native spectators. Nearly every member of the legislature present was decorated with the various orders of Kamehameha I and Kalakaua, consisting of great gilded stars, covering the left breast and dangling from the neck by silk bands. I was surprised to notice the entire absence of the white members, and in my cogitations as to the reason of this, began to surmise there was some truth in the information conveyed to me by the gen-

tleman on the outside, in which surmise I became more convinced when a native nobleman, who sat to my left and a little to the front, and with whom I was on quite intimate terms, turned around and in a boastful tone said to me: "We have them at last. Wait until we leave the hall and you will see something. Come over to the palace when you go out." I asked him what he meant, and he said: "Never mind, but come over to the palace." I then inquired: "Do you refer to the new constitution?" and he smiled and nodded his head in assent. Our conversation was interrupted by the entrance of the Chamberlain from a side door on the left, who, with a few assistant attendants, quickly arranged the fixtures upon the rostrum and retired. Immediately after, a few lackeys entered, followed by the Governor of Oahu, dressed in a flash uniform, covered with gold lace and embroidery, and ornamented with orders that would have pleased the Shah of Persia. He took post on the left side of the rostrum. From a side door came the royal procession with all the pomp and paraphernalia this semi-savage Queen could surround herself with, a comedy compared with which Pinafore and the Mikado would be considered Shakesperean.

First came the Chamberlain, supporting in front of him a large portfolio containing the Queen's message of prorogation. From it were streaming the ends of white and blue silk ribbons. Next came four dusky aides-de-camp in full uniform, somewhat similar to that worn by a colonel in the

United States army. They were stiff and pretentious, varying in personal appearance, size, shape, and color, and exhibiting the air of fully realizing the importance of their exalted positions. After them were the feather kahili bearers, supporting the emblems of savage royalty. These were followed by her Majesty the Queen, dressed in a light colored silk which tended to add somewhat to her dark complexion and negro-like features, and more plainly exhibiting in the facial outlines a look of savage determination. The dress was provided with a very long train, which was supported by four Kanaka lackeys dressed in blue velvet cut-away coats, knee breeches, white stockings, and buckled slippers. They were extremely awkward and ungainly, and were a source of annoyance to the Queen, who appeared to be unfamiliar with this ornamental appendage. Next came four homely ladies in waiting, dressed in the loud colors so much admired by all dark-colored races. Then the two royal princes, modest in demeanor, but dudish in appearance. After them came the newly appointed cabinet ministers, and then the dignified justices of the supreme court, whose manly bearing and intellectual appearance gave a relief to what had preceded. One of them, Mr. Dole, afterwards became the President of the Provisional Government and of the Republic.

As the procession entered, the Chamberlain turned to the right and placed the portfolio on the desk, opened it, arranged the message for the Queen's con-

venience, and took his stand just to the left. The kahili-bearers formed in line to the rear. The Queen, in turning to face the legislative body, caught her feet in the cumbersome train and partially stumbled. It was due partly to her own awkwardness and turning too quickly, and partly to the slowness and ignorance of the train-bearers. She immediately turned with flashing eyes and angered features and spoke to her lackeys, and then stepped up to the desk and waited. The aides-de-camp formed in a diagonal line on her left, and the maids of honor were similarly disposed on her right, all facing the Queen. The ministers and the justices of the court remained on the right. As soon as all were in position the Chamberlain stepped up, and taking the message from the desk handed it to the Queen, who slowly and deliberately commenced to read it, first in English and then in Hawaiian. While reading she exhibited evidences of both anger and great mental strain. Her eyes flashed, and the facial expressions of a nervous yet determined temperament indicated an excitement in no way associated with what is known as stage fright.

As soon as the Queen had finished reading her proclamation the procession reformed on the rostrum, and in the order of entering passed through to the room then used as an office by the Minister of the Interior, where she held a sort of reception. She took her seat, and, surrounded by the court attendants and cabinet ministers, received the then ex-members of the legislature and other officials.

The Consul-General said he would not go in, and I went into the reception-room alone. As I entered the door the governor of Oahu, who was standing near by, stepped up to me and entered into a short conversation. He was very nervous and his language rather disconnected, conveying to me the impression that he wished to prevent my going further. But as I was there under orders and in an official capacity, and desired to see the remainder of the show, I passed on. Arriving before the Queen I extended my salutations and congratulations, which were coldly received and with evident dissatisfaction that I was there. Her manner and general appearance were such as to convince me that I was right in the opinion I had formed when she was reading her proclamation, namely, that she was under the influence of some intoxicant rather than mere excitement. This opinion was borne out later in the day when a very high and distinguished official, who had been near her person all the afternoon, said to me, "We have at last induced her to postpone her *coup*, and if she had not been full of gin we would have accomplished it long ago." A similar statement was made to me by one of her personal favorites several days later. I paid no attention to her conduct towards me, but entered into a cordial conversation with one of her ministers, of whom I was fond, and from whom I had been the recipient of many acts of friendly hospitality. After a short talk and friendly exchanges of courtesies with some of the attendants, I left the building.

On the outside a large crowd of natives and a few whites were congregated, while great numbers were moving towards the palace grounds. I was again told of the Queen's intention to proclaim a new constitution, and a half-white by the name of Wilcox, an ex-member of the legislature and generally mixed up in every revolution that takes place, in a burst of confidence, said to me that he would have nothing to do with it; that the Queen, in anticipation of resistance on the part of the whites, had sent for him the night before to take command of four small pieces of cannon which she had caused to be placed in the upper halls of the palace, enfilading the approaches to that building from all sides, and that he had declined. These cannon were still there when the Provisional Government took possession of the palace. I also learned that the household guards to the number of eighty, who were at that time drawn up in line from the palace to the entrance gate, were armed with ball cartridges and under the command of a favorite who had received explicit instructions. The police-station had been fortified with two Gatlings, and a force of police, under the Marshal, and were in readiness for immediate use. I still had my doubts as to the accuracy of either the whole or part of the prevailing rumors; but on entering the palace grounds and noticing the extraordinary gathering and the position and armament of the troops, I began to realize the seriousness of the situation and felt it my duty to

at once go on board ship and report to my commanding officer what was going on, which I did. He was very much surprised, and said he had just before received a message of similar import, but paid little or no attention to it; but from what I reported to him he thought it best to find out all he could. I was then ordered to shift into citizens' clothes and return on shore as soon as possible, and in a quiet way obtain any and all information and keep him posted.

Immediately upon my return on shore, I found at the landing a number of native boatmen loitering about who informed me that the Queen was going to make a new constitution, and that there was much excitement at the palace and uptown. A few minutes later I met an American, who was on his way to the Boston to convey the news to Captain Wiltse. He informed me the Queen had commanded the ministers to countersign the new constitution and they had refused, in consequence of which she had threatened their lives. To avoid personal danger, in great fear and excitement they had hastily made their way down town and appealed to the leading men of the community to protect and sustain them. I was further informed that at the office of W. O. Smith, on Fort street, a large number of prominent men were holding a meeting. I hurried on to that place, only a few hundred yards from the landing, and found the two rooms of the office crowded with the best men of the city, irrespective of political affiliations, busily devising

ways and means to avert serious consequences, and to prevent, if possible, the Queen from doing such an unconstitutional act. Some excitement was exhibited on the part of a few, and much uneasiness shown by all, yet every one was outspoken in a determination to do something to prevent the arbitrary promulgation of a constitution. Short speeches were made, voicing this sentiment, but nothing was said or intimated beyond a condemnation of the Queen's act as unconstitutional, and threatening the business interests of the kingdom.

I left them still in session and went on to the palace grounds, where the native crowd still remained waiting for news from the inside of the palace. The soldiers were still drawn up in line ready for a move. The natives in the grounds appeared to be unconcerned and quiet. I made a circuit of the city, and in the eastern suburbs met a body of natives on horseback coming in from the country. I learned later that they were simply returning from a feast up the adjoining valley. I immediately returned to the center of the town and visited the hotels, clubs, and public places, and heard the people discussing the situation. The prevalent talk was a denunciation of the Queen in no measured terms. The intelligent people appeared to be alarmed and exceedingly apprehensive of serious trouble, and throughout the city the excitement and uneasiness were growing. At W. O. Smith's office the crowd had increased, with many people on the sidewalk, in front of the door, while those inside were still in

discussion. I then went again to the palace, meeting the Chief Justice coming in a carriage from the palace. He stopped and informed me that, after hours of argument and persuasion, the Queen had been induced to defer her *coup d'état*, but that she had announced her determination to promulgate the new constitution in a few days. The Chief Justice thought she would attempt it again on Monday, and that such was her stubbornness and determination they would have the whole affair to go through with again.

I went on to the palace grounds and there saw the Queen in front of the palace, standing on the balcony. She had just finished a speech in the throne-room, before a large gathering, stating her desire to promulgate a new constitution, declaring that she had been prevented from doing so by her ministers. She repeated, in substance, this speech from the balcony to the crowd in the grounds. There was no cheering, or any evidence of enthusiasm or regret on the part of the natives. They were simply unconcerned as to what was going on, beyond the novelty of the affair and a morbid curiosity over something that was unusual in their daily life. While the Queen still stood on the balcony, two natives near her began to harangue the crowd, stating that the ministry, under the influence of the whites, had prevented the Queen from giving them a new constitution, and appealed to them to rise and kill those opposing her. A few natives in front, realizing what the effect of such language

as this would be, climbed up the balcony and, by force, removed the two incendiary speakers from the scene. Neither the Queen, nor any one near her, made any effort to stop these speakers, and her actions indicated that she was pleased with their remarks and conduct. After this the natives began to disperse and leave the palace grounds. At night quiet crowds gathered about the streets, in the hotels and public places, and the conversations there were universally condemnatory of the Queen's revolutionary act.

From all these sources I learned that the Queen, immediately after leaving the government building, had gone direct to the palace and retired to the blue room, where she summoned the ministers to come to her at once. She presented to them the draft of the new constitution and demanded their signatures, declaring at the same time her intention to promulgate it at once. In the meantime a native political association, all dressed in evening dress and tall hats, carrying banners and badges, had marched in columns of two from the government building. They were headed by their president carrying a large flat package suspended in front of him by ribbons about his shoulders. This was a draft of the new constitution, a prepared address and petition for the promulgation of the constitution. All this had been prearranged by direct orders from the Queen. They marched to the throne-room and took position in regular lines, the president to the front and holding in his hands the

address opened and ready to read at the given signal when the Queen took her position on the dais. In the throne-room were also assembled a few members of the diplomatic corps, two of the judges of the supreme court, the Governor of Oahu, the two princes, and a number of the native members of the late legislature, all in position for a state ceremony, but they were kept waiting by what was going on in the blue room. Two of the ministers, Colburn and Peterson, positively refused to sign the document, and the other two reluctantly followed their example. The Queen became enraged and, in most excited and emphatic terms, accented by a sudden striking of the table with her clenched fist, informed them if they did not sign the paper laid before them she would go out on the balcony and denounce them. To gain time and means of escape, they asked for fifteen minutes to retire and deliberate. This was at first refused, but finally granted. They had no sooner left the room than they hurried over to the government building and immediately sent word down town calling on the citizens to support them in their resistance to the revolutionary acts of the Queen. They sent for several of their leading opponents of the Reform party and asked their advice. They were promised the support of the Reform party, and advised to resist the Queen; to issue a proclamation declaring the Queen in revolution against the constitution and calling on the people to support them; also to request the assistance of the American naval forces,

if necessary, to maintain order. The cabinet acquiesced in the plan, if the Queen persisted, and at their request a draft of proclamation and request, in accordance with such advice, was drawn up on the spot. Two of the ministers signed the request to land troops, but it was never delivered. Two of them, Colburn and Peterson, more apprehensive of their safety and impatient of delay, rushed down town and personally addressed the meeting at Smith's office, appealing for their support against the Queen. Leading people hurried together at Smith's office and, after brief consultation, unanimously agreed to support the laws and resist the revolutionary encroachments of the Queen, and sent a message to that effect to the ministers. A document pledging the armed support of the signers, to the Cabinet, for the purpose of resisting the revolutionary acts of the Queen, was drawn up and signed by nearly every one present. The ministers were advised not to resign, and to hold out to the last. Meanwhile the Queen was in the blue room awaiting the return of the ministers. She finally sent a messenger requesting their immediate return. Two of the ministers refused, on the ground that their lives would be endangered. Two went to the palace, and somewhat later, upon receiving assurances of support from the people at Smith's office, the other two reluctantly followed.

In the meantime the Queen's especial favorite, C. B. Wilson, the Marshal, and one who was known to have great influence over her, was sent

into the blue room. He used all his power to induce her to go no further. He even threatened her; but finding her obdurate, he assured her of his support if she persisted. Just as the ministers returned, he went to the police-station, called in all the police that could be spared, appointed and armed a few white friends as deputies, and made preparations for armed resistance or aggression, as the occasion might require. Other efforts were made to induce the Queen to retrace the revolutionary steps she had already taken, but without avail, she only consenting, with great reluctance, to a temporary postponement of the premeditated *coup*.

The importance of the measures taken by the Queen, the Marshal, and the Cabinet, above set forth, consists in the fact that they constitute an absolute refutation of the reiterated charge made by Commissioner Blount, Secretary Gresham, and President Cleveland, that there was profound peace in Honolulu when the Boston troops landed and the Provisional Government was formed.

From my personal observation, made at the time, on the spot, and an intimate personal acquaintance with all the leading people of all parties, I assert unhesitatingly that during the three days between the attempt of the Queen to overturn the constitution and the proclamation of the Provisional Government Honolulu was a slumbering volcano, liable to break out into bloody conflict at any time on two minutes' notice. I repeatedly urged Captain Wiltse to land the troops on Sunday, but he waited until the

evidences of impending conflict became so strong that he would have been wilfully negligent of his duty to have waited longer, and did not land until Monday afternoon.

The assembly in the throne-room, after listening to her announcement, left the building, and the news was sent to the citizens down town of what had transpired. The impromptu meeting at Smith's office, appreciating that the Queen did not intend to give up, and that the trouble had but begun, continued their deliberations. A Committee of Public Safety, composed of thirteen members, was formed, to which the further consideration of the situation was delegated, and the assembly adjourned. The committee remained where they were and continued their deliberations for about an hour, but with little or no plan of operations.

The unanimously expressed opinion was that the Queen, having violated her oath to support the constitution, the people were absolved from further obligations to her; that she was in revolution against the government; that this was only the last act of a series extending over years, all tending in the one direction, viz., the concentration of arbitrary power in the hands of the sovereign, and encroachment upon the just rights of the people; that the limit of endurance had been reached, and the abolition of the monarchy was the sound course to pursue. Before adjourning, the sense of the committee was formally expressed in the following resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 12

to 1, the one explaining that the only reason why he voted "no" was because there was no assurance as to what the United States would do :

"*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this committee that in view of the present unsatisfactory state of affairs, the proper course to pursue is to abolish the monarchy and apply for annexation to the United States."

The committee adjourned about dark, without having come to any decision as to means of carrying the resolution into effect, agreeing to meet on the following morning. Several of the committee and some other leading citizens held an informal meeting that night, at the residence of a prominent citizen, which gathering was reported to the Marshal, who at once informed the Queen and her supporters and requested that she would declare martial law and permit him to arrest the Committee of Safety, but she was afraid to do it. The Marshal deserves great credit for his course throughout this exciting period. Fully realizing and disapproving the Queen's unlawful project, he nevertheless was loyal to his mistress and displayed more judgment and genuine pluck than all of her other followers put together.

The main features of the constitution which the Queen attempted to promulgate had been at her order drafted and submitted to Peterson and Colburn weeks before, meeting at the time with no disapproval by them. Parker and Cornwell, the other two ministers, were in ignorance of its full text.

The knowledge of the extreme character of the instrument, and of the effect which it would have upon the determined characters who had led the fight against both Kalakaua and Liliuokalani accounts for the great fear on the part of the first two and the less anxiety shown by the latter two ministers at the critical moment.

The most objectionable clauses of the proposed constitution provided that the Queen should have the power to appoint and remove at will her ministers; that all members of the upper house of the legislature were to be appointed for life or good behavior, the choice being absolute with her instead of their being elected by the people for terms of six years as had theretofore been done; that the tenure of office of the Supreme Court judges should be changed to six years only instead of for life, as theretofore; that all whites theretofore possessing the voting right should be disfranchised except those married to native women.

Such was the condition of affairs when I returned to the ship at midnight. I made a detailed statement of the situation, and expressed the opinion that nothing would happen that night, but that, from the state of feeling of the people, serious trouble would come as soon as the counter-revolutionists could organize.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LANDING OF THE BOSTON'S TROOPS.

The following morning, Sunday, January 15, 1893, the Committee of Safety met again, and, after discussing the situation in all its bearings, came to the conclusion that a proclamation should be issued abrogating the monarchy and establishing a provisional government in its place. Word was sent to the Cabinet that, in accordance with their request, the people had organized to support them with armed force against the Queen's revolutionary course; that the Committee of Safety would act in subordination to the Cabinet if they would lead in taking the Queen at her word; but that the committee insisted upon action. The Cabinet were requested to declare that by violating the constitution the Queen had vacated the throne, and were informed that if they failed to take this course the committee would proceed to act without them. The Cabinet asked for time to consider the proposition. They were told that the committee were proceeding with their preparations and would stop for nothing; that it rested entirely with the Cabinet whether they led the movement or not; but in any event the committee would act as soon as it was ready to do so. The committee decided to call a mass-meeting, make a report, and ask this

general gathering of citizens to confirm their appointment, and authorize the taking of whatever further steps were necessary to advance the public welfare and secure the rights of the people from future aggression. The mass-meeting, of about 2,000 men, was held on Monday, noon, the report presented, and strong resolutions adopted condemning the Queen, approving the course of the committee and authorizing it to continue to act. The committee continued its meetings and began the work of organization and preparations. Couriers were sent all over town to notify friends of the movement to arm themselves, and be prepared to answer a call when needed. The various old volunteer organizations and the people who had brought Kalakaua to terms in 1887 and put down the revolution instituted by Liliuokalani in 1889 now began to stir themselves, and by night one squad of about 50 men reported with arms at a rendezvous on Emma street. Another squad of 75, mostly Germans, met at a place on Fort street, back of the Chinese church. Posters were displayed calling on the people for a mass-meeting on the following day, to be held in the old armory on Beretania street. The result of the deliberations of the Committee of Safety, the posting of these notices, and the gathering of armed men were known to the Marshal and by him reported to the Queen, but her advisers were afraid to act, and the meetings of the committee and gathering forces were left undisturbed.

The Marshal afterwards told me he had urged the ministers to let him open an attack on the opponents of the Queen before they got too strong, but they would not let him do it. All this time the forces at the palace and station-house were kept under arms. Transpiring events were reported to Captain Wiltse at various times during the day, and he went on shore twice to make personal observations. On his return to the ship he informed me the situation on shore was very critical, and expressed the opinion that he ought to land a force to protect Americans and property, but he did not want to do that unless absolutely necessary. He said he had several interviews with the United States Minister, who informed him that he and the English Minister had used their best influences to stop the Queen, but could do nothing, and that he (Wiltse) and the Minister had agreed upon great caution. In the meantime the aggressive spirit of the Queen had weakened. She began to realize the seriousness of the situation, and exhibited grave fears of being deprived of her throne. She and her followers became frightened at the tone of intense feeling manifested by the people, and began to cast about for means of saving themselves. A peace was patched up between the Queen and her ministers, and for the time being she forgave them for their perfidy. Without a moment's hesitation, and without replying to the proposition of the Committee of Safety, the Cabinet abandoned the citizens whom they had called upon for help, and who had organized in good faith to assist them.

A secret meeting was held on Sunday noon, at the office of the Attorney-General, in the government building, by a few citizens and hangers-on of the palace and the now reconciled cabinet, and they decided to call a counter mass-meeting of natives the next day at Palace Square. It was decided that the tone of this meeting should be very conservative. A "by authority," to be signed by the Queen and countersigned by the Cabinet, was drawn up, announcing that the Queen had abandoned her intention to force a new constitution, and that in future she would abide by constitutional requirements. Speakers were detailed and posted as to what they should say, in a temperate and peaceful manner. On Monday morning, although outwardly quiet, the city was the recruiting ground for two hostile camps. The Queen, the Marshal, and the Cabinet were increasing their forces and preparing for the demonstration of the people acting through the Committee of Safety, which was preparing swiftly and with little concealment of its objects. The people were, by this time, organized into armed bodies ready at a moment's call, with squads still forming, of sufficient force to command the entire situation. The palace guards were kept constantly under arms and ready for active work with a battery of field artillery, while the police-station was barricaded and fortified with two Gatling guns, and nearly the whole police force and a number of special deputies. The city was full of Canadian refugees, beach-combers, and loafers from all over the world, eager

for incendiarism and loot, with two mass-meetings of opposing factions, to be held in the afternoon at points only a block apart. The situation was alarming, excitement intense, and a feeling of uncertainty as to what would take place. The bubble was likely to break at any moment, and disorder and riot be precipitated. The Marshal had notified the leaders of the Committee of Safety that the mass-meeting should not be held, and receiving no favorable answer, he reported to the Queen's headquarters that it would be impossible to stop it without armed interference. A message was sent to the Committee of Safety by the Cabinet on Sunday, stating the ministers would like to meet and consult with representatives of their number, which request was complied with on Monday morning. In that interview the ministers urged the committee to go no further, stating that the Queen had agreed to go no further with the constitution matter. The committee replied they could place no confidence in the Queen's pledges, that she had gone too far, and they would proceed with their deliberations without regard to what the Queen said or did.

This alarmed the Queen and her supporters still more, and impressed upon them the enthusiasm and determination of the respectable and conservative portion of the community to put an end to the corrupt monarchy. The ministers made public the "by authority" referred to, and sent copies to all the foreign legations in the hope of obtaining their support, but without avail. Not only was this con-

dition of affairs reported to Captain Wiltse, but, to make sure, he went on shore in the morning to ascertain the facts, and with a personal knowledge of the danger to life and property that existed, there was no other course for him to pursue than to land a force before it was too late, and he made up his mind to do so. Immediately upon his return to the ship, about 10 A. M., he called me to the cabin and with closed doors told me of the condition of affairs as he had learned them, confirming what I had already reported.

The leading citizens of the town were openly and publicly preparing to oust the Queen's government by force of arms. They were making no concealment of their intentions. On the contrary, they informed the Cabinet on Sunday morning, again on Monday morning, and the Marshal on Monday noon, what their intentions were. The Queen and Cabinet were making such preparations as they could to resist.

There were several thousand American citizens and many million dollars' worth of American property at the very focus of this cyclonic condition of affairs.

It was manifest that the government was unable to protect itself, and could not under any circumstances protect life and property.

If ever a situation warranted the landing of troops to protect American interests, this was such an occasion, and Captain Wiltse, after consulting the American Minister and myself, decided that his duty plainly required him to land.



CAPTAIN G. C. WILTSE, U. S. N., COMMANDER U. S. S. BOSTON.

He asked me how long it would take to get ready for landing the two revolving cannon, and two Gatling guns, with ammunition. I replied, half an hour.

Shortly afterwards the executive officer instructed me to get one revolving cannon, and one Gatling gun, with their field carriages, and one caisson ready, and to let him know how many men I needed to fill up the complement, and to get the boats ready for lowering. All of which I did. Other preparations were made and the men of the battalion instructed to get their dinner, and to pack their knapsacks for heavy marching order. Captain Wiltse sent for me again and, in a confidential manner, as was his usual course with me, read his confidential letter of instructions from the Navy Department, and from Admiral Brown, commanding the United States naval forces in the Pacific. In the discussion which followed I fully agreed with him as to the necessity of landing a force. I remarked that the situation was such that great tact and judgment would have to be used to avoid being accused of interfering or taking sides with one or other of the contending parties. His reply was that he intended to maintain a perfectly neutral attitude, but he would prevent any injury to Americans or their property, incendiarism or pilfering, even if he had to fight all hands. As soon as the men had finished their meal, the battalion was gotten ready, ammunition put up, belts filled with ball cartridges, and the men fitted out for heavy marching order, with

instructions to be ready to land at 4 o'clock. The time set was supposed to be about the hour the two mass-meetings would finish their deliberations, and should they come together in a hostile manner, we would be on the scene in time to prevent riot and bloodshed within the city proper, or in the vicinity of the innocent women and children. The battalion consisted of one company of artillery, two companies of blue-jackets, and one of marines, with musicians, and hospital corps. The men were provided with knapsacks and double belts, each holding from 60 to 80 cartridges. The caisson and ammunition-boxes were filled with ammunition, taking in all 14,000 rounds of rifle, 1,200 revolver cartridges, and 174 common explosive shells for the revolving cannon.

At 1.30 the citizens began to assemble, and before 2 o'clock the large armory on Beretania street was crowded to its utmost capacity with the largest and most enthusiastic mass-meeting ever held in Honolulu. Every class in the community was fully represented—mechanics, merchants, professional men, and artisans of every kind being present in full force. The report of the Committee of Safety was submitted and unanimously adopted, which was a condemnation of the acts of the Queen and her supporters as being unlawful and unwarranted, endangering the peace of the community and tending to excite riot and cause destruction of life and property. The appointment of the Committee of Safety was confirmed or ratified and they were in-

structed and empowered to further devise such ways and means as might be necessary to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order and protection to life, liberty, and property in Hawaii.

At the same time that the mass-meeting was in session at the armory, the royalists, under the instruction of the government, were holding a counter demonstration at Palace Square. A resolution, as previously agreed upon by the Queen and her supporters, was adopted, accepting the royal assurance that she would no longer seek to promulgate a new constitution by revolutionary means. Notwithstanding the instructions of the night before for the speakers to be most conservative in their remarks, some of them gave vent to expressions of a desire for bloodshed. During the sessions of the two gatherings the stores in town were closed, business suspended and drinking-saloons stopped from selling liquor, and excitement was intense, while the city was at the mercy of a mob, as most all the policemen had been called into the police-station.

The Committee of Safety met as soon as the mass-meeting adjourned. Numerous citizens, fearing a repetition of the mob of 1874, and probable destruction of the town, outrages upon the persons of women and children, urged the committee to request the American Minister to land a force from the Boston for the protection of life and property. This was prepared but was not delivered until after the Minister's visit to the Boston hereunder referred to, and had nothing to do with the subsequent land-

ing. While the two mass-meetings were in session the American Minister came on board the Boston, several hours after the order had been given for the battalion to land. Captain Wiltse immediately sent for the officers who were to accompany the men on shore, to come into the cabin, and be present at the interview and consultation with the Minister. The Minister spoke of the Queen's proclamation to abandon her attempt to proclaim a new constitution, and of the attitude of the leading people of the city in support of the Committee of Safety; also of the large mass-meeting being held by order of the committee, and of the counter meeting, composed mostly of low whites and natives. He thought they might come into conflict and that trouble was imminent; that Captain Wiltse should be prepared to land if necessary. "Should you land," said he, "you need not apprehend any one firing upon you, as they have never done such a thing under other and similar circumstances;" referring to the landing of American troops in 1874 and 1889. Captain Wiltse replied that he realized the necessity and had already given orders to land the troops at 4 P. M., to protect American interests. Then turning to the officers present he read a short letter of instructions to them. These instructions were taken bodily from his confidential letter from the Navy Department, and were prepared in the morning when he first decided to land. One of the officers present asked how far he was to go in the event of a change in

the state of affairs, or should he be attacked by either of the contending forces. Captain Wiltse thereupon supplemented his written by oral instructions, to this effect: Under conditions as he then understood them to exist, he would have to largely depend upon the judgment of the officers going on shore; that they had been long enough in Honolulu to be thoroughly acquainted with all Americans and the location of their property; that they should be protected so long as they preserved a neutral attitude.

The Minister, after remarking, "I am glad you are going to land," and that he thought the landing absolutely necessary, left the ship. At 5 P. M. the battalion was landed at the regular landing at Brewer's wharf, and after being formed on shore, marched to the corner of Fort and Merchant streets, where a squad of the marine company was detailed to protect the United States consulate. The rest of the marine company was marched to the United States legation, on Nuuanu avenue. The main body of the force was marched up Merchant street through Palace Square. As it passed the palace entrance, the Queen was seen standing on the front balcony of the palace, whereupon a royal marching salute was given her, arms port, drooping of colors, and ruffles on the drums. As we marched through the city there were no policemen or guardians of the peace at their posts for the protection of the public. A little beyond Palace Square, the battalion halted for the purpose of finding some place to go into

camp. An effort was made at first to secure an old armory near the boat-landing, as that was in touch with a base on board ship, but it was refused, as was the opera house, the only two places of suitable dimensions available. These being refused, the forces were marched on out King street, nearly a half mile, to the residence of an American, and in his yard the troops were bivouacked under the trees. About 9.30 P. M. Captain Wiltse drove up, and said he had secured a temporary place in a hall to the rear of the opera house, commonly known as Arion Hall. This building was a small, low, wooden structure with a wide porch front and rear, and was originally erected by the corrupt minister to Kalakaua, Gibson, for the purpose of high carnivals and political gatherings of their ring.

The battalion was immediately formed and marched to the hall and went into camp. I was made officer of the day and posted pickets inside the yard at all the approaches to the camp, and kept watch myself for anything unusual along the front of the opera house. I soon saw that this was the best strategical position in the city for the main body of the troops to encamp, with the two smaller bodies of troops in the narrow business portion of the city, and at the United States Legation. The broad streets diverging from Palace Square afforded an easy means of mobilizing at any point, while the opera house in front constituted a formidable breastwork. From in front of the opera house a good view was obtained of the vicinity of the

fortified police-station and center of the business portion of the city, along King and Merchant streets, and of the vicinity of the government barracks across the Palace Square; the park of the principal hotel; the approaches to the armory occupied by the citizen forces, and the grounds surrounding the government buildings. The whole section was, with the exception of the government buildings, occupied by American property and residents. I immediately procured several men whom I knew well, and in whom I had implicit confidence, to scour the town and obtain all information possible of the situation, disposition and number of troops on each side, movements of the citizens, and from time to time I received information afterwards corroborated by actual participants. I was informed that the police had all been called in, and a few deputy marshals, newly appointed, in citizen's dress, were the only government officers doing duty in the streets of the city; that the government forces, consisting of the household guard and policemen, were divided into two detachments, one of 60 men at the barracks and palace grounds, the other of 80 men at the fortified police-station, making in all 140 men. With the exception of a few newly appointed deputy marshals, these were all the forces that the Queen had at her command up to the time of the overturn of the monarchy. At the same time, I learned there were 175 men of the volunteer forces under arms, mostly members of a military organi-

zation known as the "Honolulu Guards," famous for the aggressive and determined part they had taken in forcing Kalakaua to terms in 1887, and in putting down the Liliuokalani-Wilcox revolution of 1889. They were quartered in three different sections of the city, within convenient positions for a quick and easy mobilization of a part or whole at any desired point within the city. One of these squads to the number of 80 men were in a building on Fort street, in rear of the Chinese church. Another squad of 50 men were in an old building on Emma Square, while a third of 45 were encamped in the armory on Beretania street, commanding any flank movement from the government barracks. It was apparent to my mind that the citizens were the masters of the situation, as they had much fighting material yet to draw from, while the Queen's supporters had melted away. Our forces were so placed as to enforce upon both sides a proper regard for the safety of property and the protection of non-combatants, and, if necessary, to prevent fighting in the streets, as our forces did when they landed in Panama during the revolution there in 1885. Early in the evening the deputy marshal, dressed in citizen's clothes, called to see me with an apparent friendly message from the Marshal, but obviously to find out the disposition of our forces, and the part we proposed to take in the event of a fight. I understood his mission and extended to him a most cordial reception, took him all through the camp and

emphatically informed him we were there simply to protect American life and property, and under no circumstances would we take part with either side ; but I believed no fighting would be permitted in the streets or residence portion of the city. He replied, they knew that, and the next evening the Marshal told me he knew we would have nothing to do with either side, and that he wanted to go out and fight, stating at the same time the cowardly ministers would not let him. The deputy departed with a friendly message and with cordial feelings, and offered to send me something for my comfort in camp, which he did later that night.

All night long, rumors of an alarming nature prevailed of the intention, by native supporters of the Queen, to burn the residences of her leading opponents, and the business portion of the city. The fire-patrol was kept on the alert for immediate use. Many women were very much frightened, and some of the people sent their families out of the city to Waikiki. There were two fires during the night of an incendiary nature, and on each occasion I called out the guard ready for a move, and sent couriers to find out where the fires were. Learning that they were of little importance and that American property was not involved, I returned the guard to their quarters. This calling out of the guard had a good effect, and was the means of quieting the extreme tension of feeling. The fact that we were ready and on the alert to protect them inspired confidence among orderly people.

That evening the Committee of Safety continued their deliberations and perfected their plans. They finally decided to abrogate the monarchy and establish a provisional government in its stead, and this accomplished, to submit an appeal for annexation to the United States. Mr. J. H. Soper was appointed to take command of the military forces. A committee of two was appointed to select four persons to constitute an executive council, and others to act as an advisory council. Judge Dole of the supreme court was chosen to act as the head of the government. A messenger from their number was sent to invite Judge Dole's attendance at the meeting. He came, and after hearing their proposition said that he doubted the advisability of abrogating the monarchy yet, and that he did not entirely favor the idea of annexation to the United States. He suggested that it might be better to establish a regency and place Kaiulani on the throne. Kaiulani had been appointed heiress apparent by her aunt, Liliuokalani, and confirmed as such by the legislature. Dole's advice, even at this time, might have been taken and the monarchy preserved, had that young princess been educated in the United States, and not in England under the self-appointed guardianship of T. H. Davies, an Englishman of pronounced bitterness against American interests, and who had repeatedly in the local press of Honolulu, over his own signature, denounced in bitter terms and unfriendly spirit the rights of the United States to establish a naval station at

Pearl Harbor. It was also reported that his son was engaged to marry the princess. Even as it was, there was a long discussion as to the acceptance of Dole's advice, but the feeling prevailed that bitter experience had demonstrated that the Kala-kaua blood was not to be trusted, and that if action were not taken now, it would have to be taken at some time in the future, after another struggle, and under, perhaps, more unfavorable circumstances. Finally, upon the earnest persuasion of the committee, Dole consented to take the matter under advisement and further consideration, and give them an answer on the following day. After persistent efforts on the part of the committee, Judge Dole agreed on the following day to accept the responsible position, which acceptance sealed the doom of the monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands.

CHAPTER XIII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

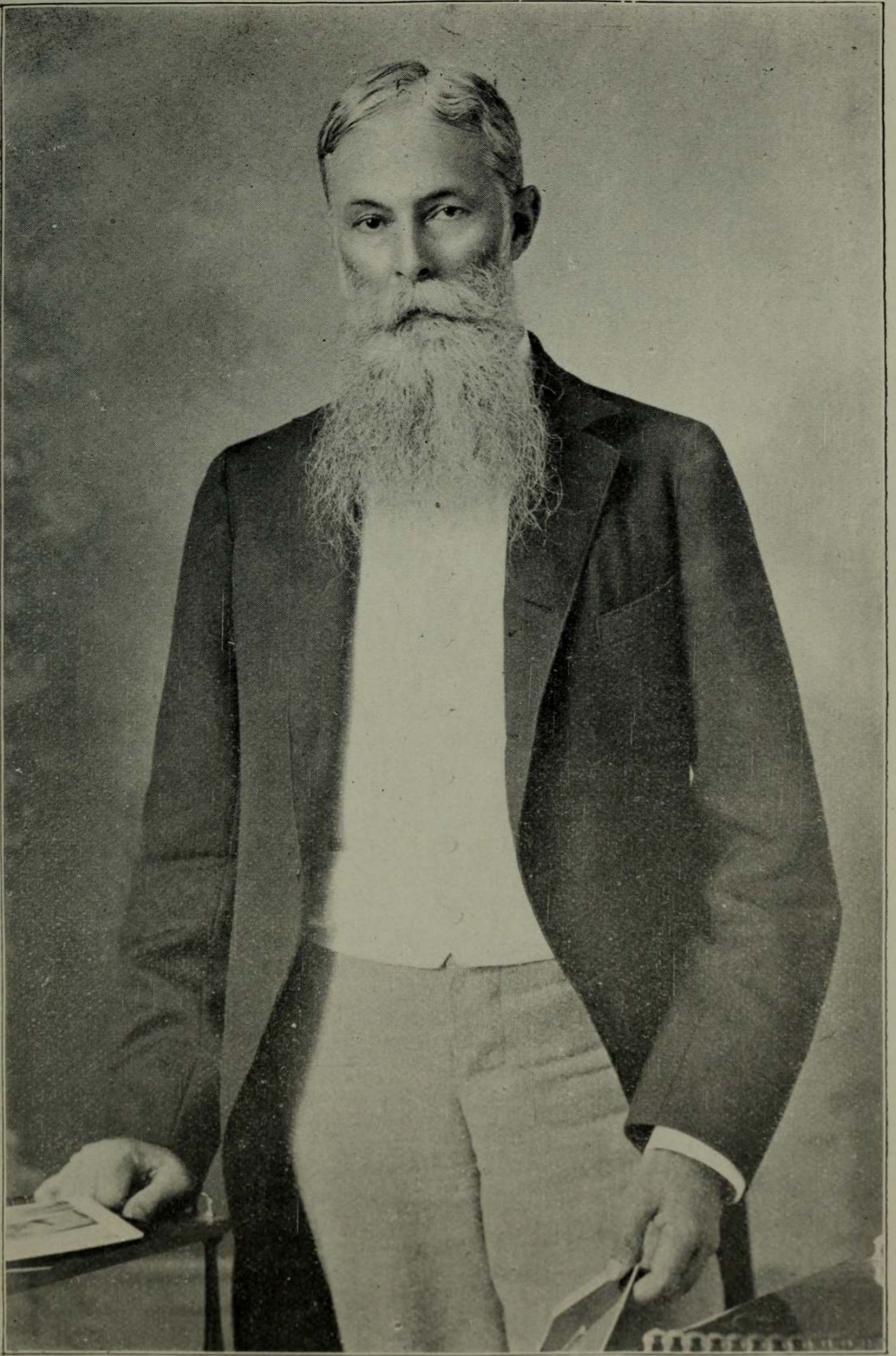
Early on the following morning, 17th of January, 1893, the battalion was drawn up in line, mustered and inspected, guards detailed for the day and a routine established. Breakfast was brought off from the ship and served to each company, after which the men were exercised at drill. Every assurance was given to convince both sides that we occupied with our forces a neutral position and were there only for the purpose of protecting American life and property. The men were cautioned not to say or do anything that would cause them to be accused of partisanship, and no one was permitted to leave the limits of the encampment. Whatever rumors either side caused to be circulated to the contrary was due to no word or act of either the officers or men of the Boston's battalion. They were simply there in the performance of duty, as was the case when American forces had been landed in Honolulu on previous occasions of riot or revolution, and this fact was thoroughly understood by both the contending factions in Honolulu. Some of the members of the Committee of Safety made an effort to intimidate the royalists by starting the report that the American forces were on shore for the purpose of supporting them against the Queen and

her forces ; but Marshal Wilson informed me, the night after the surrender, that he knew better, and that the craven ministers used that canard as an excuse for their own cowardice. The only effect the false rumor had was to induce a few timid whites, who were anxious to join the movement of the citizens but held aloof on account of the fear of reactionary consequences, to become publicly supporters of the committee where they had previously secretly supported it, and it formed a pretext for the protest under which the final surrender of the royalists was made.

The people of the city were astir earlier than usual, yet everything was outwardly quiet. The two hostile forces still occupied the same positions they did the evening before. The royalists kept within their fortified places, well knowing the active progress being made by the Committee of Safety, who were actively at work completing their plans. Several of the prominent members had been to Judge Dole, urging upon him an immediate answer and acceptance of the offer tendered him the day before. Others had waited upon those who had been selected to serve upon the executive and advisory councils of the new government, to obtain their consent to serve. The preliminaries having been attended to, the Committee of Safety met at 10 o'clock A. M. in the office of W. O. Smith and proceeded to organize the Provisional Government. An order was sent out prohibiting the inter-island steamers from leaving for the other

islands before the next day. Judge Dole came before the committee and notified them of his decision to accept the presidency, but before doing so he sent in his resignation to the Minister of Foreign Affairs as one of the justices of the supreme court. No better man could have been selected. In fact, there was no one else available gifted with those great qualities which nature lavishes on men born to rule. Quiet and unobtrusive, modest in demeanor and of sterling integrity; possessing a cultivated mind and a benevolent heart; a leader in all the moral, religious, and progressive movements on the islands; careful in thought, fair in judgment, honest in convictions, an excellent lawyer, and a cool, deliberate statesman, Judge Dole was fortified with the universal confidence of the citizens of Hawaii of all nationalities. He was born in Honolulu, of American parentage, in 1844. He was educated in Honolulu, and at William's College in the United States; studied law in Boston and was admitted to the bar in that city before returning to his native country, where he not only became one of the leading lawyers, but a member of the supreme bench.

The Committee of Safety adjourned at noon for lunch, meeting again at 1.30 P. M., when they completed the organization of the Provisional Government upon the plans previously agreed upon. An executive council was appointed consisting of four members, with Dole as chairman and Minister of Foreign Affairs; the other three filled the offices



PRESIDENT DOLE.

of Ministers of the Interior, Finance, and Attorney-General. An advisory council, to have general legislative duties, was selected, consisting of fourteen members. The proclamation abrogating the monarchy and proclaiming the Provisional Government was signed by the committee, and the executive council confirmed J. H. Soper as Commander-in-Chief of the Military. A guard was sent out to order arms and ammunition, which the committee had in one of the stores in town, to be taken to the armory. A messenger was sent to the government building to ascertain whether there was any armed force there to oppose them. He reported that there were none.

In the meantime the forces from the Boston were being exercised in an afternoon drill within the enclosure, in ignorance of what was going on in town, when a messenger from the police-station came and informed me that the counter revolutionists had completed their organization and were going to make an effort to take the government building at 3 P. M. and from there issue a proclamation formally establishing a Provisional Government, and to prevent this, the Marshal was going to send 50 armed men from the palace and police-station to guard the building. We stopped drilling and the officers went to the front of the yard to see if there was any movement. In a few minutes we saw some men coming up the street headed by Judge Dole, and immediately after heard that a policeman had been shot in town. It looked as

though a fight was imminent and the Boston's men were in consequence not dismissed, but kept in the rear of the opera house, with Arion Hall between them and the government building. The shooting of the policeman precipitated matters, and the executive and advisory councils, accompanied by the Committee of Safety, immediately went by different streets to the government building fully half an hour before they intended the *coup* should take place. It appeared that the officer in charge of the squad who were directed to gather the arms and ammunition was seen by one of the special deputies to drive into the back yard of the store where some of these arms were. The special immediately notified the Marshal, who sent out four or five policemen from the station to capture the arms, and in their efforts to do so the officer of the guard shot one of the police. The others permitted the wagon to proceed to the armory and deliver the arms to the men waiting to receive them.

When this shot was fired and the story of its results flew through town, it created a panic in the royal ranks, and all those who could reach the police-station rushed in such numbers to that building for shelter that the Marshal had to close the doors. The Marshal afterwards told me that two of the cabinet ministers, one of whom was the Attorney-General, and the immediate head of the military forces of the kingdom, rushed to the rear of the room and stood there trembling and would not permit the Marshal to either send men to the

government building or open a fight, and there they remained, clustered in the closed station-house, afraid to move, while Dole and his party moved on the government building unmolested. Had the plans which the Marshal mapped out been sustained by the ministers, and a guard sent to the government building, supported by the cannon from the palace and the forces at the barracks, with the fortified police-station as a base, it is exceedingly doubtful if the counter-revolutionists could have taken the government building or palace that day, and it would have necessitated the proclaiming of the new government from some other place. In that event they could not have obtained control of the government building and archives, and the treasury, or secured any recognition from the foreign representatives until they had driven the royalists out. They had a sufficient force to eventually capture the place, yet there would have been a fight. The ministers knowing the force and the character of the men opposed to them were afraid to make a stand. However, the leaders of the Provisional Government, while on their way from Smith's office, had grave apprehensions, and the excitement was intense. Several of them told me that they expected at every corner to be fired on.

The armory on Beretania street had been designated as the place of rendezvous for the volunteer forces, and as soon as they heard of the shot on Fort street, they formed their companies and squads and moved towards the government grounds from

different approaches. Upon the arrival of Dole and his followers at the entrance to the building, only a few employees were to be found, and the demand upon the chief clerk of the Interior Department for possession of the building was immediately complied with. A crowd began to gather, and from one of the rear gates of the yard a company of about 50 armed volunteers entered and formed in front of the building.

The committee now proceeded to read the proclamation abrogating the monarchy and formally establishing a Provisional Government instead, "to exist until terms of union with the United States can be negotiated and agreed upon." During the reading of the proclamation, armed forces were gathering in the yard, and by the time it was finished fully 175 determined volunteers were in position to guard the building and protect the new government, and the royal forces could never have driven them out. The yard was cleared of all lookers-on, and sentries posted at the gates to prevent outsiders from entering.

After reading the proclamation the councils convened in the office of the Minister of the Interior and issued an order calling upon all persons favorable to the new government to report at the government building and furnish such arms and ammunition as they might have in their possession or subject to their control. Martial law was established, liquor-saloons closed, and letters sent to each of the different members of the foreign diplo-

matic and consular officers announcing the establishment of the Provisional Government, and requesting their recognition.

All this time the American forces were peaceful spectators from their camp of what was going on. Captain Wiltse and myself were standing on the front porch of Arion Hall, where we had a partial view of the proceedings. Calling me to his side, he remarked: "This ends it; the royalists are not going to fight." Just then a messenger from the Provisional Government came up and reported the formation of the new government, with a message from Judge Dole asking if he, Captain Wiltse, would not recognize them. The reply was that such recognition could not be made until they were in possession of the police and military forces, and fully in condition to protect life and property. A few minutes later I was ordered to go over to the building with his compliments to Judge Dole, ask him what the new government was in possession of, and to inform him that if he did not have control of the police and military forces Captain Wiltse could have nothing to do with them. I found Judge Dole, and the officials of the new government, and some others, clustered around him, in one of the large rooms of the government building. When I delivered my message, with a wave of the hand Judge Dole said: "You see we have possession of the government building, the archives and the treasury, which is the government of Hawaii." To which I replied, "I see you are here, but how

about the police-station, palace and barracks, and the armed forces at those places?" To this Judge Dole remarked they would soon have them. "Well," said I, "Captain Wiltse directed me to say to you that until you obtain possession of them and are in position to guarantee safety to life and property, he could not recognize you or have anything to do with you." Several persons asked me if we were not going to stand by them. I replied, "Gentlemen, you heard what I said." A few looked at each other in surprise, but the majority and Judge Dole appeared to anticipate my answer.

I reported the conversation and result of my observations to Captain Wiltse on my return, and he repeated in the most emphatic terms that under existing conditions he would have nothing to do with them. Shortly after this another messenger from Mr. Dole came over and requested Captain Wiltse to come and see him, as he desired to speak with him on the situation. The Captain requested me to go with him, expressing a desire to have a witness to his conversation present. The commanding officer of the battalion was standing near and said he would go, and the two went over, resulting in another refusal of Captain Wiltse to recognize them. A summons was sent by Judge Dole to the palace, demanding an immediate and unconditional surrender of the palace, police-station, and barracks. To gain time the ministers who were at the police-station sent a messenger to invite the leaders of the new government to come and

consult with them, which was of course declined, and word sent back that if the ex-ministers wished to see the Provisional Government they must come to the government building. Two of the ex-ministers came in company with two members of the Provisional Government and after obtaining an assurance of safety returned for the other two ex-ministers, when all four appeared at the government building and entered into negotiations for a surrender.

In the meantime the adherents of the Queen, realizing that all hopes were gone, appealed to the American Minister for protection, and being refused, advised the Queen to take advantage of the presence of the American forces on shore and to surrender to them. This proposition was refused by Mr. Dole on the ground that the United States forces had nothing to do with the present state of affairs, and he did not understand why such a proposition should be made, unless it was a dodge. The royalists then began to evolve some other means to escape, and were at a loss for plans, when Paul Neumann came to their rescue. Neumann was one of the best lawyers in Honolulu, a thorough Bohemian, an excellent entertainer, of superior education. He also had more influence with the Queen than any other man on the islands. A German by birth, an American by adoption, and a Hawaiian by domicile, he was at this time the Queen's only adviser who possessed more than ordinary abilities or education, but was not over

scrupulous when a fee was in sight. He drew up terms of surrender by which the Queen was to give up, under the pretext that the armed forces of the United States were the supporters of the new government, and stating that impelled by that force she would, under protest, yield her authority, appealing to the government of the United States to reinstate her upon a presentation of her case. The ex-ministers were no longer trusted by the Queen as advisers, but to give official force to this act they were required to sign the document with the Queen. When the document had been signed, the ex-ministers in company with the agents of the new government, who had been sent to demand the Queen's surrender, returned to the government building and the terms were accepted. The Queen then gave orders to the Marshal to give up the police-station, Oahu prison, and government property under his control, and an officer with a squad of men was sent to take possession. The commander of the forces at the palace and the barracks went over to the government building and offered to surrender, but was instructed to continue in charge until the following day, when those two places were taken possession of.

Late in the evening, and during and following the time of the negotiations between the officials of the new government and the Queen's representatives, I saw a number of the foreign diplomatic corps entering the government building, and was informed at the time that all had verbally recog-

nized the new government as the *de facto* government of Hawaii. Each stated he would confirm recognition in writing at the earliest opportunity, and on the following day this was done by all the representatives of the foreign powers in Honolulu. With the final surrender the Provisional Government was in full possession of the public buildings, the archives, the treasury, and in control of the Hawaiian capital. Armed sentries were posted about the city and a mounted patrol detailed to guard the approaches to and the main streets. No one was permitted to be on the streets after 9 P. M., unless provided with a pass from military headquarters, and for the first time since Saturday afternoon a feeling of quiet was restored, and the people were able to retire to rest in full confidence of safety. The forces from the Boston remained all the time within the limits of their encampment, and never lifted a finger in either physical or moral support of either the falling monarchy or the rising Provisional Government. Their men were amply protected by the opera house and Arion Hall from all harm, even if fighting had taken place in the government grounds.

While at the Hawaiian Hotel that evening, I met the ex-Marshal, C. B. Wilson, and had a long talk with him in relation to the past events, before he became biased by the later false statements made by the Queen's advisers. The Marshal recounted to me all his plans and how he had expected to carry them out, had he not been interfered with

by the ex-ministers. Wilson is a man powerful of physique, a half white, of strong natural, but uncultivated mind; of good judgment, and possessed of great confidence in his own prowess. He was intense in his loyalty to the Queen and bitterly denounced the ex-ministers as cowards and traitors. He had intended to resist, and said that it was fully understood that if a fight took place, the government buildings and palace grounds were to be the scene of battle, as had been the case in all the other uprisings in Honolulu. Both he and the ministers well knew that the government building was the objective point of the counter-revolutionists. The forces, he informed me, that were under his command consisted of 60 men at the palace and barracks, 85 armed police and a lot of scared and unarmed refugees, the ex-ministers at the police-station, and about 20 special deputies in civilian clothes in the city. With this force so disposed, his plans were to detail about 30 men early in the forenoon to guard the government building, and as the volunteers from the armory on Beretania street would have to approach the government grounds from the eastern approaches, they would be opened upon by the cannon in the top of the palace, and the forces at the barracks and government building. At the same time he would move up the two Gatling guns to enfilade the streets from the western approaches to Palace Square, reserving the station-house for a base of supplies, and a stronghold to rally on in case of defeat. Had the Marshal been permitted to

carry out those plans, there would have been loss of life and the Provisional Government would have had difficulty in establishing itself that day. However, the provisional forces had everything their own way from the time of the organization of the military squads on Sunday night, and I am thoroughly convinced, from personal knowledge and careful observations, that the counter-revolutionists, by their superior intellect, greater courage, and superior numbers, would have easily won in any event, and could have sustained themselves when once established.

Without the loss of a single life this remarkable revolution in the Hawaiian Islands came to an end. The Provisional Government immediately received the support of the best citizens, and nine-tenths of the property-owners of the country. It resulted in the complete and final overthrow of the rank hypocrisy and unconcealed paganism of the house that Kalakaua founded and his sister Liliuokalani brought to grief.

CHAPTER XIV.

TEMPORARY AMERICAN PROTECTORATE.

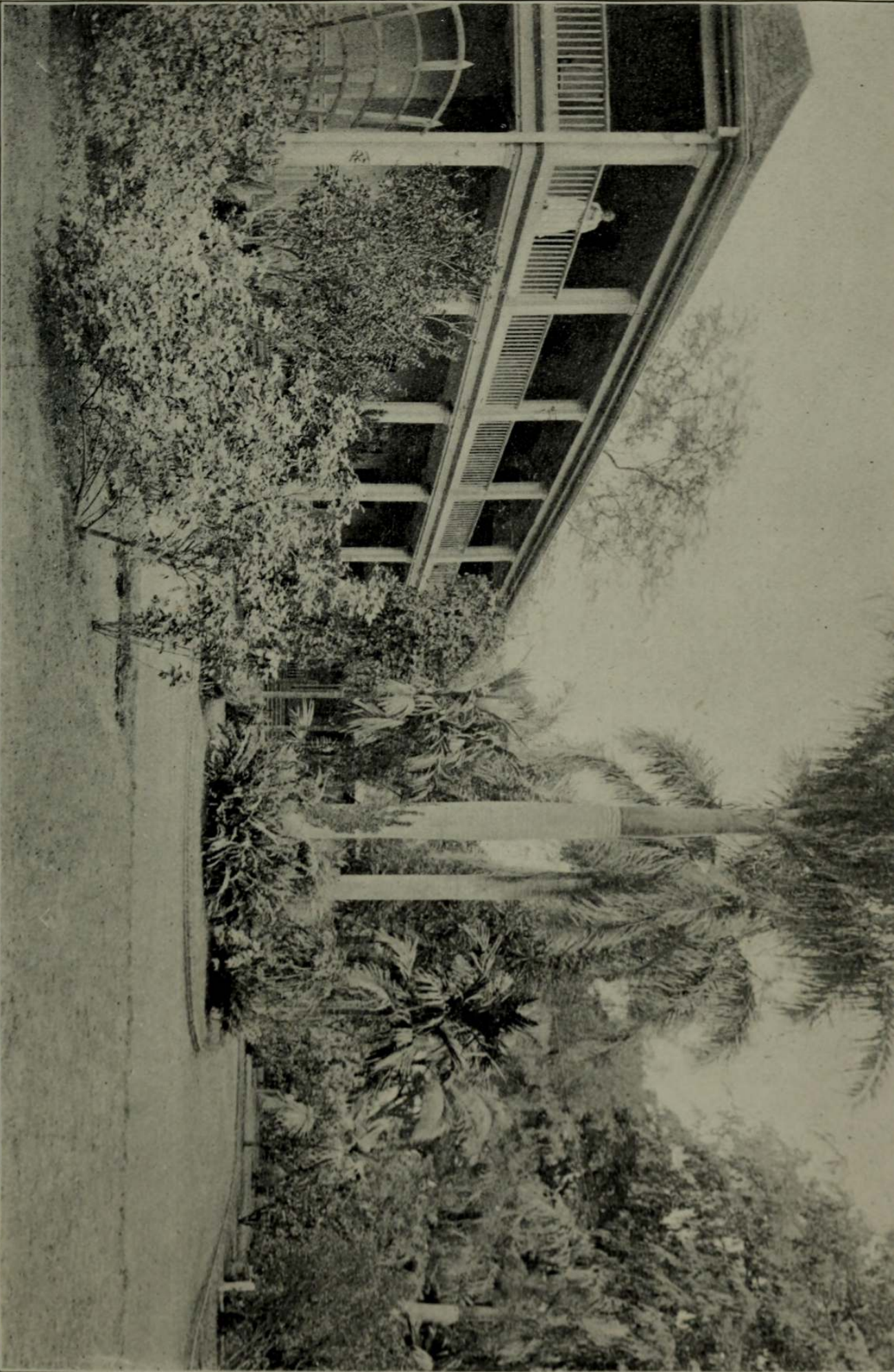
From the preceding it will be seen that for three days, from the 14th to the 16th of January, 1893, inclusive, there were two parties in Honolulu confronting each other in angry hostility, with every indication of an armed conflict at any moment, before the forces from the Boston were landed. When they did land it was purely as a precautionary measure, and in conformity with established precedent and instructions, authorizing and requiring the protection of American lives and property in cases of imminent danger. Their disposition was such as to subserve that particular object, and in their distribution at the Legation, Consulate, and Arion Hall, where they occupied enclosures, they were isolated and inconspicuous, beyond a sentry or two on post. No one was permitted to leave the camp, and no demonstration whatever was made intimidating to the Queen, or in support of the organizers of the Provisional Government. Prior to filing her protest, and twenty-four hours after the troops from the Boston were landed, the Queen and her ministers requested the aid of those troops for her re-establishment and protection, which request was refused and they were again informed that the force would only be employed to protect American property and neutral American citizens. On the

other hand, the head of the Provisional Government, late in the evening, and after they were in full possession of the capital of Hawaii, and recognized by the foreign representatives as the *de facto* government, requested the support of the American troops, and further suggested that Captain Wiltse assume command of their forces.

The reply to this request was the same as that given to the ex-Queen and her ministers, and at no time did Captain Wiltse or any officer from the Boston take command of the Hawaiian forces, or permit the troops from that vessel to perform any kind of military duty for the Provisional Government. During the night of the 17th the officers and men from the Boston were kept ready for a moment's call, but everything passed off in a quiet manner. The interior of the government building was transformed into a barrack for the volunteer forces, and the legislative hall and other rooms were assigned as quarters for the different companies.

The household guards completed their surrender on the following day, and they were disbanded, except a small squad that was detailed as a body guard to the ex-Queen, as it was feared some one might attempt to do her bodily injury. The barracks were taken possession of, and all the arms and ammunition of the late government were turned over to the proper officials of the Provisional Government. In view of the unsettled condition of affairs, and the fact that most of the volunteer

forces were men of business, and the police were in sympathy with the royalists, it was thought to be to the best interest of the United States for the Boston's troops to remain on shore. In consequence an unoccupied house on King street, about 300 yards from the temporary camp at Arion Hall, was obtained for permanent quarters, and the Boston's battalion, on the forenoon of the 19th, was moved into the building, known afterwards as "Camp Boston," where they remained until finally recalled on board ship, April 1st. This house was a square, two-story building of stone, with broad verandas on three sides, and as it had formerly been used as a hotel, the accommodations were excellent for the health and comfort of the men. Everything was put in order, and the bills for expenses were paid by the paymaster of the Boston, although the Provisional Government offered to do this; but Captain Wiltse refused to accept their proposition. The lower floor was occupied as barracks for the men, an office for the adjutant, and officer of the day, and a guard-room. The upper rooms were assigned to the officers, and an outside building was set apart for a hospital and armory. The grounds around the building had a frontage of about 250 feet separated from the street by a high stone wall with two broad entrance gates. On the east side and to the rear was a splendid lawn for drill, shaded by tropical trees, and enclosed by a high broad fence having a rear entrance. The next day after going into the new quarters a com-



“CAMP BOSTON” — HONOLULU.

pany was sent through the principal thoroughfares as a grand guard to make observations, and inspire confidence. With the exception of this the men were constantly and rigidly kept within the camp enclosure during their entire stay on shore, except a dress parade every evening in Palace Square, which was attended by most every one in Honolulu.

One of the first acts of the Provisional Government was to appoint a special commission to proceed to Washington, and negotiate a treaty of union of the Hawaiian Islands and the United States. The commission sailed on the 19th of January for San Francisco, in the chartered steamer Claudine, and proceeded thence by rail to Washington, where they presented their credentials at the State Department on the 4th of February. The ex-Queen, to offset the plans of this commission, employed Paul Neumann as her diplomatic agent, to proceed to Washington and present her claim. He was instructed to obtain for her restoration to the throne, or a large indemnity as a price of final abdication, and to try and save her the crown lands. A full power of attorney, signed and acknowledged by Liliuokalani, was given to Neumann, authorizing him in his discretion to release all her claims and make such settlement as he thought best. To inspire Neumann's zeal in this behalf, she paid him \$5,000 down, and agreed to pay him \$5,000 more should he succeed. This money she had to borrow from one of the local banks, having spent her ready cash on the preparations for change in

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the constitution. Neumann sailed on the regular mail steamer, which left Honolulu a few days after the Claudine. It leaked out that the ex-Queen in her instructions had sold out her friends, and they regarded it as a purely selfish and personal effort on her part to escape with the spoils of compromise and leave them in the lurch.

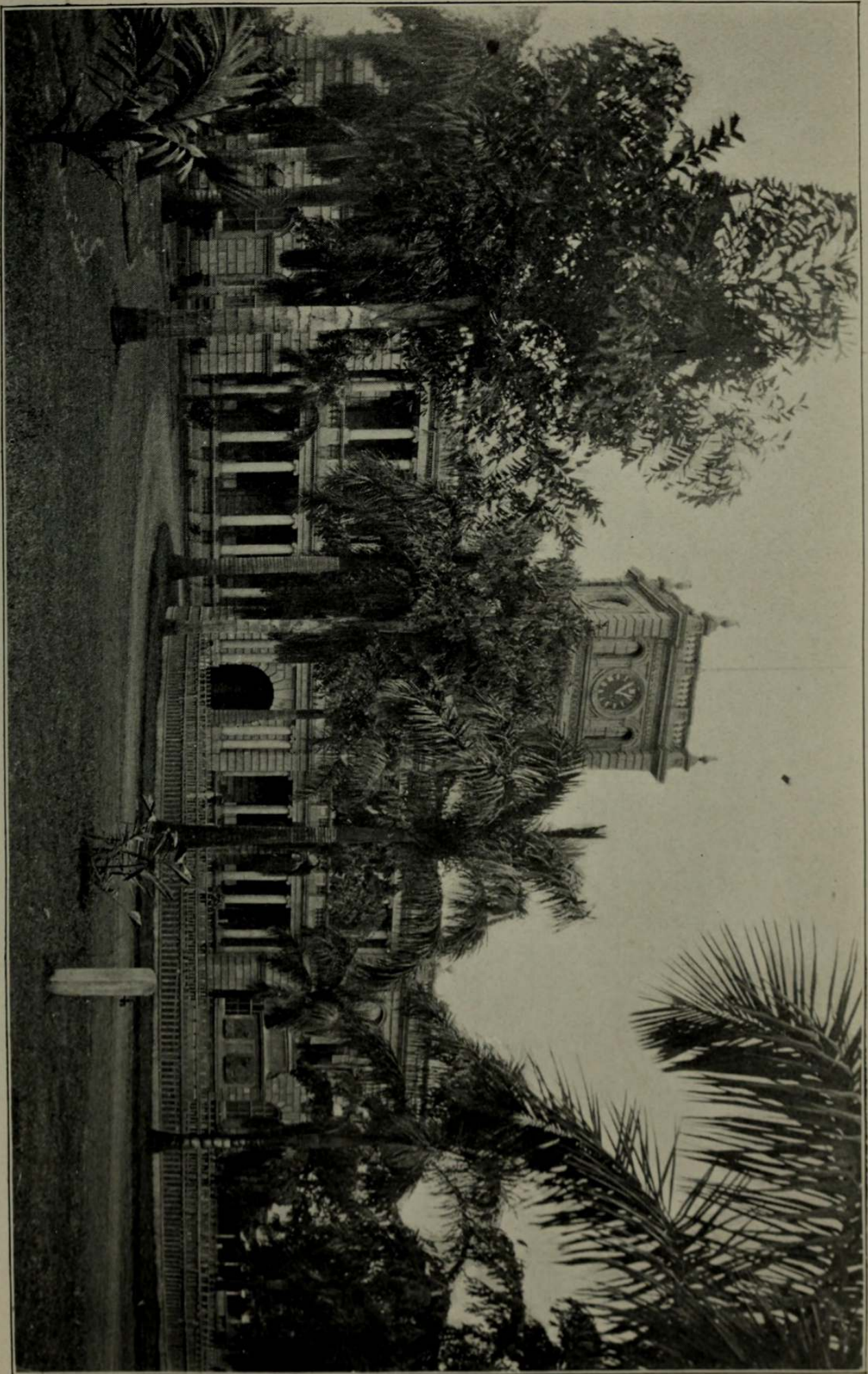
On the 18th the Queen was notified to haul down the royal standard, which was still flying from the palace, and to vacate that building. With her body-guard she accordingly removed to her private residence on Beretania street, and the palace was taken for the executive building. Every courtesy and friendly consideration was shown her, even the salary she had been drawing as Queen was given her. She was permitted to live quietly in her own home residence, close by her former palace, and in the fullest enjoyment of all the immunities and privileges of a distinguished citizen. There she persistently clung to her royal claims, and her attitude as the rightful ruler of the Hawaiian Islands was not in the least weakened. Her firm confidence in her royal dignity did not show any tremor in the face of the strong, quiet, and well-ordered administration of the Provisional Government. She gathered around her the former ring of political supporters, and openly threatened and intrigued to overthrow the new order of governmental affairs. She was strongly encouraged in this attitude by the support given by the British residents and officials, the English Minister being the leader. Prior to her

extreme proceedings just previous to the revolution, he had been an ardent partisan of the Queen. On her retirement he continued a notorious sympathizer, and was a frequent caller at Washington place, the ex-Queen's residence. The rumor was spread broadcast by the royalists that he had requested an English fleet to come to Honolulu and restore her, and that one was coming.

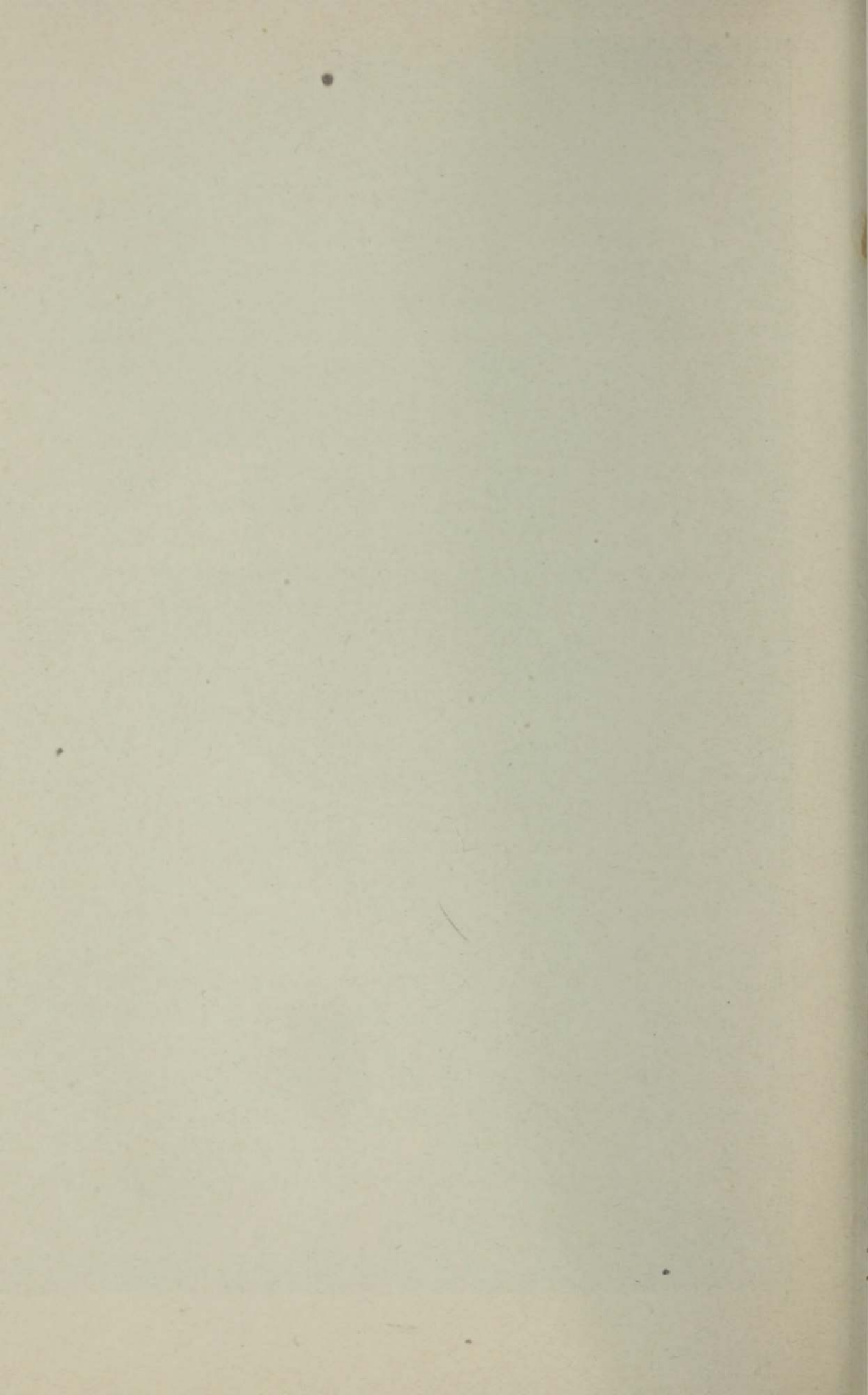
Another source of great uneasiness to the Provisional Government was the fact that there were 20,000 Japanese in the country, over 1,500 of whom were on a plantation only 20 miles from the city. These Japanese had been admitted to the country as contract laborers, under the provisions of a special labor-immigration treaty. The general Japanese treaty gave to Japanese all the immunities of the peoples of the most favored nations. The privilege of the franchise had, however, been denied to them. The royalist leaders made an effort to stir them up to hostility to the government, by making them believe that if the islands became a part of the United States, as proposed by the Provisional Government, they would, under their contracts, become forever slaves, and they promised them full rights of Hawaiian citizenship if the monarchy were restored. There was one Japanese man-of-war in the harbor, and another coming, with every indication of discontent on the part of both the Japanese officers and laborers, and when some 400 of the laborers approached the city one evening, armed with sugar-cane knives, or machetes, and

threatening an attack, the situation became serious. They were stopped with some difficulty and sent back by the Japanese officials. There were a number of renegade whites and of the hoodlum element of all nationalities ready to nag the Japanese on and for trouble of any kind, and for nights the town was full of rumors of incendiarism, assassination, and threatened attack on the government building. The fear entertained by the Provisional Government, that the captain of the Japanese man-of-war might take advantage of the discontent of his people on shore to land an armed force, and the expected arrival of an English war vessel, by the aid of which the British Minister would undoubtedly try to embarrass them, decided them to request the American Minister to assume a temporary protectorate over the Hawaiian Islands for the purpose of assuring the *status quo* and checkmating foreign intrigue until the decision of the annexation proposition.

With the flag of the United States over the government building, they felt confident that neither the Japanese nor English officials would attempt to insist that their government had a right to interfere. With the sole object, therefore, of holding the existing status unchanged and free from foreign complications until the United States could act, the United States Minister acquiesced in the propriety of the act, and on the morning of February 1st the Boston's battalion was paraded and marched to the government building, where they



THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING—HONOLULU.



were received by the civilian troops in line at a salute. All the officials of the Provisional Government were present, and the custody of the building was turned over. A proclamation signed by the United States Minister and approved by Captain Wiltse was then read by the adjutant, establishing a protectorate over the Hawaiian Islands in the name of the United States, pending negotiations and action in Washington. At the close of reading the proclamation the United States ensign was hoisted over the building, the battalion and civilian forces presenting arms. Then the front of the battalion was changed to the rear, and the Hawaiian flag was hoisted to the staff in the grounds in front of the building, the forces again presenting arms, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the Boston. The civilian forces were then withdrawn and the company of marines of the Boston's battalion took charge of the building. The rest of the battalion then returned to their quarters. The assumption of a United States protectorate, and the hoisting of the flag, had the effect at once of allaying fears and restoring confidence, and was approved by all the leading men of the community. A paper edited by a Canadian, and one by two adherents of the ex-Queen, filled their columns with abuses of the United States officials, and with weird utterances in the native dialect urged the people to rise against the government, whereupon the editors were arrested and brought before the courts, and their papers suppressed until they gave bond to ab-

stain from such publications. On the 10th of February the U. S. S. Mohican came into port flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Skerrett, the commander-in-chief of the United States naval forces in the Pacific, and he took immediate command of the forces, relieving Captain Wiltse, who was on the 28th of the same month detached and ordered home, his cruise having expired.

The English residents took the American occupation of the islands with bad grace. The English legation was naturally enough the continued center of intrigue, and there the ex-Queen's partisans frequently held consultations. The results of these meetings were promptly reported, and on the 15th of February a ripple of excitement was raised among the ex-Queen's sympathizers by the announcement of the approach of an English man-of-war, the Garnet. As soon as the vessel was sighted off Diamond Head, Englishmen and Hawaiians hurried to the water front and awaited developments. The vessel entered the channel and anchored near the Boston and Mohican, and fired a salute to the Hawaiian flag, which was not returned, for some reason, for nearly three hours after, which was the occasion of a great deal of sensational conjecture. The commanding officer of the Garnet paid an official visit to the Governor of Oahu, the brother-in-law of the ex-Queen, who had not been removed from office upon the change, and neglected to pay his respects to President Dole. The rumor was started; as having come from one of the sym-

posiums at the British legation, that the captain of the English vessel was going to land a detail of his men that night and hoist the English flag over the palace. There appeared to be foundation for this report, and preparations were at once made to land a reinforcement to Camp Boston from the Boston and Mohican to defend the protectorate in case armed men should disembark from the English cruiser. The provisional forces placed the palace in defense and fortified it with a large armed force and six cannon behind sand-bag barricades. The barracks were guarded with Gatling guns and a large force of men, and the water front was patrolled by the police. The news of such precautions was soon carried to the British Minister, and there was no further effort to raise the English flag. It was believed by almost every one in Honolulu that it would have been done had not the United States flag been flying on the government building, as they could not well afford the precipitation of an armed conflict with the American forces.

The result, however, was the generation of ill feeling between the English and American crews, and a few drunken rows between some of their number on shore leave. Several times the English sailors in passing Camp Boston sang tantalizing songs and made use of jeering remarks, making it difficult to control the American troops. Taking advantage of the bitter feeling existing between the two crews, the ex-Queen's native leaders would raise a crowd of hoodlum Hawaiians for the

assistance of the English tars whenever a curb-stone encounter took place, in the evident hope that in the excitement something might be done to upset the police power of the Provisional Government, and start a counter insurrection, or cause the English forces to land from the Garnet. To stop this it became necessary to deprive the men of both the American and English ships of their liberty on shore for the time being. After remaining in Honolulu several weeks, the Garnet got under way and left the harbor, leaving the British ship Hyacinth in her place; but no further rumors of English interference were circulated. However, the disaffection among the Japanese spread to the other islands, and upon the arrival of the large protected Japanese cruiser Naniwa, on February 23, they became more bold in their threats, and it soon became necessary to send that vessel to the other islands to check this growing menace towards the government of Hawaii. On one occasion a Japanese convict, sentenced to life imprisonment for murder, made his escape from Oahu prison and took refuge on board the Japanese man-of-war, and upon an application from the Provisional Government for his delivery the Japanese officials refused to give him up. For a time it looked as though there would be a breach in the friendly relations between the two countries, but after a few days' correspondence the Japanese Commissioner delivered the convict to the prison authorities, and from that time peaceable, if not cordial, relations existed.

In the meantime the provisional forces were organized into a company of 100 men under pay, a volunteer artillery company of 60 men, two companies of infantry consisting of 60 men each, and a home guard. The home guard was composed of the leading men of the town, divided into corporal's squads, and each squad had a secret rendezvous at different places in the city. The whole was under the command of one man, and by a system of signals they could be called out at a moment's notice and mobilized at any point, either by squads, companies, or battalion, to the number of over 400. From the time the American flag was hoisted, there was, with the exception of the above, perfect quiet. Political clubs were organized, one of which was called the Annexation Club; which was the largest, and composed of leading whites and natives, having for its object the political union of Hawaii with the United States. A large club of natives was formed for the purpose of supporting the claims of the Queen for restoration. The majority of the English and Canadian residents affiliated with the latter club, and between these two clubs there was intense feeling and race prejudice. President Dole pursued a most conservative policy, retaining the natives in office, which was bitterly opposed by some of the leaders of the Annexation Club, who at times even went so far as to undertake to dictate a policy for the government, and insisted that they should be invested with all power. President Dole, how-

ever, continued in his wise policy of tolerance and indulgence, endeavoring to conciliate the native population, and eventually won a very large proportion over to the support of the Provisional Government.

The ex-Queen took advantage of this leniency, and, assisted by a few sympathizing foreigners, continued her plotting and intrigue at her residence, until it became necessary to deprive her of the salary she had been permitted to draw after her retirement from office. Without this salary and the revenues of the crown lands, having spent on the *coup* and in fees to her commissioner all the money she could raise, she was without ready means to do any serious damage.

On Washington's birthday all business houses were closed at noon, the stars and stripes were seen on all sides, the shipping in the harbor was dressed with flags, and the American holiday was celebrated to the fullest extent. The citizens of Honolulu, hearing of Captain Wiltse's detachment, decided upon giving him a farewell reception, and on the evening of February 24th, it was given in the opera house. The parquet was covered over for dancing, and space set apart for the orchestra. The stage, the proscenium arch, and the walls were blazoned with flags, mostly American. President Dole and Captain Wiltse received the more than two thousand guests. The English Minister and officers of the English and Japanese men-of-war in the harbor declined the invitations and were not

present. Their absence, however, did not mar the festivities in the least, and the affair was a grand success.

On April 1st the temporary protectorate was removed, and the last of the Boston's troops embarked aboard ship, where they remained until the Boston returned to Mare Island Navy Yard, in September, and was put out of commission.

On the 4th of July, the American Independence Day was celebrated with as much enthusiasm as in any typical town of the United States. Business was suspended and the American flag displayed everywhere, while the people, in holiday attire, gathered in a beautiful grove near the city in such numbers that the place seemed the incarnation of American patriotism. The Declaration of Independence was read, patriotic songs were sung, music was furnished by the band, and appropriate speeches were delivered. Finally, a few days before the Boston left the port for the United States, a grand ball was given to the officers in the executive building, and a great feast to the crew, by the citizens of Honolulu, which was pronounced by all to have been the grandest affair of the kind ever given in Honolulu. The old palace had never presented so fine an appearance as it did that night. The front of the building was hung with hundreds of small and large Japanese lanterns, and all arrangements made to bring out the beauty of the building and add to the festal splendor of the scene. The newel posts and grand stairway

were draped with American and Hawaiian flags alternating with each other. The numerous chandeliers of the hallway were trimmed with wreaths and festooned with red, white, and blue ribbons. In the center of the entrance was placed a large ottoman of red silk surmounted by a silver flower-stand filled with red and pink blossoms. The council chamber, where the ball was held, was decorated with festoons of fragrant ferns. The dais, lately occupied by the President's chair, was covered with evergreens, behind which was draped the American flag, over which was placed the single word "Boston" in large gold letters on a blue background. The large mirrors were ornamented by a skilful arrangement and contrasting of colors ranging from the dark green of tropical vines to the brilliant glow of variegated carnations in crystal containers. The gilt window-frames were each surmounted by an alternate gold and silver shield placed at the center. The ceiling was crossed and intercrossed with red, white, and blue ribbons, hung from the crystal chandeliers. In the main hallway above were laid the magnificently provided tables for supper, and the four verandas on the sides of the building were provided with chairs and tables to accommodate the guests. Promptly at the appointed hour the guests began to arrive and it seemed as if the whole population of Honolulu had turned out with the exception of the English officials and a few leading royalists. The guests were received by Mrs. Dole, assisted by several prominent

ladies. The music was furnished by the Hawaiian band and that of the United States flagship. At 8 o'clock the grand procession was formed, headed by Admiral Skerret and staff, who were followed by the other officers of the three American vessels in port, all in full-dress uniform. They were presented to Mrs. Dole and the ladies receiving. The reception of the other guests followed and at 9 o'clock the ball was opened with the Saratoga lancers. Dancing was kept up until a late hour. The entertainment was in every sense a flattering success and the officers of the Boston can forever look back upon it as one of the most agreeable occasions in which they ever participated.

The Boston got under way the following afternoon, and as she left the harbor of Honolulu was followed to sea by the President and government officials on the harbor tug, with the band playing patriotic Hawaiian and American airs. Off Diamond Head they gave farewell cheers and God-speed to the cruiser that had been in their waters a welcome guest during fourteen months of severe trials and a witness of the triumphal overthrow of the corrupt and semi-savage monarchy which for the past twenty years had been a menace to the Christianity and civilization of the nation. Kalakaua, whose election was secured by American influence, and who was established on his throne by American protection, alienated the support of the foreign residents in his efforts to gain native popularity and revive Hawaiian superstition ;

laid the foundation and commenced the revolution which Liliuokalani carried on with such determination that she thereby lost her crown and relegated herself to private life.

But for the determined retrogression of this family, monarchy would probably have survived for many years in Hawaii, as none of the leading whites thought of such a thing as revolution until they were fairly goaded into it in defense of the elementary principles of freedom and liberty.

The Provisional Government, up to the time of the sailing of the *Boston* from Honolulu, was moderate in its demands, humane in its actions, uniformly considerate with the whole people, whether native or foreign, and exceedingly patient with the deposed monarch, who was permitted to enjoy every privilege, even when it was well known how sullenly, persistently, and determinedly she was plotting against them, backed by the powerful support of the English Minister and his clique.

CHAPTER XV.

FOREIGN INTERFERENCE AND TREATIES.

The Provisional Government was administered by men of intelligence, education, and high character, and at the time of departure of the Boston was protected by an efficient military and police force. The officials saw, however, that by reason of the undisguised hostility of the diplomatic representative of the great maritime power of Europe, and his flagrant intimacy with the fallen Queen and her adherents, together with the threat of interference in their internal affairs on the part of other foreign officials, it would not be long before troubles of a serious nature would arise. It was also manifest that the defunct royalist party, under the encouragement thus given by these foreign diplomatic agents, were intriguing in such manner that it was only a question of time when a desperate effort would be made to restore the old régime. This situation necessitated an unusual expense to maintain a force capable of protecting the government against these internal foes. But, to meet the perils from without, it was fully realized that an alliance with some strong nation was necessary. The United States was preferred, and in compliance with the provisions of the proclamation under which the Provisional Government was formed, annexation to that country was attempted, a measure

still pending, a discussion of which would be out of place here.

A review of the intrigues in the past on the part of the French and English agents, having for their objects the subversion of the native government and the seizure of the islands, is enough to sustain the grave fears entertained by the supporters of the new government. From the earliest period of discovery of the Hawaiian Islands by the whites, the subject of their control has been one of bitter contention between various foreign governments, and this contention will continue so long as they remain independent. As early as 1794, Vancouver took possession of the islands in the name of Great Britain and hoisted the English flag, but when the news reached London his acts were not ratified. Following upon this, in 1815, the Russian governor of Alaska sent a vessel to Honolulu, and upon her arrival a block-house was built, a few guns mounted and the Russian flag hoisted. A fortified post was also established on Kauai. To resist this encroachment, the King, in the following year and under the advice of John Young, a boatswain of an English ship, who had been detained on shore and raised to the rank of a high chief, built a large fort at Honolulu and mounted upon it about forty guns, as well as a few more on Punch Bowl hill. Upon the completion of these works, Kamehameha gave orders to expel the Russians. In their attempt to depart, their vessel was sunk in the harbor, but the crew was

kindly treated by the natives, and the act of the Russian agent was disavowed by the Russian government.

The King, still fearing a repetition of Russian interference, sailed, in 1823, for the United States and England to secure their protection. While in England he and his wife died, but his attendants were sent back with the royal remains, in an English man-of-war, with a promise from George IV to protect them against all foreign aggression. At the same time a coarse and illiterate man, Richard Charlton, was appointed as British Consul, who immediately put himself at the head of a lawless and depraved class of foreigners, and persistently labored to destroy the influence of the American missionaries and attempted to involve the native government in difficulties that would result in hoisting the British flag over the group. This arrogant Consul even went so far as to deny the right of the native chiefs to make laws or treaties without the approval of the British government, and a series of outrages were perpetrated, under his direction, to enforce the repeal of the laws which had been enacted to restrict drunkenness and prostitution. In all his acts he was backed by the crews of the whaling-ships, which on several occasions landed a body of men and committed many acts of a riotous nature, even going so far as to attack the residences of the missionaries, and on one occasion they actually fired upon the town of Lahaina, the then capital of the kingdom. These

lawless acts became so common that an American man-of-war was finally sent out to suppress them, and after ridding the islands of a lot of runaway sailors the captain agreed to the terms of a commercial treaty with the United States, which, however, was not ratified by the home government. The English Consul bitterly opposed this treaty and issued a manifesto that the islands were under the control of Great Britain and that the King, therefore, could not enter into any treaty with the United States or any other power. Following upon this line of dictation the English Consul, on the accession of Kamehameha III, made every effort to lead the King into dissipation and to estrange him from his political advisers, hoping thereby to gain his influence. With the assistance of a renegade Tahitian he was very successful: laws were abrogated, distilleries set up, obscene dances and drunken revels were encouraged, and heathen practices revived. The King finally realized the hold these people had upon him, broke away and asserted himself, which resulted in a change for the better and the adoption of a constitutional government.

In the meantime a renegade Frenchman by the name of Rives, a man who had been dismissed as interpreter to Kamehameha II while on his voyage to England, went to France, and by false representations succeeded in getting a few French laborers and three priests to follow him back to the islands. The English Consul saw in the landing of these

priests an opportunity to further his designing intrigues with the internal affairs of the government, and to offset the influences of the American mission, enlisted their support, and together with Rives plotted to bring about a civil war, which was only averted by the boldness of the native chiefs. In 1831 the council of high chiefs, in opposition to the advice of the American missionaries, passed a formal order for the departure of the priests, and they sailed for California. This banishment, however, was of short duration, for the exiled priests soon returned to the islands in an English vessel, but in an attempt to land they were sent back to the vessel. The captain refused to receive them, whereupon they were put on board by force. The captain in consequence sent the crew ashore and hauled down his flag, and made a protest to the English Consul, who was always on the alert for some pretext to force the native government into a quarrel. The Consul declared that the vessel had been seized by the Hawaiian government, for which he made claim for \$50,000 damages. An English and a French man-of-war shortly after came into harbor, and their commanding officers, upon exaggerated reports by the Consuls of their respective countries, made a vigorous protest against the detention of the priests on board ship. The native government was forced to permit the landing of the priests, but under a solemn promise that they should depart as soon as an opportunity would permit. The port was declared under blockade, and the French cap-

tain in a brief conference with the King forced him to sign an agreement to accord to the French equal advantages with those of the most favored nations. The two men-of-war then sailed away.

For the next five years the French and English became very active in their efforts to occupy the islands of the Pacific, and the Hawaiian government more than ever became a bone of contention. The French made another effort to land Catholic priests on the islands as a pretext to opening hostilities with the native government, but after a vigorous protest, the King, in June, 1839, met the demands of the French by issuing an edict of toleration for all religions on the islands. This was not what the French wanted, and the captain of the man-of-war, in the following month, drew up a series of articles by which the King was to grant not only the freedom of the Catholic religion and the erection of a Catholic church in Honolulu, but the flag of France must be saluted with twenty-one guns. The sum of \$20,000 was exacted from the government. A battalion of one hundred and fifty men, with fixed bayonets and a band of music, were landed and took possession of the King's residence, and after the priests had celebrated mass, the King was made to sign the convention without amendments. Under duress the series of articles were agreed to, and, in addition, French merchants were granted extraordinary commercial privileges, and in future all Frenchmen who should commit any crime in the islands were to be tried by a foreign

jury, selected by the French Consul. Following upon this the Catholic mission became a settled institution. Shortly after, a bishop and many priests arrived in the islands, and a considerable number of natives were enrolled as converts. Petty disputes arose between the Catholics and Protestants, and the French Consul endeavored to support the former by constantly interfering in the internal affairs of the government.

This state of affairs continued until 1842, when another French man-of-war arrived in Honolulu, and from the very first exhibited an unfriendly disposition by failing to exchange a national salute. The captain made a number of demands, which were answered by the King in a dignified manner, stating an embassy had been sent to France to negotiate a new treaty. The English Consul, stimulated by the French action, and jealous of the advantages that might be obtained by a rival country, thereupon manufactured a lot of grievances intending to involve the native government in difficulties that would result in hoisting the English flag over the islands. The King, after vainly trying to satisfy the Consul, petitioned the British government to remove him. The Consul, failing to produce an open rupture, engaged in another move by taking advantage of the schemes of a private firm who, by a secret contract, had obtained a lease of a large tract of land at a low rental.

The Hawaiian government, realizing the danger that would follow the designs of the English Consul,

made an effort to avoid a crisis by appointing a commission to visit the United States, Great Britain, and France, with power to negotiate new treaties, and, if possible, to obtain guarantees of the independence of the kingdom. This embassy quietly embarked in a small schooner for Mazatlan, and crossed to Vera Cruz. As soon as it was known that they had left the islands on such a mission, the wily English Consul secretly embarked for London, leaving an English adventurer as his deputy to carry out the designs in which both were interested. The hostility of this deputy to the native government was so well known that the King refused to recognize him, whereupon he sent dispatches requesting that a man-of-war be sent to protect him, and representing that the property and persons of his countrymen were in danger. The complaints of the Consul induced the British Admiral to send an English man-of-war, under the command of Lord George Paulet, to Honolulu to investigate. The Consul had met Paulet on the Mexican coast, and made a convert of him to his schemes. Hence, upon arrival, Paulet, without ceremony, demanded the recognition of the English Vice-Consul and immediate submission to the English government. The peaceful submission of the King was not what the hot-headed Paulet wanted, and he followed these demands up with one for the absolute cession of the islands to the Kingdom of Great Britain. The King, amid perplexity and the indignation of the American residents, was forced to sign a provisional

cession and the Hawaiian flag was hauled down and the British colors hoisted instead. The officers of the American man-of-war in the harbor, after doing all in their power short of open hostilities, showed their displeasure at this outrageous seizure of the islands at the cannon's mouth, gave a ball and declined to invite the officers of the English vessel. Paulet appointed a commission, including himself, to govern the islands, which arrogated to itself executive, legislative, and judicial powers. It seized all the lands claimed by the English Consul, and expelled all natives living on the same. It abrogated all laws against vice, released all prisoners, and enlisted a small army of natives, who were made to swear allegiance to Great Britain, and were drilled by English officers. Heavy drafts were made on the Hawaiian treasury, and the seizure of the national archives was threatened. The impetuous anxiety of Paulet to inform the home government of his acts caused him to send his dispatches by the Vice-Consul direct to England instead of through his Admiral, as he should have done. This offended the Admiral, and upon his arrival, when informed of what had taken place, he became so indignant over the presumption of his subordinate that he not only disapproved of Paulet's acts, but restored the King to authority after obtaining his signature to a convention which fully guarded English interests. The 31st of July, the day of this restoration, has ever since been a national holiday, and the place where the cere-

monies were held was made into a public square, and called Thomas Square, after the Admiral.

These interferences in Hawaiian affairs by the French and English officials, and their encroachments upon the commercial rights of other nations in these islands, were encouraged by the absence of any pronounced policy on the part of the United States. When the Hawaiian Commission represented to the Washington government the true condition of affairs, the United States immediately declared that no power ought to take possession of the islands, either as a conquest or for the purpose of colonization. Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, while declining at that time to recognize their full independence, announced definitely that as between Hawaii and all other governments Hawaii must be considered absolutely independent. This declaration on the part of the United States operated, without doubt, to prevent England or France from taking possession of the islands. The Hawaiian Commission at first met with indifferent reception in England. The British officials refused to receive them, claiming that the influence of the United States was detrimental to British interests. But when the French government treated the Commissioners with every consideration, and promised to recognize the independence of Hawaii, the English officials thought better of their former course, and not only recognized the independence of the native government, but promised to remove Charlton, the objectionable

English Consul. They also assured the United States and France that the English government had no intention of retaining possession of the Hawaiian Islands. Finally, on the 28th of November, 1843, France and England entered into a joint declaration not only recognizing the independence of the island kingdom, but agreeing never to take possession, either directly or under the title of a protectorate, of the whole or any part of the islands. The United States followed up their friendly act by immediately sending a Commissioner, and the English replaced the troublesome Charlton as Consul-General for Great Britain. The French, a few years later, attested their friendly relations by restoring the \$20,000 extorted by the French captain in 1839.

Notwithstanding these treaties and avowed relations of an amicable nature, the foreign consular and diplomatic representatives continued to intrigue and harass the native government by asserting the rights of ready access to the King, diplomatic interference with internal affairs, and efforts to discredit the native government abroad and break it down at home. Old claims were revived, and for several years the government was involved in disputes with the English Consul-General over the illegal Charlton claims, which had already been settled by the courts and confirmed by Great Britain in favor of the Hawaiian government. The French Consul attempted to reopen the old disputes and manufactured new grievances, for which the Ha-

waiian government was compelled to request his recall. Instead of complying with this request, a French frigate arrived in 1849, and the Admiral in command supported the Consul in ten most unjust demands. An armed force was landed, and, against the urgent protests of the American and English Consuls, the custom-house and public buildings were seized, the fort dismantled, and much property destroyed, the King's yacht confiscated, and communication with the other islands cut off. Although the French government disavowed the acts of the Admiral, the King was, nevertheless, apprehensive, and for his better guidance installed some of the leading foreigners as his advisers.

A second commission was dispatched to the United States, England, and France, and a new treaty negotiated with the two former countries, but they met with opposition in France. This opposition was indicative that the acts of the Admiral were in accord with instructions from Paris, and as further evidence that such was the case, the French sent out a counter commission, who, to the surprise of every one, renewed the demands of the Consul and assumed a policy of interfering with the internal affairs of the kingdom. The King and Privy Council became alarmed at the new aggression of the French, and issued a proclamation on March 10th, 1850, placing the islands under the protection of the United States. This document was duly signed and deposited with the government archives. When it became known, the

French Commissioner modified his demands, and although arbitrary and unjust they were submitted to by the native government. The officials of the United States from this time on assumed a more active policy, and in 1851 Secretary Marcy apprised both France and England of the determination of the United States not to allow the Hawaiian Islands to be owned by, or fall under the protection of, either of those two powers, or any other European government. In 1854 the Secretary directed the American Minister at Honolulu to negotiate a treaty of annexation. Sailor riots and threatened filibuster raids from California kept the native government in a constant state of alarm, which, together with internal political agitation and party strife induced an active agitation in favor of annexation to the United States. A committee was appointed to carry out these objects, which was vigorously protested against by the British and French Consuls. Petitions were presented to the King based upon strong commercial interests, and he favored such a course as a refuge from the annoying demands made upon him by the foreign powers and the intrigues of their agents.

The prospect of annexation to the United States stimulated speculation and led to new enterprises. The King in February, 1854, agreed to an annexation treaty, which was duly drawn up, but before it was signed he died, and his successor, Kamehameha IV, declined to carry the negotiations further. A treaty of reciprocity was concluded instead with

the United States, but it failed of ratification at Washington.

In 1867 a minister was sent to the United States to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity, and though it was approved by the Hawaiian legislature and the President of the United States, it failed of ratification by the United States Senate. Secretary Seward instructed the United States Minister at Honolulu that the peaceful annexation of the Hawaiian Islands was more desirable. In 1868 President Johnson, in his message to Congress, recognized the precarious condition of the Hawaiian people, caused by the unfriendly proceedings of the foreign powers, and favored a treaty of reciprocity until the people applied for admission to the Union. Again, in 1881, Secretary Blaine, in his dispatches to the American Minister, spoke of the advantage to be derived from the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and the settlement of their future upon an American basis, and not upon an Asiatic or British solution. Secretary Bayard and other American officials have since reiterated the same sentiments.

Finally, in 1876, a treaty of commercial reciprocity with the United States, together with the enactment of laws to carry it into effect, was entered into in spite of strenuous opposition on the part of a large party in the islands led by the English residents. Under the provisions of this treaty, the United States became the controlling influence in the commercial affairs of the island kingdom, and an era of unexampled prosperity followed for

the people of Hawaii. So great was the influence thus obtained by the United States that the French officials have stopped their interference in Hawaiian internal affairs. The immense and growing importance of American interests in the Pacific led to an amendment to the original treaty of reciprocity, in 1887, whereby the United States obtained the exclusive right to use Pearl Harbor as a coaling depot and naval station, thus completing her commercial control of the islands so long as the treaty continues. The effect of the treaty was, for the time being, to silence the discussion of annexation, and it was not renewed again until the continuous aggressions of Kalakaua and Liliuokalani upon the rights of the people forced it to the front.

In the meantime the English Minister, supported by British resident subjects and naval officers, made an effort to offset American influences, and by his support of the fallen Queen and her adherents was the means of giving intense alarm. Aside from this hostile British influence, there is a new factor of trouble in the Japanese, who threaten future interference of a most serious nature.

There are about 25,000 Japanese in Hawaii, of whom over 19,000 are adult males. Nearly all have had a military training, many having served in the war with China. The adult male natives number only about 10,000; and the adult male whites of all nationalities only 7,500. The Japanese are rapidly increasing. If their present rate

of increase continues, they will by sheer force of numbers possess the country and make it practically, if not formally, Japanese. The government of Japan has continuously demanded for its subjects the right to vote, which the Hawaiian government has persistently refused. In 1897, Japanese were emigrating to Hawaii at the rate of 2,000 a month. An attempt by Hawaii to limit this invasion resulted in a demand by Japan for damages, for an apology and a promise not to further interfere with Japanese immigration. All that has prevented the enforcement of these demands has been the pendency of the annexation treaty with the United States. If that fails, early and certain aggression by Japan against Hawaii may be looked for.

CHAPTER XVI.

EX-PARTE INVESTIGATION BY UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER.

The great strategical value and commercial importance of the Hawaiian Islands, and the frequent interferences by foreign nations in the internal affairs of the island kingdom, have warned the Hawaiian people of their inability to permanently maintain an independent government. For more than seventy years Americans and American influence have been dominant in Hawaii, and annexation to the United States has during all these years been the subject of careful study and contemplation. This has always been regarded by them as the ultimate destiny of the country, whenever the exigencies of fate should compel them to make choice between independence and foreign domination. In this they have been encouraged by the public declarations of American statesmen, and the diplomatic correspondence of the United States with its Ministers to Hawaii, which has from time to time been made public or communicated to the Hawaiian officials. In this correspondence frequent and favorable allusion is made to "closer relations" between the two countries, the term "annexation" being sometimes used, and at others, more general language. Many times the subject of annexation has been dealt with in a spirit

of friendly consideration for the advantage of the country and the people. Daniel Webster, John M. Clayton, W. L. Marcy, William H. Seward, Hamilton Fish, Thomas F. Bayard, and James G. Blaine as Secretaries of State, and Presidents Pierce, Lincoln, Johnson, and Grant, all equally maintained a settled policy that all other foreign nations must be excluded from Hawaii, and that if it should turn out that Hawaii could not maintain an independent stable government it should be encouraged to gravitate towards political union with the United States. It became a conceded axiom on the part of Great Britain, Germany, and France that the islands would in the course of time drift to the United States. The result has been that the progress, education, development, laws, commerce, and government of Hawaii have become so closely identified with those of the United States that there has developed an ever-increasing mutuality of interests and gravitation of Hawaii toward political union with the United States. This peculiar relationship has repeatedly been evidenced by official declarations that no intervention would be permitted in the affairs of Hawaii by any foreign power which might tend to diminish American control, or to gain any advantage over the Americans who may have settled in that country. Finally a treaty of reciprocity was agreed upon between the two countries, by which the Hawaiian trade, both export and import, is practically confined to the United States, while at

the same time its terms are highly advantageous to Hawaii. It, moreover, prevents the disposal of Hawaiian bays, harbors, and territory, either by lease or otherwise, to other countries so long as the treaty lasts, and gives to the United States the exclusive right to Pearl Harbor as a coaling depot and naval station. Hence when the Provisional Government assumed the sovereign power, their avowed purpose to secure the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States was but an event in the natural order of development; an event which had been predicted, looked forward to, and hoped for by two generations of American statesmen. The proclamation inaugurating the new government explicitly stated that it would exist "until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon." Therefore, the Executive and Advisory councils proceeded to immediately carry out the provisions of the proclamation under which they assumed office, by appointing a commission to go to Washington, where they negotiated and signed a treaty in conjunction with Secretary Foster for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, which was approved by the President and sent to the Senate for ratification.

When the news reached Honolulu that the treaty had been signed by the President and sent to the Senate the majority of the people went into a fever of enthusiasm and blossomed out with handkerchiefs and head-coverings made of the stars and

stripes; the American flag was displayed from almost every house-top and flag-staff, and the Hawaiian band played the "Star-Spangled Banner." The Senate of the United States delayed action until after the 4th of March, when another administration came into power and Mr. Cleveland, the new President, disapproving of the acts of his predecessor, withdrew the treaty from the Senate and appointed Mr. Blount, of Georgia, a special Commissioner to Hawaii to make an investigation and report upon the causes that led to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. When the news reached Honolulu of the withdrawal of the treaty from the Senate it caused serious misgivings in the minds of the government officials, and the royalist faction exhibited their feelings in a series of jollification-meetings, and drinking-bouts in the bar-room of the Hawaiian Hotel, and at night the old court circles gathered at the ex-Queen's residence, and between poi, gin and music the party had a royal time. On the other hand, while disappointment was felt on the part of the leading citizens, they nevertheless took a philosophical view of the situation and fully appreciated the fact that the President was new to the subject, and was entitled to know the facts. They therefore welcomed the news of a Commissioner from the United States to inquire into the state of affairs, and without fear of the result, awaited and courted a fair, complete, and impartial investigation and report to the President of the United States. But they were sadly disappointed.

Commissioner Blount, with "paramount authority," and accompanied by a stenographic clerk, arrived in the harbor of Honolulu on the United States Revenue Cutter *Rush*, about noon of the 29th of March, 1893. By the time the *Rush* came to anchor an immense crowd of men, women, and children had gathered on the wharves in expectation of seeing the Commissioner. The United States Minister and a delegation of leading gentlemen of Honolulu immediately went on board to receive the high official and extend to him offers of assistance and friendly courtesies. They informed him that the manager of the Hawaiian Hotel was intensely partisan in his royalist sympathies, that the hotel was the rendezvous of the royal supporters, and for him to go there would simply be to place himself within the circle of their influence. They further informed him of a comfortable residence then vacant, but furnished, removed from annoyances and interferences, which he could have on his own terms. These courteous salutations and friendly offers were met with a bluff refusal, and in the midst of the conversation Mr. Blount abruptly turned on his heel and returned to the cabin, leaving his visitors standing in amazement on deck. Shortly after this incident the Commissioner left the vessel and went on shore, where he was met by the Chamberlain of the ex-Queen, who offered him the use of her coach, which he politely declined, his manner being in marked contrast with the treatment accorded the diplomatic representative of the

United States. Entering a cab, he drove to the Hawaiian Hotel, where he took up his residence in one of the cottages in the hotel grounds, and from the very first, free access was given to the ex-Queen's ministers and the royal supporters, while the members of the government and the leading whites of the community were either denied that privilege or put off with the remark that when they were wanted they would be sent for.

Grave anxiety on the part of the government officials began to assume shape, notwithstanding Mr. Blount's letter of credence was to that government and of a most friendly and cordial nature. They feared a partiality to the ex-Queen, and as the methods of interrogation of a class of irresponsible persons became known in the progress of the investigation, these fears increased. Friendly overtures and disinterested offers of ordinary courtesies and civilities by the leading whites were met by cool and deliberate snubs, which caused them to refrain from calling or volunteering information. The first two days were occupied by Mr. Blount in presenting his letters of credence to the Provisional Government and notifying the United States officials, both diplomatic and naval, of his "paramount authority." On the afternoon of March 31st he notified the President of the Provisional Government of his intention to haul down the American ensign and issued a written positive and direct order to Admiral Skerrett, commanding the United States naval forces in the Pacific, to haul down the United

States flag from the government building at 11 o'clock on the 1st of April and embark the troops on shore to the ship. This unusual and unprecedented order was obeyed by Admiral Skerrett, although he exhibited unmistakable signs of irritation and humiliation, and afterwards wrote a complaint to the Navy Department.

Coming into town early in the morning of April 1st, in company with a friend at whose country cottage I had spent the night, we passed the residence of the ex-Queen, where we met a couple of native women coming out, who informed us they had spent the night with the ex-Queen; that she and her ex-ministers had been informed the evening before that the United States flag was going to be hauled down that day at 11 o'clock; that the Commissioner was going to restore her, and that she was very nervous and excited. On arrival on board ship I found that no one there had as yet been informed of the fact, the orders from the Admiral coming later. At the appointed time the flag was hauled down and the troops embarked, a humiliation which was keenly felt by both men and officers. No demonstration was made by the people present, and no exhibition of disturbance, yet the immediate effect of this movement was to increase the membership of the Annexation Club in the city. No notice was given by Mr. Blount to the government of what he was doing, nor was any request made of them to present evidence or argument. He simply commenced and carried through

a secret and ex-parte investigation, examining only those witnesses whom he selected, nearly all of whom were avowed royalists. His method of examination was to put leading questions upon a few points, either shutting off altogether or manifesting by his manner that he did not wish to listen to evidence on other points. It soon became manifest that it was his purpose to obtain evidence in support of a restoration of the ex-Queen, and in support of the theory that the American Minister and the officers of the Boston were parties to the overthrow of the monarchy. The causes of the revolution, the grievances of the people, the justness of their action, the rottenness, immorality, and irresponsible character of the late King, the ex-Queen, and the entire court influence—all this was ignored, and the investigation conducted as though he were an attorney working up one side of a case. The royalists were kept well informed of what was going on, and freely predicted what the report would show. Mr. Blount's stenographic clerk was a frequent visitor and most intimate associate at the house of a leading royalist, one of the most notorious native gamblers and smugglers in Honolulu, and from this house frequent reports came of what Blount's doings and intentions were, that were afterwards corroborated in the published report of the Commissioner. So-called patriotic societies, headed by some of the worst characters on the islands, including the drunken Bush of Samoan fame, were the first to present a series of resolutions. The

statements of these men were given careful attention, and serious consideration without inquiry as to their standing in the community. The ex-Queen's ministers were examined at length, and encouraged to state all they were supposed to know in support of their cause; while, on the other hand, the few officers from the Boston, and all the sympathizers with the Provisional Government, were asked leading questions, skilfully framed, to bring out any facts tending to support "the theory," while further explanatory evidence, which would have absolutely refuted such conclusion, was suppressed. Any information or suggestions from the naval officers or the United States Minister were met with the reply that he simply wanted answers to the questions put. I am not speaking from hearsay, but of my own knowledge, when I say that Mr. Blount did not attempt to make either a fair investigation or a truthful report.

I was called before the Commissioner and made several suggestions in relation to the revolution. When I came to the statement that Captain Wiltse would not have allowed any fighting in the streets in the vicinity of the residences of Americans, Mr. Blount eagerly asked me to write that down, saying he did not care for the rest. On several occasions I suggested the names of old white residents, of high standing, who were familiar with the entire history and progress of the islands and the events leading up to the revolution, and in each case he said he did want anything to do with them; whereas those

who were in accord with the fallen Queen were either sent for or permitted to make all manner of statements, many in the form of written affidavits, drawn up by themselves, without the slightest regard to their character or standing. In no case was there anything in the nature of cross-examination to test the credibility of the royalist witnesses or the correctness of their statements. One noticeable instance was that of the manager of the Hawaiian Hotel, who was repeatedly sent for, and at all times had ready access to the Commissioner's cottage. I called Mr. Blount's attention to the fact that this man was an intense royalist, and misrepresenting facts to him. From what he had told me in relation to the examination and his answers, I knew he was not telling the truth; yet in the published report of the Commissioner this man is represented as a person of the greatest integrity and high social standing.

One day I was passing through the corridor of the hotel and met the ex-Marshal, Wilson, who requested me to look over and comment upon a type-written manuscript which he held in his hand, and which he informed me was prepared at the request of the Commissioner. Upon looking over the document I observed the first few pages were devoted to vilification and abuse of the American Minister, and advised him to expunge it. I remarked that the whole paper bore the earmarks of Peterson, the ex-Attorney-General to the Queen, as I recognized some of the phrases that I had heard Peter-

son use, to which Wilson replied that Peterson did write it from his notes, and that the part about Minister Stevens was known to Mr. Blount, who told him to put it in, as he, the Commissioner, wanted full information about Stevens. The document, among other things, purported to give a statement of the military forces at the disposal of the Queen at the time of her overthrow and the plans for a fight, had such an affair taken place, and the number of men under arms as eight hundred. I remarked that the number given was false; that I was cognizant of the exact number, which was only one hundred and forty-five. Wilson acknowledged that I was correct; but said that in a conversation with the Commissioner, the day before, he, Wilson, had said to the Commissioner that he could have gotten that many if he had been given time, and that the Commissioner directed him to put as many men down as he could have obtained. Therefore the paper would go in as it was, and if the Commissioner wanted more he would give them to him. Whether the Commissioner "wanted more," or whether Wilson's imagination fed upon itself, I cannot say, but the identical report shown me by Wilson appears in Mr. Blount's report to Secretary Gresham, with the available force changed from 800, the number stated when I saw it, to 700, "and a reserve of about 500 men, mostly foreigners," or 1,200 altogether. The utter unreliability of the statement is demonstrated by the fact that another statement sworn to by Wilson and also printed in

Blount's report says that the police-station force was 224, and an affidavit by Nowlein, commander of the palace troops, gives the number at the palace as 272, or a total of 496.

A summary of these statements, which are about as near the truth as most of the evidence on which Mr. Blount based his report, is as follows :

The real number of armed men supporting the Queen was	145
The number sworn to by Wilson and Nowlein was.....	496
The number enumerated in Wilson's statement when he showed it to me was.....	800
The number enumerated in Wilson's statement when printed in Blount's report is..	1,200

I called on the Commissioner the following morning, informed him of this conversation, told him that of my own knowledge the paper was full of misstatements, and that if he desired the facts I could recommend a few actual participants, men of standing, both Provisional Government men and royalists, who would give them to him. He appeared much embarrassed, but made no reply except to ask: "Did he show you that paper?" In the published report the paper appears in its entirety, with the remark that the ex-Marshal was a man who could be relied upon, and that he believed his statements to be substantially correct.

On another occasion I met several native politicians, ex-members of the legislature, coming out of the cottage. They told me they had just been

examined by the Commissioner, and that from his manner and the character of his questions they were sure he was making an effort to secure information in favor of the royalists.

Rumors began to be circulated that the Commissioner was strongly in favor of the monarchy and had made secret visits to the residence of the ex-Queen, which rumors came from the ex-ministers, who were constant at and around the cottage. These rumors appeared to irritate the Commissioner, and when he accepted an invitation to visit one of the other islands in company with a party of the ex-Queen's adherents, who made the most of the opportunity to augment the foundation for these rumors, the Commissioner issued an explanation and denial. Another annoying episode to the Commissioner was the arrival in Honolulu of two persons on the 7th of April, one a New York correspondent and the other an ex-U. S. Consul to Samoa. It was given out that they were special officers of the United States and were fully informed as to the intent of the President to annex the islands. They were said to have stated that the ex-Queen and the President of the Provisional Government had agreed upon terms of settlement for a monetary consideration to the ex-Queen, who was to abdicate, and that her attorney was going to Washington to close the deal. This was in accord with the known instructions to her attorney when he went to Washington before, and credence was therefore given to the rumor. This was

decidedly distasteful to the Commissioner, as it was directly opposed to his too apparent efforts to secure evidence in support of the royalists and against the annexation of the islands and he warned the Queen against having anything to do with them or with such a settlement. The American Minister was accused of trying to support these two supposed agents. The Commissioner intimated that he was trying to mould native opinion in favor of annexation of the islands to the United States, which accusation brought about pronounced friction between the two. Mr. Blount's treatment of Mr. Stevens was discourteous in the extreme. Although the latter was instructed to assist the Commissioner in his investigation, and possessed the fullest knowledge of every detail, he was ignored by the Commissioner, and virtually told to remain silent in all matters connected with the Commissioner's investigation. The Minister was from that time on such in name only. Shortly after, he was recalled and Mr. Blount appointed in his stead.

The active measures taken by a club, favorable to annexation, to increase their rolls, and their suggestions that the ex-Queen should be deported in the interest of peace, together with a few editorials to that effect in a paper controlled by the club, brought forth a letter of complaint from the Commissioner to the President of the Provisional Government, although the paper was controlled by a private corporation and not under governmental

control. The native clubs and patriotic leagues were differently treated; their memorials, reflecting upon the existing government and condemnatory of American officials, were not only received and encouragement given, but the Commissioner, ignoring not only the amenities of civilized international intercourse, but the first principle of international law, caused to be published in the royalist paper a proclamation, over his own official signature, entitled "An address to the Hawaiian people," ignoring the government to which he was accredited, setting forth what his instructions were, what he proposed to do, and wound up by stating that in the event of any conflict, he would protect those Americans who took no part therein. As practically all the white men in the country had taken an active part in the recent troubles, in common defense of their elementary rights, this proclamation was looked upon as a direct threat that the Americans of Honolulu were to be abandoned to their fate, so far as Mr. Blount could accomplish it. It was interpreted by the natives as a censure for the landing of the Boston's troops and a hint for them to rise and by force restore the Queen, and an assurance that all domiciled Americans would have to keep off.

In the meantime two persons arrived in Honolulu who undoubtedly influenced greatly the results of the investigation. These two gentlemen were Charles Nordhoff, a newspaper correspondent, and Claus Spreckles, the sugar king. Nordhoff, while on the steamer on his way to Honolulu,

and before he had any opportunity to investigate the situation, wrote an article for his paper denouncing the action of the Provisional Government and reflecting upon the troops from the Boston, giving the keynote of the course he intended to pursue. This article was so full of misstatements and of such a libelous nature that when it was republished in the local papers he was threatened with prosecution before the courts of law. The Commissioner immediately came to his rescue, and notified the officials of the Provisional Government that Mr. Nordhoff should not be molested, nor should he be deported, and the two became almost inseparable companions. This encouraged the wily correspondent, and he continued to send out false and inflammatory articles to the press of the United States, which were republished in the papers of Honolulu hostile to the existing government. The tenor of these dispatches followed closely the outlines of the leading questions and the desired answers thereto that leaked out through those examined by the Commissioner, leaving no doubt in the minds of the people that Nordhoff possessed the confidence of the Commissioner, and that his press dispatches outlined the tone of the final report of that official in censuring the American Minister and the officers of the Boston, and in favor of the restoration of the Queen. This impression became so fixed in the minds of the royalists that one day the leader of the ex-Queen's Cabinet told me that he had learned from a reliable source that such would be the report, and offered

to bet a large sum of money the Queen would be restored. That Nordhoff had intimate connection with Blount is demonstrated by the fact that considerable portions of his letters, published months before Blount's report was made public, are verbatim copies of evidence appearing in Blount's report. Who paid Nordhoff for his services is a question which I cannot undertake to answer. Mr. Spreckles claimed that he did, as appears hereinafter. Whether he did or not is a question for those gentlemen to settle. Claus Spreckles, upon his arrival in Honolulu, called a meeting of the sugar stockholders on the islands, and at the meeting attempted to obtain the support of the planters to oppose annexation and continue the government as an oligarchy, so that cheap Chinese labor could be continued, which could not be done if annexation took place. The planters almost unanimously rejected his proposition. This defeat not only irritated him, but broke his prestige with the sugar-growers who were in favor of securing stable government, which they believed could be obtained only through annexation to the United States. Spreckles thereupon became an open and violent opponent of the Provisional Government, denouncing it and "the missionaries" in the most abusive language in the most public manner, and became an enthusiastic supporter of the ex-Queen, advocating her restoration and predicting the early downfall of the existing government. One morning a sign of a skull and crossbones was found pinned to his gate. It was

generally believed that he had it placed there himself. In any event, he immediately raised a hue and cry, claimed that the Annexation Club were trying to assassinate him, and called upon Mr. Blount to protect his life. Mr. Blount had no more jurisdiction over the matter than the King of Dahomey, but the desired protection was promptly promised. Referring to the matter one evening at the residence of his neighbor, a well-known royalist leader, Spreckles boastingly remarked, in my presence, that Blount would protect him, and that he knew the Commissioner had no use for the set who were running the government nor for the "annexation missionaries." His neighbor asked on what he based that opinion, and what he thought would be the character of the report of the Commissioner? Spreckles' reply was to the effect that he had Blount in the palm of his hand, that he would do just what Nordhoff said, and that he, Spreckles, was "paying Nordhoff to work Blount."

The intimacy between the British Minister and the Commissioner was also a matter of amazement to the community. The Minister took up his residence in a cottage in the hotel grounds, just across the street from the ex-Queen's residence. From this cottage he became a frequent caller and adviser to the Queen, and was often the companion to the Commissioner, over whom he appeared to have much influence. He constantly sent out word through his adherents that he knew the Queen was to be restored by the Commissioner.

After the Commissioner had completed his reports and forwarded them to Washington, he became very restless to return home. Finally, the permission came, and Admiral Skerrett, commanding the United States naval forces in the Pacific, was placed in charge of the legation, without any diplomatic authority. When the Commissioner left, the entire royalist faction followed him to the steamer and loaded him down with flowers, while the notorious Bush mounted a pile and in fervid language thanked the Commissioner for his services to the Hawaiian people and violently abused the officials of the Provisional Government, the former United States Minister, and officers of the Boston. The royalists had been given direct information of what his report would be, which preliminary information was borne out when the report was made public. They freely discussed the Queen's restoration as a foregone conclusion. The Queen herself firmly believed such would be the case, and in consequence, the night following the departure of the Commissioner, she gave a big reception and luau to her especial favorites. On the other hand, the officials of the Provisional Government were kept in the dark, being able to draw inferences only from the one-sided partial method of the examination, the Commissioner's friendly intimacy with every royalist leader and opponent of the Provisional Government, and his persistent avoidance of examination of those who were in a position to give him reliable information.

CHAPTER XVII.

EFFORTS TO RESTORE THE EX-QUEEN; AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HAWAIIAN REPUBLIC.

The uncertainty respecting the outcome of Mr. Blount's report caused serious depression in business circles on the islands. Both public and private enterprises were hampered, for capital is wary in the face of possible political overturn. The royalists, believing firmly that the Commissioner had recommended restoration of the Queen and that the United States would act favorably upon the recommendation, renewed their secret intrigues, and, assisted as they were by the English Minister, they became a constant menace to the peace of the community. There were constant rumors of an uprising, and reports of filibuster expeditions from the coast to assist the royalists, keeping the community in a condition of excitement and disquietude. In addition to the interference with business, created by this condition of affairs, it necessitated the government keeping up a comparatively large force of armed men to prevent sudden uprising, at an expense which the depleted treasury inherited from the monarchy could ill afford.

The Hawaiian Minister in Washington made every effort to find out the intentions of the government in regard to Hawaii, but without avail. This failure was still further depressing to the cause of the Provisional Government.

The report of the Commissioner was received at Washington in July, but no action was taken until in October, 1893, when Mr. Willis was sent to Honolulu as Minister of the United States and publicly accredited to the Provisional Government but actually and covertly for the purpose of destroying that government and restoring the ex-Queen before Congress should meet. Mr. Willis had received both oral and written instructions to do this. Upon his arrival in Honolulu he was received by the Provisional Government with great cordiality, and an interchange of the usual courtesies was had between them. Little did the Hawaiian officials think that under the guise of this amicable representation Mr. Willis had secret instructions to take the earliest opportunity to inform the ex-Queen that the treaty withdrawn from the Senate would not be returned, and that if she would promise amnesty to all persons who had been engaged in overturning the monarchy, she would be restored to the throne by the United States. Suspecting nothing of this kind, the officials of the Provisional Government were greatly encouraged by the friendly attitude of the United States as manifested by accrediting a Minister to the new government after full investigation by a manifestly hostile Commissioner. Simultaneously with the arrival of Mr. Willis, Admiral Skerrett was relieved and ordered to command the naval forces in China, and Admiral Irwin took his place. The American Minister lost no time in carrying

out his instructions relating to the ex-Queen. Without a word to the government to which he was accredited, he sent for Liliuokalani, and early in the forenoon of November 13th she called, accompanied by her former Chamberlain. She was informed that through the unauthorized intervention of United States officials and the troops from the Boston she had been obliged to surrender her sovereignty, and that if she would bind herself to grant amnesty to all persons who had been engaged against her authority, it was the intention of the United States to restore her to the throne. To this proposition the ex-Queen would not assent, replying that she would cause those people who had been instrumental in her overthrow to be beheaded and their property confiscated to the government. This startling statement amazed the Minister, and put a stop to further negotiations for the time being. The Minister faithfully reported the facts to Washington, and notified the ex-Queen that he had no further communication to make until he heard from his government, which would be in three or four weeks.

Every precaution was taken to keep this interview and the ex-Queen's declaration a secret from the Provisional Government. The Minister frankly informed the American Secretary of State that, from actual information received in a conversation with the ex-Queen's best friends, it was plainly evident that in the event of restoration there would be a concerted movement to overthrow the constitution

and limited government, and establish the absolute dominion of the Queen, as was attempted in the *coup d'état* which caused her downfall. Notwithstanding the great secrecy maintained in regard to this interview, the officials of the Provisional Government got some inkling of it, for that very evening the tension of feeling became so great as to threaten disastrous consequences, and the town was filled with rumors of an outbreak. The greatest excitement prevailed at the executive building, in consequence of which the military forces were increased and the volunteer companies were ordered on duty at night. This condition of affairs continued for nearly two months; business was practically suspended; the people subjected to a severe strain of excitement, and the military was again increased to meet apprehended contingencies.

On November 24th and December 2d, respectively, a British and a Japanese man-of-war arrived in the harbor, and, on the same day that the English vessel came in, a letter of the Secretary of State recommending the restoration of the monarchy was published in the Honolulu papers. Although this was simply a newspaper publication, it was given credence and created a great sensation. Crowds gathered and the excitement became intense. A public meeting was called for the following night of all friends of the Provisional Government, at which over 1,200 men were present, and at which the Vice-President presided, and vigorous protests voiced in several speeches by leading men of the

community. The Provisional Government withdrew its permission, formerly given to Admiral Skerrett, to land troops for drill, and a protest against the use of force by the United States against their persons or property was presented to the Minister by a large number of American residents. Not until the Hawaiian Minister in Washington notified his government that the publication of Secretary Gresham's letter in the American press was official, and that it was not only unfriendly towards the Provisional Government, but actually recommended hostile action, did the Hawaiian officials become satisfied that the intentions of the American Minister were other than favorable, as indicated by his letter of credence to their government. This absolute proof of a contemplated overthrow of their existence as a sovereign power through the secret agency of the Minister accredited to them forced the Provisional Government to decide upon a course of action, either to submit or fight. President Dole, accompanied by his Attorney-General, called upon the Minister and requested to know what the United States intended to do, receiving the reply that he was unable at that time to comply with their request. To obtain some authentic utterance in reference thereto, President Dole that afternoon addressed a formal letter of inquiry, dated November 29, 1893, to the United States Minister, as to the authenticity of the published letter. The Minister did not answer this communication until December 2d, and then he evaded the question by referring to

it as a domestic transaction and intimating that something of a serious nature would occur, but it was not in his power to indicate what it would be until he had received further instructions in answer to letters recently forwarded by him to his government.

No possible information could be obtained from the Minister as to his course, but on the 29th of November a local paper published the remarks of the Minister made to one of the native leagues, in which he stated the policy of the United States regarding the islands was already formulated, and as an executive officer he would act when the proper time came. This implied threat, and the inability to obtain information whether the Minister intended to use force, or not, in support of his policy, emboldened the royalists and made it necessary for the Provisional Government to make further preparations for defence. After full deliberation and consultation with nearly all the leading men of the city, the decision was reached, practically unanimously, to resist to the last the attempt to restore the Queen, even though it involved a conflict with the United States troops. The executive building was fortified with bags of sand, both in front and around the various balconies. The volunteer forces were again increased and the citizens armed as if in a state of war. Following upon this the American Minister became more active, sent for the ex-Marshall to the Queen, and on December 5th had an interview with him in regard to the restoration,

well knowing that person would have command of the royal forces if such an event should occur. The ex-Marshal submitted a paper containing a method of procedure upon the restoration of the Queen which had been approved by her attorney and by all the members of her former Cabinet. This paper had been drawn up months before and contained a list of special advisers, all of whom were English or natives who had distinguished themselves by their ultra hostility to American interests. They were almost, without exception, men of low character and without responsibility or property interests. A provision was made for the support of autocratic authority by the Queen, and the trial of all those who had taken part against the monarchy, by a special court martial to be appointed for that purpose. This extraordinary document shows the confidence these people had in the information they had received prior to Mr. Blount's departure that the Queen was to be restored, and it should have convinced the Minister that the Queen had made up her mind to do what she originally proposed to him—assassinate all enemies and confiscate their property. He was informed that this program had been agreed upon after a consultation with the leading royalists, who would constitute that court, and that she had decided upon the course she intended to pursue long before his interview. Any one acquainted with her stubborn disposition well knows that she would have carried it out to the letter. Yet, on December 14th, the Revenue Cutter Cor-

win arrived in Honolulu from San Francisco, bringing further instructions in answer to the Minister's letter reporting the ex-Queen's refusal to accept the amnesty proposition directing him to proceed with the restoration program. Minister Willis thereupon renewed his efforts to restore the dusky, bloodthirsty Queen.

The unexpected arrival of the *Corwin* created intense excitement, which was increased when it became known that immediately after the arrival of that vessel the liberty of the men on the United States man-of-war in the harbor had been stopped; that the battalion was made ready to land at a moment's notice, and that the wives of the naval officers in Honolulu had been instructed by their husbands to make preparations for an immediate removal, indicative of possible hostilities. The Minister was instructed to carry out his original instructions, was urged to prompt action, but to insist upon amnesty and recognition of obligations of the Provisional Government as essential conditions to restoration. Accordingly he made arrangements for another interview with the ex-Queen, which was held on Saturday, December 16th, in the presence of Mr. J. O. Carter, her immediate friend. In this interview the ex-Queen was informed of what had previously been said and reported to Washington. In a long interview, assisted by Carter, the ex-Queen remained firm in her determination to kill or banish all those who took part against her, and their children, and to confiscate

their property. Shortly after, the ex-Queen and Carter left the legation, the latter becoming uneasy as to the outcome, and in the hope of getting the ex-Queen to change her mind, returned and requested another interview for Monday, which was granted. In the meantime the ex-Queen had seen some of her adherents, who, together with Carter, urged her to abandon her savage purpose. As though to assist these supporters in their efforts to induce her to give up this purpose, the Minister followed them up by calling at her residence, and further notified her that should she refuse assent to the written conditions, he would cease interference in her behalf. These extraordinary efforts at last brought this bloodthirsty barbarian to terms, and she drew up a letter promising to permit no proscription or punishment of any one, and virtually accepting the written obligations submitted by the Minister. For fear she might change her mind, J. O. Carter immediately obtained an agreement signed by herself to that effect, and delivered it to the American Minister at the legation.

It will be seen that four days had elapsed since the arrival of the *Corwin* before the ex-Queen could, under all this pressure, be induced to accept the terms proposed. Carter, who had full information of what had been said and done, understanding that force was to be used by the sailors and marines of the U. S. S. *Philadelphia*, and well knowing that the ex-Queen would be liable to violate any agreement she had entered into as soon as restored,

became apprehensive for the safety of his nephew, one of the officials of the Provisional Government, and after informing him of the purpose to restore the ex-Queen, advised him to join the royalist forces. The nephew, instead, informed President Dole of what had been told him. The frequent and secret interviews of the Minister with the ex-Queen and her partisans, together with the preparation on board the *Philadelphia*, produced an almost universal belief in the city that the naval forces of the United States would land to restore the Queen. In anticipation of such a move the wharves were for days lined with crowds of people, waiting to see the troops land. At no time did the American Minister attempt to deny this rumor, notwithstanding the German Consul called and begged him to speak, and relieve the public from the state of extreme tension they were in, which was becoming unbearable. The British and Japanese Ministers shared likewise in a failure to obtain an answer, and they became alarmed. They requested permission from the government to land a force from their men-of-war in the harbor to protect their respective legations, and it was granted. The Japanese Minister, realizing the status of those Americans supporting the Provisional Government, through the published notice that only those not engaged in conflict would be protected by the American Minister, and knowing that the entire American population were supporting that government, sent word to a number of Americans offering them the

use of the Japanese Legation as a refuge for their families in case of attack by the American troops upon the government. Was there ever a more humiliating situation since the Declaration of Independence, that, in the interests of humanity, a Japanese official, in a foreign country, should feel called upon to offer asylum to American women and children, to protect them from American troops, who were being used to force back into power a bloodthirsty and dissolute Queen, against the armed protest of an intelligent people, largely of American birth, who had been forced into revolution against her by her attempt to overthrow the constitution and establish an absolute monarchy?

The President of the Provisional Government that same day addressed a letter to the American Minister calling his attention to the fact that he was informed of what was going on, and that he, the Minister, was acting in a way hostile to the Hawaiian government, to which he was accredited, and asking for immediate confirmation or denial. In answer to this the Minister on the following day called upon the President of the Provisional Government by appointment, and in the presence of his ministers notified him of the Queen's acceptance of the proposals submitted, and demanded "in the name and by the authority of the President of the United States" that President Dole forthwith relinquish to her the sovereign power. He concluded by asking if President Dole was willing to abide by this decision of the President of the United

States. Nothing was said in regard to whether the decision would be enforced in case of rejection.

The *Corwin* was placed under sailing orders to leave for San Francisco to carry the answer of President Dole to Washington. To prevent the news getting out in the press, the captain was instructed to enter the harbor of San Francisco at night. No mails were permitted to be sent on the vessel, not even the official mail of President Dole to the Hawaiian Minister in Washington, although he requested permission from Mr. Willis to forward such mail. On December 23d, after a conference at a special session of the Advisory Council, President Dole wrote a lengthy document in answer to the United States Minister's demands, giving a full résumé of the situation and the events leading up to the establishment of the Republic. He claimed to have been no party to the Blount investigation; never to have seen the Blount report upon which the action of the American official was based, and, as no court of arbitration existed, he denied the right of the United States to interfere in the affairs of the sovereign state of Hawaii. He therefore declined to entertain the proposition to surrender the authority of the government to the ex-Queen.

The *Corwin* sailed on the following day, December 24th, and on the 26th the Minister acknowledged the receipt of Dole's reply, and notified the ex-Queen of the result.

If the excitement of the last few days had been great, it now bordered upon terrorism. Threats to

assassinate the Provisional officials were made; royalist conspiracies were formed, and the passions of all parties were aroused, which made it probable that a disturbance might occur at any time. To relieve the tension and restore confidence, President Dole again addressed the United States Minister a letter on December 27th, calling his attention to the apprehension existing, and urgently requesting that some assurance be given as to whether or not he intended to use force in regard to his policy, but Mr. Willis still withheld all information. At last, President Cleveland's special message to Congress, transmitting copies of Blount's report, and submitting the Hawaiian problem for Congressional solution, as published in the American papers, was received, giving the desired information for the first time. A rather spicy and unpleasant correspondence between President Dole and the United States Minister followed, closing the attempt, by direct act of the American executive, to restore the ex-Queen. In the meantime the Senate of the United States, by a formal resolution, directed its Committee on Foreign Affairs to investigate the Hawaiian situation. The Committee, under a Democratic chairman, made an exhaustive and careful investigation, examinations being under oath, and the witnesses subjected to rigid cross-examination, in place of Mr. Blount's method of affidavits and simple interrogation of an *ex parte* nature. Leading men of all parties, and others having no interest in the matter, were placed on the witness stand, and the

result was a lengthy report unqualifiedly exonerating the officers of the Boston and Minister Stevens, and reflecting upon the methods of Mr. Blount.

January 17, 1894, the first anniversary of the Provisional Government, was celebrated with great enthusiasm, in public receptions, a military parade, and a mass-meeting at night. The American Minister declined an invitation to be present, and the other foreign representatives in Honolulu followed his example by failing to participate in the observance of the day. No salutes were fired from any of the men-of-war in the harbor, a tacit recognition of the monarchical government and an apparent discourtesy to the Provisional Government for refusing to step down and out. The English Minister made good use of the situation by actively influencing opinion inimical to the interests of the United States and in support of the ex-Queen and her party. The officials of the Provisional Government now fully realized that their case was in the hands of Congress, the proceedings of which were reported by their Minister at Washington, who, after filing a protest with the Secretary of State against the unwarranted demands of the United States, returned to Honolulu to post his superiors on the situation in the United States. In consequence the hope of early annexation was abandoned by the Provisional Government, and steps were immediately taken to establish a republican form of government. The office of Minister of Foreign Affairs was separated from the person of the President, and the Executive

Council was increased to five members. A constitutional convention was called to assemble May 30, 1894, for a revision of the constitution by which the Provisional Government was to transfer its authority to the Republic of Hawaii. The convention finished its labors on the afternoon of July 3d, and on the same day the Advisory Council passed the act to provide for the proclamation of the Republic. On the following day the general public were invited to participate in the ceremony. At 8 A. M. July 4th, 1894, President Dole, accompanied by his Cabinet and staff and other officials, delivered the proclamation ushering into existence another republic, and that, too, on the anniversary of American Independence. Official notification was sent to all foreign powers of the changed form of government, and it was promptly recognized by them. The constitution adopted by the convention went immediately into force as the supreme law of the Republic, and Sanford B. Dole by virtue thereof assumed the office of President. The new constitution was fashioned after the general form of that of the United States and of the individual States. An educational qualification is required of voters for both houses, and a property qualification for electors of Senators, by which the ignorant and irresponsible of all nationalities are eliminated from control of the political life of the community. The legislature was divided into two branches, consisting of fifteen members each, a Senate and a House of Representatives. A Council of State was also

provided for, consisting of fifteen members, five of whom are appointed by the President and five elected by each branch of the legislature, and these together with the President and Executive Council act in times of emergencies when the legislature is not in session. Provision was made for the bestowal of special letters of denization on those who assisted in establishing the Provisional Government, entitling them to all privileges of Hawaiian citizenship without having to renounce allegiance to their own government. The President is elected for a term of six years by a joint vote of the two houses, and cannot be elected to a second consecutive term. The Senators are elected for six years and the Representatives for two. A small property qualification is required for a Representative and a larger one for Senators. The authority of each house is similar to that of other legislative bodies. There is a special provision by which the President is empowered, with the approval of his Cabinet, to make a treaty of political union with the United States.

In opposition to this excellent form of government the royalists were warmly supported by the British residents and officials to continue their intrigues under the stimulus of a supposed American unfriendliness. The English Minister and his wife were not only notorious sympathizers with the ex-Queen, but were in constant communication with her, and the officers of the British man-of-war in the harbor took part in secret meetings of the lead-

ing royalists to consider what action should be taken to reinstate the monarchy. This British sympathy and support constituted not only a serious element of peril, but stimulated the naturally peacefully inclined natives and half-whites to look forward to, and work for, the return of the monarchy, and they largely failed to qualify as voters for the first election called by the Republic for the election of Senators and Representatives. About 5,000 voters qualified, and all the members of both houses were elected on a platform in favor of annexation of the islands to the United States, both houses subsequently passing resolutions unanimously approving such proposition. This is worthy of note, as the majority of the lower house, including the Speaker, were full-blooded native Hawaiians.

Secret plotting and serious disaffection were reported, and some arrests were made, but this did not put a stop to the continued intrigues. In the meantime, Rear-Admiral J. G. Walker, whose professional abilities, tact, and judgment are unexcelled by those of any other officer in the United States Navy, by orders of the Navy Department, was placed in command of the naval forces in the Pacific. He relieved Rear-Admiral Irwin on April 14, 1894, and at once proceeded to obtain all the information possible on the political situation, and in several communications to the Department made exhaustive reports. The accurate and reliable information transmitted to the Department by the Admiral was not of an *ex parte* nature, but based upon knowl-

edge obtained in conversations with men of all parties, and clearly defined the condition of affairs. He plainly demonstrated how the English were interfering in the political affairs of the islands; reported their efforts to seize Necker Island for a cable landing, and pointed out the necessity of strengthening the United States naval forces in Hawaii, urging that another vessel be sent to Honolulu, which recommendation was not complied with.

The establishment of a permanent form of government and a settled policy was discouraging to the royalists; nevertheless their leaders held a series of conferences, and as a result sent a committee of three, headed by one of the ex-Queen's Cabinet, to the Coast to purchase arms and munitions of war, and make other arrangements to assist in a secret uprising. The committee visited Washington, called upon the Secretary of State, and made an effort to obtain the support of the United States in case of such a move. They were informed that the United States would not interfere in the domestic affairs of Hawaii. They informed Secretary Gresham that if the American men-of-war were recalled from Hawaii, they would have no difficulty in overthrowing the Republic and re-establishing the monarch. There is no record of his reply. The committee reported back that the United States ships were going to be withdrawn. They returned to California, purchased arms and munitions, and caused them to be shipped to the islands. Admiral Walker was, by telegram of July 9th, instructed to

proceed with the Philadelphia to Mare Island, California, but as soon as it was known that the Philadelphia was to leave, the British Minister ordered the Champion, a British war ship, to remain in port. The Admiral had full confidence in the Republic's ability to preserve order, but he well knew that in the event of an uprising of the royalists, with only an English man-of-war in the harbor, the forces from that vessel would, in all probability, land to assist them in the restoration of the Queen, and he very wisely postponed the departure of the Philadelphia. The English and royalists were greatly elated at the intended departure of the Philadelphia, leaving the Champion in port, while the supporters of the government regarded the situation with anxiety. A petition was sent to the Admiral, signed by prominent merchants and business men, representing large American moneyed interests, requesting him to remain. The Admiral not leaving, he was again ordered by telegram, via San Francisco, to leave at once with the Philadelphia, and this time, having no discretion in the matter, he obeyed his instructions and sailed on the 12th of August, leaving the islands virtually under British protection.

This withdrawal of the Philadelphia left Honolulu, for the first time in twenty years, without United States naval supervision. The royalists believed and announced that it was done to afford them an opportunity to revolt against the Republic. The timidity of the royalist leaders, however,

caused the contemplated move to be put off until January 6, 1895, when a lot of natives and low whites, instigated by agitators of foreign birth, and acting with the full knowledge and consent of Liliuokalani, met at a secluded spot about four miles from the city for the purpose of commencing hostilities. Arms and ammunition, having been previously purchased in San Francisco by the royalists, were landed from a small coasting vessel, and placed in the hands of these men, from the house of one of the conspirators, at the foot of Diamond Head. Preparations were made for a night attack on the city, which, had it been successful, would have resulted in the killing of many innocent men, women, and children, the looting of buildings and the destruction of much property. The armed forces were led by the notorious Wilcox and others of unsavory record, while the instigators remained in the city to assist when the attack was made if the appearances were favorable to success. The telephone wires were cut and a number of foreigners out for a stroll were taken prisoners by the rebels, as a precautionary measure. The news of a suspicious gathering at the place of rendezvous reached the authorities, and the deputy marshal, with a few police, was sent with warrants to arrest the conspirators. Upon their arrival at the place they were fired upon, resulting in the killing of young C. L. Carter, who had been one of the annexation commissioners who went to Washington in 1893, and the wounding of two police. The regular troops

and volunteer forces were immediately called out, and for several days there was desultory fighting, resulting in the complete overthrow of the revolution and the capture of the rebel forces. The leaders as soon as captured became anxious to reveal the inner history of the movement, and the names of the parties connected with them. A search was made of the ex-Queen's residence, and a lot of bombs, rifles, and ammunition found there. She was arrested, together with several prominent foreigners, mostly English and Canadians. The town was placed under martial law, and a military commission appointed to try those implicated. Nowlein, one of the leaders, turned state's evidence. Those found guilty were either deported or sentenced to imprisonment for a stated period and fined. Some were fined only, and four were sentenced to be shot, all of whom in the course of time were pardoned. The ex-Queen, hoping to avoid trial and consequent punishment, voluntarily executed a document renouncing and abdicating all pretensions or claims whatsoever to the throne of Hawaii, and took the oath of allegiance to the Republic; but she was tried, nevertheless, for "misprision of treason" and sentenced to imprisonment and to pay a fine, but was afterwards released and placed on indefinite parole.

Following upon this revolution frequent reports of filibuster expeditions from Puget Sound and British Columbia came to disturb the peace and quiet.

To make matters worse, there was sprung upon the government an unexpected claim of a serious nature. It was a demand from the American Minister, by order of Secretary Gresham, claiming a large indemnity for the imprisonment of an American subject who had been found guilty of engaging in the late revolution and sentenced to a short term of imprisonment. This man's affidavit was taken by the American Consul and the Minister without any inquiry being made of the government officials. Upon that affidavit alone the demand was made, and that, too, after an official publication stating that no American engaged in a conflict would be protected. Hence when the demand came it was regarded as another act of hostility by the Washington government and caused grave apprehension, as the British government at the same time presented several claims of a similar character. It was feared that the United States was going to combine with England in crushing exactions and ruinous demands for the treatment of those who had been in active revolution against the Republic.

The Hawaiian Minister in Washington, who, by his exertions against restoration of the Queen, had lost favor with the Secretary of State, was, in the early part of April, recalled by his government upon request of Secretary Gresham, but the position was filled later on and did not interfere with the formal diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Major Wodehouse, the English Minister, continued his hostility to the Republic so openly that

the government finally, in self-defense, demanded to know his intentions and meaning. He became so offensive that his government finally recalled him. Upon his retirement from office he declined to notify the President of the change, and failed to exercise the invariable courtesy of a formal farewell to that official, but, instead, upon his departure, he requested permission for himself and wife to bid adieu to the ex-Queen, who was then in prison. This request was denied. Both Major Wodehouse and his wife had stimulated to the utmost the ex-Queen's hopes of restoration, and prior to and during the revolution of 1895 they gave active encouragement to the royalists. This official had been at Honolulu nearly thirty years, in a constant struggle to promote English influence at the expense of American interests, and his policy was to maintain the monarchy as a means of maintaining English influence.

The successful establishment of the Republic upon the eve of his retirement made him bitter and hostile, and though holding the position of British Minister and transacting diplomatic business with the *de facto* government, he continued to be a pronounced royalist. He was succeeded by an official who was not involved in local politics, but who possessed the English proclivity for British supremacy, and was, consequently, a sympathizer with the royalists. But the change was welcomed by the republican officials.

The first legislature of the Republic met on June 12, 1895, and adjourned August 15th,

after passing an elaborate act providing for dividing the government and crown lands into homesteads, which are now being rapidly taken up by actual settlers on very favorable terms. As though the political turmoil on the islands had not caused sufficient suffering, the overtaxed patience of the people was further burdened by an infliction of the cholera. A passenger steamer from China brought the disease to the islands in August, 1895, and though a strict quarantine, thorough sanitary treatment, medical and police inspection were maintained, the disease was not stamped out before the end of September, resulting in the death of 85 persons, mostly natives.

The government of the new Republic was at last firmly established, with ample strength to maintain itself against any and all phases of hostile domestic sentiment; an organic law had been put in force and faithfully and judiciously administered, distinctly closing the chapter in Hawaiian political history which relates to the transition from a monarchy to a republic. The entire community accepted the situation and settled down to comparative peace and contentment. The regular legislature was chosen and passed many acts of a beneficial nature, with every indication of a most favorable outlook for political stability and commercial prosperity, while the people possess a strong desire and great hopes of ultimately consummating a political union with the United States.

CHAPTER XVIII.

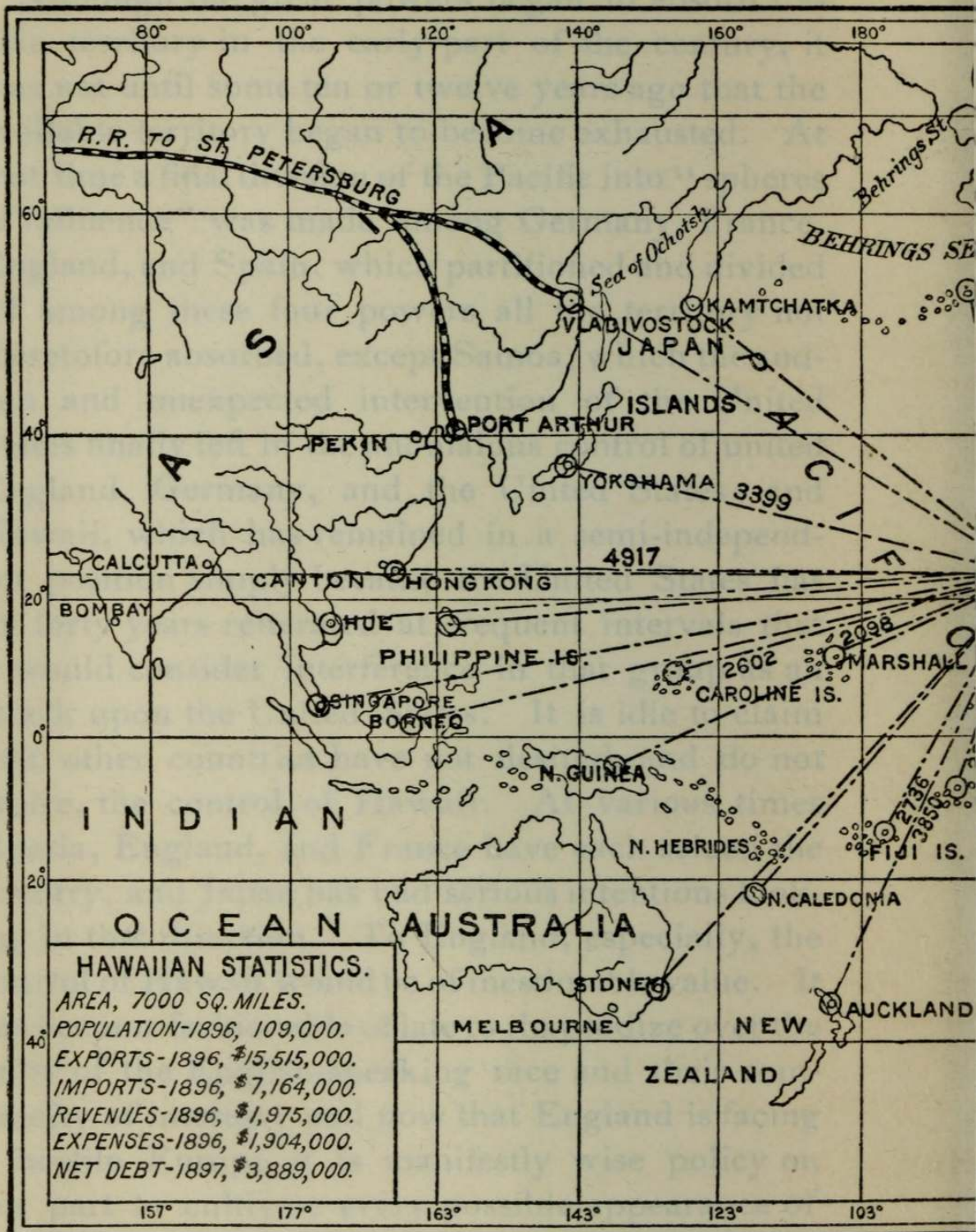
THE STRATEGIC VALUE OF HAWAII.

It is interesting to note that upon the strength of Balboa's discovery of the Pacific Ocean, in 1513, Spain continued, until not much over a hundred years ago, to claim that entire ocean and all the countries bordering thereon as her property. When Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe, the claim was advanced that the Pacific was a *mare clausum*, and his sailing across that sea was resented as a trespass upon Spanish property. As late as 1789 Spanish war vessels seized several English fur-trading vessels on the northwest coast, and the Commandant at San Francisco was ordered to seize the Columbia, the first vessel that carried the American flag around the world, for having invaded those waters. Spain's greatness was already on the wane, however, and she was unable to maintain her preposterous claims.

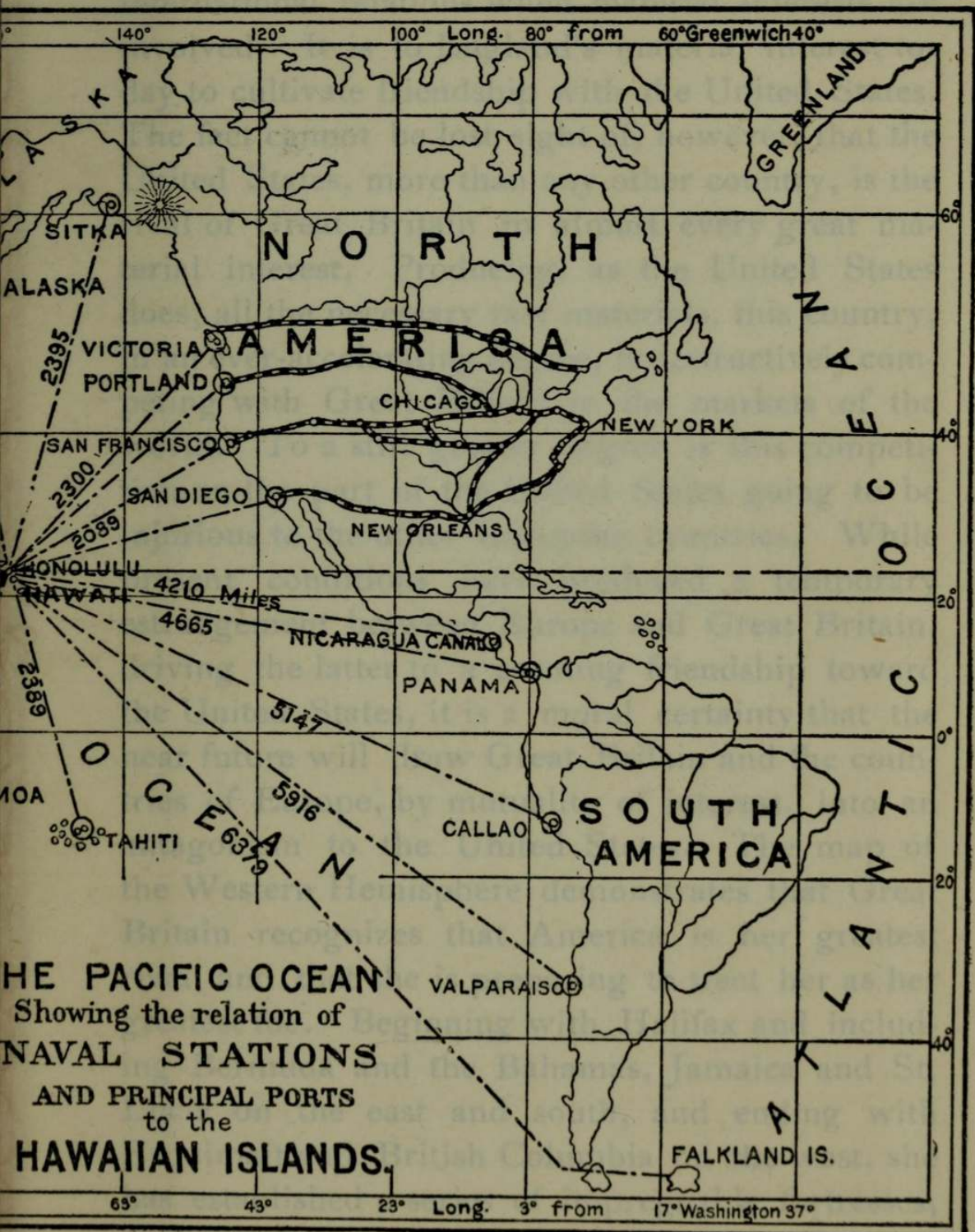
Early in the present century the nations of the world began to realize, in a faint way, that the Pacific and its adjacent shores were eventually to become valuable, and in ever accelerating degree began an international scramble for dominion therein until, with the exception of the territory

owned by the United States or protected by the Monroe doctrine, China, Japan, and Hawaii, every island in the Pacific, and the shores bordering thereon, have become the property of some European country. Japan is one of the wonders of the modern world. It is the one country not of the Aryan race which has evinced ability to withstand the aggressions of that race. It has taken its position as one of the forces, not only of the Pacific, but of the world, which must be calculated upon by international statesmen, not only in a negative way, but as one of the active and aggressive forces, not only of the future but of the present. Japan already has a navy nearly as strong as that of the United States, and has more naval vessels in course of construction than any other country, except Great Britain. Moreover, her people are of an active, mercurial, and belligerent disposition, with unbounded faith in their own prowess and ability. In possession of the magnificent navy which they are building, they are liable to be in the position of a boy with a new toy, with which he wishes to experiment. While the traditional relations of Japan and the United States are friendly, the rapid prospective commercial development of both countries is liable to bring them into conflict of interest. A conflict of commercial interest is growing more and more to be the basis of international hostility. No American statesman can in the future leave Japan out of sight as one of the dominating powers in the Pacific.

Although the great powers began to absorb Pacific territory in the early part of the century, it was not until some ten or twelve years ago that the available territory began to become exhausted. At that time a final division of the Pacific into "spheres of influence" was made among Germany, France, England, and Spain, which partitioned and divided off among these four powers all the territory not theretofore absorbed, except Samoa, which the sudden and unexpected intervention of the United States finally left in the anomalous control of united England, Germany, and the United States; and Hawaii, which has remained in a semi-independent position simply because the United States has for forty years reiterated at frequent intervals that it would consider interference in that group as an attack upon the United States. It is idle to claim that other countries have not desired, and do not desire, the control of Hawaii. At various times Russia, England, and France have each seized the country, and Japan has had serious intentions looking in that direction. To England, especially, the control of Hawaii would be of inestimable value. It has become fashionable of late to rhapsodize over the unity of the English-speaking race and their community of interest; and now that England is facing a hostile Europe it is manifestly wise policy on her part to cultivate every possible appearance of friendly feeling toward the United States. American statesmen, however, cannot and do not lose sight of the fact that sentiment has little effect upon

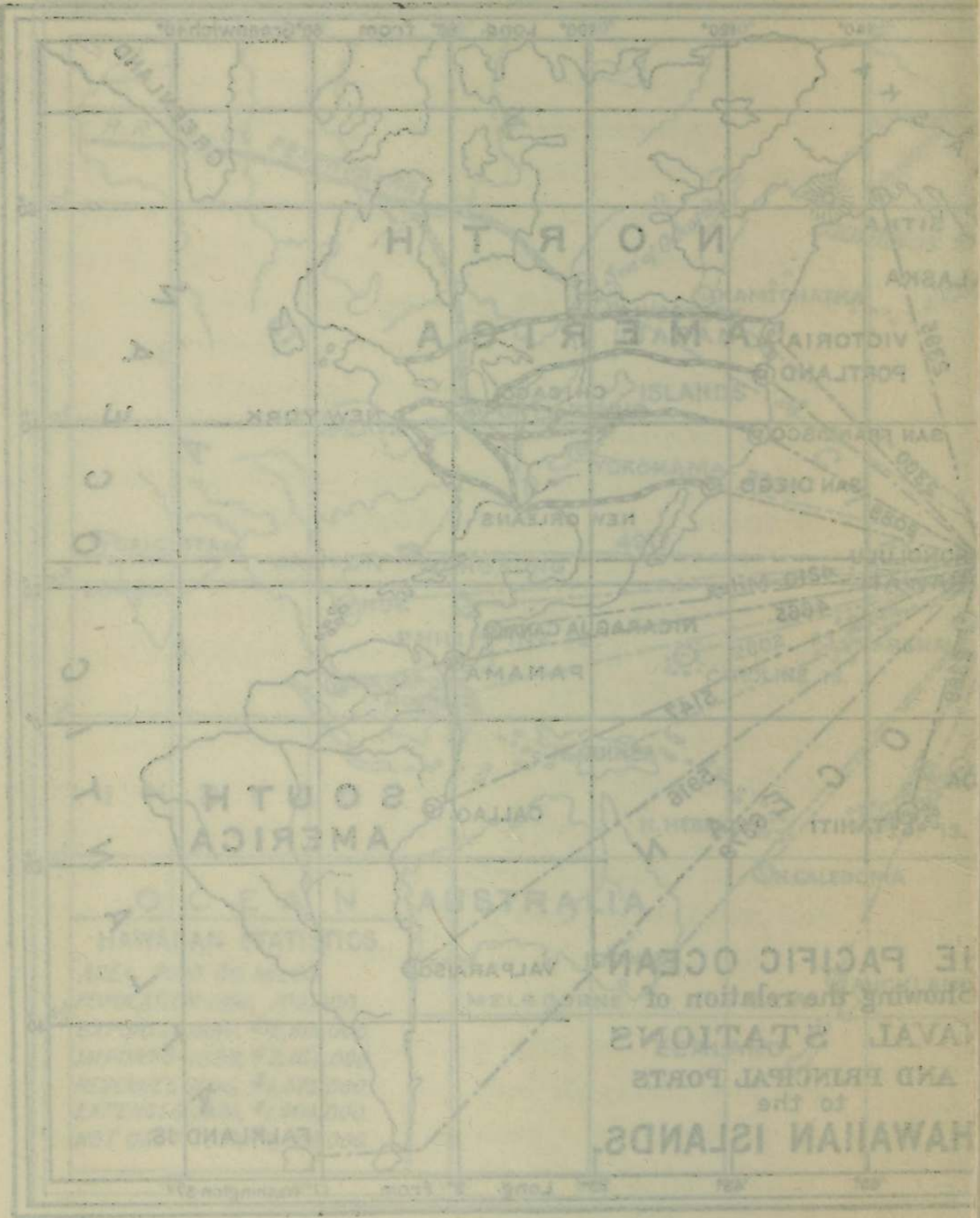


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THE PACIFIC OCEAN
 Showing the relation of
NAVAL STATIONS
 AND PRINCIPAL PORTS
 to the
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Equipped with any...
 second in strength and capacity to none in the
 world, and connected them all with expensive cable



HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
to the
AND PRINCIPAL PORTS
NAVAL STATIONS
Showing the relation of
THE PACIFIC OCEAN

international relations when material interests are involved. It is to England's material interest to-day to cultivate friendship with the United States. The fact cannot be lost sight of, however, that the United States, more than any other country, is the rival of Great Britain in almost every great material interest. Producing, as the United States does, all the necessary raw materials, this country, in an ever-accelerating degree, is destructively competing with Great Britain in the markets of the world. To a still greater degree is this competition on the part of the United States going to be injurious to the other European countries. While present conditions have produced a temporary estrangement between Europe and Great Britain, driving the latter to a seeming friendship toward the United States, it is a moral certainty that the near future will draw Great Britain and the countries of Europe, by mutuality of interest, into an antagonism to the United States. The map of the Western Hemisphere demonstrates that Great Britain recognizes that America is her greatest rival, and that she is preparing to treat her as her greatest foe. Beginning with Halifax and including Bermuda and the Bahamas, Jamaica and St. Lucia on the east and south, and ending with Esquimalt and British Columbia on the west, she has established a series of impregnable fortresses, each equipped with dry-docks and fortifications second in strength and capacity to none in the world, and connected them all with expensive cable

systems for which there is no commercial call. All this has been done with no logical purpose except to prepare for eventual hostilities with the United States. The one link omitted in this chain of hostile forts surrounding the United States is Hawaii. Not only is Hawaii a missing link in an otherwise continuous chain, but it directly divides England's greatest Anglo-Saxon colonies, Canada and Australia, the distance between which is so great that it is impossible for even merchant steamers to traverse it without recoaling at Hawaii, as there is no other supply station available. Under these circumstances and conditions it is impossible that England does not need or desire Hawaii. It would be supreme imbecility if she did not recognize the desirability of such acquisition. The only possible reason there can be for her not attempting to acquire such territory is that, for the present, it would not be good policy to manifest such desire. Notwithstanding the fact that present policy dictates present silence and inactivity, no American statesman can afford to lose sight of the fact that England's policy and necessity include the control of Hawaii, and if ever a time should come when the policy of silence and non-intervention were no longer paramount, the present apparent lack of interest in Hawaii would instantly disappear and pre-eminence of English interest in Hawaii be asserted simultaneous with its seizure.

The importance of Hawaii as a strategical position is no more a matter of opinion than is a

geometrical axiom. It is a primal, incontrovertible fact. It is second in importance to no other single point on the earth's surface. England seized, and with bull-dog tenacity has held, Gibraltar for its strategical value alone; but there is no country the route to which lies past Gibraltar which cannot be reached by several other different ways. The distinctive feature of Hawaii, wherein it is unique among the strategical points of the world, is that it lies at the center of an area so great that commercial and military operations across it are practically impossible, except by using Hawaii as a coal and supply station. Eliminate Hawaii from the map, and there are scarcely any battle-ships in existence which can operate across the Pacific, by reason of the fact that they cannot carry coal enough, and the problem of coaling at sea has not yet been solved.

It has been repeatedly and officially pointed out by the naval authorities, not only of the United States but of the world, that the trans-Pacific countries and islands, with the exception of Hawaii, are so far distant from the American continent that, unless the ships of such nations can recoal at Hawaii, it is practically impossible for them to get to the Pacific Coast for the purpose of conducting military operations there. The most efficient ships could not get there at all, and those which do carry sufficient coal to cross would have no coal with which to operate, much less to return to their base of operations. In other words, it is impos-

sible to maintain naval or military operations at a distance of from 3,500 to 5,500 miles from a base of operations. Under these conditions it is elementary strategy and logic that there can be no surer defense to the Pacific Coast of the United States than to prevent any other foreign country from getting possession or control of Hawaii.

Notwithstanding the certainty of the defense which would be afforded to the Pacific Coast by excluding a possible enemy from Hawaii, it would not be policy for the United States to attempt this method of defense, by herself taking possession of Hawaii, unless that possession could be made effective at reasonable expense.

Whether this can be done is not a new question to American naval authorities or statesmen.

As long ago as 1851, Congress by formal resolution requested the Navy and War Departments to report upon the conditions and requirements of the coast defenses of the United States. By instructions of the Navy Department, Admiral Dupont drew up a report in reply to this resolution, in which he said, in connection with the defense of the Pacific Coast:

“It is impossible to estimate too highly the value and importance of the Sandwich Islands, whether in a commercial or military point of view. Should circumstances ever place them in our hands, they would prove the most important acquisition we could make in the whole Pacific Ocean—an acquisition intimately connected with our commercial and naval supremacy in those seas.”

This opinion has been fully approved by United States naval officers from that day to this. That United States control of Hawaii can be made both effective and economical is demonstrated by a brief examination of the facts.

Although the Hawaiian Islands are eight in number and extend over a distance of about 400 miles, with the exceptions of Honolulu and Pearl harbors its ports are all open roadsteads, in which vessels are compelled to lie at distances of approximately half a mile from shore, obliged at all times to land and ship all freight in small boats, hampered by the restless swell of the ocean and exposed to constant interruptions by storms. The port of Hilo could be partially protected by building a breakwater several miles long, at an expense of an unestimated number of millions of dollars, but even then it would not be protected from northerly storms. With the exception, therefore, of Honolulu and Pearl Harbor, all other points in the island may be eliminated from consideration as possible naval stations.

Pearl Harbor and Honolulu harbor are both located upon the south side of the Island of Oahu, and are only seven miles apart. Any effective military control of the one must necessarily include the control of the other, for they are so close together that heavy artillery located at either point would be within easy range and have full control of the other.

Fortifications for the defense of the two need be

of the most inexpensive kind. Both Honolulu and Pearl Harbor are protected by natural fortifications which need nothing but the placing of guns in position to become impregnable. Three miles east of Honolulu, projecting out into the deep water, its summit only about a quarter of a mile from the water's edge, rises Diamond Head, a hill of solid rock, with an almost perpendicular face, reaching an elevation of 750 feet.

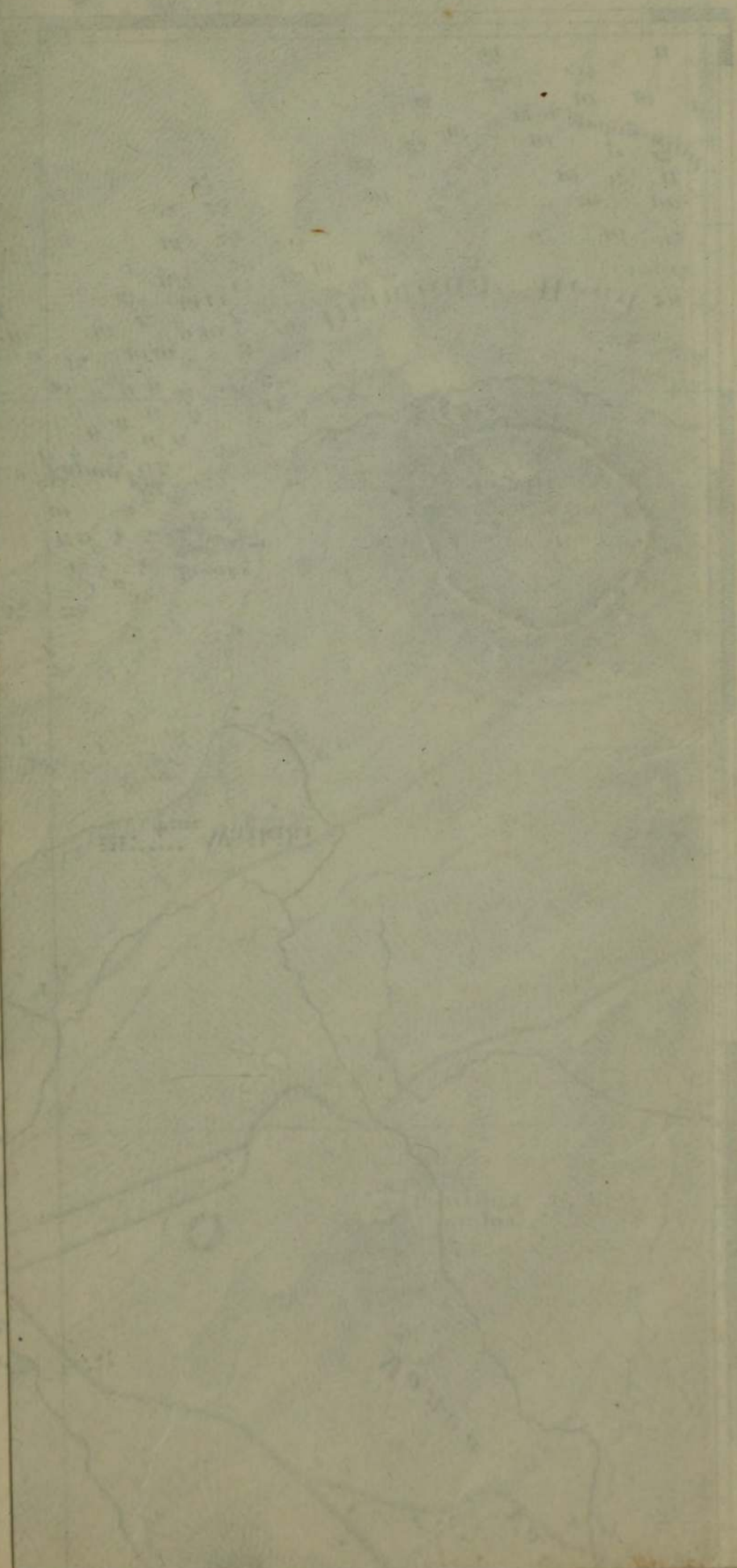
In the very heart of Honolulu, within three-quarters of a mile of deep water, lies a second hill of solid rock, with almost perpendicular face, rising to an elevation of 500 feet. Four miles west of Honolulu, just half way to Pearl Harbor, lies a third hill, of the same rocky perpendicular character, reaching an elevation of 400 feet. A battery of modern guns can be mounted on each of these three hills at so little expense as to practically eliminate the amount as a factor for consideration in an estimate of cost. To the rear of Honolulu the only pass through the mountain is a narrow cut, twenty feet wide, to approach which an invading army would have to climb an almost perpendicular bluff, nearly a thousand feet high, which would preclude any attack from that direction.

Honolulu is an absolutely safe land-locked harbor, but is unsuitable for a naval station, for two reasons: first, because it is so small that it will not accommodate more than a hundred vessels at the outside, and the rapidly growing commercial use of the port will very soon tax its limit to the ut-

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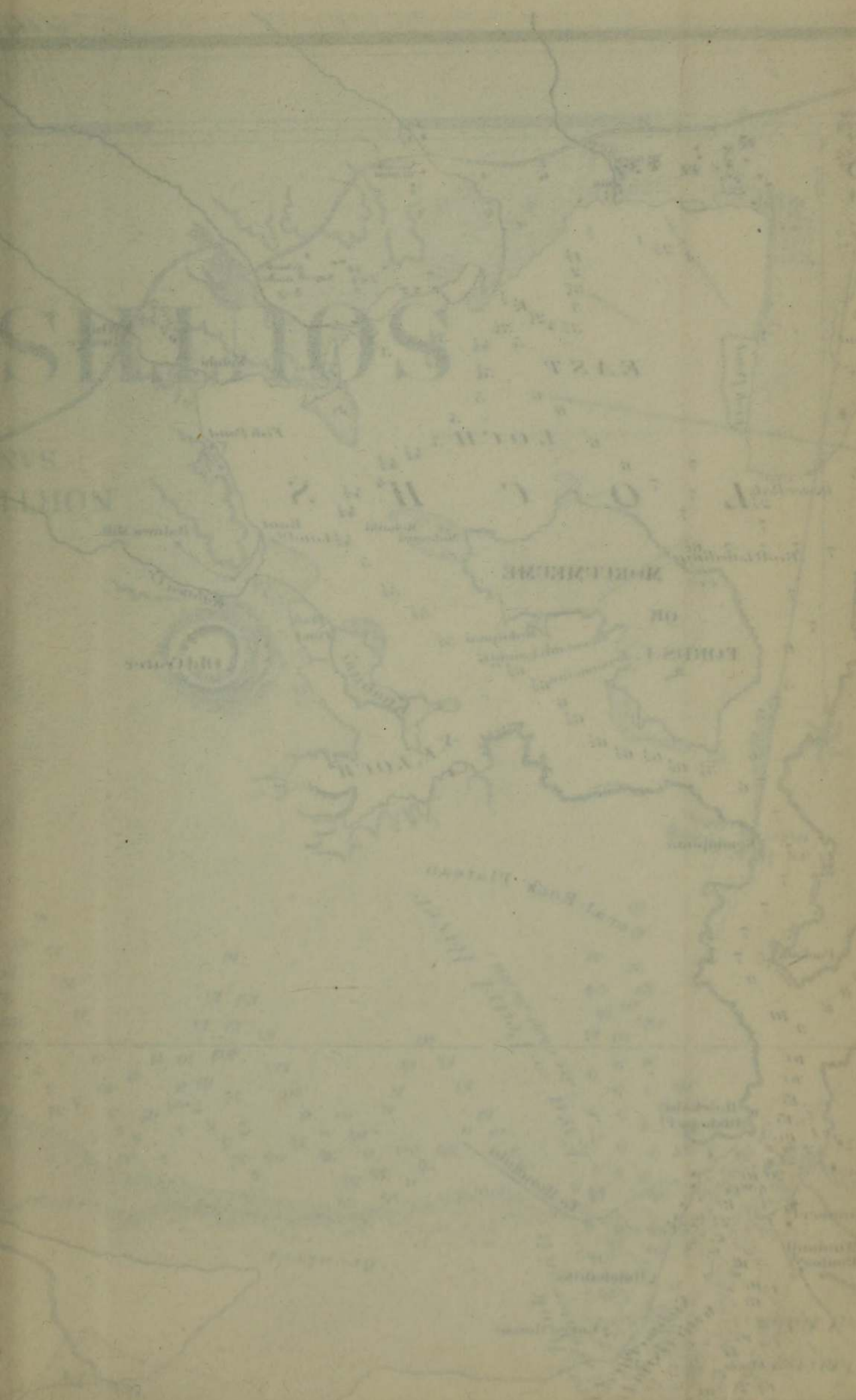
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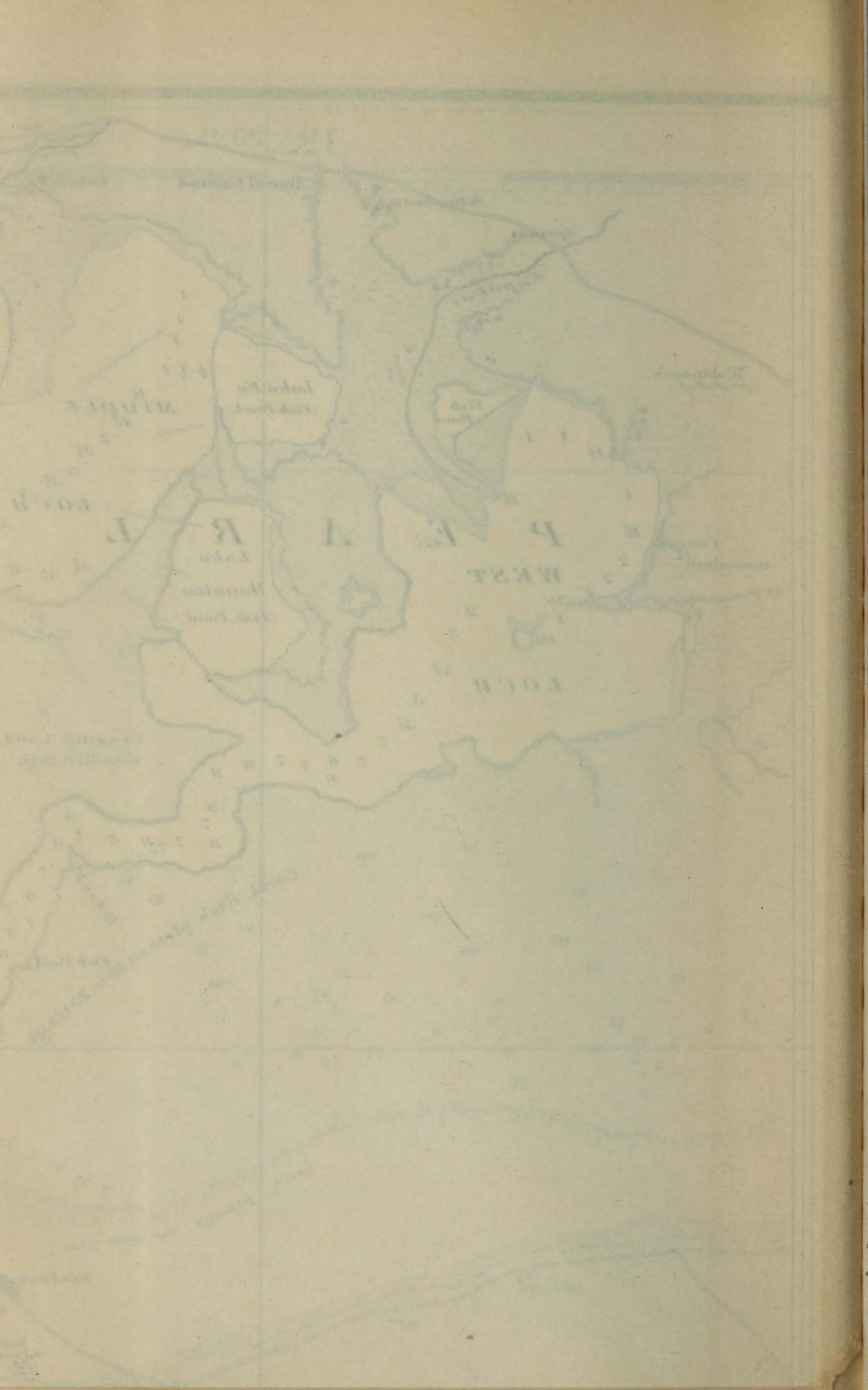
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most. In the second place, the shores of the harbor are distant only from a half to three-quarters of a mile from deep water. The dry-docks, machine shops, and magazines of a naval station should be located at such a distance from deep water as to practically put them beyond the reach of an ordinary bombardment. While Honolulu can be so fortified as to absolutely prevent an effective landing being made, it lies so close to deep water that a heavy battle-ship might easily, before being driven off, annihilate the effectiveness of the station by a few well-directed shots.

Pearl Harbor is an arm of the sea, a lagoon, connected with the ocean by a long, narrow, river-like entrance, some three miles in length; the inner end expanding and dividing into three lochs, having together an interior frontage of some 30 miles, with an average depth of from 30 to 60 feet. Its banks are formed of coral and sandstone with a top layer of soil. In many places the banks are so perpendicular that a full-rigged ship could lie alongside without excavation or dock-building. The entire harbor is surrounded by abundant springs of pure, fresh water and artesian wells reach fresh water at any point at a depth of approximately 400 to 425 feet, which rises to an elevation of about 30 feet above sea-level. The shores are well wooded with *Algeroba* forests, and the country on the land side is a rich, fertile district covered with rice, banana, and sugar plantations, capable of furnishing an unlimited amount of fresh supplies for the use of the station. A barrier reef

extends parallel with, and distant about a mile from, the shore, and the water beyond does not reach a depth of over 100 feet for a distance of about another mile, being well suited, therefore, for marine mining. These, with the assistance of the fortifications already spoken of and inexpensive fortifications at the mouth of the harbor, would be absolutely prohibitive of any successful attack on the station from the sea. The Navy and War Departments have already executed most minute surveys of the harbor and its entrance, and caused expert reports to be made thereon. As early as 1872, Generals Schofield and Alexander, of the United States Army, reported unequivocally in favor of the military value of this harbor to the United States. The surveys of the Navy Department have been made under the direction of Admirals Irwin, Walker, and Miller. They disclose that there is a sand-bar across the extreme outer entrance of the harbor, consisting almost exclusively of soft disintegrated coral sand, which can be disposed of by a suction dredge at an estimated expense of not to exceed \$150,000. The rise and fall of the tide is less than three feet, and there are no currents which need be feared to reform the bar. A bar similar in character, somewhat smaller in extent, was pumped out from the entrance to Honolulu harbor in 1891, a depth of over 30 feet being secured, which has not since changed a particle. The expense of clearing the Honolulu harbor bar, exclusive of the cost of the dredge, was only about

\$40,000. This dredge is the property of the Hawaiian government and is available at any time for use by the United States Government at Pearl Harbor, if desired.

The United States now has by the treaty the right to the exclusive use of Pearl Harbor. It has as yet taken no steps, other than making the surveys mentioned, to avail itself of this privilege. A popular view has been that the rights which the United States possesses in Pearl Harbor are all that the United States needs in a military way. This is an erroneous view. In the first place, there are doubts as to the permanency of the title of the United States to the harbor. The Hawaiian government, both the monarchy and the republic, maintains that the United States title to the harbor is coterminus with the existing reciprocity treaty, and that if such treaty is terminated the American rights to Pearl Harbor terminate also. Be that as it may, there is no grant of territory by that treaty, and as a protective measure it would be necessary for the United States to own not only the land on which its naval station is located, but it should be able to control the territory for a sufficient distance away therefrom to insure the non-occupation of a hostile power. The report of Generals Schofield and Alexander in 1872 laid especial stress upon this point. At that time, basing their opinion upon the then efficient range of cannon, they reported that the United States should secure territory for a distance of not less than four miles in every direction from the harbor. Since then

the efficient range of heavy artillery has greatly increased. Honolulu lies only seven miles from Pearl Harbor, well within range. There certainly can be no claim advanced that by the reciprocity treaty, which gives the United States the authority to establish a naval station in Pearl Harbor, it was intended to cede to the United States the jurisdiction over the territory occupied by Honolulu, the capital city of the country; and yet without possession or control of Honolulu there is no safety in locating a naval station at Pearl Harbor. The necessary corollary of this situation is that, in order to make use of Pearl Harbor, the control of Honolulu must also be acquired. It is not within the bounds of consideration that the people of Hawaii would consent to segregate the city of Honolulu from the country and transfer it to the United States. The proposition which the United States must then face is to take the islands as a whole, or Pearl Harbor is of no value to it. In other words, the question is reduced down to the single issue of annexing the group as a whole or letting it go as a whole. Another matter of vital importance in arriving at a decision of this issue is the certainty that it will be almost impossible to eject any strong maritime nation which once intrenches itself in Honolulu and Pearl Harbor.

On the other hand, if the United States first occupies this stronghold of the western world, it will give it the dominant power over the entire North Pacific, both from a naval and a commercial

standpoint, and afford a military protection to its Pacific coast and a control over the trans-Pacific commerce which can be attained in no other way.

If any of the leading maritime nations obtain that control they can be evicted therefrom only by such expenditure of blood and treasure as will make the effort one of the great naval and military feats of history ; and, until such eviction, it will be the one focus in the northern Pacific from which hostile military expeditions can be fitted out against our coast and commerce, and from which the American merchant marine, now greater in the Pacific than in any other ocean, can be swept from off the face of the sea.

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