KALAKAUA'S HAWAII

1874 - 1891

A collection of pamphlets dealing with the political, social and economic history of Hawaii during the reign of King Kalakaua and the many controversies of the period.

I. Political: King Kalakaua, his supporters and his detractors

II. Social: Health, welfare and religion

III. Economic: Sugar, reciprocity and labor

Reduction: 19 to 1

Honolulu, Hawaii

Hawaiian Historical Society

1968

The following pamphlets were all issued during the reign of King Kalakaua, with the exception of the first two. The first is included as it summarizes the history of the period and identifies some of the writers of the pamphlets which follow; the second includes a discussion of the pamphleteers of the period. Most of these pamphlets were published in Honolulu; some on the reciprocity treaty were published in the United States and are included as they are scarce but useful for showing the opposition to the treaty.

Government publications and periodicals have been excluded from this compilation.

The location of each copy microfilmed has not been given as many of the pamphlets are available in more than one library in Honolulu. The copies used were furnished by the Hawaiian Historical Society, the Archives of Hawaii, the Hawaii State Library (J. Tice Phillips Collection), the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association Experiment Station Library, University of Hawaii Library and the private collection of Gordon Smith. The essay by Riley Allen is reproduced with the permission of the Social Science Association.

I:17 Moreno, Celso Caesar. The position of men and affairs in Hawaii. Washington, D.C., [1887] 17 p.

I:18 "Pa Gibby's woo'in and de breech of promise soot" by Vandalia Pete. 1887. 4 p.

I:19 Pacific Commercial Advertiser. Coronation of Their Majesties. 1883. 23 p.

I:20 Pacific Commercial Advertiser. King Kalakaua's tour round the world. 1881. 76 p.

I:21 Saturday Press. The shepherd saint of Lanai. 1882. 47 p.

I:22 Second interregnum; a complete resume of events from the death to the burial of His Late Majesty Lunalilo. 1874. 19 p.

I:23 A sketch of recent events, being a short account of the events which culminated on June 30, 1887 ... and the two constitutions in parallel columns. 1887. 37 p.

I:24 Stewart, George W. The crowning of the dread king, a poem. 1883. 32 p.

I:25 Thoughts on the Hawaiian situation, by a member of the House of Nobles. 1881. 18 p.

I:26 To the public. (Six election broadsides issued by Kalakaua and Queen Emma.) 1874.

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II:1 Bicknell, James. Hoomanamana - Idolotry. [1888?] 12 p.

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II:4 Davies, Theophilus Harris. Open letter to the Right Reverend Alfred Willis, bishop of Honolulu and president of the Cathedral building committee. [1886?] 10 p.

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III:28 Political value of the Hawaiian treaty. [n.p., 1883?] 16 p.

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PART I

POLITICAL: KING KALAKAUA, HIS SUPPORTERS AND HIS DETRACTORS

Kalakaua's Reign:

A Sketch of Hawaiian History.

By W. D. ALEXANDER.

HONOLULU, H. I.
HAWAIIAN GAZETTE COMPANY
PUBLISHERS.
1894.

M. D. MONSARRAT,
HONOLULU.
H. I.
SURVEYOR.

THE HISTORY OF MONARCHY.

Professor Alexander's Contribution to Blount's Report.

ROYAL ABUSES OF TWENTY YEARS.

It is true that the germs of many of the evils of Kalakaua's reign may be traced to the reign of Kamehameha V. The reactionary policy of that monarch is well known. Under him the "recrudescence" of heathenism commenced, as evinced by the Pagan orgies at the funeral of his sister, Victoria Kamamalu, in June, 1866, and by his encouragement of the lascivious hulahula dancers and of the pernicious class of Kahunas or sorcerers. Closely connected with this reaction was a growing jealousy and hatred of foreigners.

INTRIGUES DURING LUNALILO'S REIGN.

During Lunalilo's brief reign, 1873-'74, this feeling was fanned into a flame by several causes, viz, the execution of the law for the segregation of lepers, the agitation caused by the

THE COURT-HOUSE RIOT.

A howling mob, composed of Queen Emma's partisans, had surrounded the court house during the election, after which they battered down the back doors, sacked the building, and assaulted the representatives with clubs. Messrs. C. C Harris and S. B. Dole held the main door against them for considerable time. The mob, with one exception, refrained from violence to foreigners, from fear of intervention by the men-of-war in port.

The cabinet and the marshal had been warned of the danger, but had made light of it. The police appeared to be in sympathy with the populace, and the volunteers, for the same reason, would not turn out. Mr. H. A. Pierce, the American Minister, however, had anticipated the riot, and had agreed with Commodore Belknap, of the U. S. S. Tuscarora, and Commodore Skerrett, of the Portsmouth, upon a signal for landing the troops under their command. At last Mr. C. R. Bishop, Minister of Foreign Affairs, formally applied to him and to Maj. Wodehouse, H. B. M.'s Commissioner, for assistance in putting down the riot.

A body of 150 marines immediately landed from the two American men-of-war, and in a few minutes was joined by one of seventy men from H. B. M.'s corvette Tenedos, Capt. Ray. They quickly dispersed the mob and arrested a number of them without any bloodshed. The British troops first occupied Queen Emma's grounds,

arresting several of the ringleaders there, and afterwards guarded the palace and barracks. The other Government buildings, the prison, etc., were guarded by American troops until the 20th.

INAUGURATION OF KALAKAUA.

The next day at noon Kalakaua was sworn in as King, under the protection of the United States troops. By an irony of fate the late leader of the anti American agitation owed his life and his throne to American intervention, and for several years he depended upon the support of the foreign community. In these circumstances he did not venture to proclaim a new constitution (as in his inaugural speech he had said he intended to do), nor to disregard public opinion in his appointments. His first Minister of Foreign Affairs was the late Hon. W. L. Green, an Englishman, universally respected for his integrity and ability, who held this office for nearly three years, and carried through the treaty of reciprocity in the teeth of bitter opposition.

THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.

The following October Messrs. E. H. Allen and H. A. P. Carter were sent to Washington to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity.

The Government of the United States having extended an invitation to the King, and placed the U. S. S. Benicia at his disposal, he embarked November 17, 1874, accompanied by Mr. H. A. Pierce and several other

proposal to cede the use of Pearl Harbor to the United States, and the famous mutiny at the barracks. This disaffection was made the most of by Kalakaua, who was smarting under his defeat in the election of January 8, 1873. Indeed, his manifesto previous to that election appealed to this race prejudice. Thus he promised, if elected, "to repeal the poll tax," "to put native Hawaiians into the Government offices," to "amend the Constitution of 1864," etc. "Beware," he said, "of the Constitution of 1852, and the false teaching of the foreigners, who are now seeking to obtain the direction of the Government, if Lunalilo ascends the throne." Walter Murray Gibson, formerly Mormon apostle and shepherd of Lanai, then professional politician and editor of that scurrilous paper, Nuhou, was bitterly disappointed that he had been ignored in the formation of Lunalilo's cabinet. Accordingly he took the role of an agitator and attached himself to Kalakaua's party. They were both disappointed at the result of the barracks mutiny, which had undoubtedly been fomented by Kalakaua.

THE ELECTION OF KALAKAUA.

Upon Lunalilo's untimely death, February 3, 1874, as no successor to the throne had been appointed, the Legislature was summoned to meet on the 12th, only nine days after his death. The popular choice lay between Kalakaua and the Queen-Dowager Emma. The Cabinet and the American party used all their influence in favor of the

former, while the English favored Queen Emma, who was devoted to their interest. At the same time Kalakaua's true character was not generally understood. The natives knew that his family had always been an idolatrous one. His reputed grandfather, Kamanawa, had been hanged, October 20, 1840, for poisoning his wife, Kamokuiki.

Under Kamehameha V. he had always been an advocate of absolutism, and also of the removal of the prohibition of furnishing alcoholic liquors to natives. While he was postmaster a defalcation occurred, which was covered up, while his friends made good the loss to the Government. Like Wilkins Micawber, he was impecunious all his life, whatever the amount of his income might be. He was characterized by a fondness for decorations and military show long before he was thought of as a possible candidate for the throne.

It was believed, however, that if Queen Emma should be elected there would be no hope of our obtaining a reciprocity treaty with the United States. The movement in favor of Queen Emma carried the day with the natives on Oahu, but had not time to spread to the other islands. It was charged, and generally believed that bribery was used by Kalakaua's friends to secure his election. Be that as it may, the Legislature was convened in the old court-house (now occupied by Hackfeld & Co.) and elected Kalakaua King by 39 votes to 6.

Kaai as a speaker and politician had great influence with his countrymen. The new cabinet granted Mr. Spreckels the desired water privilege for thirty years at $500 per annum. The opium license and free liquor bills were killed. The actual premier, Mr. Wilder, was probably the ablest administrator that this country has ever had. He infused new vigor into every department of the Government, promoted immigration, carried out extensive public improvements, and at the legislative session of 1880 was able to show cash in the treasury sufficient to pay off the existing national debt. But his determination to administer his own department in accordance with business methods did not suit the King.

Meanwhile Gibson spared no pains to make himself conspicuous as the soi-disant champion of the aboriginal race. He even tried to capture the "missionaries," "experienced religion," held forth at Sunday prayer meetings, and spoke in favor of temperance.

CELSO CESAR MORENO.

The professional lobbyist, Celso Cesar Moreno, well known at Sacramento and Washington, arrived in Honolulu November 14, 1879, on the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company's steamer Ho-chung, with the view of establishing a line of steamers between Honolulu and China. Soon afterwards he presented a memorial to the Hawaiian Government asking for a subsidy to the proposed line. He remained in Honolulu about ten months, during which time he gained unbounded influence over the king by servile flattery and by encouraging all his pet hobbies. He told him that he ought to be his own prime minister, and to fill all Government offices with native Hawaiians. He encouraged his craze for a ten-million loan, to be spent chiefly for military purposes, and told him that China was the "treasure house of the world," where he could borrow all the money he wanted. The king was always an active politician, and he left no stone unturned to carry the election of 1880. His candidates advocated a ten-million loan and unlimited Chinese immigration. With Moreno's assistance he produced a pamphlet in support of these views, entitled "A reply to ministerial utterances."

THE SESSION OF 1880.

In the Legislature of 1880 was seen the strange spectacle of the king working with a pair of unscrupulous adventurers to oust his own constitutional advisers, and introducing through his creatures a series of bills, which were generally defeated by the ministry.

Gibson had now thrown off the mask, and voted for everyone of the king and Moreno's measures. Among their bills which failed were the ten-million loan bill, the opium license bill, the free-liquor bill and especially the bill guaranteeing a bonus of $1,000,000 in gold to Moreno's Trans-Pacific Cable Company.

gentlemen. They were most cordially received and treated as guests of the nation. After a tour through the Northern States the royal party returned to Honolulu February 15, 1875, in the U. S. S. Pensacola. The treaty of reciprocity was concluded January 30, 1875, and the ratifications were exchanged at Washington June 3, 1875.

The act necessary to carry it into effect was not, however, passed by the Hawaiian Legislature till July 18, 1876, after the most stubborn opposition, chiefly from the English members of the house and the partisans of Queen Emma, who denounced it as a step toward annexation. It finally went into effect September 9, 1876.

THE ADVENT OF SPRECKELS.

The first effect of the reciprocity treaty was to cause a "boom" in sugar, which turned the heads of some of our shrewdest men and nearly caused a financial crash. Among other enterprises the Haiku irrigation ditch, twenty miles in length, which taps certain streams flowing down the northern slopes of East Maui and waters three plantations, was planned and carried out by Mr. S. T. Alexander, in 1877. About that time he pointed out to Col. Claus Spreckels the fertile plain of Central Maui, then lying waste, which only needed irrigation to produce immense crops. Accordingly, in 1878, Mr. Spreckels applied to the cabinet for a lease of the surplus waters of the streams on the northeast side of Maui as far as Honomanu. They flow through a rugged district at present almost uninhabited. The then Attorney-General, Judge Hartwell, and the Minister of the Interior, J. Mott Smith, refused to grant him a perpetual monopoly of this water, as they state it. Up to this time the changes in the cabinet had been caused by disagreement between its members, and no political significance.

In the meantime, Mr. Gibson, after many months of preparation, had brought in before the Legislature a motion of want of confidence in the ministry, which was defeated June 24 by a vote of 26 to 19. On the night of July 1 Messrs. Claus Spreckels and G. W. Macfarlane had a long conference with Kalakaua at the Hawaiian Hotel on the subject of the water privilege, and adjourned to the palace about midnight. It is not necessary to give the details here, but the result was that letters were drawn up and signed by the King, addressed to each member of the cabinet, requesting his resignation, without stating any reason for his dismissal. These letters were delivered by a messenger between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning. Such an arbitrary and despotic act was without precedent in Hawaiian history.

The next day a new cabinet was appointed, consisting of S. G. Wilder, Minister of the Interior, E. Preston, Attorney General, Simon Kaai, Minister of Finance, and John Kapena, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The last two positions were sinecures, but

After four days of intense excitement. the King yielded to the storm. Moreno's resignation was announced on the 19th, and his place filled ad interim by J. E. Bush. On the 30th Moreno left for Europe, with three Hawaiian "youths" under his charge, viz., R. W. Wilcox, a member of the late Legislature, 26 years of age, Robert Boyd, and James K. Booth. It was afterwards ascertained that he bore a secret commission as minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordi nary to all the great powers, as well as letters addressed to the governments of the United States, England, and France, demanding the recall of their representatives. A violent quarrel had broken out between him and his disappointed rival, Gibson, who purchased the P. C. Advertiser printing office with Government money September 1, and conducted that paper thenceforth as the King's organ

Mr. W. L. Green was persuaded to accept the vacant place of minister of foreign affairs September 22. In a few days he discovered what had been done, and immediately notified the representatives of the three powers concerned of the insult that had been offered them

A meeting was held at his office between the foreign representatives on the one side and himself and J. E. Bush on the other, at which the letters in question were read. The result was that Mr. Green resigned and compelled the resignation of his colleagues.

THE GREEN-CARTER MINISTRY.

Mr. Claus Spreckels, who arrived September 5, took an active part in these events and in the formation of the new ministry, which consisted of W. L. Green, Minister of Foreign Affairs; H. A. P. Carter, Minister of the Interior; J. S. Walker, Minister of Finance, and W. N. Armstrong, Attorney-General.

The first act was to annul Moreno's commission, and to send dispatches, which were telegraphed from San Francisco to Washington, London, and Paris, disavowing the demands which he had sent. Moreno, however, proceeded on his journey and finally placed the Hawaiian youths, one in a military and two in a naval school in Italy.

THE KING'S TOUR AROUND THE WORLD.

The King immediately began to agitate his project of a trip around the world. As it was known he was corresponding with Moreno, it was arranged that Mr. C. H. Judd should accompany him as Chamberlain, and Mr. W. N. Armstrong as Commissioner of Immigration. He was received with royal honors in Japan, Siam, and Johore. On the King's arrival in Naples, Moreno made an audacious attempt to take possession of His Majesty and dispense with his companions, but he met with more than his match in Mr. Armstrong. The royal party visited nearly all the capitals of Europe, where the King added a large number of decorations to his collection, and took particular

The subsidy to the China line of steamers was carried by the lavish use of money; but it was never paid. Appropriations were passed for the education of Hawaiian youths abroad, and for the coronation of the king and queen.

At last on the 4th of August, Gibson brought in a motion of "want of confidence," which, after a lengthy debate, was defeated by the decisive vote of 32 to 10. On the 14th, the king prorogued the Legislature at noon, and about an hour later dismissed his ministers without a word of explanation, and appointed Moreno Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs; J. E. Bush, Minister of the Interior; W. C. Jones, Attorney General; and Rev. M. Kuaea, Minister Finance.

FALL OF THE MORENO MINISTRY.

Moreno was generally detested by the foreign community, and the announcement of his appointment created intense excitement.

For the first time the discordant elements of this community were united, and they were supported by a large proportion of the natives. The three highest and most influential chiefs—Queen Dowager Emma, Ruth Keelikolani and Bernice Pauahi Bishop—joined in condemning the king's course. Two mass meetings were held at the Kaumakapili church, and a smaller one of foreigners at the old Bethel church, to protest against the coup d'etat. The diplomatic representatives of the United States, England and France—General Comly, Major

Wodehouse and M. Ratard—raised their respective flags over their legations, and declared that they would hold no further official intercourse with the Hawaiian Government as long as Moreno should be premier. On the side of the king, R. W. Wilcox, Nawahi and others harangued the natives, appealing to their jealousy of foreigners. The following manifesto is a sample:

WAY-UP CELSO MORENO.

"To all true-born citizens of the country, greeting: We have with us one Celso Cesar Moreno, a naturalized and true Hawaiian. His great desire is the advancement of this country in wealth, and the salvation of this people, by placing the leading positions of Government in the hands of the Hawaiians for administration. The great desire of Moreno is to cast down foreigners from official positions and to put true Hawaiians in their places, because to them belongs the country. They should hold the Government and not strangers. This has been the cause of the decrease of the people. Positions have been taken from Hawaiians and given to strangers. C. C. Moreno desires to throw down these foreigners and to elevate to high positions the people to whom belongs the land, i. e., the red skins. This is the real cause of jealously on the part of foreigners, viz., that Hawaiians shall be placed above them in all things in this well-beloved country. C. C. Moreno is the heart from whence will issue life to the real Hawaiians."

trous. The ten-million loan bill was again introduced, but was shelved in committee and a two-million loan act substituted for it. The appropriation bill was swelled to double the estimated receipts of the Government, including $30,000 for coronation expenses, $30,000 for Hawaiian youths in foreign countries, $10,000 for a Board of Genealogy, besides large sums for the military, foreign embassies, the palace, etc.

At the last moment a bill was rushed through giving the king sole power to appoint district justices, through his creatures, the governors, which had formerly been done only "by and with the advice of the Justices of the Supreme Court." This was another step toward absolutism. Meanwhile Gibson defended the king's right to be an active politician, and called him "the first Hawaiian king with the brains and heart of a statesman."

At the same time it was understood that Claus Spreckels backed the Gibson ministry and made them advances under the Loan Act.

THE CORONATION.

Kalakaua had always felt dissatisfied with the manner in which he had been sworn in as king. He was also tired of being reminded that he was not a king by birth, but only by election. To remedy this defect he determined to have the ceremony performed over again in as imposing a manner as possible. Three years were spent in preparations for the great event, and invitations were sent to

all rulers and potentates on earth to be present in person or by proxy on the occasion. Japan sent a commissioner, while England, France and the United States were represented by ships of war. The ceremony took place February 12, 1883, nine years after Kalakaua's inauguration. Most of the regalia had been ordered from London, viz., two crowns, a scepter, ring and sword, while the royal feather mantle, tabu stick and kahili or plumed staff, were native insignia of rank.

A pavilion was built for the occasion, as well as a temporary amphitheatre for the spectators. The Chief Justice administered the oath of office and invested the king with the various insignia. This ceremony was boycotted by the high chiefs, Queen Emma, Ruth Keelikolani and Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop, and by a large part of the foreign community, as an expensive and useless pageant intended to aid the king's political schemes to make himself an absolute monarch. The coronation was followed by feasts, aregatta and races, and by a series of nightly hula hulas, i. e., heathen dances, accompanied by appropriate songs. The printer of the coronation hula programme, which contained the subjects and first lines of these songs, was prosecuted and fined by the court on account of their gross and incredible obscenity.

EMBASSIES, ETC.

During this year Mr. J. M. Kapena was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to

note of military matters and court etiquette. An Austrian field battery which took his eye afterwards cost this country nearly $20,000. During the King's absence his sister, Mrs. Dominis, styled Liliuokalani, acted as regent. He returned to Honolulu October 29, 1881, where he had a magnificent reception, triumphal arches, torches blazing at noonday, and extravagant adulation of every description.

TRIUMPH OF GIBSON.

During the King's absence he had kept up a correspondence with his political workers at home, and after his return he produced another pamphlet in Hawaiian, advocating a ten-million loan. Gibson's paper had been filled with gross flattery of the King and of the natives, and had made the most of the smallpox epidemic of 1881 to excite the populace against the ministry.

Just before the election of 1882, a pamphlet appeared, containing a scathing exposure of his past career (especially in connection with the Morman Church), backed by a mass of documentary evidence. Gibson's only reply was to point to his subsequent election by a large majority of the native voters of Honolulu. Only two other white men were elected on the islands that year. It was the first time that the race issue had superseded all other considerations with the native electorate.

SESSION OF 1882

The Legislature of 1882 was one of the weakest and most corrupt that

ever sat in Honolulu. At the opening of the session Minister Carter was absent in Portugal, negotiating a treaty with the Government of that country. It was soon evident that the Ministry did not control a majority of the House, but the king did. After an ineffectual attempt to quiet Gibson by offering him the Presidency of the Board of Health with a salary of $4000, they resigned May 19th, and Gibson became Premier.

His colleagues were J. E. Bush, lately of Moreno's cabinet; Simon Kaai, who drank himself to death; and Edward Preston, Attorney-General, who was really the mainstay of the Cabinet.

One of their first measures was an act to convey to Claus Spreckels the crown lands of Wailuku, containing some 24,000 acres, in order to compromise a claim which he held to an undivided share of the crown lands. He had purchased from Ruth Keelikolani, for the sum of $10,000, all the interest which she might have had in the crown lands as being the half-sister of Kamehameha IV., who died intestate. Her claim had been ignored in the decision of the Supreme Court and the Act of 1865, which constituted the crowd lands. Instead of testing her right by a suit before the Supreme Court, the Ministry thought it best to accept the above compromise and carried it through the Legislature.

The prohibition against furnishing intoxicating liquor to natives was repealed at this session, and the consequences to the race have been disas-

ad interim; besides being President of the Board of Health, President of the Board of Education and member of the Board of Immigration, with nearly the whole foreign community opposed to him. The price of Government bonds had fallen to 75 per cent. with no takers, and the treasury was nearly empty. At this juncture (August 6) when a change of Ministry was looked for, Mr. C. T. Gulick was persuaded to take the portfolio of the Interior, and a small loan was obtained from his friends. Then to the surprise of the public, Colonel Claus Spreckels decided to support the Gibson Cabinet, which was soon after completed by the accession of Paul Neumann

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1884.

Since 1882 a considerable reaction had taken place among the natives, who resented the cession of Wailuku to Spreckels, and felt a profound distrust of Gibson. In spite of the war cry "Hawaii for Hawaiians," and the lavish use of Government patronage, the Palace party was defeated in the elections generally, although it held Honolulu, its stronghold. Among the Reform members that session were Messrs. Dole, Rowell, Smith, Hitchcock, the three brothers, Godfrey, Cecil and Frank Brown, Kauhane, Kalua, Nawahi, and the late Pilipo, of honored memory.

At the opening of the session the Reform party elected the speaker of the house, and controlled the organization of the committees.

The report of the Finance committee was the most damaging exposure ever made to a Hawaiian Legislature. A resolution of "want of confidence" was barely defeated (June 28) by the four Ministers themselves voting on it.

THE SPRECKELS BANK CHARTER.

An act to establish a national bank had been drawn up for Colonel Spreckels by a well-known law firm in San Francisco, and brought down to Honolulu by ex Governor Lowe. After "seeing" the King, and using the usual methods in vogue at Sacramento, the ex-Governor returned to San Francisco, boasting that "he had the Hawaiian Legislature in his pocket." But as soon as the bill had been printed and carefully examined, a storm of opposition broke out. It provided for the issue of a million dollars' worth of paper money, backed by an equal amount of Government bonds deposited as security. The notes might be redeemed in either silver or gold. There was no clause requiring quarterly or semiannual reports of the state of the bank. Nor was a minimum fixed to the amount of cash reserved in the bank. In fact, most of the safeguards of the American national banking system were omitted. Its notes were to be legal tender except for customs dues. It was empowered to own steamship lines and railroads, and carry on mercantile business, without paying licens- fees. It was no doubt intended to monopolize or control all trans-

Japan, while Mr. C. P. Iaukea, with H. Poor as secretary, was sent to attend the coronation of the Czar Alexander III. at Moscow, and afterwards on a mission to Paris, Rome, Belgrade, Calcutta and Japan, on his way around the world.

Kalakaua was no longer satisfied with being merely King of Hawaii, but aspired to what Gibson termed the "Primacy of the Pacific." Captain Tripp and F. L. Clarke were sent as royal commissioners to the Gilbert Islands and New Hebrides, to prepare the way for a Hawaiian protectorate; a parody on the "Monroe doctrine" was put forth in a grandiloquent protest addressed to all the great powers by Mr. Gibson, warning them against any further annexation of islands in the Pacific Ocean, and claiming for Hawaii the exclusive right "to assist them in improving their political and social condition," i. e., a virtual protectorate of the other groups.

THE HAWAIIAN COINAGE.

The king was now impatient to have his "image and superscription" on the coinage of the realm, to add to his dignity as an independent monarch. As no appropriation had been made for this purpose, recourse was had to the recognized "power behind the throne." Mr. Claus Spreckels purchased the bullion, and arrangements were made with the San Francisco mint for the coinage of silver dollars and fractions of a dollar, to the amount of one million dollars' worth, to be of identical weight and fineness

with the like coins of the United States. The intrinsic value of the silver dollar at that time was about 84 cents. It was intended, however, to exchange this silver for gold bonds at par under the Loan Act of 1882. On the arrival of the first installment of the coin the matter was brought before the Supreme Court by Messrs. Dole, Castle and W. O. Smith. After a full hearing of the case, the court decided that these bonds could not legally be placed except for par value in gold coin of the United States, and issued an injunction to that effect on the Minister of Finance, December 14, 1883. The Privy Council was then convened, and declared these coins to be of the legal value expressed on their face, subject to the legal-tender act, and they were gradually put into circulation. A profit of $150,000 is said to have been made on this transaction.

THE FIRST RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GIBSON CABINET, 1883.

Mr. Gibson's first Cabinet went to pieces in a little over a year. Simon Kaai was compelled to resign in February, 1883, from "chronic inebriety," and was succeeded by J. M. Kapena. Mr. Preston resigned the following May from disgust at the king's personal intermeddling with the administration, and in July Mr. Bush resigned in consequence of a falling out with Mr. Gibson. For some time "the secretary stood alone," being at once Minister of Foreign Affairs, Attorney-General and Minister of the Interior

this regime, the sycophancy, hypocrisy and venality produced by it have been a curse to the country ever since. The Legislature of 1884 was half composed of office-holders, and wires were skillfully laid to carry the next election. Grog shops were now licensed in the country districts, to serve as rallying points for the "National party." The Gibsonian papers constantly labored to foment race hatred among the natives and class jealousy among the whites.

Fortunately, one branch of the Government, the Supreme Court, still remained independent and outlived the Gibson regime.

THE ELECTION OF 1886.

The election of 1886 was the most corrupt one ever held in this kingdom, and the last one held under the old regime. During the canvass the country districts were flooded with cheap gin, chiefly furnished by the king, who paid for it by franking other liquor through the Custom House free of duty, and thereby defrauding the Government of revenue amounting to $4749.35 (See report of attorney-general for 1888, and the case of the King vs. G. W. Macfarlane, 1888.) Out of twenty-eight Government candidates twenty-six were officeholders, one a last year's tax assessor and one the queen's secretary. A list of them is appended herewith. There was only one white man on the Government ticket, viz, the premier's son-in-law.

LIST OF GOVERNMENT CANDIDATES FOR THE ELECTION OF 1886 FOR REPRESENTATIVES.

DISTRICT.	NAME.	OFFICE
Hawaii.		
N. Kona	J K Nahale	Tax collector
S. Kona	D. H. Nahinu	Deputy sheriff and tax collector.
Kau	Kaeamoku	
Puna	A Kekoa	Tax collector.
Hilo	Kaulukou	Sheriff
Hilo	A. Pahia	Tax collector.
Hamakua	Kaunamano	Tax collector.
Kohala	Z. Kalai	District judg
Maui.		
Lahaina	L Aholo	Police judge.
Lahaina	Kia Nahaolelua	Tax collector
Hana	S. W. Kaai	District judge.
Makawao	J. Kamakele	Tax collector
Wailuku	G. Richardson	Road supervisor & tax collector.
Kaanapali	J. Kaukau	Deputy sheriff and tax collector.
Molokai & Lanai.		
	Nakaleka	Tax collector.
	Kupihea	District judge.
Oahu.		
Honolulu	F. H. Hayselden	Sec'y board health and tax assessor.
Honolulu	James Keau	Poi contractor
Honolulu	Lilikalani	Queen's secretary.
Honolulu	J. T. Baker	Cpt. king's guards
Ewa and Waianae	J P. Kama	District judge.
Koolauloa	Kauahikaua	Tax collector.
" poko	F. Kaulia	District judge.
Waialua	J. Amara	Deputy sheriff and tax collector.
Kauai.		
Hanalei	Palohau	Deputy sheriff and tax collector.
Koloa	T. Kalaeone	
Waimea	E. Kauai	District judge.

In order to prevent Pilipo's election the king proceeded to his district of

portation within the Kingdom, as well as the importing business from the United States.

The charter was riddled both in the house and in the chamber of commerce, and indignation meetings of citizens were held until the King was alarmed, and finally it was killed on the second reading by an overwhelming majority. On hearing of the result the sugar king took the first steamer for Honolulu, and on his arrival "the air was blue—full of strange oaths, and many fresh and new." On second thought, however, and after friendly discussion, he accepted the situation and a fair general banking law was passed providing for banks of deposit and exchange, but not of issue

THE LOTTERY BILL ETC.

At the same session a lottery bill was introduced by certain agents of the Louisiana company. It offered to pay all the expenses of the leper settlement for a license to carry on its nefarious business, besides offering private inducements to venal legislators. In defiance of the public indignation, shown by mass meetings, petitions, etc., the bill was forced through its second reading, but was stopped at that stage and withdrawn, as is claimed, by Col. Spreckels' personal influence with the king

Kalakaua's famous "Report of the Board of Genealogy" was published at this session. An opium license bill was also killed, as well as an eight million dollar loan bill, while a num-

ber of excellent laws were passed. Among these were the currency act and Dole's homestead law. The true friends of the native race had reason to rejoice that so much evil had been prevented.

PRACTICAL POLITICS UNDER GIBSON.

During the next few years the country suffered from a peculiarly degrading kind of despotism. I do not refer to the king's personal immorality, nor to his systematic efforts to debauch and heathenize the natives to further his political ends.

The coalition in power defied public opinion and persistently endeavored to crush out, buy out or disarm all opposition, and to turn the Government into a political machine for the perpetu tion of their power. For the first time in Hawaiian history faithful officers who held commis-ions from the Kamehamehas were summarily removed on suspicion of "not being in accord" with the cabinet, and their places generally filled by pliant tools. A marked preference was given to unknown adventurers and defaulters over natives and old residents. Even contracts (for building bridges, for instance) were given to firms in foreign countries

The various branches of the civil service were made political machines, and even the Board of Education and Government Survey came near being sacrificed to "practical politics." All who would not bow the knee received the honorable soubriquet of "missionaries." The demoralizing effects of

THE LONDON LOAN.

The King had been convinced that, for the present, he must forego his pet scheme of a ten-million loan. A two-million loan bill, however, was brought in early in the session, with the view of obtaining the money in San Francisco. The subject was dropped for a time, then revived again, and the bill finally passed September 1.

Meanwhile, the idea of obtaining a loan in London was suggested to the King by Mr. A. Hoffnung, of that city, whose firm had carried on the Portuguese immigration. The proposal pleased the King, who considered that creditors at so great a distance would not be likely to trouble themselves much about the internal polities of this little Kingdom. Mr. H. R. Armstrong, of the firm of Skinner & Co., London, visited Honolulu to further the project, which was engineered by Mr. G. W Macfarlane in the Legislature.

Two parties were now developed in that body, viz, the Spreckels party, led by the Ministry, and the King's party, which favored the London loan. The small knot of independent members held the balance of power.

The two contending parties brought in two sets of conflicting amendments to the loan act, of which it is not necessary to give the details. As Kaulukou put it, "the amendment of the Attorney-General provides that if they want to borrow any money they must pay up Mr. Spreckels first. He understood that the Government

owed Mr. Spreckels $600,000 or $700,000. He has lent them money in the past, and were they prepared to say to him, 'We have found new friends in England'—togive him a slap in the face?"

On the other side, Mr. J. T. Baker "was tired of hearing a certain gentleman spoken of as a second King. As this amendment was in the interest of that gentleman he voted against it." Allusions were also made to the reports that the waterworks were going to be pledged to him. When the decisive moment arrived the independents cast their votes with the King's party, defeating the ministry by 23 votes to 14. The result was that the cabinet resigned that night, after which Gibson went on his knees to the King and begged to be reappointed.

The next morning, October 14, to the surprise of everyone and to the disgust of his late allies, Gibson reappeared in the house as premier, with three native colleagues, viz, Aholo, Kanoa, and Kaulukou. But from this time he had no real power, as he had neither moral nor financial backing. The helm of state had slipped from his hands. Mr. Spreckels called on the King, returned all his decorations, and shook off the dust from his feet. The Legislature appropriated $100,000 for a gunboat and $15,000 to celebrate the King's fiftieth birthday.

In this brief sketch it is impossible to give any idea of the utter want of honor and decency that characterized

North Kona, taking with him a number of soldiers and attendants (who voted at the election), besides numerous cases of liquor. He took an active part in the canvass, and succeeded in defeating Pilipo by a small majority. The king's interference with the election nearly provoked a riot, which was averted by Pilipo's strenuous exertions. The matter was investigated by a legislative committee, whose report is on file. Mr. E. Kekoa, the member elected from Puna, was afterwards tried and convicted of gross violations of the election laws, but the House refused to declare his seat vacant.

Only ten Reform candidates were elected, viz: Messrs. Cecil Brown, W. R. Castle, C. H. Dickey, S. B. Dole, J. Kauhane, A. Kauahi, J. Kalua, A. Paehaole, L. A. Thurston and J. Wight.

THE SESSION OF 1886.

The session of 1886 was a long one, and a vacation of two weeks was taken, from July 26 until August 9, to allow the tax assessors in the Legislature to go home and nominally perform the duties of their office. About this time certain creditors to the Government in San Francisco brought pressure to bear upon the Ministry to cede or hypothecate the Honolulu waterworks and part of the wharves to a California company. The pressure became so great that the Ministers opposed to the project were requested by the king to resign, and a new Cabinet was formed June 30, 1886, consisting of W. M. Gibson, Minister of the Interior; R. J. Creighton, a journalist, lately arrived from California, Minister of Foreign Affairs; J. T. Dare, another recent arrival, Attorney General; and P. P. Kanoa, Minister of Finance, in place of J. Kapena, who had succumbed to the same failing that had destroyed Simon Kaai.

The two new members of the Cabinet were respectable gentlemen, but soon found themselves in a false position.

THE OPIUM BILL.

An opium-license bill was introduced towards the end of the session by Kaunamano, one of the king's tools, and after a long debate carried over the votes of the Ministry by a bare majority. It provided that a license for four years should be granted to "some one applying therefor" by the Minister of the Interior, with the consent of the king, for $30,000 per annum. The object of this provision was plainly seen at the time, and its after consequences were destined to be disastrous to its author. Mr. Dole proposed an amendment that the license be sold at public auction at an upset price of $30,000, which, however, was defeated by a majority of one, only one white man, F. H. Hayselden, voting with the majority.

Another act was passed to create a so-called "Hawaiian Board of Health," consisting of five kahunas, appointed by the king, with power to issue certificates to native kahunas to practice "native medicine."

and the blowing of conches in the palace yard. A foreign fortune teller by the name of Rosenberg acquired great influence with the King.

THE HALE NAUA, ALIAS TEMPLE OF SCIENCE, ALIAS BALL OF TWINE SOCIETY.

This was founded September 24, 1886. A charter for it was obtained by the King from the Privy Council, not without difficulty, on account of the suspicion that was felt in regard to its character and objects. According to its constitution it was founded forty quadrillions of years after the foundation of the world and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and fifty years from Lailai, the first woman.

Its by-laws are a travesty of Masonry, mingled with pagan rites. The Sovereign is styled Iku Hai; the secretary, Iku Lani; the treasurer, Iku Nuu. Besides these were the keeper of the sacred fire, the anointer with oil, the almoner, etc. Every candidate had to provide an "oracle" a kauwila wand, a ball of olona twine, a dried fish, a taro root, etc. Every member or "mamo" was invested with a yellow malo or pau (apron) and a feather cape. The furniture of the hall comprised three drums, two kahilis or feathered staffs, and two puloulous or tabu sticks.

So far as the secret proceedings and objects of the society have transpired it appears to have been intended partly as an agency for the revival of heathenism, partly to pander to vice, and indirectly to serve as a political machine. Enough leaked out to in-

tensify the general disgust that was felt at the debasing influence of the palace.

KALAKAUA'S JUBILEE.

The sum of $15,000 had been appropriated by the Legislature of 1886 towards the expenses of the celebration of His Majesty's fiftieth birthday, which occurred November 16, 1886.

Extensive preparations were made to celebrate this memorable occasion, and all office holders were given to understand that every one of them was expected to "hookupu" or make a present corresponding to his station. At midnight preceding the auspicious day a salute was fired and bonfires were lighted on Punchbowl hill, rockets were sent up, and all the bells in the city set ringing.

The reception began at 6 a. m. Premier Gibson had already presented the King with a pair of elephant tusks mounted on a koa stand with the inscription: "The horns of the righteous shall be exalted." The Honolulu police marched in and presented the King with a book on a velvet cushion containing a bank check for $570. The Government physicians, headed by F. H Hayselden, Secretary of the Board of Health, presented a silver box containing $1,000 in twenty dollar gold pieces. The Custom House clerks offered a costly gold-headed cane. All officials paid tribute in some shape. Several native benevolent societies marched in procession, for the most part bearing koa calabashes. The

the proceedings of the Legislature of 1886.

The appropriation bill footed up $3,856,755.50, while the estimated receipts were $2,336,870.42.

THE SEQUEL OF THE LONOND LOAN.

From the report of the Minister of Finance for 1888 we learn that Mr. H. R. Armstrong, who had come to Honolulu as the agent of the London syndicate, was appointed agent of the Hawaiian Government to float the loan. He was also appointed Hawaiian Consul-General for Great Britain, while Mr. A. Hoffnung, previously referred to, was made Charge d'Affaires.

In the same report we find that the amount borrowed under the loan act of 1886 in Honolulu was $771,800 and in London $980,000. Of the former amount $630,000 was used to extinguish the debt owed to Col. Spreckels. By the terms of the loan act the London syndicate was entitled to 5 per cent. of the proceeds of the bonds which they disposed of as their commission for guaranteeing them at 98 per cent. But it appears that in addition to this amount £15,000, or about $75,000, was illegally detained by them and has never been accounted for. The Legislature of 1888 appropriated the sum of $5000 to defray the expenses of a lawsuit against the financial agents to recover the $75,000 thus fraudulently retained. The matter was placed in the hands of Col. J. T. Griffin, who advised the Government that it was not expedient to

prosecute the case. The $75,000 has therefore been entered on the books of the treasury department as a dead loss Since then Mr. Armstrong's name has ceased to appear in the Government directory among those of the Consuls-General.

ROYAL MISRULE.

As before stated, the King now acted as his own prime minister, employing Gibson to execute his schemes and defend his follies. For the next eight months he rapidly went from bad to worse. After remaining one month in the cabinet Mr. Kaulukou was transferred to the Marshal's office, while Mr. Antone Rosa was appointed Attorney-General in his place and J. M. Kapena made Collector-General. The limits of this brief sketch forbid any attempt to recount the political grievances of this period. Among the lesser scandals were the sale of offices, the defrauding of the customs revenue by abuse of the royal privilege, the illegal leasing of lands in Kona and Kau to the King without putting them up to auction, the sale of exemptions to lepers, the gross neglect of the roads, and misapplication of the road money, particularly of the Queen street appropriation.

Efforts to revive heathenism were now redoubled under the pretense of cultivating "national" feeling. Kahunas were assembled from the other islands as the King's birthday approached, and "night was made hideous" with the sound of the hula drum

lietoa came attended by his ministers, several hundred chiefs (Bush says 60), two guards and six policemen. Laupepa (Malietoa), always decent, withdrew at an early hour; by those that remained all decency appears to have been forgotten, and day found the house carpeted with slumbering grandees, who had to be roused, doctored with coffee and sent home. * * * Laupepa remarked to one of the Embassy, 'If you have come here to teach my people to drink, I wish you had stayed away.' The rebuke was without effect, for still worse stories are told of the drunken orgies that afterwards disgraced the Hawaiian Embassy."

THE KAIMILOA.

About this time Mr. J. T. Arundel, an Englishman, engaged in the copra trade, visited Honolulu in his steamer, the Explorer, a vessel of 170 tons, which had been employed in plying between his trading stations. The King, who was impatient to start his new navy, to maintain "Hawaiian primacy," had put the Reformatory School under the charge of Captain G. E. Jackson, a retired navigating lieutenant in the British navy, with the view of turning that institution into a naval training school. The old Explorer was purchased for $20,000, and renamed the Kaimiloa. She was then altered and fitted out as a man-of-war at an expense of about $50,000, put into commission March 28, and placed under the command of Captain Jackson. The crew was mainly composed of boys from the Reformatory School, whose conduct, as well as that of their officers, was disgraceful in the extreme.

The Kaimiloa sailed for Samoa May 18, 1887. On the preceding evening a drunken row had taken place on board, for which three of the officers were summarily dismissed. The after history of the expedition was in keeping with its beginning. As Stevenson relates: "The Kaimiloa was from the first a scene of disaster and dilapidation, the stores were sold; the crew revolted; for a great part of a night she was in the hands of mutineers, and the Secretary lay bound upon the deck."

On one occasion the Kaimiloa was employed to carry the Hawaiian Embassy to Atua, for a conference with Mataafa, who had remained neutral, but she was followed and watched by the German corvette Adler. "Mataafa was no sooner set down with the Embassy than he was summoned and ordered on board by two German officers."

Another well-laid plan to detach the rebel leader, Tamasese, from his German "protectors" was foiled by the vigilance of Captain Brandeis. At length Bismarck himself was incensed, and caused a warning to be sent from Washington to Gibson, in consequence of which Minister Bush was recalled July 7, 1887. Mr. Poor was instructed to dispose of the Legation property as soon as possible, and to send home the attaches, the Government curios, etc., by the Kaimiloa, which arrived in Honolulu September

school children, the fishermen and many other natives marched through the throne room, dropping their contributions into a box It is estimated that the presents amounted in value to $8000 or $10,000.

In consequence of the Hale Naua scandal scarcely any white ladies were seen at this reception. In the evening the Palace was illuminated with electric lights, and a torchlight parade of the Fire Department took place, followed by fireworks at the Palace.

On the 20th. the public were amused by a so-called historical procession, consisting chiefly of canoes and boats carried on drays, containing natives in ancient costume, personating warriors and fishermen, mermaids draped with sea moss, hula dancers, etc., which passed through the streets to the Palace. Here the notorious Hale Naua or "Kilokilo" society had mustered, wearing yellow malos and paus or aprons over their clothes, and marched around the Palace, over which the yellow flag of their order was flying.

On the 23d a luau or native feast was served in an extensive lanai or shed in the Palace grounds, where 1500 people are said to have been entertained. This was followed by a jubilee ball in the Palace on the 25th. The series of entertainments was closed by the exhibition of a set of "historical tableaux" of the olden time at the Opera House, concluding with a hulahula dance, which gave offense to most of the audience. No programme was published this time of the nightly hulahulas performed at the Palace.

THE SAMOAN EMBASSY.

In pursuance of the policy announced in Gibson's famous protest to the other great powers, and in order to advance Hawaii's claim to the "primacy of the Pacific," Hon. J. E. Bush was commissioned on the 23d of December, 1886, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Samoa and the King of Tonga, and High Commissioner to the other independent chiefs and peoples of Polynesia. He was accompanied by Mr H. Poor, as Secretary of Legation, and J. D. Strong, as artist and collector for the Government museum. They arrived at Apia January 3, 1887, and were cordially received by King Malietoa on the 7th, when they drank kava with him and presented him with the Grand Cross of the Order of Oceania. Afterwards, at a more private interview, Bush intimated to Malietoa that he might expect a salary of $5000 or $6000 under a Hawaiian protectorate. A house was built for the Legation at the expense of the Hawaiian Government.

A convention was concluded February 17, between King Malietoa and the Hawaiian Envoy, by which both parties bound themselves "to enter into a political confederation," which was duly ratified by Kalakaua and Gibson, "subject to the existing treaty obligations of Samoa" March 20, 1887.

"The signature was celebrated," says Robert Louis Stevenson, "in the new house of the Hawaiian Embassy with some original ceremonies. Ma-

toria. They returned on the 26th of July, 1887.

The exposure of the two opium bribes and the appointment of the King's accomplice in the crime as registrar of conveyances helped to bring matters to a crisis, and united nearly all taxpayers not merely against the king but against the system of government under which such iniquities could be perpetrated.

In the spring of 1887 a secret league had been formed in Honolulu, with branches on the other islands, for the purpose of putting an end to the prevailing misrule and extravagance, and of establishing a civilized government, responsible to the people through their representatives. Arms were imported, and rifle clubs sprang up all over the islands. In Honolulu a volunteer organization known as the "Rifles" was increased in numbers, and brought to a high state of efficiency under the command of Col. V. V. Ashford. It is supposed that the league now numbered from 800 to 1,000 men, while its objects had the sympathy of the great majority of the community. It was at first expected that monarchy would then be abolished, and a republican constitution was drawn up.

As the time for action approached, the resident citizens of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany addressed memorials to their respective governments, through their representatives, declaring the conditions of affairs to be intolerable. As is the case in all such movements, the

league was composed of average men, actuated by a variety of motives, but all agreed in their main object. Fortunately, the "spoils wing" of the party failed eventually to capture either branch of the Government, upon which a number of them joined the old Gibsonian party and became bitter enemies of reform.

Some members of the league, including Col. Ashford, were in favor of a sudden attack upon the Palace, but this advice was overruled, and it was decided to first hold a public mass meeting to state their grievances and to present specific demands to the King. Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 30th of June, 1887, all business in Honolulu was suspended, and an immense meeting was held in the armory, on Beretana street composed of all classes, creeds, and nationalities, but united in sentiment as never before or since. The meeting was guarded by a battalion of the Rifles fully armed. A set of resolutions was passed unanimously declaring that the Government had "ceased through incompetency and corruption to perform the functions and to afford the protection to personal and property rights for which all governments exist," and demanding of the King the dismissal of his cabinet, the restitution of the $71,000 received as a bribe from Aki, the dismissal of Junius Kaae from the land of office, and a pledge that the King would no longer interfere in politics.

A committee of thirteen was sent to wait on His Majesty with these de-

23. She was promptly dismantled, and afterwards sold at auction, bringing the paltry sum of $2800. Her new owners found her a failure as an inter-island steamer, and she is now laid up in the "naval row."

The facts of this case were stated in the affidavit of Aki, published May 31, 1887, and those of Wong Leong, J. S. Walker and Nahora Hipa, published June 28, 1887, as well as in the decision of Judge Preston in the case of Loo Ngawk et al., executors of the will of T. Aki vs A. J. Cartwright et al., trustees of the king (Haw. Rep., Vol. vii., p 401.

I have already spoken of the opium license law, which was carried by the royalist party in the Legislature of 1886, and signed by the king in spite of the most vigorous protests from all classes of the community. As this law had been saddled with amendments, which rendered it nearly unworkable, a set of regulations was published October 15, 1886, providing for the issue of permits to purchase or use opium by the Marshal, who was to retain half the fee and the Government the other half.

The main facts of the case, as proved before the court, are as follows: Early in November, 1886, one Junius Kaae, a palace parasite, informed a Chinese rice-planter named Tong Kee, alias Aki, that he could have the opium license granted to him if he would pay the sum of $60,000 to the king's private purse, but that he must be in haste because other parties were bidding for the privilege. With some

difficulty Aki raised the money, and secretly paid it to Kaae and the king in three installments between December 3 and December 8, 1886. Soon afterwards Kaae called on Aki and informed him that one Kwong Sam Kee had offered the king $75,000 for the license, and would certainly get it, unless Aki paid $15,000 more. Accordingly Aki borrowed the amount and gave it to the king personally on the 11th.

Shortly after this another Chinese syndicate, headed by Chung Lung, paid the king $80,000 for the same object, but took the precaution to secure the license before handing over the money. Thereupon Aki, finding that he had lost both his money and his license, divulged the whole affair, which was published in the Honolulu papers. He stopped the payment of a note at the bank for $4000, making his loss $71,000. Meanwhile Junius Kaae was appointed to the responsible office of registrar of conveyances, which had became vacant by the death of the lamented Thomas Brown.

As was afterwards ascertained, the King ordered a $100,000 gunboat from England, through Mr. G. W. Macfarlane, but the negotiations for it were broken off by the revolution.

On the 12th of April, 1887, Queen Kapiolani and the Princess Liliuokalani accompanied by Messrs. C. P. Iaukea, J. H. Boyd, and J. O. Dominis, left for England to attend the celebration of the jubilee held upon the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Her Majesty Queen Vic-

tees refused to approve or pay the Aki claim, on which Aki's executors brought suit against them in the Supreme Court.

After a full hearing of the evidence, Judge Preston decided that the plea of the defendants that the transaction between Aki and the King was illegal could not be entertained, as by the constitution the King "could do no wrong," and "can not be sued or held to account in any court of the Kingdom." Furthermore, as the claimants had agreed to forbear presenting their claim before the Legislature in consideration of the execution of the trust deed, the full court ordered their claim to be paid pro rata with the other approved claims.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON PAMPHLETEERING IN HAWAII

by

Riley H. Allen

A Paper Read Before the Social Science Association, June 5,1933

LIST OF PAMPHLETS MENTIONED

Chun Hook, the murderer - minstrel show, published?	pp.18-19
Davies Series - see T.H. Davies author cards - (996.9-D28 etc-P)	pp.23-24
Gynberg Ballads, by Edward Purvis (817-P97-P)	pp.16-17,28
Grand Duke of Gynberg Drinkenstein (817-At5-P)	p.17
Hawaiian crisis, by S.B.Dole (996.9-W67-P)	pp.25-26
Hawaiian question, by C.L.Carter (996.9-C24-P)	p.26
Hawaiian question, by S.B.Dole - not in HMCS library printed in 996.9-Un3 - pp. 2039-47	p.26
Honolulu Merchants' Looking Glass (B-W97w-P)	pp.1-5
Hoomanamana - Idolatry, by James Bicknell (291.2-B47-P)	pp.22-23
Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands, by S. C. Armstrong (996.9-Ar5)	p.14
Pa Gibby's Wooin' and de Brach of Promise Soot (in 800 in legal file)	pp.13-14
Pastoral address, by T.N.Staley (283-St1p-P)	pp.11-12
Position of Men and Affairs in Hawaii, by C. C. Moreno (996.9.9-M81-P)	pp.15-16
Review of Pastoral address, by W.D. Alexander 283 St1pa P	pp.11-12
Sketch of recent of events, [1887] (996.9.-H49-P)	pp.14-15
Shepherd saint of Lanai, by T.G. Thrum (B-G35s-P)	pp.12-13
Third warning voice, by R.H.Baker (320-B17-P)	pp.21-22
Thoughts on the Hawaiian situation by a Member of the House of Nobles 996.9 M51 P	p.14
Vacuum, by S. B. Dole (812-D68-P)	pp.17-18

that of secret glee which even the most righteous feel when some other individual is set upon with jest and gibe and contumely.

Within the innocent appearing covers of the Honolulu Merchants' Looking Glass, was the choicest combination of malicious and libelous lampoonery that ever jarred and jolted a peaceful neighborhood.

Angry residents, coming downtown after a hasty and unrelished breakfast, found that the Looking Glass had cast its unseemly reflections before them. Sometime during the night, while all unsuspecting these worthy folk had been sleeping the sleep of the just, some miscreant had scattered the pamphlets far and wide. They had been thrust though the shutters of closed offices, left in mail boxes and dropped at the entrances of stores.

The rising currents of indignation swirled around the town and its edifices -- around the little shop of George W.Vollum, the bookbinder, where now stands the office of the Hawaiian Contracting Company; around the shop where Thomas G. Thrum carried on his occupation -- in those long-ago days -- of stencil cutter, copyist and ornamental foil letterer.

Early risers at the National Hotel, that noted hostelry at the corner of Nuuanu and Hotel Streets, eagerly seized the Looking Glass and read it with mixed feelings. Down at Sam Dowsett's lumber yard at Fort and Queen Streets, it almost stopped the morning's work. The early morning patrons of J.Wilkerson, self-styled "King Barber and Champion of Fashion" on Merchant Street, devoured it with even more avidity than later generations of barber patrons would show for the Police Gazette, Ballyhoo or Hollywood Follies. The morning shift at Robert Love's Honolulu Steam Biscuit Bakery on Nuuanu Street got an eyeful. At Henry

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON PAMPHLETEERING IN HAWAII

By - Riley H. Allen

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I.

The date was January 3,1863, and the time was early morning between six and seven o'clock.

Honolulu, a little seaport town in the isolated "Sandwich Islands" was waking to another day of tranquil existence.

There were few people abroad at that early hour. No urgent need to rush to office or store called the businessmen from a leisurely breakfast; no daylight saving law had shortened their peaceful slumbers.

It is true that a sailing packet, the Comet, had arrived from the states the day before yesterday, but the flurry of interest and excitement over that welcome event had subsided. As Honolulu's thirteen or fourteen thousand people -- only a small proportion of whom were "foreigners" -- arose for January 3, they had every prospect of a day of peace and calm.

Then, as the movie titles say, came the cataclysm.

Early risers, opening their doors to the bright winter sunshine, picked up a pamplet, left on their door steps or even shoved under the door itself sometime the previous night. The title was innocent enough, "Honolulu Merchants' Looking Glass." But one glance at the contents, and these early risers were shocked into a mixture of surprise and indignation, or, according to the identity of the householder, a mixture of curiosity and

that the little esprit it possesses had not been able to save it from the deep contempt it has inspired."

And the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, after a somewhat longer speculation as to its origin, declared that the authorities should "ferret out the author", for whom "no punishment can be too prompt or too severe."

The little town of Honolulu buzzed for days with the angry buzz of a hive of bees rudely upset. A few evening after the matutinal discovery of this awful lese majeste had ruffled the dignity of the worthy burghers, the Amateur Musical Society was to give a concert at the home of Chief Justice Allen. But discord shattered the harmonies. Several basso profundos, still choleric with indignation, could do little more than rumble sinisterly.

It is recorded, too, that, when the Ladies' Strangers Friend Society met the following Thursday night at the residence of A.D.Cartwright, there was tension in the air. Ladies whose husbands had not figured in the Looking Glass and ladies whose husbands had so figured, were, so to speak, in rival camps. It was long indeed before the Looking Glass could be even thought of with tolerance -- and for some families it remained upon the local Index Expurgatorius even unto the third and fourth generation.

For a long time the author remained unknown, probably relieved so to be. As to its origin, I find on a well worn copy contributed by the late George R. Carter to the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society library, the following notation written on the back:

"On November 29, 1913, at a luncheon given by H. F. Hackfeld for Conrad Glade at the Pacific Club, P. C. Jones said this booklet was purchased by P. A. Wilcox, of Wilcox and Richards,

Allen's carpenter shop and undertaking establishment on Fort Street, opposite Cartwright's feed store, this was a choice conversational morsel. Later in the day, every patient at the dentistry of Dr. J. Mott-Smith, at Fort and Hotel Streets, site of the present Hub Building, wanted to discuss it. The blacksmiths at Thompson & Neville's shop on lower Queen Street, who shod horses for several of the notables now held up for ridicule in the Looking Glass, had a new topic for debate.

Those few scant pages, purporting merely to be brief biographies of leading citizens, contained a combination of depraved dynamite and verbal vitriol, masked under an apparent frankness.

Among the men thus portrayed were Robert C. Wyllie, famous as Minister of Foreign Relations under the Monarchy; Charles R. Bishop, the banker; W.A.Aldrich, Robert Lawrence, G.P.Judd, James Robinson, Henry Hackfeld, John Hackfeld, Charles Brewer, John Thomas Waterhouse, E.O.Hall, C.H.Lewers, James Dowsett, Thomas Spencer.

The biographies purported to rate their private fortunes, sum up their personal characteristics, estimate their place in the community.

Most were pilloried, a few were praised. Behind the veil of anonymity, the unknown author had vented his spleen upon the men he disliked, and had done it in a manner which ruined a perfectly good day for not a few of the pillars of society of the Honolulu of the sixties.

Later, the Polynesian, edited by Abraham Fornander, carried this dignified comment:

"Among the arrivals ex-Comet last week was a small brochure, printed on the coast, and sent down for clandestine distribution. It is so grossly malicious, incorrect and insulting,

their social and political place. Hawaii is no exception. Here, as elsewhere, the stir and tumult of political events, or the acrimony of social controversy, or the milder stimulus of academic debate, have moved men and women to write that which lay on their hearts and fired their minds. And having written, this same urgent motive to set down the thought which fermented within them, led on to the next essential step in the pamphlet -- to get it printed somehow, somewhere, and circulated for the edification of the community and the furtherance of the cause to which their devotion was dedicated -- or, merely to "stir up the animals" and add to the gayety of nations.

Long centuries before the time of which this casual paper is written, the pamphlet held its honored place in literature. It was known in the coffee-houses of old England, where Jonathan Swift's political satires moved some men to mirth and others to wrath. French essayists, German philosophers, Italian vendettists and Russian revolutionists had used the pamphlet for their varying purposes and generations.

The Greeks knew it, and the Romans, and to go even farther back into the history of writing, there are ancient scrolls on Eyptian papyri which showed that even in the days of the Ptolemies and the Rameses, there were dissenting and disputatious souls, who to mix a metaphor in the argot of today, had something on their chests and could not be even proximately satisfied until they got it off and in a medium so that others might see it.

Pamphlets and pamphleteering in Hawaii doubtless existed from almost the day, more than a hundred years ago, when the first printing-press arrived in the islands. But the purpose of this paper is particularly to speak of the pamphleteering in the three

when he (P.C.Jones) was their bookkeeper. At the suggestion of Wilcox, it was written by Widdefield, printed for Wilcox in San Francisco, sent down on the packet "Comet", and Wilcox delivered it in person at night by placing a copy at each doorway in town."

But just why Mr.Widdefield turned to this type of pamphleteering has never been adequately explained, though it is easy to understand why it was printed surreptitiously in San Francisco.

The little booklet that arrived ex-Comet along with ribbons, mohair mitts and crochet needles for Castle & Cooke -- with California hams, bacon and soda crackers for A.D.Cartwright's Family Grocery and Feed Store -- with bales of denim, nails, kerosene lamps and oakum for C.Brewer & Company -- with saddles, wheelbarrows and calf boots for John Thomas Waterhouse -- remained by all odds the most discussed part of the cargo of that stanch and well-found packet, the Comet.

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II.

This little volume was and is one of the famous productions of a pamphleteering age in Hawaii. I have described the circumstances of its advent into the little world of Honolulu not because of its intrinsic importance in the lives of men and governments, but because it is a type, and a definite type, of pamphleteering.

Because of its mystery, its audacity, and its volcanic effect on the temper of a town whose leading citizens were unaccustomed to such cruel reviling, it has remained a sort of scarlet letter on the pages of contemporary "literature" in Hawaii.

In every age and in every country since the art of printing was invented, the pamphlet and the pamphleteer have had

lengthy and laborious controversy, through long pages of pamphlets on subjects now almost forgotten.

The writer should add, too, that his comments are those of which come on perusal of the pamphlets, not either from an intimate acquaintance with Hawaii's history -- for he has not such an acquaintance -- nor from an extended study of all the written material available on the issues that brought the pamphlets into being.

The seventies, eighties and nineties of the last century are chosen not because they by any means define the chronological limits of Hawaii's pamphleteering, but because they bore especially rich fruit on the pamphleteering tree.

The development of constitutional government in Hawaii and the rising tide of annexationis sentiment made it so.

There are so many of you here tonight personally familiar with at least part of these days, and the main outline of historical events is so well known, that the writer will let a few paragraphs of history suffice:

Kalakaua came to the throne in 1874, elected by the legislature on February 12 of that year. Annexation feeling was already well developed. As early as 1867, Secretary Seward of the United States had authorized the American Minister to Hawaii to approach the Hawaiian government and sound out the situation, holding himself open to overtures. Twice before Kalakaua's ascension, elements here, having some weight, had suggested to the American government that annexation was possible.

The Annexation Treaty of 1875, renewed in 1884, strengthened the ties with the United States. The new constitution was forced on him in 1887. Kalakaua died at San Francisco in January, 1891, and was succeeded by Liliuokalani. In January, 1893, came the

decades of the last century that witnessed the passing of an island monarch and the rise of the republic that developed so rapidly into a territory of the United States. The Honolulu Merchants' Looking Glass belonged to an earlier day, but no summary, even brief, of such gems of literature could omit it.

The times here bear out the general theorem that pamphleteering flourishes most naturally, most characteristically, in a period of intense public controversy. It was so in the days of Swift, Addison, Steele, It was equally so in the days of Dole, Alexander, Atkinson and Davies.

In presenting some of the curious phases of this period of pamphleteering, there are two comments I may be permitted to make: First, this is not in any sense an historical paper. Merely enough history is mentioned to set a background. Second, it is not an attempt to list all or even the majority of the pamphlets, grave and gay, which embellish and illuminate those decades in which social, economic and political events alike moved steadily and inevitably toward the change from a native dynasty to a territorial structure.

For the pamphlets of that period were by no means all born of the political strife, unrest and factional ferment. If there is any characteristic of Hawaii as prominent as climate, scenery and the word "aloha", it is the enormous output of writing which began in the early 1800's and has continued without cessation.

Our newspaper files, our courts, our print-shops, our library shelves, all bear eloquent testimony to the range, variety and volume of writing which Hawaii has produced, and the impact and effect of it. Much of it excellent writing. Much of it talented. Much of it highly authoritative. Much of it, now, a joy to the patient and enthusiastic delver who follows the thread of some

intervals, often longer. Mr.Albert F.Judd aptly summed it up the other day by saying that the tempo of life in those times was the tempo of steamer days two weeks apart, not "Today's News Today".

Representatives of the world's dominant governments were stationed here officially, and their countrymen living here, in business here. An island capital of a country where rival national interests inevitably competed, intrigued and leagued one against another.

A small white population which in many respects -- at least to judge by expression made public in these same pamphlets -- held itself more distinct from the native population, more aloof in its inner attitude -- than is the case today.

In this small group, disputes reverberated like battles. Nor were the issues trivial. The very future of the islands lay in them -- and the maintenance of those principles of constitutional government which are bred into the very fiber of the Anglo-Saxon.

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III.

In the decades between 1860 and 1900 there were scores and probably hundreds of pamphlets of interest to the bibliographer and the antiquarian. Unfortunately, only a fraction of the total have been preserved. Many were not, at the time of issuance, given much attention, and perhaps at that time, merited none. But today they would be of value to the student seeking to fill out the pages of island history.

The Honolulu Merchants' Looking Glass is one of the few outstanding pamphlets which had no apparent political inspiration. By far the greater number of the pamphlets now found by the delver

revolution, the deposing of Liliuokalani, the Provisional Government, (commonly called the "P.G."), and the Republic of Hawaii, In August, 1898, annexation was formally accomplished, Hawaii became completely and forever a part of the United States.

But though the tide of American sentiment had risen steadily, it was far from unanimous. There were many factions. There were many degrees of sentiment. There were elements who insisted that Hawaii should remain an independent nation; with or without constitutional monarchy.

It is difficult for us, in these matter-of-fact days, when we center an enormous attention upon international friendship, the "melting pot", the unity of all our people here, to realize the depth of the divisions then, or the bitterness of feeling that developed. Yet, even the casual observer, who browses through these pamphlets, can sense that the pamphleteers were moved to their innermost beings, and what they wrote, whether or not in the vein or satire, or farce, or comedy, was written often at white heat of indignation.

It should not, however, be assumed that all the pamphleteering was of this soul-stirring and fervent type. Not a little was conceived in high good humor, or with a cunning, mischievous tongue-in-the-cheek attitude, not much different from that of the small boy who puts a pin on the teacher's seat.

To get the full flavor of the effect of the pamphleteer's adroit activities, we must recall the small, isolated, Honolulu of the last century.

It was a little known Pacific island port. No cable or radio. Few steamers and they considerably slower than the speed queens of today.

Little news of the outside world except at fortnightly

was the appearance in the same year, 1865, though the month and day are not given, of a reply written by the historian, W.D.Alexander, and printed by H.M.Whitney. This is entitled, "A Review of a Pastoral Address by the Right Reverend T.N.Staley, D.D., Reformed Catholic Bishop of Honolulu, Containing the Reply to Some of His Charges Against the American Protestant Mission in the Hawaiian Islands."

This was originally published in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser and reprinted by request. This reply by Mr. Alexander is illuminating as showing the extent to which this and, we might say, the rival congregations of the churches, entered into politics. This pastoral address, like that which had evoked it, is, in effect, a political tract. Each was a vigorous and, at times, an eloquent exposition and defense of the respective political attitudes which the church government and congregations had taken.

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IV.

Of quite a different tone and manner, but still of the political type, is a pamphlet that appeared in 1882. Because the chief events to which it refers hark back to 1863, I have here placed it somewhat ahead of its chronological order.

It is called "The Shepherd Saint of Lanai -- Rich 'Primacy' Revelations." It first appeared in the Saturday Press in installments from December 20,1881 to January 21,1882, and then was printed as a thin volume by Thomas G. Thrum.

This pamphlet, well described as "Rich Revelations", deals with that remarkable soldier of fortune, Walter Murray Gibson, and his connection with the Mormon Church's project to people the isles of Oceanica with Mormon missionaries, apostles and families.

in archives and libraries have to do with political events.

For that reason, and also because these are the pamphlets most true to the traditional type, the present writer will confine himself almost solely to the political field in the remaining pages of this paper.

In March, 1865, appeared "A Pastoral Address" by the Reverend Bishop of Honolulu, (Bishop Staley), with notes and a review of the recent work of the Reverend R. Anderson, D.D., entitled "The Hawaiian Islands." Behind this innocent title, "A Pastoral Address," was the contest and competition between the English and the Americans for the Islands. It was just as determined, if less open, as the rivalry of the Montagues and the Capulets.

Kamehameha IV had been taken into the Episcopal Church. The very popular Queen Emma was also a staunch Episcopalian. The Episcopal Church was looking to England for its inspiration -- it was generally known as the English Church.

Evidence of the then close connection between the English Church and the Royal Family is shown by the fact that there is printed with the address of Bishop Staley an "Addendum" which states that the "undersigned members of the congregation, having heard the pastoral address, suggested that it be printed and widely circulated", and adds: "We can but think that it is a truthful, moderate, and charitable spirit in unison with all of his Lordship's teachings during the time of your ministry among us. It is evidently calculated to undo the mischievous effect of the bitter observation contained in the recent report of the American Board of Presbytery and Congregational Mission."

It was signed by Their Majesties the King and Queen, and other occupants of the seats in the Church -- natives and foreigners.

The next chapter in this particular pamphleteering episode,

Gibson, alarmed, backed hastily out of the engagement -- if such it was -- and the lady sued him for $25,000.

The pamphlet set forth all this and more, with an unction which was greatly enjoyed by all except the subject of the poetic tribute.

Getting back now to an earlier day, we turn to another little pamphlet -- "Thoughts on the Hawaiian Situation -- by a member of the House of Nobles."

This is one of the many anonymous pamphlets aiming to give the facts concerning political development of the Islands. It was printed in Honolulu in 1881 and there is no indication of its authorship. It opposed annexation and is, in large part, a criticism of those who were seeking to build up American sentiment in the Islands.

Hardly of a political type, although with many political references, was the booklet, "Lessons from the Hawaiian Island,", by a man whom Hawaii honors as one of her greatest sons -- Samuel Chapman Armstrong -- founder of the Normal and Agricultural Unit at Hampton, Virginia, now known as the International School for Negroes. This was issued early in 1884 and is more a brief history of the Islands, with occasional comment, than a political or social tract. It does, however, make the interesting comment "that the Hawaiian Islands are the most important strategic point in the Pacific and the logic of events is pushing them under Asiatic influence." General Armstrong foresaw the necessity of strong American influence to permit and support the development of local self-government under Anglo-Saxon ideals.

The so-called Moreno Episode of 1880 give rise to a considerable number of pamphlets for the next several years. Perhaps first among these is "A Sketch of Recent Events", published by A.M.

In Walter Murray Gibson there is a figure whose romanticism, in the true sense of that abused word, has been obscured by the political economic, and marital storms that raged round his Jovian head. Doubtless, he richly deserved the criticism heaped upon him over more than twenty years of as strange a career as the history of the Pacific affords. But viewed purely as an audacious adventurer, he and his fantastic and glittering schemes of empire are worthy to rank with Kipling's "The Man Who Would Be King", with the immortal Colonial Sellers in Mark Twain's "Gilded Age", or with the dusky hero of a Saturday Evening Post story by Octavus Roy Cohen on the Sons and Daughters of I Will Arise.

"The Shepherd Saint of Lanai" was an exposé of Gibson and his use of Mormonism as a super-cult to develop a kingdom of deluded followers. And it did a complete job.

But not complete enough either to confound and dismay Mr. Gibson or to shake him from his place in Hawaiian affairs close to the king, Kalakaua.

Long after the episodes of Lanai -- that island where he hoped to lanuch a kingdom -- he was still in a place of power and still a figure for pamphleteering.

He appears in the Gynberg Ballads, later to be referred to in more detail. He appears in that sparkling and rollicking satirical poem, "Pa Gibby's Wooin' and de Brach of Promise Soot", issued sometime about 1886.

This four-page leaflet, anonymously circulated and joyously snatched at and passed around Honolulu, was signed by one "Vandalia Pete". A certain lady of the city, it appeared, neither too young for wisdom nor too old for charm, had captured the wild and wandering heart of Mr.Gibson, a wary old bird, but on this occasion very much off his guard. Something went awry, and Mr.

Position of Men and Affairs in Hawaii." This is really one of the choicest gems of the entire collection. He refers to the "Mormon missionary, Walter Murray Gibson; the Dutch Jew, Sir Claus Spreckels; and the noble Hawaiian, Kalakaua".

This open letter ends with a peremptory demand for money alleged to be due him, together with interest from the year 1880. Sums of $15,000 and $30,000 are mentioned. Contained in the open letter was a postscript somewhat longer than the letter itself and of about the same character. It also included a demand for the payment of the alleged debt.

The Moreno Episode shook the confidence of the community in King Kalakaua. The events of 1887, soon to be described, trace back to 1880, and the King's easy acceptance of a suave and plausible, but worthless adventurer.

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V.

Before getting on to 1887, some pamphleteering of 1886 must be described. In 1886 appeared the celebrated Gynberg Ballads, often referred to as the outstanding examples of lampooning in all Hawaii's literature. They were, of course, directed against Kalakaua and his regime. By ridicule as well as by reason, thinking men were gathering and cementing the opposition to the "Merry Monarch", turning the thoughts of people toward a possible repudiation of the divine right of kings.

These Gynberg Ballads appeared in two slim volumes. One of these volumes bears on its cover a picture of a bottle of Old Tom Whiskey surmounted by a long neck and one of a pair of dice fashioned in the form of a face and with a pair of dancer's legs for under-pinning.

Hewett in 1887, with the constitutions of 1864 and of 1887 published as an appendix in parallel columns. Its author reported that this pamphlet was published largely for consumption away from Honolulu.

The Moreno Episode deserves more than a paragraph. Celso Caesar Moreno came to Honolulu in 1880 with a glittering scheme for a trans-Pacific cable and a Chinese steamer line, the latter to touch Honolulu while plying between San Francisco and China. Moreno, one of the adroit adventurers with whose schemes the history of Hawaii is so well sprinkled, gained the confidence of King Kalakaua. And not only of members of the King's party but the opposition, including the already celebrated Walter Murray Gibson, who was then leading the "opposition" in the Monarchial legislature.

Moreno's scheme was to overthrow the existing cabinet and, by this political coup d'etat, to elevate himself into the position of premier. An attempt to overthrow the cabinet was made in the legislature but failed when vote of want of confidence was defeated. Immediately after the legislative session, King Kalakaua summarily dismissed the existing cabinet. In the new cabinet, the adventurer, Celso Caesar Moreno, who had been in Honolulu for less than eight months, was named Minister of Foreign Affairs. This cabinet dismissal, and even more, the personnel of the new cabinet caused a tremendous furore, which resulted in a public mass meeting, in the intervention of the Diplomatic Corps, and on August 19, 1880, in the resignation of Moreno. Moreno left for San Francisco immediately in a steamer belonging to the Chinese Navigation Company. In less than a year, his whole glittering fabric of power had been built up, attacked, and collapsed, crushing to bits.

This was, however, far from being the last of Mr. C. C. Moreno, as he himself joined the ranks of the pamphleteers when in 1886, he addressed an open letter to King Kalakaua, titled "The

Cockade, Calabash, and Picnic; Bananagan, Lord High Pipelighter to His Most Imperial Majesty; Nango, First Kahili Bearer, and others named with equal felicity and appropriateness.

This pamphlet was a take-off on the trivialities, the waste and the pretentiousness of the court.

A delighted town immediately identified the nicknamed cabinet and rocked with laughter at the caricaturing of the Kalakaua court.

"Vacuum" was a pamphlet in playlet form, and printed only, but now came a still more audacious gibe at the royal court. It took the form of an extravaganza and minstrel show -- "Chun Hook, the Murderer", given at the opera house which then stood on what is now the civic center, approximately at the end of the wing now occupied by the U.S. Internal Revenue office.

The whole town -- at least all the foreigners -- turned out for the show, tipped off beforehand that it would be a rich one. It was! A part of the slight plot caricatured Kalakaua's famous embassy to Samoa, on the royal ship Kaimiloa.

It began with minstrels, and singing, some verses, some dances, plenty of pointed references to the state of the nation. Then came the farce, in which the inability of the marshal and the police to find the mythical murderer was held up to ridicule. Jack Dowsett, Faxon Bishop, Billy Hoogs and many another man, then juvenile and spry, now either passed on in the fullness of years or one of the elder statesmen of Honolulu, played the parts. And how they did exaggerate the roles, as armed with huge nickel-plated revolvers and badges slighly larger than dinner plates, they hunted vainly through the scenery for the vanished criminal.

Behind all the horse play, as behind all the pamphlets, was a very shrewd purpose. These men and others were feeling out the

The other pamphlet is "The Grand Duke of Gynberg Drinkenstein". This is a burlesque in three acts. The authorship of these sprightly ballads beneath whose humorous lines there is a burning indignation at Kalakaua's regime, is often ascribed to the late Alatau Tamchiboulac Atkinson, editor of the Hawaii Gazette and later Minister of Public Instruction. Certain it is that he had a prominent hand in the poems, if he did not write them completely. Both of these books bear internal evidence of an author with the same facile touch.

The Gynberg Ballads are illustrated and printed in colors. The dramatist personae of these poetic sketches have been pretty closely identified with Kalakaua's cabinet and court.

A man named Purvis, is often credited with having supplied the illustrations, which are not only clever in draftsmanship, but apt in their cartooning characteristics. Purvis, by the way, made popular the ukulele, originally a Portuguese instrument. His family, well known in the islands, is still represented by an official of the Bishop First National Bank of Honolulu.

Among the King's cronies who figure, or were believed to figure in these ballads, were Walter Murray Gibson (the Foreign Minister), Billy Cornwall, Sam Parker, Antone Rosa (Attorney-General), Curtis Iaukea, "Marshal" Kaulukou, Captain Jackson and F.H.Hayselden.

About this time (1886) there appeared "Vacuum", a farce in three acts, written in conventional playlet form, but a pamphlet redoubtable in its effect.

The gifted author has been authoritatively identified as the late Sanford Ballard Dole.

It tells of the court of a gay monarch titled "Skyhigh -- Emperor of the Coral Reefs and Sand Banks of the Big Blue Sea." His cabinet includes The Extravagancies and Incompetents -- Palaver,

strength of the government. Things had gone from bad to worse.

The episode of the Chinese opium bribe, itself too long to be described here, was an affront to official decency which the better elements immediately resented.

Finally was formed the American League. Politically, this was a deliberate conspiracy, for its acknowledged purpose was either to curb the reckless royal power or to force a change in government.

Some of its members were for a new constitution, some for annexation to the United States. All were for action to check the monarchial excesses.

That was the origin of the famous "Bayonet Constitution", which for so many years afterward figured in pamphlets as well as in newspapers, and the affairs of half a dozen nation with eyes on Hawaii.

While the serious political conspiracy was afoot, while a new constitution was being drafted to call a halt on royal abuses of power, the standing of the monarchy with the people was being put to the test.

How would the people react to the pamphlets? How would they receive this bold caricaturing of their sovereign? This was the question, and the fact that the pamphleteers and the minstrels and the mock policemen could get away with it was significant. There was no burst of indignation from an outraged populace when the pseudo-Kaimiloa was loaded for ballast with cases of gin, or "Sky-high" and his puppet court were lampooned.

So the makers of the new constitution decided they could make the next move -- a public mass meeting and a call upon the King to settle this troublesome question of people's rights.

The mass meeting took place on Thursday afternoon, June 30, at the armory of the Honolulu Rifles, then located on the corner of Punchbowl and Beretanic Streets, where now is the Graystone

Corporation.

Albert F. Judd, a small boy crowding, with other eager boys, up into the outskirts of the crowd, has still a vivid recollection of the serious temper, the determination, the indignation of that mass meeting.

Its members were resolved upon the principle of local self-government -- and in those days were ready to fight for it. C.R.Bishop, an early speaker, called it "unquestionably the most important meeting ever held in Honolulu".

The list of those who were present at this meeting was, in those days, virtually a "Who's Who" of the City of Honolulu -- business and profession men, leaders of the churches, planters, mechanics, and equally were all races represented -- Americans, British, Colonials, German, Hawaiians, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese -- "A crowd estimated at 2500 in number," the account says, "and with possibly a few exception, all were animated by the same feelings, the same demands by putting a hand, once and for all, upon the omnipotent system of misrule and extravagance. The resolutions and adoptions made an unequivocal demand upon King Kalakaua for wide-spread reform, the unconditional dismissiong of the present cabintet, the driving from power of Walter Murray Gibson, the dismissal of corrupt officials, specific pledges from the King to permit their controlling constitutional administration and not to interfere with election of legislators or to influence, unduly, legislation. More than that, they had the constitution ready and made the King sign it. The main feature was the change to legislative responsibilty instead of the King's responsibility. The cabinet sat in the legislature and introduced bills, which meant that the taxpayers controlled the government,

Queen Liliuokalani, in her later years on the throne, never could realize this thing as proper.

of his activity in "The Third Warning Voice", issued about 1888 or 1890.

The late A.T.Atkinson, already referred to, attributed the authorship of "The Third Warning Voice" to the King himself, though the pamphlet bore the name of Robert H.Baker, Colonel of His Majesty's personal staff, equerry in waiting and former governor of Maui.

This tract is addressed to C.J.McCarthy, chairman of the military committee of the House of Nobles -- the same Colonel McCarthy who afterward served as the fifth governor of the Territory of Hawaii.

It protests against arming the police force as a "national army of defense." The story behind this was that Kalakaua feared, perhaps with cause, that the arming and drilling of the police force would build up a powerful group which might be turned against him.

One of the smallest of the pamphlets that assailed King Kalakaua appeared in 1888 or 1889 -- and it was also one of the most sensational.

It was written by the Rev.James Bicknell of the Hawaiian Board, the father of the late Dr.Bicknell and of James Bicknell, forner city and county auditor.

It is entitled "Hoomanamana -- Idolatry", and is, in brief, a declaration that King Kalakaua had turned from Christianity to idolatry, and was not only himself an idolater, but was encouraging it among others in organized form.

The pamphlet declares that fetish worship was being practiced, and a rather extensive description of some of the superstitious forms and ceremonies was given by Mr.Bicknell.

The pamphlet had wide circulation but according to current information, King Kalakaua made no reply. The assumption was

This mass meeting, approving the document, afterwards known as the Constitution of 1887, immediately took the document to the King and presented it to him for his signature, with the alternative plainly evident.

Kalakaua was plainly told that Hawaii must have a responsible legislature, and that the cabinet must be responsible to it instead of to him. The King signed without parley, too, not only pledging himself to the support of constitutional government and to the preservation of authority of the legislature, but made his own seat on the throne secure.

He had no heart to oppose these determined men. Thus was won one of Hawaii's notable battles for government with the consent of the governed.

The King, in a letter dated the following day, July 1, 1887, acceded to all the requests and pledged his cooperation with his councilors and advisors, as well as with all the intelligent and patriotic citizens.

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VI.

The signing of the "Bayonet Constitution" did not end or even check the tide of political pamphlets which flooded Honolulu. In fact, their number increased. Hawaii and its immediate future had come to be of international concern.

The struggle of the reform elements with Kalakaua served to center an extraordinary amount of attention on these islands. For the next few years, all parties were prolific in their use of the pamphlet to made or answer arguments.

It must not be supposed that Kalakaua, easy-going as he was by nature, altogether failed to reply. There is evidence of

reports from Hawaii of impending revolution. As late as November 24,1892, he wrote: "The independence of Hawaii has been recognized and acknowledged by all Christian nations, and that recognition can never be undone."

"Open Letter Upon the Hawaii Crisis", written for publication in the Hawaiian Gazette and Bulletin, from his home at Sundown, Hesketh Park,Southport,England, on August 26,1893 -- after the revolution -- was devoted to denouncing Messrs.Thurston and Alexander, who were in Washington in the interest of annexation. He also denounced the control of the "Missionary Party" and the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.

This "Open Letter" was part of a long controversy -- partly by other "open letters" in the newspapers, partly by pamphlets. Most of the letters to the papers were later printed in pamphlet form.

Some of the notable contributions in this series were:

"Reply to Mr.Davies",an editorial in The Friend of Oct.1893.

A reply to Mr.Davies,by Curtis J.Lyons,published in pamphlet form under the title,"Final Correspondence Resulting from the Open Letter Addressed to the Honolulu Bulletin by Theo.H.Davies, Esq.,Printed for Private Circuation,"Honolulu,October 20,1893.

There were also some letters addressed to Sereno E. Bishop, then editor of The Friend.

"Closing Letter" from Mr.Davies to Mr.Lyons,printed in Honolulu, November 9,1893.

This "Closing Letter" did not, in fact, close either the episode or the exchange of verbal shrapnel.

"Letters Upon the Political Crisis in Hawaii" appear in 1894. It is rather a continuation of the controversy already so well begun than an entirely new series.

The letters -- all of which went into pamphlet form -- may

that the accusations were true. It was one more of the many factors undermining his royal throne and contributing to the downfall of the Hawaii monarch.

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VII.

The revolution of 1893 evoked a new tide of pamphleteering. The "P.G." or Provisional Government, and the Republic of Hawaii that succeeded it, were under attack not only by the out-and-out Royalists, but by those who opposed American influence and probably annexation.

Sanford Ballard Dole, who was chosen to head the new government, has already given ample proof of his prowess as a pamphleteer and a writer of state papers. His name appears often during these eventful years, when, with such men as Lorrin A.Thurston, the Carters, W.R.Castle, W.O.Smith, and others, he was upholding the acts of the revolutionists and their course in seeking annexation.

The number of these pamphlets and papers appearing in the nineties is quite too long even to list here. One notable series may be called the Theophilus H.Davies series. Mr.Davies, one of Honolulu's foremost citizens, the father of Clive and George Davies of Davies & Company today, strongly opposed the efforts to check Queen Liliuokalni and the plans for establishment of an independent government. He had been the British vice consul here and was strongly of the English party.

The series apparently began with a lecture he delivered on December 4,1891,before the Southport Literary and Philisophical Society, in England.

Mr.Davies, obviously not realizing the extent to which revolutionary sentiment here had risen, in this lecture discounted

of the United States that it should surrender its authority to the ex-Queen."

Two other pamphlets of this same period, and also dealing with diplomatic events growing out of the revolution, should be mentioned.

Though by different authors, both are titled "The Hawaiian Question." The first is by Charles L.Carter, one of the commissioners the young Provisional Government had sent to Washington to work for annexation. It is dated November 30,1893, at Honolulu and is an "open letter" to the American secretary of state, Mr.Gresham. It gives a vivid recital of the events of the 1893 revolution and stanchly defends the course which Americans here had taken to uphold the rights of constitutional government and law,order and progress.

In the abortive revolution of January 6,1895, for restoration of the monarch, Mr.Carter, shot twice, died in a few hours, paying the supreme sacrifice for the principles which he had so eloquently voiced.

The other pamphlet on "The Hawaiian Question" is a letter from President Dole to United States Minister Willis, published by the Star Electric Press, the newspaper letter being dated January 11, 1894 and the pamphlet February, 1894. With the same plain-spoken stanchness as characterized the refusal of the Provisional Government to surrender its position in 1893, he penned "An Indictment of American Diplomacy in Hawaii." This is a stinging criticism of the Cleveland administration's attitude toward the young but dauntless and hopeful constitutional government which succeeded the monarchy.

There are in various libraries numerous other pamphlets and books dealing with this period -- one of the most eventful, tense and momentous decades in all Hawaii's changeful history. But perhaps the examples I have given will suffice to illuminate the type of

be briefly listed:

1. Letter by Theo.H.Davies, Craigside, his Nuuanu home, January 31,1894, to the Honolulu Daily Bulletin.

2. Letter from Mr.Davies to the Bulletin,February o,1894.

3. Letter from Mr.Davies to the Bulletin,February 7,1894.

4. Then a number of shorter letters from Mr.Davies for the next few days.

5. A letter from Mr.Davies,dated October 24, 1894, at the Palace Hotel San Francisco.

Most of these letters appeared in the Honolulu Daily Bulletin.

Of the same period, but with no particular connection with the Davies pamphlet series, is correspondence between Sanford Ballard Dole of the Republic of Hawaii and Albert S. Willis, the United States Minister.

"The Hawaiian Crisis" by Mr.Dole, was written at a time when the power and influence of the Cleveland administration was being used to uphold the Royalists and support those who would overthrow the Provisional Government and restore Queen Liliuokalani.

Demand for the restoration had been made by Minister Willis, December 19,1893, and Mr.Dole's reply was promptly made -- December 23, 1893.

It is of interest now, when it is proposed in Washington, to amend the organic act and destroy Hawaii's legal safeguard to self-government, to read the steadfast and courageous reply by Mr. Dole, as chairman of the Executive Council of the Provisional Government, to Minister Willis. He wrote:

"I am instructed to inform you, Mr.Minister, that the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands respectfully and unhesitatingly declines to entertain the proposition of the President

ADDENDUM: Since the foregoing was written, Mr. A. F. Judd reports a conversation with Mr.R.W.T.Purvis of Honolulu which throws new light on the authorship of the "Gynberg Ballads".

Purvis says that the entire pamphlet -- the writing of the sprightly ballads, as well as the clever illustrations -- was by his brother, the late Edward Purvis, then employed by Mr. George N. Wilcox (deceased) at Hanamaulu, Kauai.

The pamphlet was printed in San Francisco. King Kalakaua somehow learned of its coming to Honolulu. He issued orders to the authorities of the port not to permit its entry here. The late Alatau T.Atkinson brought an injunction suit to prevent the King from barring the booklet, and the suit was decided in his favor. The copies were thereupon released. It was this action by Mr.Atkinson that linked his name to the episode and gave rise to the belief that he was the author of the verses.

Riley H.Allen,

June 10, 1933.

pamphleteering which is so much a part of, and so valuable a record of, that period.

After the firm establishment of the Republic, and annexation in 1898, this political pamphleteering largely ceased. The events which encouraged it had passed. Passions had died down, controversies became less acrimonious. The young territory, turning with revewed diligence to the pursuits of peace, strove for unity.

Nor has there been another such era of pamphleteering as those of the last century. True, the output of printing has vastly increased, but the type and aim is different.

Controverseries now are carried on more largely through the newspapers, whose "Letters from the People" columns continue to offer the opportunity for the shocked, the aggrieved, the indignant, the curious, the quizzical, to get their sentiments into print. Even these controversies are of distinctly lighter tone and paler hue than those of a few short decades ago. Humor has become as deadly a weapon as the thundering diatribes of the nineties.

But pamphleteering has left its impress on history and on institutions in Hawaii, and this paper has only lightly and superficially touched a subject which deserves a far more extensive, intensive and authoritative treatment.

The writer wishes to acknowledge indebtedness to the Hawaiian Mission Children's Library, the Library of Hawaii, the Hawaiian Historical Society Library, and the Archives of Hawaii; the assistance of several interested Honoluluans and particularly the helpful suggestions and thoughtful comment of Mr. A. F. Judd.

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Riley H. Allen,
June 5, 1933.

Continued on next page.

SOCIETY, POLITICS AND RELIGION

IN THE

Hawaiian Islands.

A SKETCH

BY

JOHN C. ALLARDYCE,

OF LAHAINA.

PRICE, FIFTY CENTS.

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Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1881,

By JOHN C. ALLARDYCE,

In the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

PREFACE.

The writer of the following remarks, on the peculiarities of the Hawaiian Isles, and their inhabitants, wishes it to be distinctly understood that he writes strictly according to his belief in the correctness of his information.

As a resident on, and visitor to, various islands, and as a partner in a leading store at Lahaina, he has had opportunities of viewing both sides of the picture of life in the islands. A sense of sympathy with those who might be induced to throw away comforts of civilized life in other countries, and to waste time, health, and energies, in this wretched place, has prompted the writer to issue these few notes of warning to possible emigrants. Opinions, based on knowledge acquired, have been fearlessly and openly ventilated by the writer in public places of the group, and although such exposures of individual and official rottenness have occasionally led to his prosecution and indictment on vile, even disgraceful charges, trumped up to suit those in power, nevertheless the writer cannot be diverted from what he feels to be a duty to others, in publishing his knowledge of facts.

DEDICATION.

The Author, after careful and honest deliberation, feels that perhaps his efforts may not have been misapplied, when he very respectfully (without permission, perhaps) hastens to dedicate this work to the HONORABLE HENRY A. CARTER, His Hawaiian Majesty's Minister of the Interior.

May the Lord grant that the hint be not thrown away.

J. C. A.

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 19, 1881.

SOCIETY, POLITICS AND RELIGION IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Since those days "lang syne," when Columbus and his fellow-voyagers returned to old Spain with flowery descriptions and highly colored word pictures of the ravishing beauties, the wondrous riches and the seductive attractions of the newly discovered world, up to the present day, the "Tales of Travelers" have always been nicely and lavishly attuned to fire the cupidity or the imagination of listeners.

I do not profess to be an exception to those gullible mortals; nay, I am somewhat complacently moved to admit that years ago I joined that noble army of martyrs to a foolish credence in specious tales and captivating descriptions of the profits and pleasures of Hawaiian colonization.

My complacency is not moved through any satisfaction with myself or my career; on the contrary, the sentiment is the more decidedly that of the miserable fox, who, having lost his tail in the trap, felt a consolation in the fact that others of his valued friends and companions had followed his example—to their cost.

Some years ago, after perusal of certain highly interesting published reports of the beauties of the lands and the people of the Hawaiian Isles, the ample field there existing for every varying industry, and the welcome—nay! the eager demand for white population of every kindred tongue and nation—I made up my mind to

ignore the slow, sure profit incidental to my business arrangements in a civilized country, and to hasten to "rake in" golden piles in a land where all was beauty, wealth and comfort.

I took passage, accordingly, in the mail steamer, intending to spend some time in Honolulu, to make preliminary inquiries for myself before finally casting my lot in the country.

My first impressions of Honolulu were certainly extremely pleasant as regards the area occupied by the township. I have visited many foreign lands, but I can hardly recall a site which, at first glance, affords so great a relief to the eye of the wayfarer as that forming the metropolis of the Hawaiian group. It may be that the eager visitor, cooped up for many days within the narrow limits of the ordinary trading-ship, having experienced nothing during a tedious voyage to break the weary monotony of limitless sea and sky, hails with feelings akin to rapture the vision of cool, shady groves of tamarind, kukui and mango trees that loom up from the anchorage.

These visions greet the eye from afar only; the approach of the traveler reveals streets with a hot, parched surface, volcanic dust and a glaring sun, reducing to an unpleasant reality the previous anticipation of comfort and relief.

True, there are spots within Honolulu where folks are tempted by thick, cool grass and pleasant shade, to retire and dream of "Araby the Blest;" but these are sacred from the profane intrusion of the vulgar wayfarer, being easily recognized by the richness of the soil and the value of the sites as being the property of the "missionary traders," "elders," or successful church members, who have combined the profession of religion with a cent per cent. system of advances on plantation crops.

My first impressions, as I have remarked, were certainly of a character to lead up to the belief that the bustle of the hurrying feet of business men, the lively

streets; or rather, the *one* lively street leading to the steamer's wharf, thronged with vehicles and pedestrians, all apparently on business intent, were some evidences of the prosperity of trade and the presence of money in plenty.

The next day, the next, and the many weary days succeeding, however, dispelled the illusion. I had not known that the bustle, fuss and excitement of my first day, was entirely owing to the arrival and departure of the monthly mail steamer.

On that particular occasion, all natives and others, moved by idleness, curiosity or cupidity, to leave their haunts in the suburbs or purlieus of the town, may be seen in gaudy *outer* garments (but, oh! what rags and filth does the Hawaiian *holoku*, or bedgown, cover), parading the street on the "look out."

The only steady stream of business seemed to me, later on, to be that flowing through the Chinese quarter of the town; but then, heaven only knows how they all live and flourish, unless, perhaps, like the two Hounsditch Jews of old, "by the *swapping backward and forward of their respective jackets.*"

There is not, in all probability, a country on earth rejoicing in the possession of so many churches *per capita* of the population. I wish I could add that congregations existed or attended in equal ratio; unless, perhaps, in the metropolis where church-going is a nightly and all Sabbath daily mania among the principal sect or class called the missionary "ring," little or no attention is paid by the people to the subject. Of this ring or class I will hereafter more particularly speak.

Society in these islands is made up of three distinct elements. The "upper crust" being composed of the aforesaid missionaries (so called) and their families; and when it is noted that the families of missionaries—and the retired as well as the active members of the class—are numbered by hundreds in Honolulu alone, have grasped all the leading offices of State, are principals in every

leading business in the place, own all the fat lands and the choice sites in town and suburbs, then the power and importance of the clique can be estimated.

These worthy folk long since formed an internal alliance, offensive and defensive, against all outside influence of strangers and others seeking either emoluments of trade or the control of political offices. Clustered around the weak-headed and necessitous rulers of the kingdom during the past thirty years, they have managed to poison the royal ears against all competitors not professing with them, or belonging to their element.

By restrictive legislative ordinance and selfish, illiberal regulations, they have harassed the people, white and colored; and have succeeded in civilizing and moralizing the Hawaiian native race nearly off the face of their country.

Attempt after attempt has been made by the people through Parliament to secure the repeal of destructive and oppressive missionary laws, under which we all had smarted for years, but no sooner had the amended laws been sent up for the royal assent, than the King, under the covert pressure of the clique, was pursuaded to refuse that assent.

The social evil of prostitution has never been as great a blot upon the moral status of these islands as in other and more civilized countries; nevertheless, these missionaries, lacking in knowledge of political and social economy, christian charity, and even ordinary reflective power, succeeded during a few short years in degrading into the ranks of prostitution and vice all those unfortunates discovered in or accused of fornication.

By the old Missionary Law, any girl or woman found guilty of fornication, notwithstanding previous good character or present innocence of general evil, was mulct in a heavy fine or imprisonment (or both).

And any unfortunate creature (loving, if not wisely, perhaps too well) bearing a child without the formality of marriage under the Christian (?) regulations of the

Fort Street Clique, was condemned to imprisonment and fine; and on expiry of that punishment was ordered to present herself in company with all the old seasoned prostitutes for inspection by the proper officers each week, her name, however good her previous character, being enrolled on the Register of "ill fame."

From year to year numbers of poor young girls, whose good looks had exposed them to the solicitations of men, having discovered themselves *enceinte*, adopted means to procure abortion, not always successfully; many died (for the Hawaiian race is constitutionally weak, since the unhappy day when their habits of freedom and health were restricted and curtailed by the *tabu* of the new religion), many became utterly broken in heart, status and constitution. Until at length the voice of the people and the indignation of the mass forced the repeal of such absurd, anti-christian and destructive laws.

At the present time no pregnant woman, married or unmarried, may be imprisoned for the act leading to her condition, nor can the illegitimate birth of a child be held as any evidence *per se* of impropriety.

This was obviously only a proper concession to the circumstances of the people and the country; but the remedy unfortunately came too late; the mischief had been perpetrated through the many weary years of ill-judged severity and religious oppression these poor people had labored under.

At this day (1881) you may look in vain to find more than one woman to three men of the native population; and when it is remembered that in the town of Honolulu four thousand Chinese and five thousand English, American, Portuguese, and other Europeans live, the majority of whom are unmarried, but of whom many cohabit or seek marriage with Hawaiian girls (for want of other opportunity) the philanthropist will sorrow over the reflection that not one out of every five Hawaiians will ever enjoy the comforts of a wife or will be able to look forward to the chance of perpetuating his race.

Doubtless on those islands more remote from the centres of religious intolerance and *ultra holiness*, there are to be found at the present day some fine specimens of the ancient aboriginal race: men tall and muscular, women well grown and healthy; but throughout my sojourn in these isles, I have never, excepting in very few isolated cases, met with anything to cause me to vary my opinion reluctantly conceived that the Hawaiians of the year 1881 have only too faithfully acquired every possible accomplishment of vice, venality and rascally insincerity that could be learned from the example of their whiter brethren, to meet the hard necessities of their struggle for a little more existence, in spite of the clamorous demand of the missionary Juggernaut for their prostration and extinction.

I have been led into this digression through allusion to the missionary class and its accepted share in the political and social economy of the country; but I now would explain the nature and proclivities of the other classes, which combine to form the society of Hawaii.

Next to the clique of the Hawaiian missions will come the general body of British, European, and other residents not being professed members of the orthodox Fort Street Church, who by connexion with Consular Diplomatic Circles or a few leading houses of business, mostly of foreign capital, are entitled to, perhaps, the highest social grade, if not actually identified with political matters.

The American Legation is fortunate in having for its head a thoroughly independent gentleman of high attainments and great moral worth, and his Consular officer cannot be denied the praise due to a worthy, energetic man of business.

It is a pretty generally accepted truism, that no American ever applies a second time or in vain for speedy and complete attention to any wants or grievances from which he may suffer.

Would that we could say the same of all the other consulates! Major Wodehouse, who represents the interests of British residents, is no doubt, socially and domestically, a man of great and good instincts; but he has been unfortunate enough, through the exigencies and demands of a large family, to sacrifice his name for prompt dealing with the various tradesmen of the place. In a weak moment, in return for pecuniary accomodation and help out of a labyrinth of debt and pressing liability, he was persuaded to appoint a *wee* counter-jumping nonentity, ycleped Davis, (known among the "Saturday Afternoon" band visitors as "Nancy Davis,") to the position of H. B. M. Consul.

This Consul, who will sell you with equal grace a bar of soap, a tooth-brush, or a keg of salmon bellies, has managed, since his appointment, to establish in the breast of every Britisher asking consular aid or advice, in time of difficulty, a sentiment of shame as to nationality and indignation at the denial of courtesy and protection.

As to Major Wodehouse, the poor old gentleman has no hopes or sympathies beyond "pay day" and his cocks and hens.

On being interviewed by a countryman claiming advice, aid, or the just protection which "The Flag" should extend to him under unjust prosecution, or *persecution*, the worried, hunted look of this impotent old fogy of red-tape instinct would be laughable, were it not too often disastrous to the party seeking aid.

For obvious reasons, Major Wodehouse cannot be independent—cannot be expected to be. Suppose, for instance, he, in the pursuit of his diplomatic duties, were to come into collision with the Government officials in the setting aright of a wrong inflicted upon a British resident (such as often occurs) what then, may we ask, would become of the prospects of promotion of either of his sons, who have just entered the offices of that government?

It is currently reported, however, in diplomatic circles, that "Downing Street" has arranged to pension off this old fossil; the business to be carried on, however, in the name of the old firm, under the management of the worthy Major's better half, who is, in more than one sense (if *not the grey mare*), *at least the better horse.*

Other Consular offices are established here, under the management of gentlemen of recognized status; and around such legations cluster an important, although not a very intrusive class, the whole forming the principal factor in the sum of Hawaiian society.

These people give and attend balls, dances and entertainments, which the Fort Street Missionary Class do not—whether from conscientious scruples, or financial meanness, or other reasons emulate. As a consequence, a tacit jealousy, or coolness, exists below the surface between the two parties; the "old-timers," (the missionary clique) being apparently satisfied to stand fast and hold on to the good and fat offices, and to snuffle psalms to their own peculiar pharisaical tunes, leaving to their rivals (that which they cannot take away from them) the pleasures and occasional pomps of social enjoyments. They are forced to be content with the "lilies and languors" of virtue, "leaving to the others the roses and raptures of vice,"—all true pleasures and healthful enjoyment being in their ideas simply phases of vice.

Outside these two classes a third element is made up of the floating population of clerks in stores, retail storekeepers, tradesmen and their families, artisans, and the great body of non-conformists to the tenets of the missionary clique, or the "society requirements" of the other section.

These people, we may say, represent the bone and sinew of the country, and comprise in their midst those who contribute largely to its revenues and prosperity.

The ranks of non-conformists are daily swelling, and as the importance of these workers in the community cannot be denied, it is, to even the most casual observer,

only a question of time how soon the bonds of restrictive, class legislation, adjusted by the missionary faction, shall be burst and cast away.

The natives of the soil, many of whom are rich and prosperous, are never welcomed by the "upper crust," nor do the scions of the Missionary Class, now that they have filched and cozoned out of the Hawaiian people all their available lands and contributions, care to associate, or to encourage association by their sons and daughters, with any having taint of *the blood* in their veins.

Let not the innocent reader think this was always so—oh, dear, no! In the good old days, when the country was all their own, and no rude strangers had succeeded in establishing a footing—to overlook—then, indeed, missionary young men were mortal, and gave full scope to their vices.

The number of half-caste men and women, knowing for their parents these holy men and their sons, is almost as great as that long line of bastards here who know not who their fathers may have been.

The country is overrun with these half whites, half Hawaiians, and although, in many instances, of prepossessing exterior and fine stature, I think I can hardly realize a case where the instincts for evil and the vices of either parent are not reproduced and enhanced. The nearer you approach the Throne, the more disgraceful the record.

As a reaction against overbearing missionary interference, these people (I allude to those women in the *highest* position) as well as the lowest, encourage the attentions of other men besides their husbands, whose *services* begun in the stable in the custody and care of horses and carriages, *certainly do not end there.* This is what one of our most earnest, high-principled reformers, Walter Murray Gibson, speaks of in his able works of "Advice to Hawaiians" as the system of *punalua*—a mild arrangement of polyandry; and the old residents, whose white heads have bleached under half a century's participation

in Hawaiian affairs, one and all, in cautious whispers, assert that to this Hawaiian peculiarity we owe the presence and identity of the present incumbent of the Throne of the Kingdom.

Of course this is rank gossip, and doubtless treasonable; yet, the people *do* say that, had Kalakaua's mother possessed money enough to pay for soleing and heeling her damaged shoes, that African negro cobbler had never been encouraged to pay her those polite attentions which led to his becoming the father of "Kalakaua I.," and the *punalua* of other married husbands.

It is a blessing to Hawaiian inheritors that rank and birthrights descend through the *mother;* paternity *i. e.* legitimate paternity—not being the *sine qua non* as in other and more *ridiculously particular* countries.

I have no desire to punish those who may be my readers with any prosy schedule of Hawaiian statistics—whether of commerce, population or resources, as they are cooked and "fudged" to fill a gap, or to meet the exigencies of a defective departmental standard of routine.

We have at the head of the Interior Department a son-in-law of Missionary Judd (of pious memory.) This gentleman, Mr. Henry Carter, is a "shining light" in the Tabernacle of the Anointed. He may often be found in response to the obvious demands of his "holy alliance," praying and preaching in the Fort Street Tabernacle, thanking God with holy unction that he and his favored brethren are not as others—publicans and sinners. This responsible minister of the Crown is not remarkable for any political measure, scheme, or act having for its prime object the welfare of the country. His gray hairs and bibulous, vice-stained visage being simply one more voucher for the antecedent career of debauchery, venality and impropriety for which his sect and family are notorious.

If this *gentleman* (who by the influence of his missionary *confreres* has been "pitchforked" into the highest place of State), could only be pursuaded to review in

decent order of chronology his experience of debauchery and disorder, he might, perhaps, be moved to hesitate somewhat or to make charitable allowances ere pressing to bitter end and condign punishment any unfortunate sojourners in the land who may have emulated his bad example.

The administration of justice in this country of *Liberty* is another anomaly very hard to adjust. The Supreme Court is ruled by three judges, the Chancellor of the Kingdom being the Chief, the others ranking in the respective grades of associate and "puisne" justices. Of course, we here have another scion of the *dear old missionary* monocracy in the person of another of the Judd family; and well indeed do the people recognize in the cruel, harsh, cold-blooded decisions of Mr. Justice Judd, the absolute rarity of "Christian charity."

Mr. Judge Judd, who piously parts his hair in the middle, and attends nightly "seances" in Fort Street Synagogue for the spread of gospel truth and a fuller knowledge of the doctrine of God's Infinite Mercy and Love, has earned well the reputation of being a callous-hearted, vengeance-loving fanatic; and if he by his measures cannot convert the bodies and resources of men to his *varied* ends, will, by a pleasant process known only to these *merciful* judges, divert their bodies to hell or its local representative, the Honolulu Reef Prison. The whole system of justice and police is corrupt and venal.

"Like master, like man," is an adage which our daily experiences here have proved to be a truism.

One day we witness the refreshing spectacle of a police justice (being moved by qualms of conscience or indigestion), ordering and overseeing the dismissal of numbers of white and native police officers, for oft-repeated, well-proven acts of bribery, corruption and extortion; and the next moment, after the death, somnolence, or absence of that justice, we witness the reinstatement of the same ruffians in power, greater than ever. It is indeed a great thing to be a "power behind the throne," to have wives,

daughters or sisters sufficiently attractive to venal, corrupt Governors and high officials, to spread an "ægis" of indemnity over all relatives, irrespective of character, crime or offense. Many tales are told by those conversant with the courts, of the variety of means necessary to obtain satisfaction, or perhaps justice. From the meanest police officer to the highest officer of the courts there is one pervading attribute—love of pelf and party bias. The police officer may be bought and suborned by the simple medium of a bottle of gin, or the "naked dollar;" the higher official being harder to please or "*square*"—servile adulation or community of clique being, however, part of the requisite preliminaries.

The lower courts of the realm are presided over by police justices of varied peculiarities and characteristics. One "judge," whose self-satisfied smirk may be daily noted as he sits like a pork butcher in drawn sleeves and white jumper on the Honolulu Bench, has a funny record, having emerged from the dignified position of "bones" or "tamborine man" in a negro minstrel troupe, to become the terror of fornicators and the dread of confirmed "drunks." This gentleman is an excellent connoisseur of new brands of "Kentucky Favorite" and its various imitations; and he may always be found by intending suitors in deferential attendance upon the most liberal free lunch houses.

Speaking, however, of the operation of law and justice in this Kingdom, reminds one what a very important factor in the revenue is the item of fines for breach of the "thousand-and-one," paltry regulations having the force of law here. Nowhere, perhaps, can be recalled such a long schedule of restrictions, penalties and new offenses as are created by the party legislation of "Hawaii *Nei*." Some are too ridiculous for reference, others involve a smarting sense of injustice and fanatical intolerance; but all are created and imposed with the one object—to raise revenue and to provide for the maintenance of a venal staff of otherwise useless officials.

It may, perhaps, be hardly credited elsewhere, that at the present era of civilization and freedom from religious persecution, any traveler or sojourner in the Island of Hawaii may, in terms of the unrepealed missionary laws, be fined and imprisoned for carrying a portmanteau, parcel or package other than a prayer-book, on the Sabbath day. The spirit which prompted these and other kindred law makings is unmistakable, and crops out wherever money is to be made by intimidation or threats. There is nothing strange in the spectacle of gangs of prisoners at labor on the public streets numbering in their midst gentlemen of really excellent general character, who, through inability to pay fines for paltry breaches of unequal laws, are thus stained and disgraced by contact with the worst criminals, and condemned to extended imprisonment. Those also, who like the writer, having been provoked to denounce in unmeasured terms the manifest corruption and hypocrisy of police officials and others, are generally marked down for vengeance. Few ever escape the toils spread for them, and, when an opportunity can be invented, a general unison takes place between all parties to hunt to death these rash, undesirable aliens who interfere with the long exercised, prescriptive right these schemers have to levy mail, and feather their nests at the general expense.

The writer, as before remarked, at one time, while peacefully engaged in store-keeping interests, had a narrow escape from conviction on a charge of burglary, a disgraceful, distressing charge, the result of a conspiracy in which the Marshal of the Kingdom, one W. C. Parke, did not scruple to take a share.

I thank God for "Trial by Jury," inasmuch as an appeal to such a tribunal secured the prompt and unanimous acquittal of myself and those other innocent gentlemen accused with me.

It transpired, however, during the course of the trial, that one of the accused, a resident engineer at Lahaina, while in confinement, awaiting the opening of the proceedings,

had been approached by the Marshal, who, in sympathetic whining accents, deplored the misfortune of the charge and the disgrace of the incarceration, and suggested that the victim should protect and free himself by a confession that should convict the others.

In vain did the poor gentleman urge his utter ignorance and innocence of offense this cunning old hypocrite actually suggested words and the details of a confession, at the same time saying, that he was empowered to tender a reward of one thousand dollars ($1000) to secure a conviction, the informer to be free to leave the Kingdom or to go wherever he pleased.

To the honor of the man be it said, that he indignantly rejected the proffered bribe, and exposed the rascally act.

Although the writer was honorably acquitted by the proper tribunal, and succeeded, after initiating suit for damages against the prosecution, in recovering a large sum; nevertheless, the wretched misery of such an unjust persecution, only possible in this Missionary-Police ridden country, can never be effaced from his memory.

It is scarcely any comfort to hear of scores of similar persecutions or to be told of numbers of young men of independent character, who have dared to interfere with the privilege or to expose the short comings of these people that have been even greater sufferers, of families disgraced and broken, obliged to quit the land that has become too hot to hold them.

It is, however, somewhat comforting to note, that the tendency of popular opinion is slowly, but surely, setting against this class of rulers and oppressors.

Life in Honolulu, as well indeed as in all the other islands, is expensive, nor is any approximate value to be obtained for the large sums of money expended.

The places of amusement are limited to public houses and the one Music Hall of the metropolis. The latter has, however, by the fiat of the meddling shallow-pated Board of Health been shut against the people during

eight, out of the ten months of its existence; while the former are scarcely the class of places young men can derive anything but mischief from.

The vile rubbish, sold in Honolulu under the guise and name of "old Bourbon," would elsewhere be called by its proper name "rank poison." It is mostly manufactured on the spot from the root of the *Ti* plant and low class crude alcoholic abominations; and is bottled by the venders in bottles of every fashionable brand and label.

Although during the prevalence of, and under exposure to, the trade winds, Honolulu has been variously described as a somewhat healthy place; yet a brief visit to the graveyards of the town will convince the most sceptical observer of the extraordinary mortality prevailing at times.

Death seems to reap a richer crop in this miasmatic hole than in any other country of comparative latitudes. Day after day may be seen funerals of whites and natives wending their way to the various burial grounds; victim after victim being quietly gathered in to swell the ranks of the great majority.

Leprosy, in all its disgusting horrifying shapes, is decidedly one of the principal causes of the numerous taints in the Hawaiian blood. By a system of bribery of the police and the favoritism of relationships (real or fictitious), cases of active festering leprosy are hidden from the eyes of searchers and are allowed, by daily and intimate contact, to sow the seeds of corruption and certain future death.

The Hawaiian is essentially a fatalist and a firm believer in *Kismit* and although outwardly a convert to Christianity, he is, nevertheless, a thorough Pagan at heart.

His old gods have never yet been dethroned, and it is an undoubted fact that from the persons of the rulers of the Kingdom to those of the meanest Kanakas, firm belief and reliance in time of trouble is placed in those old *akuas*. This is not openly admitted, but is confessed

by all when closely interrogated on the subject. Some folks pray and utter their incantations in the ears of the ancient goddess *Pele*, the spirit of the volcanoes. Others again including Kalakaua I. and his family rely on the great shark *Kamoho Alii*, for protection and aid, and frequently have incurred long journeys to the island of *Niihau* to render their offerings to that monster.

The migratory "plover" and the native "owl," as well as other birds and fishes, are adopted by various tribes or families as their particular *fetiches*.

This is altogether a bitter pill for the missionaries to swallow. After half a century of persistent endeavor to convert or divert to *their* Shibboleths of creed and sect this nation of heathens, they have succeeded simply in teaching them a hypocritical pretence of a Religion, the *outward* form of which (like their white-tied teachers) is the sole extent of the possession.

The native, in time of trouble or need, goes to his medicine-man, the "*Kahuna*," or "priest-doctor," and whether the applicant requires a dose of medicine, a love philter, or a slow poison for a friend, rival or relative, the "*Kahuna*" is the medium.

Considerable scandal was created a month or two ago during the visit of their Royal Highnesses, the Princess Regent and Princess Ruth, to the volcano flow at Hilo, in the island of Hawaii. Divine services and prayer-meetings had been held in the various churches, invoking the interposition of Almighty God to check the terrible overflow of burning lava that had approached the town of Hilo within a mile, devastating and overspreading in its sixty-mile run thousands of acres and much valuable property. At these services crowds of people, native and foreign, attended, and their Royal Highnesses, these Princesses, were conspicuous for their devotions. All in vain, however, were the prayers and supplications to Heaven.

After, as they thought, a fair trial had been given to the white men's method of prayer, and after seeing the

incapacity of the "new religion" to help to avert the fiery demon about to devour the village and its residences, these native chieftains and their suites proceeded in person to the site of the flow, or as near as consistent with safety, and after an approved series of incantations to the angry goddess, "*Pele*," a variety of peace offerings, such as a whole *live* pig, bundles of silk handkerchiefs of gaudy pattern, tobacco and cases of gin, were cast into the seething burning lava.

It was in vain that the Hon. Simon Kaai, our late minister of native affairs, the business adviser of the wealthy Ruth, begged and protested against the sacrifice of *all* that valuable liquor, the raw material for a splendid debauch. In vain did he secrete up the empty sleeve of his lost right arm a half a bottle of "Old Tom," which he had too sanguinely hoped to hide away from the lynx eye of her portly Highness. Notwithstanding his tears and entreaties, all was *ruth*lessly cast into the squirming, boiling mass, and, lo! the goddess was appeased, the flaming torrent ceased to flow, and "*Pele*" was at rest. Since that time it is hard to convince any Hawaiian of the value of our forms of religion, and the belief of the people in their own gods has certainly been confirmed.

A few years ago, numbers of old residents known as the "beach-combers," common to every island in the Pacific formerly, but gradually retiring and fading farther and farther away before the encroachments of missionaries and trade enterprises, might be met with throughout the group; but they seem to have died out or vanished as mysteriously as they came These extraordinary men, well versed in native manners and customs, seem, wherever they domicile themselves, to slide at once into the comfortable grooves of idle, aimless existence, common to the tribes and islands which they honor with their sojourn. By alliance and adoption into the native families, they become a grotesque connecting link between the savage and the white folk, who follow in the footprints of these pioneers of the advancing army of pale

faced occupation. They are often men of good birth and breeding; have found settlement in towns and cities irksome and intolerable, preferring a life of lazy, voluptuous ease and the vagrant, half civilized existence of few wants to the daily and hourly struggle for pelf in other places. They come from all countries, the "beach-comber" proper being a man of no pronounced nationality and having few national or social prejudices, chiefly being remarkable for unconquerable idleness, dirty and scanty clothing, and a strong predilection for square gin—*fifteen bottles to the case, full contents.* In the words of a writer on Polynesian peculiarities, these are men

> "Who have burst all links of habit
> And have wandered far away,
> On from island unto island,
> To the gateways of the day!"

They are generally the historians, and keep the records and scandals of the islands, having a wonderful lazy aptitude for reclining on mats and listening to and repeating tales of gossip. Such as these tell queer tales of their early experiences in the Hawaiian Isles, and of the wonderful changes that have, during the past thirty or forty years, taken place for the worse in the population and features of the country.

One of these men, sitting beside me on the cabin head of a small schooner, in which I was sailing along the lee or *kona* side of the principal island, Hawaii, pointed out during the distance of forty miles, thirty-three churches which, in common with adjacent ruins of huts and villages, seemed by the air of desolation and decay to have belonged utterly to the past. There, said he, twenty-five years ago a prosperous race and a population numbered by many thousands existed in these places, and now a man would get foot-sore looking to find three score of the old race. They have died off like rotten sheep, and, strange to say, the old forest trees and indigenous woods have gone to decay and are fast becoming extinct. Places where formerly all was smiling beauty and verdure,

where the hand of man had wrought fertility and greenness, are now nothing but howling wildernesses, a dry rot having seized upon them.

Certainly a wonderful relief to the eye is wrought by the verdure of the cane fields, and a deal of land has been reclaimed by irrigation; nevertheless take the various islands of the group, all in all a more wretched, God-forsaken, lava-smothered wilderness cannot be found. I have traveled from daylight to dark, under a burning, blistering sun, over mountains and levels, without meeting one drop of water wherewith to quench my thirst—with the same barren, rocky wilderness and lava scoriæ on all sides. I do not think a one-hundredth part of the lands of the kingdom can be utilized for agriculture or settlement—those areas not rendered inaccessible by steep mountains and precipitous gulches, being either lava wastes or barren, baked soil, covered with rocks and intolerable dust.

The sugar industry affords fair employment to a limited number of artisans and others; but the supply is more than equal to the demand, the towns being overflowing with numbers of respectable whites, who have been attracted by false reports of the wants and resources of the country. Lucky indeed are those who on first realizing the true state of affairs make up their minds to quit the place, and shaking from their shoes the dust of this wretched country of debt, danger and degradation, purchase or work their passages to a cleaner and a freer land.

The Kingdom of Hawaii cannot be said to be, by any means, a desirable field for white or European immigration; the climate and the circumstances of population and soil form a barrier against the exercise of most of those trades and callings that thrive in colder climes with different associations. There is no field for the ordinary farmer or tiller of the soil. The *consuming* population, on the other hand, being too limited to encourage ordinary trades or callings. The monopolies, in grazing and

sugar lands, are fatal to ordinary enterprise, unless backed by great capital.

The man intending to emigrate to such a country in pursuit of any of the ordinary trades and callings of civilized countries, had better take warning and stay away. As a store-keeper, he will be starved out and undersold by the hordes of chinese traders; as a tradesman, he will find hundreds of his class out of work and seeking employment; and as a small farmer, he will find that he can grow nothing to find a market; the climate and soil allowing of the production of articles, such as are sold at half his price by Kanakas and Chinese gardeners.

What the country really requires is nothing more nor less than cheap slaves to toil in the cane fields at six or eight dollars a month, from dawn to dark, in order that the sugar planter and the money-lending merchant may fatten and prosper.

I consider it an act of specious rascality, the conduct of the government of the Kingdom, in attracting to these shores the numbers of Norwegians and Portuguese white emigrants, arriving during the past year or two.

These poor people are now acquiring bitter experience of the falsehood of the hopes and promises they were led to entertain by the Board of Immigration and their agents. Some have escaped from their task-masters and are at this moment telling their tales of suffering and ill-usage in the newspapers of America; and I certainly think it the duty of every honest person to do all that is possible to check the influx of so many poor people into a country utterly unfit for them and their families.

At least let the *true* state of affairs here be faithfully shown to all contemplating settlement, and when it is known to these Norwegians and Portuguese that nothing, absolutely nothing, but shameful drudgery and slavish toil under the scorching rays of a vertical sun, insufficient remuneration, bad, unsuitable food, and a disgraceful

status, are in store for them on arrival; then the government will be obliged to seek their *serfs* elsewhere.

Apropos of Hawaiian Immigration—

I am well justified in asserting that the whole scheme shadowed forth to the world has from the very inception of the arrangements of the Board of Immigration been found to be a paltry sham, and a counterfeit of honest examples set by liberal nations to encourage the advent of *bona fide* population.

It has been my misfortune to be tied down through business arrangements in this Hawaiian paradise of canting, money-making Pharisees during a number of years, the weary passage of time (where not otherwise marked by repeated evidences of unwise and restrictive Class Legislation) being only enlivened by occasional and periodical disclosures of the various missionary scandals, incidental to unwise interference by that class in the politics of the day or schemes for money-making at the expense of the community.

By the term community, I prefer to be understood as referring to the Hawaiian Race, *the original possessors* of the soil and the real owners at present of three-fifths of the land; and I am constrained to remark that the highly conservative and selfish system of the Hawaiian Board of Missions has directly and unmistakably brought to pass the depopulation of whole districts (and even islands) where formerly this noble aboriginal race existed; nay, flourished, in all the glory of a prosperous people, whose pristine habits and natural rules of hygiene had made them what they undoubtedly were, a physically fine race.

I must, however, pay those gentlemen in black, a well earned compliment in admitting that they, although, perhaps, unfortunate in the pursuit elsewhere of their various trades of shoemakers, carpenters, tinsmiths, etc., have, since entering upon their new and arduous labors in this vineyard of the Lord, been sufficiently provident and energetic to acquire extensive, even immense, personal landed and other property tenures in this lovely group.

It is scarcely possible to point to one instance wherein a "missionary" here has failed to become an owner of lands; and, by a strange coincidence, all those lands are either valuable sites for business purposes, or are the "pick" of our beautiful suburban areas.

When it is further noted, that in nine out of ten instances, these lovely parks and valuable corner lots are held by direct transfer from the poor Hawaiian (who has since died homeless and in destitution), those who remain without the pale of Fort Street Church may well, like the poor "Peri at the gate," suffer disconsolate at their exclusion from the joys and riches, the birthright of this paradise of money-making, land-grabbing Pharisees.

Out of this centre of preaching traders, has grown that peculiar ring, of part missionary, part banker, part pawn-broker and whole sharper, pervading the business class of the metropolis.

During all the Sabbath days, and on every night in the week, you may see their luxurious equipages clustered around Fort Street Synagogue, the owners themselves being engaged within the tabernacle, testifying in unctuous, self-satisfied tones, to their appreciation of the great benefits every day accruing through their complete devotion to religion; also engaging in mutual back-scratchings on the "beauties of holiness."

Many a good line of "dried fish" "lumber" and "blubber" has found a purchaser (under Divine blessing) beneath the "ægis" of the church's protecting roof-tree.

And yet these men unite in a solid body to resist the enterprises and honest efforts of all who do not pray, profess, and intermarry with their clique.

They are successful in their business dealings inasmuch that, by dint of long and cleverly directed tact, they have filled the high places of State, with their sons, sons-in-law, "cousins, uncles and ——" no! I cannot add that the old "aunts" really have also been pushed into high places of political trust, although one need

scarcely stretch imagination very far to discern the "old woman's" marks in many of the ministerial measures for which Hawaiian Governments are responsible.

I have, in my earlier and happier days, read "Tom Hood's" ode to Rae Wilson ("the holy"), but never until my sojourn in this Kingdom could I realize that great Poet's description of those "*unco guid*" and great Pharisees.

* * * * "Those spiritual hedgers
Who bind up Bibles with their ledgers,
And *back* the rigid Sabbath (so to speak)
Against the wicked remnant of the week!"

These are the elect who have, through the serious labors of a third of a century's financial struggles, succeeded in seizing upon the principal business sites, the principal offices of State; and, by money loans, through *direct* and *indirect* pressure, rascality and nepotism, have woven a web around the Kingdom and its Ruler, which can only be burst by a struggle involving the very life of the captive.

I had before this digression committed myself to the statement that the whole of the Hawaiian published scheme for the encouragement of immigration to these shores has proved to be simply a sham, as regards the true objects of the Board of Immigration; I repeat that assertion, and I will proceed to prove, that those white people coming here under the guise of free and unfettered colonists, have been entrapped and cozened into contracts for service—unwholesome uncongenial, (in such a climate) and through arduous labor and lack of pay incidental to the servitude, partaking more of slavery than free labor.

I must first proceed to inform my readers that on the decline of whaling enterprises in the Pacific, the principal sources of commercial prosperty became paralyzed, and when on the completion of the trans-continental railway, San Francisco became preferred to Honolulu as a rendezvous and depot for the extensive fleets of whale ships that had previously made Hawaiian ports their

principal places of call, it was necessary that something should be done to avert what was looked upon as an impending commercial ruin. The coffee and sugar industries had not of themselves obtained sufficient proportions to preserve the revenues of the State from collapse.

In former days from one hundred to five hundred whale-ships might be seen at one time at anchor at Lahaina or Honolulu, their disbursements for crews, stores and port charges amounting in the course of the year to millions of dollars.

These halcyon days had passed and it became necessary to cast about for other kindred sources of revenue to fill the woful gap in the State Exchequer and the trader-missionary receipts.

No longer would the flash dance-houses, owned and rented for large sums by our best mission members to harpy landlords, be the nightly scenes of riotous but money bringing orgies—no longer would "Father Damon" be the recipient, the happy and complacent recipient of peace offerings of the fifty dollar and one hundred dollar persuasion from repentant or diplomatic skippers.

Offerings made by twenty or thirty masters and officers of whale ships, whose crews had wantonly desecrated every Sabbath holy-day in their disgraceful parades of obscenity and lewdness; but who, by a little tact of this kind, escaped that dread of masters and owners,—the missionary "fiat" or "taboo" against their recruiting Hawaiian boatmen.

These subscriptions were sometimes toward the erection of this or that church, never begun and not in existance—but oftener toward the necessities of the gentleman in black in question, or his colleagues.

Behold the result—"Father Damon" and his brethren are now prosperous financiers and are proprietors of lands and vineyards, not forgetting numerous cottages in retired situations which are leased temporarily to single men (and their wives).

To return, however, to the state of affairs when the "blubber" industry receded from these shores; it was decided to divert all available energies toward fostering and extending the cultivation and manufacture of sugar, and with this wise and laudable object all the principal personages, social and political were greatly exercised.

The industry, owing to various causes, such as heavy foreign taxes on imports, cost of labor, inexperience of investors, etc., languished for a long time; in fact, became almost an absolute failure. At length, however, through the kindly patronage of the American government in adopting a reciprocal treaty for the free admission of Hawaiian produce, one important drawback became removed. The difficulty as to labor, however, was a serious obstacle to progress; and on this head was now centred all the anxieties and solicitations of the planting and trading community. The traders and store-keepers, otherwise the merchants so called, in reality were those most interested, being the agents and usurers of the unfortunate planters, who, through their misfortunes and a ruinous system of advances, had become indebted to the others to an extent to go beyond which might be ruin, and to stop at which certainly meant ruin. More labor! more labor! then became the cry. Let us have foreign labor that will enable us to gather our crops and extend our areas.

A Board of Immigration was accordingly appointed by the Crown, with the advice of the missionary trading and money-broking part of the community, and when the names were gazetted it was apparent that the ruling element was properly represented. Every white member of the Board was either a son or a son-in-law of a missionary—one being a judge of the Supreme Court, but all being interested as proprietors of sugar lands. A difficulty, however, occurred in adhering to the text of the commission under which this Board held its existence, inasmuch as that commission recited in its preamble: "Whereas, the King and Cabinet noticed with deep

regret, etc., etc., that the Hawaiian race, through inexplicable causes, was dying out, fading away, etc., etc.; and, whereas, it became expedient that steps should be taken to recuperate the failing vitality of the people by the immigration of a kindred or a cognate race; now the King, with the advice aforesaid, had appointed, etc., * * * * to provide for the immigration of such a desirable class of people with such objects, etc."

This definition of the powers and objects of the Board did not fully meet their ideas of the real necessity of immigration. They cared not one jot for the future of the Hawaiian race. It mattered not to them whether the whole of that magnificent people died out in one day or not. What they personally and collectively wanted was some thousands of additional *laborers* for their cane-fields —some more bone and muscle to use (and abuse) in the furtherance of their divine mission to raise sugar and make money.

In the innocence of their hearts, one or two residents of the country (not being church members or of the government clique), who, through travel, education and intimate knowledge of the subject, were entitled to a hearing, wrote valuable suggestions as to known sources in the Malayan Archipelago, Southern India, Japan, etc., whence might be drawn numbers of suitable families, males and females of cognate race, of like physique, etc., whose immigration might reasonably be expected to ameliorate and recuperate the Hawaiian people in their unfortunate decay. These meddlesome writers and speakers were sneered down and insulted, and all their kindly suggestions were ignored. It was very logically reasoned that the extensive influx of a bona fide population unaccustomed to and unimpressed by the old, dry rot system of the old mission, must certainly lead to annihilation of the monopoly of power, temporal and spiritual, of that holy clique.

The Board, however, invested in the purchase of an old, slow-coach schooner named the "Storm Bird," capable of carrying from ninety to one hundred people, and sent her among the equatorial isles of the Kingsmill, Gilbert and Marshal groups to recruit Micronesians, not with the view to continued residence in the group, but solely and avowedly for labor on sugar plantations, with the pay for each man of four dollars per month for the first year, five dollars for the second year, and six dollars for the third year—women being paid lower rates. The inducements offered were, specifically, freedom from work on the Sabbath, free schooling for children under fourteen years, and at the end of three years a free passage to their respective homes. They were also told that they would not be debited or charged with cost of their passage to Honolulu, and that their wages would commence on the day of their landing in the kingdom. They were guaranteed good houses, bed and other clothes, and good and sufficient rations, and medical attendance, *all without cost to themselves*. These were the arrangements made and the promises held out to the Micronesians, or South Sea Islanders, by the agents acting under the orders of the Board of Immigration. Let us see how the promises were fulfilled:

In December, 1877, the "Storm Bird" landed on these shores a number of wretched looking creatures who, through want of proper forethought and provision by the Board and its officers, had suffered the miseries of confinement in the shallow hold of a ninety-ton schooner, badly rationed, short of water, and destitute of warm clothing, during a seventy days' voyage from their homes. Eleven had died of cold and misery, and the others arrived in a strange country without the prospect of meeting a soul to whom they could speak or whose language they could understand. They were barracooned in sheds at Fisherman's Point, and in a few days were dispatched as laborers to various plantations on different islands—families being separated, husbands and children being missent to places far distant, each from the other.

This was, perhaps, not known at the time, at least it has been so explained; but just complaint has been made that when these things through proper interpretation did become known, no steps were taken to remedy the wrongs inflicted on the poor creatures.

Death! the merciful relieving officer, has however, stepped in, and in most of the cases of those first victims of the Board of Immigration, he has provided relief for them. Let us hope their later immigration may prove a happier and an easier remove.

The survivors of this "cargo" of labor material have explained that in not any one particular has the Board of Immigration kept faith with them. Firstly, they were promised free passage here, free food and sufficient free clothing, medicine, schooling, etc. As a matter of fact, they, on arrival, were sold or quitted to the first applicant who would pay the government the prime cost of their passage per this *Stormbird*.

This amount was afterward deducted by the employer or owner from their paltry pittance of wages, which wages, notwithstanding the contract and specious promises of the Board of Immigration, were not made to accrue from arrival in the Kindom but really from a date arbitrarily fixed by the planter.

Poor and insufficient food was supplied by the planters. Who could hardly wonder at repeated deaths from dysentry and hunger?

The sick and hungry, when asking for better or more food and medicines, were contemptuously told to go to the plantation store and buy with their wages whatever extras they required. Those who were fortunate enough to have been paid wages, or who had saved a few shillings, were robbed at the stores by extortionate prices.

No clothing or blankets were dealt out to them unless on mortgage of their wages at ruinous rates, and then the articles these poor simple people were persuaded to buy were tawdry, insufficient goods, too soon to wear out and become ragged and useless.

Go where you will at this day even; visit any plantation employing these people, and you will see wretched, unfortunate looking girls and men lounging in filthy rags of faded red, yellow and green colors of mean texture, sold to them on the plantation for prices higher than high class goods of warm texture.

Their houses are huts and hovels in which the unfortunates are crammed irrespective of sex, family or number, where the only sleeping accomodation is, perhaps, a few dirty mats alive with a variety of crawling insects not necessary to detail.

Of all those who were brought to Hawaii, and promised a free passage back to their homes at the end of their three years' servitude, but seven have been enabled to leave, and these have gone back to their coral isles and cocoa-nut groves to describe unto their anger-moved friends and countrymen the miseries of their sojourn in the land of missionaries and money-makers, and to ask at their hands vengeance on the first inoffensive white trading ship visiting their shores, for the wrongs and iniquities heaped on the poor defenseless heads of themselves and their dead families, by the alienees of the Hawaiian Board of Immigration.

At the present time there remain in the Hawaiian Kingdom upwards of twelve or thirteen hundred South Sea Islanders, of various tongues and isles, principally, however, recruited by Hawaiian Government vessels from the isles of the Kingsmill and Gilbert Archipelago, ostensibly to the outer world as free immigrants, but really and actually under written agreement with the Board, for three years' labor, on plantations, without the option of independent settlement, except under the control and wherever or to whomsoever assigned by the Board.

The Board hold a lien upon the bodies and blood of these poor people, for the cost of passages from their homes to this country, although the people are assured to the contrary *before joining* the Hawaiian ships, and,

as I have already remarked, the last pound of flesh is exacted in payment.

I have learned that this is not the fault of the agents who engage the people, it is the arbitrary and inconsistent *ipse dixit* of the Board itself which does the injustice. Indeed, one of the principal agents of the Board of Immigration, who in one year dispatched upwards of one thousand Polynesians to these shores, has shown me that the printed agreements put into his hands by the Board for interpretation to the emigrants, and for their signature, promised those very things that are, on arrival here, withheld or overlooked.

I have conversed with scores of these Polynesians at various islands, where they are in service; and they, one and all, make the same complaint; no money! insufficient food! no clothing! but hard incessant labor under the lash and the brutal heel of the hoodlum overseer or "luna."

Tales of death from dysentry, consumption, and bowel disorders, reach us from every quarter; wages of course being stopped during sickness, medicines withheld; or the poor creature being accused of shamming, is forced to labor in wet fields, until carried out to die, in the friendly arms of some countrymen, none others appearing to interest themselves in the fate of the poor *lewa lewa* (naked one). Have I not been called to witness at the Turton plantation, on the island of Maui, one after another of these South Sea Islanders, the breath scarcely out of their bodies, dumped like so many dead dogs from the tail-board of the plantation wagon into a hastily dug hole *uncoffined and unannealed* without the formality of a burial service, notwithstanding the poor creatures had always been bled by the missionary collections of all spare cash, at regular intervals?

The operation of tumbling in the dirt over the poor emaciated bodies being impatiently watched by the imperious wife of the planter, as standing, whip and watch

in hand, she grudged the loss of the few minutes consumed in the interment.

This masculine individual, whose dusky visage, and spreading ferocious nostrils, indicate a savage origin and instincts, has earned a reputation in Lahaina for malignant cruel treatment of these poor people, as well as for a truckling servility to her superiors.

Her poor hen-pecked husband has not the courage, even if he had the moral instinct, to act for himself. Having a luxurious establishment, wherein he is enabled to entertain with wine and *cards* the resident Judge, and his satellites, he is, of course, far beyond the reach of official inquiry, and so he continues to pile up wealth and resources, at the expense of the blood and lives of his forced labor.

People who peruse Government Records, say, however, that the system of the lash, and unwilling servitude has not as yet enabled this proprietor to pay off the enormous indebtedness for which the plantation is responsible; and that all the gains from the sweat and toil of the poor *lewa lewas*, goes to pay the usurers' demands at Honolulu.

Varied by an occassional violent death or two, (such a shooting case for instance as took place the other day on Mr. *Missionary* Whitney's plantation, at Pahaala) the foregong is a fair definition of the reasons why three hundred and ten out of fifteen hundred and eighty of these *strange* emigrants, have been allowed to die out here.

They will never more return to their picturesque island homes to listen to the seductive tales by Hawaiian labor agents, of the wonders of this great paradise; of the fabulous profusion of cocoa-nuts, taro, and fish; of the beauties of the Hawaiian woman, who anxiously and amorously await their coming; of the absence of real toil; of the comforts of possession in boxes of tobacco, cases of firelocks, with which they will be presented by a loving Hawaiian Government on their

return from their holiday stay in the Kingdom of "Kalakaua the great."

No, neither these nor other kindred promises will interest them more. They have reached "that bourne whence no traveller returns."

Shortly on expiry of their terms of toil, the balance of these unfortunates who survive the climate, neglect, and the lash, will return to their homes and fill-in the true colors of the picture.

Their perfect disenchantment is undoubted, nor will the Hawaiian Board of Immigration again recruit in those seas.

So much for the pretences of the Hawaiian Government on the score of recuperation of the dying aboriginal race by the introduction and mixture of a cognate people.

Those unfortunate Kingsmill islanders and Micronesians who were attracted to these shores, were and are in their own isles a fine muscular race, and with good food and a considerate treatment, their women might have been enabled to marry Hawaiians, who gladly would have changed their condition from one of almost forced celibacy to the married state.

It is a sad spectacle to note the immense preponderance of males over females in this country; not more than one out of five Hawaiian men, having any hope of marriage, through dearth of the opposite sex. Had the Government, in pursuance of the ostensible principle embodied in the Royal Commission for the *encouragement* of emigrants sent every unmarried Polynesian girl and eligible woman to school or to some proper institution for their comfort and improvement, instead of driving them like cattle out into cane fields, under a burning sun and in the midst of the wretched hardships of incessant labor, the like of which they were utterly unfitted by habit or constitution to perform; at the present moment four hundred and eighty-three eligible women

of a cognate race might have married Hawaiian husbands and have ere this become mothers.

This was, however, not a part of the business of the Government or the Board.

However greatly Kalakaua I. and his chiefs may regret the fall and decay of their ancient race, they will never receive anything but mere *lip* sympathy from their whiter advisers and missionary ministers by way of remedy.

"We want a purer and a less venal lot of rulers in these our high places," once said a well known native Chief of higher education than his compeers. "We are simply living that we may fatten the horde of missionary sons and daughters our former oppressors have thrust on us by way of legacy."

This chief, who is a "coming man," spoke the sentiment of the people. One day, not long hence, there will be an uprising of these patient Hawaiians, and the administrative arrangements of the Government Departments will, for better or worse, be withdrawn from the hands of the whites.

We cannot help observing the gradual tendency at the present day towards filling departmental vacancies by the appointments of Hawaiian youths, and although, perhaps, inexperienced and wanting in business instinct, yet they possess quite enough natural impudence and languid laziness to make good average Government officials.

The climate and the red tape of the circumlocution office will do the rest, so that there is no present risk of the Departmental standard of impotence being greatly jeopardized.

Nice refreshing tales are being daily told by those unfortunate Norwegians and Portuguese, who lately came to Hawaii in the vessels charted by the Board of Immigration.

Tales of specious promises made; flowery pictures drawn by government agents; descriptions of lovely isles of beauty, whose coral strands and shady groves have been especially designed by a bountiful Nature for the

encouraged, on discovery of the falsehood of the promises held out to them, to decline to ratify here their contracts for servitude made beyond the Kingdom.

They made a bold stroke for freedom, and succeeded in most of the cases in escaping from forced service. They were fortunate enough to secure, in instances, domestic service or free employment in various vocations.

Many now are prosperous, but they have seized upon the few vacant trades and callings, leaving little for other arrivals to do.

The later immigrants, however, appear to have been deceived, both as to the pay and the nature of the labor demanded of them; and when they, to the number of three hundred and twenty, were ordered into the before-mentioned barracoon at Fisherman's Point, to sign service bonds and to be drafted into mobs and batches for their various masters and destinations, the murmurs of the heads of families and leaders of the protestants became loud and defiant.

It was all in vain, however, for in a trice a heavy posse of police were brought on the scene, headed by the the doughty Governor of the town, and in a twinkling a number of arrests were made.

The unfortunate prisoners were hurried to the jail; were thrust into separate cells to obviate communication, and the next day were condemned to long terms of imprisonment on the trumped up charge of sedition and obstructing the officials in the execution of their duty. One only was released to go back to his companions in the barracoon and recount the grievous tale. The rest were then told that the immediate result of continued refusal to sign their bonds for service would be general incarceration for an indefinite term. They were told that the punishment of their absent friends was specifically for refusal to sign. The apalling prospect of cruel imprisonment was more than these fathers, mothers and younger ones could think of without dread, and so they consented to sign away their liberties.

The story has leaked out, however, notwithstanding the rigid exclusion of all strangers or friends from communication with the immigrants; and the Portuguese residents are now preparing a formal remonstrance to the Crown of Portugal, and are subscribing to fee Counsel to take a out writ of Habeas Corpus to test in the Supreme Court here the legality, or otherwise, of forced servitude of the kind.

It is my intention to issue, at an early date, a second pamphlet, treating in their various aspects the questions of Reciprocity, as existing between America and Hawaii, and the comparative monopoly secured by the Claus Spreckles faction in connexion with the sugar industry. I deem it high time that the San Francisco sugar refiners, and their brethren in the East, had their eyes opened to the true aspect of matters.

"ANNEXATION."

"ANNEXATION."

THE Hawaiian political future is the subject of much thoughtful discussion among advanced thinkers. While some maintain that political revolution is necessary and inevitable, others argue that a radical change is neither desirable nor probable. As it is a question of vital interest to all permanent residents whether of native or foreign extraction, public expression of theory and argument, research and study into the subject, in all of its relative bearings and probabilaties, should engage the attention of every citizen interested in seeing a wise and permanent system of government. The opinions of educated leaders should be invited; the subject should be intelligently placed before the people in such a manner as to awaken a healthy popular interest. Public opinion should be so prepared upon such an important subject, that if in the progressive course of events political revolution becomes necessary, the evils of violent dissension, of hasty and unreasoning action, of commercial disorder, of social antagonism will be avoided and the consummation reached peacefully as a result of the better judgment of the people. To

this end it is the plain duty of every Hawaiian who is enlightened above his fellows, who makes any pretensions to statesmanship, or is a leader and lover of his people; of every foreigner who has adopted this as his country, and whose position and character command respect, whose opinion has weight; of journalists whose province it is to guide public opinion, to hold this subject up conspicuously to the public gaze and not conceal or cover it.

I do not advocate violent agitation or the too radical flourishing of individual opinions: but I would urge an advanced political education and a courageous though moderate public discussion of such progressive ideas and changes as present indications imply would be beneficial in Hawaii. Frequent communications appear in print under such titles as the "Hawaiian Problem," etc.—articles of a political nature, although as yet they have embodied nothing further than the assertion that a problem *exists*, with a few accompanying generalities. No solution to the problem, no improvement upon the present political plan has been suggested.

Hawaii has several *problems*, among which are: How to perpetuate the diminishing native race; how to repopulate the country; how to check and confine the ravages of a loathsome and fatal disease; how to continue the commercial prosperity; how to obtain sufficient labor of a desirable kind, etc. But the most important problem and into which all the others merge is, how to fix upon the wisest plan of government and establish a firm, reputable and lasting political system. To a consideration of the latter problem this paper is devoted.

I am one of those who argue that a political revolution is inevitable and necessary. I claim that the present Government inspires neither confidence at home nor respect abroad; and although this lamentable condition may not be entirely due to a faulty system of government and is probably in a large degree the result of maladministration, yet the stubborn fact remains that this evil condition exists, and political sagacity cannot fail to see the necessity of a change and the advisability of anticipating and preventing, by wise measures of political reform, the evils of turbulent discord. The first duty of capable leaders is to educate the people and prepare their minds for governmental change. In studying the political history of this country for the past twenty years, it will be seen that the dignity of the Government, its stability and hold upon the respect of the people have been weakening, while its responsibility, the importance of its international relations, the scope of its home interests and the difficulties of administration have largely increased. It does not require great wisdom to foresee the result of an extended continuance of such an anomaly. The evils of the present political condition are well known and their consequences severely felt. The absence of any well defined public policy, frequent ministerial changes, extravagant expenditure of public money, doubtful status of foreign relations, want of confidence and commercial jeopardy, are all conspicuous evils.

It is not so much my purpose, however, to attack the faults of the present Government as to name the advantages of a new system and let a reading, thinking, interested public make its own comparisons. I shall endeavor to show what

would be an improved political condition for Hawaii, wherein the wealth of the people would be substantially increased, wherein their freedom would be extended, wherein the commercial prosperity of the country would be established upon a firmer foundation, wherein individual rights would have surer protection, wherein the stability of government would inspire confidence and respect both at home and abroad; and I shall try to explain how Hawaiians can bring about this desirable result easily with no sacrifice of property rights, liberty of franchise, or any other benefit which they now enjoy; and I do not make the argument in a partizan or sensational sense, but appeal to the intelligence and sober judgment of the Hawaiian people.

I advocate the development of a political party in Hawaii, whose aim and purpose shall be to secure for this Country a place in the American Republic.

"Annexation" is no new idea; it has been a cherished thought with a few Hawaiians for years, but its advantages and possibilities have been little understood by the majority of the people; they have been taught by an interested few to consider the idea a political monstrosity of hideous proportions. Strange that they should accept this view of the subject when they owe their rescue from a condition of barbarism,—their civilization and education, the very laws by which they are governed and the rules by which their society is regulated, their religious teachings, their commercial interests,—*everything* to that Mother Country and its enterprising sons and daughters. What can they see threatening to their welfare and happiness in seeking a union with the author of their greatest benefits?

Conflicting interests and opinions influence the minds of the white citizens upon this subject. With some annexation is a great bugbear, a political scare-crow; others, schemers for English supremacy, it oppresses like a horrible night-mare; many acknowledge its desirability, but have no confidence in the possibility of its accomplishment; while a few cherish the hope and belief that it will be a result of the near future. It certainly is not a question that can be comprehended at a glance; it embodies great principles and grand possibilities for Hawaii; therefore I ask Hawaiians to study it, discuss it, and weigh its advantages carefully. I invite argument and controversy. I propose to notice herein but one of the arguments offered and used with effect by the opposition, viz: The poetical idea of maintaining Hawaiian national independence and the preservation of the Nation's autonomy: high sounding terms, but very empty in this connection. This poetry, however, has been paraded with a grand flourish and dramatic effect, and has been used to advantage by aspiring intriguers for the purpose of influencing the natives and blinding them to their best interests. Let us see upon what kind of a foundation Hawaiian national independence rests. Not very far back in the nation's history foreign invaders took forcible possession of the country without so much as firing a gun. And when we ask what is to prevent a similar outrage, in retaliation for insult fancied or real, or for gain, the reply is, that other nations would not permit it. The power of prevention, then, does not rest with us. Our independence depends upon the *charity* of those other nations.

Again, supposing England and America should go to war

and the interest of either should point this way, what would prevent them from appropriating our country to their use? Their honor and generosity, it is replied or the protests of France and Germany. A strange kind of independence that!

The simplest native knows better than to assume for a moment that this nation can maintain its independence by force of arms. And I may say further; (something that may well be considered applicable to present conditions,) that I am fully convinced that should the members of the Planters' Association, lately formed in this Kingdom, assemble and pass resolutions to the effect that on account of the unstable condition of Government, the reckless use of public money, pernicious legislation, or any other good reason, their rights and interests were jeopardized, and petition the Government of the United States to extend its offices in their behalf, their request would be granted, Hawaiian independence to the contrary notwithstanding.

It is plain that even with the existence of good and temperate laws, a wise and just administration of them, beneficial legislation, governmental dignity commanding respect and inspiring confidence, Hawaiians cannot, of themselves, preserve their national autonomy,—and many of these redeeming conditions are lacking. Love of country and patriotism are always commendable, but should be tempered by reason, and he who loves his country best will seek its promotion. It transpires, then, that this poetical idea is a thin shadow to worship, especially when in confliction with interest.

In arguing the benefits of annexation it is proper to first consider how it would affect the political liberties of the people their franchise, rights, etc. Under the present system of government the right to vote gives to the people the power to choose their representatives in the legislative assembly, and here their power terminates; and any law made by their representatives is void unless approved by the King. Suppose, for the sake of illustration, that this was a territorial form of government belonging to the United States, the people would have the same right that they have now to choose their legislators and their power would extend further, for, with the exception of the Governor, Chief Justice, two Associate Justices, Attorney and Marshal, appointed by the President of the United States,—all of the civil officers of the country would be chosen by the people from the people, and legislation would be subject to the approval of Congress (wherein this country would be represented by a delegate) instead of to a King as now. So, instead of restricting the liberties of the people, "annexation" would extend them; and, in addition to the fact that so many more offices would be elective, the appointive offices would no doubt be filled by Hawaiian citizens,—for it is not necessary that these appointees should come from abroad to govern us. If admitted into the Union under a State organization, the liberties of the people would be extended to a still greater degree. Just how the machinery of government would have to be regulated cannot be positively anticipated. Special enactments of Congress might be necessary to cover the peculiarities of the case, for the measure of annexation would be without precedent in American history; but, whatever governmental regulations might be adjudged necessary and put into operation, there could no possible con-

tingency arise whereby the political liberties and rights of the people would be more restricted than at present. So fear on that score is groundless.

It has been said: "Let us become an independent Republic." By annexation we become, to all intents and purposes, an independent republic, besides having the advantage of securing the support, protection, and fostering care of the greatest republic on earth. What prospect could be more gratifying or acceptable?

It is admitted by the more intelligent Hawaiian leaders that, in the light of co ing events, they can see the crumbling of the present Government. There are many influences bearing upon such a result. Progress is rapidly lifting the countries of the Pacific in commercial importance. Great agencies and interests are reaching out in this direction and competing for acquisition and supremacy, supported by the powerful nations from whence they come. A gigantic struggle is being inaugurated for control of the Eastern trade. Little Hawaii occupies a position in the midst of the arena, and the greedy eyes of power are already upon her; her ship of State is surrounded by danger; there is a conflict of interests and sympathies among the wealthy and influential of her own subjects; and their loyalty does not extend beyond their interests. Her politics are unsettled, and her Government does not command the respect and confidence of her people. The seeds of dissatisfaction, jealousy and race prejudice are doing their demoralizing work rapidly.

What is plainer than the duty of Hawaiians who have their country's welfare at heart? They should step to the

front, meet the issue squarely, develop a party and inaugurate a policy which shall extricate the people from their peril and secure for them the advantage and protection of a government of stability and permanence, a future of assured prosperity and honor, happiness, and a place on the highest plane of civilization.

But perhaps the argument which will appeal most forcibly to the understanding of the masses, is based upon the question of financial interest,—dollars and cents. By comparison we can prove that the expense of the new system proposed would be less than that of the present, and taxation consequently less onerous. In 1876 the estimated value of these Islands (all real property inclusive) was nine millions of dollars; to-day the estimate is twenty-three millions,—an increase in property valuation of fourteen million dollars in six years, due principally to the Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States.

In support of this I quote the following extract from the *Hawaiian Gazette*, of May 24th, 1882: "Let any one consider what was the condition of the Islands in 1876. There was a revenue of about one million dollars, $1,008,191.85 in exact figures; an expenditure of $919,356.93. The civil list of that time only amounted to $55,000; the expenditure of the Interior Department to $379,992.70. Business was by no means brisk; plantations were languishing; tracts of good land were uncultivated. There was little capital to be invested; the wages of the laboring kanaka on the wharf were low; there was, in fact, a general depression. That year, however, there came a turn; we got the Treaty and immedi-

ately everything sprang into life. In the six years that have passed our revenue has more than doubled. It was $2,070,-259.94 for the fiscal period closing March, 1882. We have been able to spend $2,282,599.33. The civil list for the same period was $100,000; the Department of the Interior has spent $1,204,703.81 and the public debt, which in 1876 amounted to $459,187.59, has been reduced in 1882 to $269,-200. Turn to business matters: Every part of the Islands shows the greatest activity. The swamps where the plover and wild duck used to find a home, are now yellow with rice; the mountain slopes, the valleys are green with cane; the landings and harbors are busy with small craft; instead of one steamer we have a dozen; there is not a business in town which has not been able to increase; it matters not that men are not directly interested in our leading product, indirectly they have all shared in the prosperity. Let the native laborer compare his wages of to-day with what he got in 1876."

Closer relationship would make the advantages still more considerable. This latter assertion is disputed; but it must be admitted that the Treaty is of very uncertain tenure; that our commercial prosperity depends almost wholly upon its continuance; that annexation would bring the same benefits with the added advantage of being a permanent relation.

It is admitted that America is the natural market for Hawaiian products and the natural source from whence to obtain supplies. It is also admitted that commercial reciprocity with no other country can furnish any considerable proportion of the same advantages. We are but a commercial outpost of that great country.

Again, if we are accepted into membership by the United States, several millions of dollars will be expended on our shores. All the attendant outlay of an extensive naval station will be made here; capital and enterprise will throng here and develop our resources to their fullest extent; our property will increase rapidly in valuation, our currency will be more substantial, money will be plenty, and the per cent of interest low, there will be no necessity to negotiate loans for public purposes, employment at liberal wages will be given to all who need it; every native who owns any property will find himself suddenly richer by at least fifty per cent. In fact, we cannot well estimate the financial benefits that annexation would bring.

We would soon be connected by a telegraphic cable with the rest of the world, mail communications would be more frequent, immigration would set this way, our labor problem would then solve itself; our sanitary problem would receive the attention of the greatest medical scientists; the native laborers, instead of finding themselves crowded to the wall by competition with Chinese and a lower order of society, would find themselves lifted to a higher social plane; Honolulu would be a rendezvous for men-of-war, and their officers would enliven society. Our social benefits would be greatly increased; we would become infused with new life and be proud to find ourselves on a social, intellectual, and business par with the first nations of the world.

I might keep on naming advantages, but I have said enough for primary purposes of argument and to awaken thought, and that is chiefly my purpose now.

Well, admitting all the foregoing to be true, the question presents itself: How is this happy st.te of affairs to be brought about? What disposition can we ma'e of our present Government and Rulers? How can such a radical change be made without incurring the dangers of anarchy? In suggesting a way to overcome the obstacles presented, my words are addressed particularly to Hawaiians, for their rights and interests are most deeply involved, and I am presenting their side of the question only; for, although I am assured of what America is willing to do, I am making no statement of the wishes or plea in the interests of that country No thought of coercion is entertained; there is no desire for any arrangement other than a mutually agreeable compact; and to this end I advocate careful study of the subject and the development of a popular party in Hawaii, whose platform shall be "annexation," and who will encourage the growth of this political idea until it shall have attained such proportions as to be recognized as the will of the people; then the good offices of America will complete the consummation.

And no doubt the King, when he becomes convinced that it is the will of his people to be otherwise governed, or rather to govern themselves, will find it agreeable and *convenient* to abdicate, providing, however, that liberal provision, by entailed property rights, or pension, is made for himself and relatives. No aggressive measures against the Royal Family, are necessary or should be entertained for a moment; though judging from the present demands made upon the treasury for the King's convenience and in subservience to his wishes, questions may arise as to the degree of liberality

necessary to compensate him for a surrender of his privileges.

The question is plain, and involves no great difficulties, and it would be much more praiseworthy in those leaders who foresee probable and desirable changes, to devote their ability to properly educating and preparing the minds of the people for political betterment instead of seeking to continue them in a mistaken course, for the purpose of gratifying the personal interest or doubtful ambition of occupying temporary place in what their best judgment must acknowledge is a temporary and faulty Government.

Finally: The foregoing but briefly outlines a policy that is by no means incipient in Hawaii. Detailed argument is unnecessary, as proofs are ample and offered daily to the public through the medium of the press. Late ministerial disruptions and the causes which led to them have been thoroughly ventilated and have not strengthened the public confidence; the motives and policy of the new official combination, as foreshadowed, inspire no respect; the moral pointed is, that unless the present occupants of high places are exceedingly careful in dealing with certain important public interests upon which conflicting influences bear, the radical political change herein advocated will be precipitated upon the country with unprofitable haste.*

NOT A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF NOBLES.

* NOTE. This paper was originally intended for circulation in the Hawaiian language only.

(H. O. Murphy, 1882)

LESSONS

FROM

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

BY

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Principal of the Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Va

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LESSONS FROM THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

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THE best authorities agree on the probability that the Polynesians are a branch of the Aryan race, which in its earlier days, crossing India, struck the Asiatic Archipelago, and failing to obtain a footing among the Papuans, whom they encountered and somewhat mingled with, continued their migration to the Eastern Pacific Islands, which being then probably uninhabited, afforded them a permanent resting-place. To-day we can trace among the Hawaiian and other islanders these mingled Polynesian and Papuan types.

There is evidence that another race discovered the Hawaiian Islands a century and a half before the English, viz., the Spanish explorers from the coast of South America; who must have furnished the models for the Romanesque helmets and gorgeous war-cloaks of the chiefs, which closely resemble those worn by the Incas of the Southern Hemisphere. But Captain Cook was practically the discoverer of the Hawaiian group; and 1778, the date of his arrival, was its point of departure from isolation and barbarism. No greater opportunity than his was ever offered to a civilized man, to impress better ideas upon a savage people. He was welcomed as no other navigator ever was: he was treated as a god, as the long looked-for Lono, who had departed generations before and was waited for with a sort of Messianic instinct. While the natives, true to their Spartan training, stole whatever they could lay their hands on, they withheld nothing

from him, for his ships were loaded with gifts. They turned on him only when he stole their chief: they killed him, because when they struck him with a stone, he gave a cry of pain, "Gods do not cry," they said, and stabbed him in the back. His visit was the seed-time of the fatal disease that has diminished the population, from his estimate of 400,000 (probably far too large) to about 43,000 in 1883.

For ten years after his death, the islands were avoided by ships, whose crews feared the natives; but trading vessels gradually ventured there, exchanging iron and trinkets for hogs and fruit. Fire-arms and fire-water were soon in demand, the former making their frequent wars more bloody, but also more decisive. An increasing desire for foreign articles led the natives to treat visitors kindly, but created temptations too strong sometimes for their savage natures, and induced deeds of baseness and cruelty on the part of the whites. But in the long run, trade was a peace-maker: it ended the fighting among rival clans, which had been always at war, and, in less than thirty years, it produced national unity in Hawaii.

Cook reports meeting a powerful young chief of frightful aspect, Kamehameha, who had defeated every rival on his own island, Hawaii (the largest of the group, and 4000 square miles in extent), which had never before been under one king. This youthful warrior, Kamehameha I. (the solitary or peerless), fitly called the Napoleon of the Pacific, pushed his conquests from island to island, overwhelming his foes by sea and land, on one occasion choking with the bodies of the slain the channel of the river Wailuku (literally the "choked waters"), and on another driving them to a precipice from the summit of which they leaped, rather than be captured; till, at last, the six inhabited islands surrendered, and the heathen dynasty of the Kamehamehas was established, the only one in the history of the world which has survived the transition from barbarism to Christianity.

The record of Captain Vancouver, one of Cook's lieutenants, who visited these islands in 1793, is a contrast to that of his commander. He refused to sell liquor or fire-arms, landed the first cattle, sheep and poultry, gave useful seeds to the people, controlled his men, settled quarrels between the natives and

foreigners, and punished the guilty. He told the king and chiefs of the true God, pointed out the follies of heathenism, and offered to send them missionaries from England. To Captain Cook Kamehameha was a brutal savage: to Vancouver he was an enlightened sovereign. The visit of the former was a disgrace to civilization, that of the latter was one of the most beneficial of its kind, undoing as far as possible the evil which had preceded it. Vancouver used his intimacy with the native conqueror to establish order and justice, and his good work still bears fruit. It nearly resulted in establishing British control, for had he not died, English missionaries would have occupied these islands twenty years before those from America landed there, and the key to the great tranquil sea would to-day have been in the hands of Great Britain.

By this time trade had greatly increased; the desire for the useful had somewhat supplanted that for the ornamental; woolen clothes, printed cottons, linen, hardware, and staples generally were in demand. The wits of the natives were quickened, they became as shrewd at a bargain as the traders, and equally adept in the art of deception. Contact with foreigners was, in itself, a rude education in values, in individual rights, in fair dealing, and in those usages of civilization which the Anglo-Saxon carries everywhere. Idolatry was unbroken; but from the talk and conduct of foreigners, an idea of its weakness had taken root, and led later to the most marvellous revolution of its kind in all history.

The golden age of Polynesian barbarism was undoubtedly from this date, 1800, till the death, in 1820, of Kamehameha I., whose equal as warrior or ruler has never appeared in the annals of Oceanica. He apportioned the conquered islands among his favorite chiefs, and arranged the traditionary law as clearly as a written code. Huge fish-ponds were walled in from the sea, roads were constructed, water-rights established, lands were cultivated, forts were built, a fleet of twenty-one well armed schooners was created, every subject was obliged to keep his weapons in fighting order, for every man was a soldier, foreign seamen, artizans and experts of all kinds were well treated,—in short, nothing escaped the eye of the great chief. Like the Khedive of Egypt he owned everything and amassed vast

wealth, especially by the trade in sandal-wood, which in one year amounted to four hundred thousand dollars. His far-sightedness is shown by the fact, that while this precious wood was attracting the argosies of every nation he never permitted a young tree to be cut down,—that was left for his successor. His word was never broken, and never doubted, he conciliated his enemies and inspired his followers with awe and loyalty. The greatest crime was to be above him. His people, though held as serfs, subject to caprice and cruelty, still prospered and improved under his reign. He denied them the use of wine, and while making the carousals of his favorites and wives one of his amusements, indulged but moderately himself. He was a shrewd judge of men, quickly detecting the power of the whites and the difference between the good and bad among them, appointing as his personal counsellors two foreigners whose lives he had saved, John Young and George Davis, who were of great assistance to him, and who won his last great battle, at Nuuanu Valley, against heavy odds, chiefly by a piece of artillery which they had procured.

To a religious man he said, "You say, God will save Christians from all harm. If that is true, cast yourself from that precipice, and if you are not hurt I will believe in your God." Later on, however, he learned of the great changes made by Christianity in the Society Islands, and desired much to know of the Supreme Being worshiped by foreigners; but there was no one to tell him, and he died in the heathen faith. His successor was his son, Liho-liho, a talented, yet pliant youth, addicted to liquor, but restrained from excess by his father during his lifetime.

The genius of Kamehameha was fatal to the idolatrous system of which he was the staunchest supporter, for with a dark heart he had a clear head. By fostering trade he drew a small community of foreign residents into his kingdom, besides many others who visited his ports. These despised the gods, desecrated the temples, violated the tabus, especially when in liquor, and did not fulfil by instant death the expectations of the terrified natives. Even intoxicated Hawaiians helped to break the spell; for, after crossing as they did the "dead line" of the *tabu* with impunity, they naturally began to suspect that the

priests were liars and the tabu contemptible. Trade made business general, and, directing the minds of the people from their all-absorbing idolatry, gave them freedom and strength to think.

A few white men like Young and Davis spoke of God and goodness, but in the main those with whom the natives came in contact were utterly reckless. Yet in obedience to a law working beyond their ken, these men scattered ideas in spite of themselves, and quickened the mental life of the Hawaiians, while they sowed the seeds of both physical and spiritual death.

This double influence, helpful and harmful, runs through all the commercial intercourse of the Pacific Islanders. Those who destroyed idolatry have been equally destructive of the Christian work of later years. Heathen are far more amenable to the teachings of Christ than are the outcasts or adventurers from civilization, who are the worst foes of missions everywhere. It is curious to notice, that while idolatry and the tyranny of the most complex and exacting tabu system ever known were apparently unbroken, yet in the latter part of Kamehameha's reign they were in reality tottering to their fall, undermined by the action of the superior mental vigor of the whites, upon the soft and pliant but quick-witted native mind.

The new king, influenced by the dowager queen Kaahumanu, the favorite wife of his father, and an extraordinary woman, made a royal feast, at which, in the presence of the leading chiefs and foreigners, he deliberately rose, went and sat down at the table of the women, violating the traditions of centuries, and striking down by a single act as powerful a religious system as paganism has produced. "The tabu is broken" was cried out all over the land: feasts were everywhere spread for men and women together, the temples were destroyed, and the idols burned. The old high-priest Hewa-Hewa was the first to apply the torch, and consume the sacred relics of ages, and his example was generally followed. Idolatry was abolished by a proclamation, and there was a wide-spread jubilee. As was natural, a reaction came, affording an opportunity for rival chiefs. The fate of idolatry was staked on a pitched battle, in which the royal party, aided by superior weapons and by white men, destroyed the enemy, though the latter fought with rare courage, even the women carrying water, weapons, and the inspiration of their cries into the thick of the fight. The wife of the champion of idolatry fell dead across her husband's body.

Here, then, was a nation of habitual worshipers without a religion, and a nation, too, of no mean possibilities. They were a people whom the perpetual *qui vive* and struggle of savage life had made brave and self-reliant, led by chiefs whose peculiar regimen of life had produced an aristocracy of noble, physical as well as mental, proportions, the fittest to survive out of generations of conflict, able to execute large enterprises, and to hold their own with men from civilized lands. There were giants in those days. As a boy I remember them, on state occasions, in splendid uniforms, towering above the foreign dignitaries about them, poised and stately, conscious of their rank and ancestry, peers of the nobility of any age, descendants of kings whose exploits were celebrated in an unwritten lore of wonderful simplicity and beauty, which for hundreds of years has been transmitted from bard to bard. White Ghost, Iron Bull, and other Indian chiefs whom I have seen, strikingly resemble the old Hawaiians, both as to personal presence and bearing, and in character and thought.

There is little to admire in the average heathen, not much perhaps in the average product of civilization; but I believe in noble savages, as illustrated by the finer types, among whom we find splendid largeness and symmetry and force. They have a conviction, from the course of history and the experience of their own lives, of a God innate in all things. They see Him in nature, in a thousand ways, and so they worship Him in a thousand images and objects: images because of his personality, natural objects because they are from Him and He is in them. They believe in a present, not a far-off, Deity; and it is natural that they should give most of their time to religious duties.

One sees all this in our Indian delegations from the West, who have none of our conventional knowledge, but who seldom get the worst of an argument, and are often morally above the statesmen whom they meet. "They learn to lie at Washington."

But no characters in Hawaiian history shine so brightly as those of the noble women, wives of Kamehameha and his chiefs, powerful, arbitrary, and sensual, saturated with the savagery of

their past, who finally embraced the Christian faith, became softened, gentle, and good, though none the less queenly, and who gave the Bible to their people as the law of the land. When they died there were none to fill their places, for the conditions which created them no longer existed. Their children were petted and spoiled, and as a rule fell victims to their own base passions. The iron hand of Kamehameha was better for their weak natures than any persuasion.

In tracing the development of Christianity in these islands, we speedily discover that the commercial instinct of New England was far stronger than its religious enterprise. During the thirty years before any mission work was begun, foreigners were known to Hawaiians as "Boston men," who, along with rum, powder, and disease, introduced many of the staples of life, some civilized ideas, and in a few cases excellent counsels. By their indirect influence idolatry had been suddenly destroyed; commerce, in their persons, had exerted the power inherent in it in all ages; their merchant-ships had done for Polynesia what caravans have done for Asia Minor and Northern Africa, factories for the Gold Coast, and East India Companies for Southern Asia. That is, they had prepared the way for the coming of Christianity and a better civilization, so that when in 1820 the brig Thaddeus dropped anchor at Kailua, the five mission families whom she brought, who had left Boston six months before, expecting to find a nation given up to pagan rites and worshiping at bloody altars, learned instead with gratitude and joy, that the priesthood was abolished, and idols and altars destroyed. This mission was the outgrowth of some ten years' suggestive circumstances, chief of which was the presence of several Hawaiian youth in New England, where an effort had been made to meet their demand for education by establishing a school in Cornwall, Conn., attended not by Hawaiians only, but by Indians and Asiatics. Three of the first mentioned nationality (Hawaiians) accompanied the pioneer missionaries to their former home. The little mission party left at Kailua was obliged to await the decision of the weak, but well disposed young king, Liho-liho (for by law no foreigner could land without permission), who yielded easily to the persuasions of the grand old dowager Kaahumanu and of his own equally

noble wife, and so without opposition these first Christian teachers raised their standard upon the shore of Hawaii. Hewa-Hewa, the high-priest of the old faith, and very near the throne, had long seen the folly of idolatry, and said, "There is but one great God dwelling in the heavens." He had favored the burning of the wooden gods and temples, and when his "brother priests," as he called them, arrived, he gave them a fraternal welcome, and in a few months embraced the Christian faith.

To counteract these influences the vicious whites in the train of the king suggested that he might have to give up some of his wives and other indulgences, and advised him but without effect, to expel all Americans from his kingdom. Here began the bitter and never-ending attack upon missionaries by foreigners whose lusts rather than profits would be checked by missionary influence. Blind to the fact that Christianity would be the best possible conservator of their fortunes, they, not without honorable exceptions, flung their hatred and jeers at the men whom the savages welcomed to their shores as the bearers of the gospel of life and immortality. The record stands as evidence to the fact that those whose lives have been spent in darkness, respond to the light far more readily than those who have rejected it. The hardest mission work is at our own doors, hard because it often lacks the cheer and enthusiasm found in foreign mission fields, where frequently life, in spite of its terrible strain, is full of inspiration.

The chiefs at first claimed a monopoly of education, and the Hawaiian court became a primary school of infant giants. Churches sprang up at the bidding of the rulers, and were filled with listeners. The first pupil to pass the first public examination was Queen Kaahumanu, who stood up majestically and spelled from her primer. Then Kalanimoku, Kapiolani, and other nobles joined the Christian church. Conversion worked wonders in their lives, changing *hauteur* and pride into kindness and humility, and their faces fairly shone with the new light. Within two years two thousand people had learned to read, and fifty were fitted to give primary lessons, for the missionaries, first work was to create a written language. The Sabbath was generally respected, vice was restrained and a healthy moral

influence brought to confront the wide-spread corruption. The young king was in school during part of every day, but much of his time was spent with dissolute whites along with his chiefs, who, having been successful in the sandal-wood and other trade, had plenty of money. But, as the cutting down of the young trees brought these men near the end of their resources, they became reckless, drank deeply, spent their money wildly, were thoroughly demoralized, and with their king at length forsook the Christian teachers. The people had from all time followed their rulers, in war, in peace, in righteousness, or in dissipation; and now a double example was before them. Foreigners denounced the influence of missionaries, and sought to establish their own power by playing upon the lowest passions of the natives; and Christianity diminished as rapidly as it had spread among these unstable people.

Just at this time Kamehameha II. (Liho-liho) decided to visit England with a small suite, partly for national purposes. He left Kaahumanu dowager as regent and never returned. English hospitality proved too much for him, and he, with others of his suite, died in a foreign land.

The Queen regent continued to rule during the minority of Kamehameha III. A youth named Kauikeouli, supported by other chiefs, led the people back from the license and misrule, of which they themselves were weary, to the safer guidance of the missionaries. The descent was led by rulers corrupted by men from Christian countries: the ascent was, under missionary influence, led by chiefs like Kalanimoku and women like Kaahumanu, Kapiolani and others, equal in nobility to the women of any age. I know nothing finer of its kind than the story of Kapiolani's grand defiance of the goddess Pele, the terrible ruler of the volcano Kilauea, whose native worshipers had never dared to turn away from her. The brave queen declared her intention of descending alone into the crater, in order to prove to her people the folly of their faith; and, in spite of their persuasions and threats of vengeance awaiting her, she accomplished her purpose, singing, as she went to face the wrath of the goddess, a Christian song, and returned unharmed a living witness against the false gods, from whose sway she had herself so lately escaped.

Foreign opposition to missionary work culminated in the demand of Lieutenant Percival, U. S. N., commanding the "Dolphin," that the native women whom the chiefs had forbidden to go on board foreign vessels, should have the freedom of the ships in port. Aided by his guns and his marines he had a brief success; but Commodore Jones, arriving in the war-sloop "Peacock," investigated the case and reproved his subordinate, who was afterwards court-martialed for his conduct. Commodore Jones, sailing from island to island, did much for Christ's kingdom and for humanity, and happily the same can be said of more than one U. S. naval officer. Captain Finch, Commodores Shubrick, Stockton, Dupont and others, joined cordially with the missionaries, even preaching in their pulpits; and their names remain to-day as household words in all the old mission families.

Among English naval officers the name of Lord Byron (a cousin of the poet), who commanded the ship in which Liho-liho's remains were brought back from England, is held in affectionate remembrance for his good influence and wise counsels. Most deeply embalmed, however, in the hearts of Hawaiians is the name of Rear-Admiral George Thomas, who, when his subordinate Lord George Paulet in 1842 hoisted on the most absurd pretences the English flag over the islands in the name of King George, sailed to the spot, examined and rescinded the act, and compelled Lord George to restore the flag of the nation he had dishonored, and salute it with his own guns; all of which was duly approved by the British Government. The story of this interesting bit of unwritten history as told by one of its heroes, General Marshall, my associate in the Hampton School, appeared in last September's number of *Harper's Magazine*. So serious an experience was it for the Hawaiian government that July 31st, the day of restoration, was made a national holiday, and Admiral Thomas, whose cool head and sense of honor prevented a most unfortunate complication, is forever held in grateful remembrance.

The French nation had always had an eye on this important group, and in 1837 the first Roman Catholic priests, encouraged by the anti-missionary party, appeared in Honolulu. Backed by the French navy, they had already forced themselves on the

Society and Marquesas Islands, but the Hawaiian authorities objected to them as hostile and exciting influences, and, though their worship was at first permitted, it seemed to the people to be the counterpart of the idolatry which they had just cast away. After a time the priests were excluded from the kingdom by law, and their followers were persecuted with intemperate zeal—a course which, though not unprovoked, was an inexcusable blunder, a stain on the nation, resulting, finally, in the enforced landing and reëstablishment of the priests, under the guns of a French corvette. French rum was also introduced under the same auspices, accompanied by various outrageous demands on the part of the French commander, Captain La Place.

In ten years from the beginning of the mission there were two hundred Protestant schools, and an attendance of ten thousand children, under teachers only a little above their own level: all facing in the right direction, but still far from acknowledging in their daily lives anything like a fixed standard of morality, such acknowledgment, indeed, being made almost impossible by the surrounding conditions.

The young King Kamehameha III. was, meanwhile, the point about which raged perpetual battles for ascendency between sycophants and Puritan teachers. The regent Kaahumanu and other chiefs had established the Bible as the basis of law, and, so far as law and example could do it, the vices of the people were held in check. But a band of foreigners, led by the English consul, finally obtained complete control of the king, who, steeped in every form of self-indulgence, had, in 1834, proclaimed himself autocrat, and, assuming full powers, set aside the laws of the land, both by personal example and formal action. A moral revolution followed; schools were deserted; churches were abandoned; the wildest orgies inaugurated; right-minded chiefs hardly dared show themselves, and the missionaries were threatened with expulsion.

At this crisis the whole face of affairs was changed by one of the dramatic revulsions common in Hawaiian history. In the presence of a vast concourse, called together to witness King Kauikeouli renounce the good Kaahamanu as premier of the kingdom, and substitute for her a more pliant queen, thus

ensuring a reign of license, the dissipated monarch electrified the assemby by turning to the premier and confirming her in office. From that moment he took a stand on the side of righteousness, which he never abandoned. The discarded laws were reëstablished, and the struggle of opposing influences was over. External order and morality, at least, have been upheld ever since.

The manliness, dignity, and wisdom that characterized the Hawaiian rulers in all their dealings with the representatives of foreign powers in the early days, before recognition, were worthy of the Romans. While attempting no unavailing resistance to the war-ships, which they knew could annihilate them, they did not for a moment cower or fear to speak their convictions; they were like the Indians, who have been conquered but never subdued.

In the year 1843 the King voluntarily surrendered his absolute power, and granted written laws and constitutional freedom to his people, who had never dreamed of such things. What other races have had to struggle for this monarch gave before it was demanded. Power was as sweet to him as to other men, but he had a clear head and a kind heart. Judges were appointed, a popular vote was cast, and a legislature was organized; life and property were as secure, and justice as sound as in Massachusetts; and it is only fair to call this the fruition of the seed sown by American missionaries. In the same year England and France recognized and mutually guaranteed the independence of the Islands, a pledge still binding and perhaps worth remembering.

In the following year the United States took similar action, and from that time till now American sentiment has been expressed in the words of Daniel Webster to a Hawaiian diplomat, "If England takes those islands, we'll make a fuss about it."

The result of the King's noble action was, in 1847, the grand "*mahele*" or division, which broadly stated was this, "The King reserved his own private lands as his individual property; one-third of the remaining lands was set aside as the property of the Hawaiian Government, one-third to the chiefs in proportion to their possessions, to have and to hold forever; and the re-

maining third to the tenants, the actual cultivators of the soil, to have and to hold forever."

In addition to this, Kamehameha, realizing how necessary it was that there should be a public domain, the proceeds of which should go to the national treasury, and from which his subjects could purchase the lands they needed, "proceeded to set apart for the use of the government the larger part of his own royal domain, reserving to himself what he deemed a reasonable amount of land for his own estate. By this great act, Kamehameha III. showed his sympathy with his people, and set an illustrious example of liberality and public spirit. The whole transaction was a severe test of patriotism, reflecting great credit also on the Hawaiian aristocracy, which thus peacefully gave up a portion of its hereditary rights and privileges for the good of the nation,"—a direct result of Christian teaching.

Desiring additional knowledge as to their duties under the new form of government, the chiefs, in 1835, sent to the United States for a teacher of Political Economy. Failing in this, they employed the Reverend William Richards, who gave up his strictly missionary work in order to lecture before the aristocracy on the science of government and the duties of public officers; he also officiated as royal chaplain. The result of the combined influences was an excellent constitution and code of laws. Education in the mechanical arts and agriculture were encouraged by special legislation; but in 1845 a combined application of the government and missionaries to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for a carpenter, mason, tailor, and shoemaker, was refused as beyond their means, and not of vital importance. This action was fatally unwise. A reverse policy could hardly have averted their final extinction, but would have, as I believe, created a needed physical and moral strength, together with the conditions of better living, and none the less of religious life. From 1820 to 1854 there were sent to the Hawaiian field forty clerical missionaries, six physicians, twenty lay teachers, four of whom were printers, and eighty-three women, most of them wives of the members of the mission. The people learned what they were taught, viz., Christian doctrine and duty, and incidentally, of course, much about practical life. But while industry and thrift generally were encouraged, the practical object-lessons which are as important as preaching were furnished in a meagre way. What was done in this direction was chiefly the work of the women, who by visiting the natives in their thatched huts and gathering them together in sewing classes, taught them the use of the needle and other civilized arts. A reinforcement of mechanics to train and harden the soft Hawaiian hand, to establish industrious habits, and thus to supply a stamina which the native character lacked, would have been wise missionary work even had it necessitated decreasing the number of clerical teachers. It was a matter of critical importance. The redeeming effort at the Islands was in the manual labor schools for boys at Lahaina, Waimea, and Hilo. The former, however, was partially abandoned on its practical side when it became a government school and took up advanced studies, educating some of the worst and best men in the kingdom. The school at Lahaina has been a warning against a too exclusively mental culture of a soft and pliant race, the one at Hilo an illustration of an equilibrium of mental, moral and industrial force.

These schools, over which my father as Minister of Education had for fifteen years a general oversight, suggested the plan of the Hampton School. The negro and the Polynesian have many striking similarities. Of both it is true that not mere ignorance, but deficiency of character is the chief difficulty, and that to build up character is the true objective point in education. It is also true that in all men education is conditioned not alone on an enlightened head and a changed heart, but very largely on a routine of industrious habit, which is to character what the foundation is to the pyramid. The summit should glow with a Divine light, interfusing and qualifying the whole mass; but it should never be forgotten that it is only upon a foundation of regular daily activities that there can be any fine and permanent up-building. Morality and industry generally go together. Especially in the weak tropical races, idleness, like ignorance, breeds vice. The best of sermons and schools amount to little when hearers and pupils are thriftless, live from hand to mouth, and are packed at night either in savage huts or in dirty tenement houses. Morality, though founded in spiritual life, de-

pends very much upon outward and social conditions; and, if man is to work out his own salvation, he must learn how to work. Granted that character in its highest sense is the objective point, then mission work evidently should be organized with reference to supplying the conditions under which morality and the creation of character are feasible. Practical men, if possible, should go with preachers to study, and in some measure to develop, local resources of labor, of land, or of production, thus creating industries, occupation, and the conditions of Christian living. The right men can do much in this way with little capital other than their own brains. The man is half the battle. "Progress through self-help," is the motto of our best missionaries to-day; but ability to carry out the principle is rare. What is impossible with one is possible to another. Seldom will a man of mere theoretical education appreciate the power of seemingly destitute savage people to help themselves. They can do more than he thinks. The reaction of self-help upon character is the best result of it. The English missionaries in Madagascar seem to have worked on the right principle, leading those people primarily in their industrial life. Labor as a moral force, is not yet fully recognized in the missionary field.

Where the work is *parental*, as among the childish Polynesians, Africans, and Indians, as distinct from *controversial* among Mohammedans and Chinese, the people accept missionaries as superior beings and become even more religious than those who inherit Christian ideas, in so far as religion consists in the outward expression of rites and ceremonies. Their language is rich in words of reverence and adoration; it makes prayer easy; and, on the spiritual side, their lives flower out without effort and with a grace and beauty wholly their own. Mentally, too, they are far from stagnant. But of true morality they have little or none, because they do not possess its conditions, which require self-control rather than pure devotional life. In our own highest civilization morality is common, but spirituality is rare.

But the Hawaiian missionary was sent to proclaim the gospel, to convert the heathen. Conversion is, indeed, the starting-point of a better life: it is to character what the seed is to the ripe fruit. The choice of God's service is the initial step: the goal is the rounded, perfect, Christian life. To take the step requires

the decision, possibly, of a moment: to reach the goal is the struggle of a lifetime. Viewed thus, one understands that it is not the planting of the seed that costs, but the wise and vigilant care of the growing crop. Much of the missionary work of the world has been a patient, unselfish sowing of seed, which, taking root at first, has in its early frail growth been choked by the vicious weeds about it.

The Hawaiians, who stand as a type, soon learned to read the Bible and to pray to God; yet in two entire generations they have not escaped from the surroundings and the habits that make virtue impossible. That, in the second stage of work on the Islands, certain mistakes were made, seems evident. For example, until the year 1855 the native girls were comparatively neglected. The few boarding-schools established for them amounted to little. The sexes were not educated together, on moral grounds.

On this point the testimony from Northern teachers of the negro race has a direct bearing. Contrary to the strongest convictions in the South, Northern teachers have been able, in the leading institutions for those who lately were slaves (whose weakness is on the moral side), to bring the sexes together most successfully during the past fifteen years. The plan is equally good with Indians, and I believe for all people in the early, if not in every stage, of progress. The way to strengthen the weak is constantly to test them under favorable conditions. To change low ideas of their mutual relations into higher ones they must be trained, not in the abstract, but in the concrete. Separation will not teach practical wisdom in future intercourse, any more than by being kept out of the water can a boy be taught to swim. If it be granted that the sexes of a race cannot on moral grounds, with good management, be educated together, then that race had better be given up—it is doomed to immorality. When I was in the Hawaiian Islands in 1880 I found no one who believed in such coeducation, though the other plan was a failure on the side of morality. To-day there is hardly a ray of hope for the Hawaiian woman. In spite of African degradation and the loose morals of slave life, many of the colored girls of the Southern States, trained by the side of their black brothers, have in and after school made a record of noble stead-

fastness. Separate schooling would I believe have left them far weaker, and less able to protect themselves. Stronger teachers and more expensive buildings are required for mixed schools; but if a race is to be saved it is by creating the unit of Christian civilization, the family, and that is only possible when equal chances are given to both sexes, and they find each other out in the contact of school life.

Our experience at Hampton forces us to consider carefully the future relations of the young men and women whom we are training, and we are more and more convinced of the power of virtuous family life. It promises, in the future, to be the cornerstone of our work for both races.

Since the year 1855 the Hawaiian mission has given more attention, with liberal assistance from the government, to female education; but always in separate schools, and with no encouraging results. The mistake is irretrievable.

The acquirement of the English language by the negro is a wonderful help to his elevation. So the best Hawaiian families are those who have dropped the vernacular and speak English. Savage dialects are a part of a low, sensuous life, that must be forsaken together with its other belongings. English is a tonic for both mind and soul.

I would draw attention to the now almost universal experience of the disappointing results of attempting the higher education of uncivilized races as a part of mission work. The reasons for this seem evident enough. The sharp brain of the savage easily outstrips his sluggish moral nature. With him mental attainment is merely a matter of ready memory and of usually congenial effort. Moral strength is the result of long and patient struggle. The mental food which is given him creates a sense of power, over which his blunt sense of obligation has little control. "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers," and especially is this true of the races which lie directly in the path of progress, and are the prey of the advance-guard of traders and adventurers. Every power but that of self-control is stimulated. In some quiet eddies of the great world-current, as in British America and parts of Oceanica, where only good influences have entered, there are undisturbed fields for simple Christian teaching, where God's word entering the heart works

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out into well-ordered righteous living; but liquor and licentiousness have spared a very small part of humanity.

Education of the heathen, and of all backward races, must be of the head, the hands, and the heart, a judicious proportion being alway maintained. This is our relation to the negro, though we bid him God-speed in every endeavor for the highest culture. The majority of thinking people will admit that we of the civilized races do not need so much what we are getting as this training of the whole life, for lack of which our average types of manhood and womanhood are weakened and point to no very hopeful future. One can well believe the truth of what is said of some sections of Europe, viz., that in their thrift and prosperity they still show the influence of their early monastic teachers, who were laborers and leaders among them in all practical arts.

In making a *résumé* of Hawaiian history, I find that it divides itself into three periods of thirty years each, as follows:

1. From 1790 to 1820, the generation preceding the mission, a time of mental activity and material progress, and the beginning of the nation's physical decay, all due to the presence of foreign discoverers and traders.

2. From 1820 to 1850, in which the people embraced the Christian faith, and civilized institutions were established through the efforts of American missionaries, working against tremendous obstacles. During this period, and even before, the harbors of Hawaii were the annual rendezvous of from fifty to three hundred and fifty whale-ships, the crews of which, during weeks of refitting between voyages, were paid off, and while indulging themselves almost without restraint, made the fortunes of the merchants and ruined the natives.

3. From 1850 to the present time. These years, all of which come within my own personal knowledge, present a curious record. The line of ancient chiefs has become extinct, the people have become indifferent to religious duties, being anxious to assert their political power, and the influence of the missionaries has greatly decreased, especially since 1875. Great commercial prosperity exists, due to the treaty with the United States, and to the increase of the sugar crop from 10,000 to 60,000 tons a year. The five thousand male Chinese adults of 1870 have

increased to twenty thousand in 1883, creating a serious disproportion of sexes, resulting in polyandry and in rapid demoralization. Another element has been added in the presence of some thousands of Portuguese and other Europeans, besides many Malays. The decrease of morality has kept pace with the increase of wealth. Leprosy has made terrible progress, affecting at least ten per cent. of the native population, whose death-rate has gained alarmingly on the birth-rate. A strong race-feeling has sprung up; and to-day the Hawaiians as a people are *anti-haole* (opposed to foreigners) especially to Americans, not because Americans, but because Americans are the strongest. There are but few natives of any strength left. This last period is preëminently one of decay, offering much food for thought, especially to those who are interested in mission work for like races in other parts of the world.

The Missionary Period.

To us who were born under the palm-trees of Hawaii, and whose earliest and closest associations are with the work which our parents initiated, it is around that work that the chief interest of Hawaiian history centres. That which I designate as the "missionary period" includes certain developments worthy of consideration, and mistakes full of suggestion.

While progress was from the first remarkable, there was constant unsteadiness among the people, corresponding always to the action of the chiefs, who stood between two influences, wavering weakly between good and bad. In the year 1834, as has been stated, the young King Kamehameha III took a public and dramatic stand in favor of Christianity; but, in spite of this, his life and that of his successor, furnished examples which have always justified, rather than condemned, the moral relapse of the natives.

About 1837 there occurred at the Islands one of the greatest religious revivals of modern times, which continued for several years. Sixteen thousand natives were enrolled in the churches, and the well-known Father Coan of Hilo baptized seventeen hundred in one day. But the missionaries, knowing the people, were on their guard, were slow to accept mere professions, and endeavored thoroughly to test their converts. Natives camped

by thousands near the churches in order to hear the gospel, and built huge houses of worship, dragging timber from the mountains by hand, and diving fathoms deep into the sea for coral to make into mortar. Long before 1850 a church was in sight from every hamlet, the Bible was in every hut, and the people were giving more to religious charities, according to their means, than any people in Christendom. There were over 10,000,000 of printed pages in their own language, mostly educational matter, and in 1843 eighteen thousand children attended school. This was the maximum. There were all the outward signs of a nation of steady habits; but the energy of the whites was behind and sustained it all; the people were passive, plastic, practically infants. Of the white men's signatures on the public papers of that day one-half was made by marks, while only one native failed to write his own name. In reading and writing the natives were the equals of the average New Englander; but, being made of very unequal stuff, the growth was not from within outwards. The two races were, in effect, two thousand years apart in real civilization.

The Hawaiians in their little Pacific Paradise were like Adam and Eve in Eden without hardship, and it is a question whether humanity can develop well under paradisaical conditions. They accepted civilization, but did not adopt it: they did not know what it meant. Take, for instance, the use of clothing. In warm, sunny weather they dressed richly for display, and in rainy weather wore next to nothing, which resulted naturally in an increase of colds and fevers. The Kanaka on Sundays wore a broadcloth coat, and on work days a breech clout; the woman was arrayed perhaps in a satin dress, hanging from her shoulders, which she probably valued as much as her character. They had little idea of the fitness of things. Yet they had reached an important stage—they were humanized.

This being in brief the state of affairs, the American Board of Missions in Boston in 1848 adopted the conclusion that the Islands had been virtually Christianized, that the nature of the work had therefore changed essentially, and that what was needed was pastors rather than missionaries. It was asserted that proper materials for pastors could be found among the many thousands who had been called by the Holy Spirit in the

churches. In reply, the Hawaiian missionaries urged the instability and moral weakness of even their best converts; but they were finally overruled, and in 1863, in connection with the visit of Reverend Dr. Rufus Anderson (Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) to the Islands, independent native pastors were appointed as the equals of the missionaries in rank and councils. The missionaries accepted the change with deep misgivings, and in 1880 told me that they regarded it as a serious mistake.

The Roman Catholics, who hold at least one-third of the native population, have to this day maintained a strong foreign priest-hood, never having received a single native as their peer, though they have used them in a subordinate capacity with success. Business men told me that while they put much responsibility upon native Hawaiians, they never gave them control. It is significant that of the six hundred business houses in Honolulu not one is conducted by a native, while two hundred are controlled by Chinese.

White men are as necessary in Government administration to-day as they were thirty years ago, and by no means all the native clergy can be trusted with the church collections, or are above reproach otherwise.

The Hawaiian mission was professedly an experiment; and when, in 1835, it was decided that an extraordinary force of both men and women should be sent there, it was in the hope, "That, should it be found possible to complete the work in the space of one or two generations, these Islands would become a glorious exemplification and proof of the power of the gospel in missions for the encouragement of the church of God in its efforts for the conversion of the world." At the religious convocation of 1863 Dr. Anderson said, "The mission, having through the blessing of God, accomplished the work specially appropriate to it as a mission, has been as such disbanded and merged in the community." Control of the churches was given to the ecclesiastical bodies of which a majority were Hawaiian. The veterans were to depend for their influence solely on their age, experience, and superior attainments. No official power was left them except a certain control over the grants to the native churches.

I believe that while a democratic form of church organization is natural and fitting for highly civilized people, it is of doubtful value among weak Polynesians, and the like. Fitness to control is rather a question of the state of society than of the individual; an intelligent public sentiment in a race, is its best qualification to take the helm in any department of economic, political or social life. It has become a matter of experience, in my opinion, that in guiding a race through the process of development everything should be given it but the helm. Self-help and self-control should be taught from the first: entire control should be given only at the last. The action of the American Board must, in the light of results, be put down as a mistake as to facts and an error in judgment. But, on the other hand, the missionaries have undeniably the right to claim that in 1863, and even long before, they had accomplished that which in 1820 was their professed object: they, "had converted the Islands to Christianity, established gospel institutions, and prepared the ground for the native pastors." In thirty years they had received into church membership fifty thousand souls, of whom twenty thousand had died, while eight thousand had been excommunicated; and the Hawaiians, judged by the standard of church attendance, Sunday schools, education, etc., were a Christian people. The distance between this condition and the era of heathen temples, bloody altars, universal crime and darkness, is as great as that accomplished by any race in the same time. I believe this progress to be unparalleled in history, but as a matter of fact the nation was still far from Christian civilization.

But this admission again only forces us closer to the conclusion that granting the Hawaiian mission to have been successful in its appointed object, viz., "The preaching of Christ," then, under modern conditions, in mission work which is to be progressive and permanent, something more than preaching is needed,—something which under ancient conditions was less imperative. The world has changed; there are new factors in the problem; we meet with difficulties that did not exist in the days of the Apostles. The work which I criticize is as near me as my own, and far more sacred; but I believe in a science of Christian philanthropy as much as of sociology, and the one de-

mands as close a study as the other. While we are, perhaps, wiser now in these things than our fathers were fifty years ago, yet we know little, and we need all the lessons within our reach. Both in its success and failure the Hawaiian mission has something to teach us, and an honest survey of the ground will possibly show us what that is.

In the year 1851 I accompanied my father, who was then Minister of Public Instruction, in the Hawaiian Cabinet, on a tour of inspection of all the schools on the Islands: we were most of the time guests of the natives. With rare exceptions we found them living in thatched huts as of old, cooking and eating their food as their ancestors had done, wearing clothes when convenient (but with no strong opinions on the subject of garments), while the entire family, as well as the stranger within their gates, slept in one room, with occasionally a curtain across the raised end. In every hut there was a Bible, and family prayers were offered. Yet pleasure seekers saw and reported another side: not that the natives were altogether hypocrites, but that hospitality and a desire to please are national traits, and that they easily took the point of view of their guests. They had then, and to this day they have, no family name. It was my father's last public effort in 1860 to create this basis of family union; but the families were, and still are, simply flocks held only by nature's ties. Morality was required by the churches, was preached in season and out of season, was punished by frequent excommunication, and enforced by the laws; but the conditions of it did not exist in their surroundings or in the indolent routine of their lives. As I look back upon all this, I realize how far behind them they had left the old life of cruelty, crime, and shamelessness; I also realize how far they were from the standard which had been set before them; and I know that from that day to this, the tide has been gradually setting back, the process of decay steady.

Could anything have checked it? Where was the mistake, the point of failure? What was possible to these indolent, happy Island children, placed by Providence as heirs of the kindliest soil and climate on earth? Nordhoff says truly, that no effort can make these heathens into Puritans. Bishop Pattison demonstrated the uselessnes of attempting to make

English Christians of the Melanesians, believing that character was not an absolute result but the best that the conditions would permit. Is it not true, that it is not daily victory which we should expect, but daily struggle? A convert from barbarism may neither be strictly truthful, nor honest, nor virtuous, and yet he may be a Christian. He tries to do better, asks God for help, and, with occasional relapses, works slowly along to better things. The best man is he who makes the best fight. Does it not then seem evident that the highest success of mission work will be in proportion to the possibility of providing the conditions which are necessary to the growth of individual character; which help each man to stand, and, if he falls, to rise again? The object of Christian missions assuredly is the formation of character, the inspiring of men permanently with higher views of duty and a stronger sense of truth, —an ethical product rather than emotional piety. The inspiration of the work lies simply in the constraining love of Christ and of men, and is above creeds; it is simple and direct; it knows no sectarian differences; and it keeps men near God. The men and women who take it up, are sure, through difficulty and darkness, of a mighty consummation at the end, and they work in that consciousness. The ideal missionary of to-day needs to be a linguist, a scholar, an adept in the knowledge of men, an organizer of society, of infinite tact and untiring energy, ready for any emergency, a man in short such as Hamlin was in Constantinople, or Livingstone in Africa. He must not be hampered by directors at home, but must go as an officer in command of a foreign expedition, however stuffed with instructions with full liberty to act in the end as he may think best.

The one great lesson of the Hawaiian mission is, I believe, that we must more and more recognize the value and the necessity of practical training of the whole life. In the whole of the movement under discussion there was too little of this; and not enough practical recognition of the fact, that great movements begin with the individual, that religious results however brilliant for the moment cannot be permanent unless there is coincident with them a high individual type. Self-reliance and decent living must not only be preached, but pushed upon the convert, whose well-ordered life should be a daily lesson. There was

no formal union of church and state in Hawaii, but practically there was a similar result. The faith went from the chiefs to the people, among whom there was little deep conviction. They were swept as by a current, or rather rose and fell as upon vast tidal waves. This was possibly *the* misfortune of the mission; its mistake lay in giving no lack of exhortation, but far too little of that practical training in every-day living, which alone can make an uncivilized people into Christians, in whom is to be found steadfastness and a capacity for progress, in whom Christianity has literally "leavened the lump."

The methods by which this may be accomplished cannot be discussed here; but the splendid work done of late years in the African field, in India, China and Japan, and in our own land, shows that the tendency of modern educational thought and of missions is strongly in the direction of better man-building. We have learned how to make money, but not how to make men. Everywhere Christianity is hopefully struggling with idolatry, and the semi-heathen faiths, and with the worst degradation of all, that of corrupt civilization. Its ideas must conquer, for they alone meet the needs of all men; but the life which it demands must always be slow of growth. A maxim of mission work might well be, "Ideas take root in a moment, habits only in generations."

The Period of Decay.

While in the division of my subject I speak of the "period of decay," and date it from the year 1850, when the causes at work came as it were to the surface, it is true that the decrease of the native population began much earlier. In 1820 they numbered probably about eighty-five thousand, in 1850 sixty-five thousand, at the present day forty-three thousand, the rate of decrease being now more rapid than ever, at least one thousand a year. Following King Liho-liho and Kamehameha IV., were his brother Lot, William Lunalilo, and Kalakaua, all since 1850, over whom the missionaries had little influence, and unscrupulous men a great deal. The first two were of high rank and ability, and received much of the ancient reverence given to kings. The last two were elected by the legislature; and Lot having waived his right to name a successor, Lunalilo was

chosen by acclamation. This popular young king was talented, but was his own worst enemy, and soon died from drink. Kalakaua's election in 1874 was due to the manipulation of the legislative electors by Americans, who feared the very popular Queen Emma, dowager of Kamehameha IV., because of her English proclivities.

King Kalakaua has now at the head of his government an ex-Mormon priest, a talented unscrupulous man, whom no one trusts or respects, holding his position entirely through his ability to handle the weak and conceited monarch, who though amiable and intelligent is utterly without executive capacity or wisdom, and is esteemed by none. The eight thousand Hawaiian voters have to-day their own way with the six hundred white voters, whose representatives until lately have always led their councils. Though now wholly set aside, the missionary and decent element is awaiting the logic of events. The last legislature, having repealed the act prohibiting the sale of liquor to natives, intemperance is increasing frightfully. The people are eaten up with syphilis in its secondary stage; about fifteen hundred are lepers, and as many more have the taint of it.

Yet the Hawaiians are working harder than ever before; their labor is the best to be had, and is in steady demand at good prices with fair treatment on the sugar plantations. But plantation life is not wholesome for them, certainly not promoting domesticity, and it removes them from the influences which they especially need. Hawaiian slavery, at one time so extensively advertised in this country, is an absurd invention. There have no doubt been individual cases of injustice, but the higher courts are in good hands, and the local judges and juries are not in the planter's interest, so that even the Chinamen have got beyond the "knock-down period," and go to the law for redress. In the scarcity of labor the working class has the advantage, and when in 1880 I visited nearly all the plantations, I found the employees as a rule very gently handled. The better class of natives in both town and country appear exceedingly well, and are still the light-hearted attractive people of old, dancing gaily to their doom, careless of fate, always smiling. In graceful costumes, decked with wreaths, mounted on gar-

landed horses, they ride like centaurs, creations of air and sunshine, knowing no future. One thinks of them in their gay childishness and wonders if they were ever meant to be "a people of steady habits." Have they reached the condition which Mr. Charles Loring Brace believes is a possible one? "There comes a period," he says, "in the history of the decadence of a race, when its moral condition seems to be beyond the reach of any system of morality, or of the purest religion."

The darkest shadow, cast across the future of the Islands, comes from the presence of the Chinese. As already stated, their twenty thousand male adults have increased the majority of men over women to over twenty thousand, in a total of sixty-seven thousand souls,—a terrible disparity of the sexes which in itself is fatal to morality. A people able to defeat Americans on their own ground, can easily overcome the yielding Hawaiian: its influence is already everywhere felt. A Chinaman, with a jug of gin, hires himself cheaply to a native, learns his business, gets him through liquor into debt, and in two years owns the homestead, hiring his former employer by the day. A few of them marry good native women, and are bringing up an excellent class of children, an improvement on the aborigines. But there are several hundred Chinese Christians in the Islands, and an earnest effort has commenced which, under God, may lead to a glorious result. It is a sign of hope: this mission to the Chinese in Hawaii is now the most important work there. The real Chinese question everywhere is not one of money but of morals; they add fifty millions of dollars a year to the wealth of California; they are steadily enriching the Islands; but what of their moral effect? Outnumbering already in Hawaii the male population of all other nationalities, there is nothing to check their increase of power or to keep them from claiming the suffrage. Peaceful, money-loving, industrious, they have no fear of competition from any quarter; and they are not ignorant of the power which is steadily drifting into their hands. Nearly all are armed. "The Chinese monster is turning in its bed," said President Garfield. China's armies are receiving European equipment and drill. Sailors are being trained for her on every Oriental steamship, and skilled officers can be hired to command the navy which she is buying in the best European ship yards.

The Hon. William H. Seward once said, "The Pacific Ocean is destined to become the theatre of the world's greatest events." When ships shall cross the Isthmus of Darien, and trade shall spread her navies over the surface of this great sea, the commercial nations will be anxious for its control. China may then be felt slowly assuming with her vast resources the place she shall choose to take.

The Hawaiian Islands are the most important strategic point in the Pacific, and the logic of events is pushing them under Asiatic influence. Eastern and Western civilization have met there, the one with numbers, the other with wealth and ideas. Once more Pagan worship appears on their shores, and there is no prophet to tell us what the end may be. In this conflict the Hawaiian hardly counts.

Civilization is represented by a highly intelligent class of Americans, English, Germans, and other Europeans, numbering about twenty-five hundred (with a handful of natives), not all exemplary in their manner of living, but making a refined society in which there is a remarkable proportion of college-bred men and cultivated women. The preponderating influence is that represented by the descendants of missionaries, who, though they now hold few government positions, are active in business and in the professions. They appreciate the natives and are their true friends. This legacy of the fathers is a noble contribution to Hawaiian civilization, the nucleus of the forces forming the hope of the Islands. One of them is the Chancellor of the kingdom, the Supreme Court being the last stronghold of decency in the government, though it has been seriously weakened by late legislation restricting its power over the inferior judges.

The Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, which admits to this country Hawaiian sugar free of duty, has strongly stimulated production, and money has become plenty and living high. Business is active, but is not altogether on a sound basis, for the present prosperity depends upon the continuance of the Treaty, which may expire within a year. Its abrogation would cause the collapse of probably one-half the plantations; many of the better class would leave the kingdom; and a desperate effort would be made for a favorable English or other alliance. The Chinese, who can live where other men starve, would then

be sure of their future on the sugar plantations, as they already are in rice growing, which they have widely introduced on the homesteads they have won from the natives. The financial argument for the Treaty may be disputed—the political one cannot be, for on it depends not only the fate of Hawaiian civilization, but of the vast and growing interests of this country in the Pacific Ocean. The risk to us is that we may not as a nation see our need of these Islands until it is too late.

The summing up of Hawaiian history as it presents itself to-day is, that from the reign of Kamehameha the Great to that of Kalakaua there has been a swift adoption of the externals of civilization, hand in hand with a steady physical decay, and a promising but suddenly arrested moral development.

To speak of the results of the mission work in the Islands, or of its future, is by no means so easy. If Hawaii had remained only a trading-port or whaling-station the native population would, with few exceptions, have ere this been swept away by the torrent of vice let loose upon them. As it is tens of thousands have lived in the light, and died in the faith, true disciples according to their strength, and if not victors, yet to be counted as honestly enlisted in Christ's service.

The veteran missionaries in this work are asking of late years, "Is it true that the success so widely heralded to the world is, after all, a failure?" One hesitates to reply to a question involving so much, but surely it is true that there is growth in mission work only as it shall accept candid criticism, study the science and the philosophy of the life it deals with, consider heredity, development, and environment, and not expect morality and character under conditions in which they would be impossible for one of our race. When Bishop Pattison, the model missionary, said, "The second stage of mission work is the most difficult," he knew whereof he spake. The first is mainly upon the heart, the second is more directly upon the life of converts, who are more or less puffed up by mere knowledge, are headstrong, unconscious of their weakness, and test the tact of their teachers far more severely than they did in their original ignorance and simplicity. It demands the uplifting of the whole man by God's grace, and by every means that human wisdom suggests, and then by protecting him from the harm he would

do himself, until he is thoroughly established in well-doing, which must be a matter of time and habit. I believe that whatever it may have been in the past, the present system of the American Board of Foreign Missions, and of all other progressive associations, tends to coincidence with the views of this paper.

As I leave my subject I have only to refer to one success of the Hawaiian Mission in the few really strong and fine individuals whom it has produced, who have never hesitated to make the sacrifices for others which their teachers, as they fully recognized, had made for them. When a company of native Hawaiian missionaries, which for some years had been stationed at the Marquesas Islands, was sent for to return, because salaries could no longer be paid, its members elected to stay and support themselves by hard labor, rather than leave a savage people whom they had learned to love. One of them, Kekela, offered his own person as a hostage to a hostile tribe for the life of an American seaman whom they had captured. The tribe finally accepted other ransom, and President Lincoln, hearing the story, sent to the missionary a watch, with some expression of his respect for the act. The teacher's reply was that, 'White men had saved his soul, and he could well afford to give them his body.' Hawaiian Christian missionaries, supported from home, have worked long and faithfully in the Mortlock Islands, close to the shore of Asia, and in Micronesia and the Gilbert and Marshall Groups. Some, indeed, have sadly failed: they have done best under the supervision of white men.

The same men left in Hawaii as independent pastors might have yielded to the temptations about them; but under the stimulus of the self-denying life they have chosen, like those who burned their ships, they have lived nobly for God and man.

This soft and gentle race, full of generous impulses, equally receptive of good or bad teaching, and unfit to meet the strong advance of Anglo-Saxon civilization, is yet, in its blind descent to decay, scattering the seeds of Christian life, received by it from distant lands, among its wilder brethren. And may it not be that the torch lit in Hawaii shall shine across the islands of Polynesia even to the far shores of the Pacific Sea?

[TRANSLATION.]

A REPLY

TO THE

Ministerial Utterances.

By Robert Hoapili Baker

[TRANSLATION.]

A REPLY

TO THE

MINISTERIAL UTTERANCES.

It may appear strange that my absolute silence for the whole of last month, which may be regarded as timidity on my part, for the expression of an opinion or a want of a material support from the laudations received from the press, and in aid of the above ministerial demonstration of its purpose, it would be well for the public to know whether their public official utterances were in unison with their action in council. But their silence in this matter only tends to prove their inability to convince us; and such being the case, it surely cannot be regarded as an answer, unless by a distinct avowal on the part of the Ministry as a whole plainly and decidedly affirming that their action has had the sanction and approval of a superior authority, before any credence can be given to their official utterances.

It would be well for me on this occasion to acknowledge a gracious act on the part of

ERRATTA.

Page 1—Second column, 19th line, for "zealousness, authentically," &c., read "zealousness of the press authentically," &c.

Page 6—First column, 26th line, for "presence," read "pressure."

Page 6—First column, 32d line, for "unlike Lucifer," read "like Lucifer."

Page 7—First column, 16th line from bottom, for "charged." read "changed."

Page 8—The third and fourth paragraphs in first column should be quoted; sixth paragraph, omit the quotation at commencement, and insert in first line before the word "lucky."

Page 9—Last column, in table of death rates at Queen's Hospital, omit the figures 66 at foot of percentage column.

Page 10—Second column, 10th line from bottom, quote the words "mean well enough, but he don't know."

Page 13—Second paragraph, 1st line, quote "the climax of absurdity."

and marked by the diligent cyphers of the scribes, and labelled with the inscription of the infallible words, "What did we want to borrow for? to put gold lace and epaulets on a lot of loafers?"

This sarcastic allusion has been carefully omitted and concealed in the last issue of the ministerial address by journalistic cleverness. It is well that it was, for the reflection cannot be very entertaining and pleasing to him should he in some leisure moment recall to his memory the many eventful incidents of the past, when he called himself a bold soldier boy, "with

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It may appear strange that my absolute silence for the whole of last month, which may be regarded as timidity on my part, for the expression of an opinion or a want of confidence, in replying to the attacks of the press upon my colleague and myself previous to and since the late general elections. I would not have taken any notice of the reproaches and sneers which have been cast upon my maifestoes, and would have avoided the controversy had it not been for the re-publication of the two Ministerial addresses and the continual carpings of an ill-disposed and infuriated press, ever eager and ready to misconstrue matters, and showing no disposition to give a fair representation of the truths before the public. The re-publication shows evidence of an inclination to toadyism on the part of the press, to give notoriety to the expressions made by members of the King's Cabinet,, both denouncing in the most emphatic terms the sanction of a proposed loan, its purposes and motives being for the life, health, prosperity and independence of the country.

Their official utterances having obtained a material support from the laudations received from the press, and in aid of the above ministerial demonstration of its purpose, it would be well for the public to know whether their public official utterances were in unison with their action in council. But their silence in this matter only tends to prove their inability to convince us; and such being the case, it surely cannot be regarded as an answer, unless by a distinct avowal on the part of the Ministry as a whole plainly and decidedly affirming that their action has had the sanction and approval of a superior authority, before any credence can be given to their official utterances.

It would be well for me on this occasion to acknowledge a gracious act on the part of the Minister of Finance, who, on the eve preceding the election, at a meeting of the people at the Kaumakapili conventicle building, inasmuch as he having elicited the applause of the assembled multitude by the persuasive power of his remarks, assuming an attitude of erect firmness to give an air of importance to the refined eloquence and expression of his official utterances, he gave vent to an irrepressible expression of bitterness and passion. It were better had it ended there; but indiscretion exceeded his better judgment when he lost his temper. Were it not for the untiring spirit and zealousness, authentically recording every syllable that fell from the lips of the eloquent orator, the words would forever have been lost. His abusive utterances were considered a refinement, and his vituperous expressions received the generous applause of his many adherents. The admiration and enjoyment of the vulgar was complete. But the typographical plates had been preserved and marked by the diligent cyphers of the scribes, and labelled with the inscription of the infallible words, "What did we want to borrow for? to put gold lace and epaulets on a lot of loafers?"

This sarcastic allusion has been carefully omitted and concealed in the last issue of the ministerial address by journalistic cleverness. It is well that it was, for the reflection cannot be very entertaining and pleasing to him should he in some leisure moment recall to his memory the many eventful incidents of the past, when he called himself a bold soldier boy, "with

golden lace and epaulets upon his big broad shoulders, his hands in buckskin gauntlets, the pride of the *then loafers!*"

I refrain, however, from making any further allusion to the matter, and will only say that the profession of this very "lot of loafers" that has been spoken of with so much contempt by the honorable Minister, received the sanction of his vote in the Legislative Assembly of 1874, and has continued to do so to the very last Assembly of the Legislature of the Kingdom. Why he should have so forgotten himself is beyond the comprehension of all who heard him make the utterance.

The ministerial prefatory seems to place himself in a somewhat embarrassing position, fully admitting that he is laboring under the *bans* of two masters, not knowing but that upon the morrow he may be called to render an account of his official stewardship, and recalled from the *elevated position* in which he has been fortunate enough, by the accident of birth, to be placed above his equals, and they below him. Nevertheless, his duties to them required his services in their behalf, to again assume the habiliments suited to the condition of his lower origin, and to place himself again in the ranks of those he once called his own.

Yes! He would reserve his veneration for his monarch on the one hand, and affiliate with the scruples of his equals on the other. He would give his King stone, and bread he would give to the masses. He would cry for the "three-quarter loaf," because forsooth the people's choice has been mine, but would rejoice had his partizan candidate been provided with a seat.

This utter submission to a *quasi* democratic sovereignty is humiliating and disgraceful in the extreme. A most pernicious doctrine to promulgate to an unscrupulous mass, and extremely detrimental and embarrassing to the honor and dignity of the State, and ought not to have been tolerated. In due sensibility to the honor of the Ministry, they ought to have resigned.

But no! There is a sort of indifference among the more sensible of them, and they fail to notice it. Such official utterances cannot be very dignified for the *elevated position* he holds by virtue of his Commission. But since he has condescended to leave the sacred precincts of his official chamber and level himself to the equality of his inferiors, it would not be out of place to ask, in what capacity and by what sense of decency of action and authority he has presumed to ascribe to himself the propriety of the situation in giving force to such official utterances.

Is it an approved form of official toadyism in eliciting applause from the plebian throng, or is it an ovation of official flunkyism to gain favoritism from the penny-a-liners of the press, or was he in his official capacity placed as a chief runner to those who were unfortunate enough to be classed among the vanquished?

The situation cannot be very flattering to his official position. For instead of having merited the honor of a more noble cause, he has naturally exposed himself to an exhibition of a menial weakness and senseless impropriety. With due consideration for the rhetorical eloquence of the two ministerial utterances they have nevertheless exhibited a living embodiment, not exactly of positive contradictions, but an exposition of the element of pessimistic, simple-minded feebleness which characterizes, in a great measure, the predominating influence that invariably prevails, and surely undermines the stability and the continuance of all the conservative administrations that have preceded the present one. There is such a thing as imprudence in statesmanship that distinguishes the acute statesman from his less astute colleagues, which often has been recognized as farsightedness or a special gift of genius, but is nothing more than attentiveness, observation and application.

From the simple fact that, while the conserved is resting and blessed with the idea of contented easiness, the sagacious is constantly studying and applying action and preparation for the future. As illustration, for examples, we need not go very far. To the honorable memory of the late Dr. G. P. Judd, during the reign of Kamehameha III., may be attributed to him a gift of extraordinary foresight. He was a man possessed of admirable traits of character, combined with a remarkable concentration of force and ability, with a determined purpose, of an impressive will, but of modest pretentions—he battled the prejudices of the time with untiring zeal and energy.

And the conquest of his foresight and sagacity was compensated. The building of the first reservoir, the Brewer wharf and market-house; the old Custom House and other puqlic improvements that marked

the career of his administration. These monuments of his energies have been the admiration of the times and the utility for the purposes of the present age.

In the reign of Kamehameha V. the men at the head of the Executive were those possessed of remarkable ability and foresight, and had the manly boldness of confronting the stupidity of the times. With a National Debt of $112,900, they accepted the burden of another one to the amount of nearly $233,056, at a time, too, when the resources of the country were not in as prosperous a condition as at the present time. When the late Dr. Hutchison, the Minister of the Interior, built the Quarentine Establishment at Kohololoa reef, he was laughed at, and was called the "Crazy Doctor;" the expenditure of $7,406.10 was not warranted, such being the remarks in the Assembly of 1870. The small pox and the measles re-appeared; had it not been for the crazy doctor's foresight the calamity and cost to the government would have been added tenfold, without including the lives that would have been lost, had less energy and force been applied. He built the steamer wharf in spite of the jeers and cry of "fool!" It stands there now as a useful material for the facility of commerce.

To the same credit could be attached the name of the present Chief Justice and Chancellor of the Kingdom, the Hon. C. C. Harris, in the same reign, as Minister of Foreign Affairs; his desperate fight in the Assembly of 1872, to convince the insensibility of the opposing members to the fact that the building and the acceptance to issue the bonds of the Hawaiian Hotel and the building of the Aliiolani Hale were improvements necessary. The hostility to the measure was carried so far, and he, too, was called a "fool." The appellation has often been applied as "Harris's folly;" but now, what is it? A commodious asylum for the stranger, traveler and tourist; and the other a convenient utility for government purposes. These improvements are a lasting tribute to the ability of a sagacious and energetic administration.

History can enumerate numbers of instances in other countries which can be brought to bear on the subject, to satisfy the most fastidious. Suffice it to say I may mention one. To the farmer of Vercellis' ability, Count Cavour, when Prime Minister of Piedmont, at the unity of Italy in 1861, and with others that have succeeded him, with an already existing debt to the amount of nearly $500,000,000, contracted new loans adding to the national debt nearly reaching to the amount of $3,332,-332,000, for the promotion of public improvements and for the purpose of developing the resources of the country in opening railways to Genoa, Susa, Savoy and the Lago Maggiore. During Cavour's administration having, in his short career, extended nearly 3000 miles (this has since been extended to 4500 miles) of railways and the opening of commerce with France, England, Belgium and Switzerland. And now for twenty years the increase of national debt has amounted to nearly $2,832,-822,000, an increase of 14.1 per cent in favor and to the credit of ability. Her financiers had a wonderful capacity of keeping the expenditures less by $27,615,725 than the receipts. Yearly showing that amount of surplus to be paid to the interest of her national debt—amounting to nearly $99,969,660—the accumulation of over half a century's indebtedness, and paid on the same principle that governs our national debt.

The amount of surplus going to pay the interest and reduction of the principal on bonds which become due, a sum hardly exceeding the yearly balances. Her indebtedness, though large, still keeps up to the high standard of equivalent to the improvements expended on schools, light-houses, wharves, docks, railways and the recovery of unvaluable lands, and other improvements, together with a large expenditure for naval and military purposes. And now look at the situation where the work of a master-mind, as well as of her succeeding statesmen, have placed her. She has risen to the condition of prosperity, power and respectability, among other nations. This is surely to the credit of shrewd financiering ability. Her statesmen are ever ready to grasp every opportunity to further the interest of the country, and now she stands in a position to be considered one of the first-rate powers in Europe; a living monument to the sagacity and genius of the cadet engineer of Ventiminglias, the pioneer of Italy's greatness, as well as the praise of all Italy's succeeding statesmen.

England's national debt in 1817 reached at one time to the height of $4,204,252,455. By the ability of her statesmen the debt

has been reduced to $3,546,152,965, which gives a balance of $659,099,490 to the credit of the financial abilities of her financiers for the period of sixty-two years.

Had there been no Stanton and McCullough, at the head of affairs of the United States during the Civil War of 1861 to 1865, the Union would have been dissolved. At the end of her Civil War her debt reached to the enormous sum of $2,756,431,570. In 1860, before the war, her national debt amounted to $60,000,000. Since March of 1869 up to 1879 she has paid nearly the sum of $650,000,000. Here, then, is another proof of the financial ability of her statesmen.

France, with her national debt reaching to the unprecedented sum of $4,700,000,000, feels as buoyant to-day as she did before the war with Germany in 1870, when her national debt amounted to nearly $2,000,000,000. France will have a surplus of $900,000 in 1881. Here, then, is another evidence of the financial abilities of he ministers.

Let us now bring the subject home to ourselves, and apply the same rule to our National debt. In 1870 our National debt amounted to $112,900. In 1876 it had reached $459,900 59—leaving a balance to the credit of ability of $846,197.

The management of the National debt and the contracting of another, for the purposes herein first alluded to, of life, health, improvements and the maintenance of the independence of the country, should redound to the credit of the ministerial ability of the present Administration, but the deliberate public acknowledgment of its incapacity to deal with a subject of which the estimation of sagacity should have been exhibited, is utterly ignored. The denial of capacity to deal with the financial operations of the new loan, the duties of details being merely of an auditorial nature, is not only an open confession of incompetency and misapplied confidence, but a scandalous exposition of official mediocrity and weakness.

I here present a table of National debts of foreign countries, comparatively less in area of square miles than the Hawaiian Kingdom:

Countries.	*Sq. Miles.*	*Population.*	*Debt.*	*Receipts.*	*Expenditures.*
Hawaii	7,628	57,985	$ 381,800	$ 1,151,713 45	$ 1,285,251
Wurtemburg	7,531	1,881,505	94,189,045	12,164,630 00	15,607,605
Saxony	5,788	2,760,586	165,825,000	15,622,750 00	15,607,605
Baden	2,965	1,507,000	77,851,480	14,987,000 00	14,206,635
Hesse	2,965	884,278	10,833,640	4,360,000 00	4,360,000
Mauritius	704	354,623	5,162,435	3,947,765 00	3,672,880

All the above countries, with one exception, have a historical record of the financial ability of its statesmen. Some of the debts, especially those of Wurtemburg and Saxony, were contracted nearly two hundred years ago. Mauritius, with only one-tenth the number of square miles of the Hawaiian Islands, has a debt thirteen times as large as ours. But what is the condition of these countries in comparison with what they were a hundred years ago? By the ability of their statesmen they are kept up to a position quite equal the value of their indebtedness, and more so, through the improvements and works of utility—manufactories, educational, scientific and charitable institutions, combined with armies, navies, fire arms and guns, the popping off of which we are now so much afraid.

There has been the old cry of the country passing into the hands of the country of which she has contracted the loan; or that there will be a foreclosure of the mortgage on the amount held by the country which made the loan. This idea has been impressed upon the minds of the ignorant by those opposed to the loan, by taking individual loans as a comparison, that to contract government loans will ruin the country. There could be no more fallacious assertion. Imagine England foreclosing the millions of dollars of United States bonds now in her possession—or Germany, or France. All these countries hold United States bonds, and would be very glad to keep them for a thousand years to come, desiring to make no further demand for payment than the interest alone. But this idea has been dispelled to a great extent among Hawaiians, judging from the explanations in my circuluars issued at the last secession of 1878, when I first canvassed the district of Honolulu, as well as by the manner in which our loans have been conducted for the past thirty years; and instead of the people's votes being cast against it, they have been in its favor. It is not by trickery, nor by undue influence of "the powers that be," nor

drinks, nor money, but by a plain statement to the people of the advantages to be gained by contracting a new loan.

The Reciprocity Treaty has been useful and beneficial to us in a pecuniary sense, but what credit have we abroad? We cannot to-day go into the United States, the country that gave us the treaty, to borrow one single dollar. They do not know us in their markets as a country able to borrow and able to pay, from the simple fact of the timidity of those who have charge of our affairs. Here is an opportunity to obtain at least a small degree of affiliation with the money markets of San Francisco, London, Paris, Germany, and all the money markets of the world, whereby our credit may be known. But the weak, pessimistic, feeble administration say no! we won't take any foreign loans. So I suppose the matter of financial affiliation *is out of the question.*

But let us see whether this rejection of the loan by the ministers will stand the test at the coming session. The Minister of the Interior says: "We want no foreign loan," but he is in favor of the government "assisting the opening of Hawaii by railroads, and in favor of a sectional dock or patent slip for the port." The question naturally arises, where is the money to come from? When the Minister of Finance has already pledged that the "money in the box, $400,000, will perhaps see, at the coming Legislative session, the entire national indebtedness paid off."

This is, indeed, a plausible utterance to make, but it is an *impossibility.* For every one knows that holds government bonds there is twenty years more to run before the expiration of the term mentioned on the face of the bonds will take place.

This must be fairly put down as one inconsistency of the two ministerial utterances. But what will become of the "startling proposition," when the Minister of the Interior says "that he wants no foreign loans, as *the money in the box* is sufficient to meet all the requirements of railroads on Hawaii;" and on the other hand the Minister of Finance says "that same money in the box *will go* for the payment of the entire indebtedness." And how will it "sound" when the members of the coming legislative session expect to see the entire indebtedness paid off, when the Minister of the Interior has appropriated the whole of the money in the box "for the railways on Hawaii?" How is the money for the railway to be raised, and how much is required for the undertaking and its completion?

This means nothing more nor less than that money is to be obtained from "foreign capitalists" to the amount of or over a million of dollars, and the government "assisting" only, perhaps, in paying the interest, or the pledging thereof of assuming the payment of the entire stocks of the company at a certain stated time. Having created a million here, how about your "patent slip docks," and how much will it cost? How about your bridges and roads, your buoys and anchors, and other public improvements? By this means it is probably intended to protect "and advance the interests of the entire Island trade to Kohala;" but how about "Maui, Oahu, and Kauai—the Islands on the rear?"

Are they to be left undefended "in their rights to apply for a loan of another million?" And, moreover, let us ask, is the Island of Hawaii only to be thought of? Is the interest of only one line of steamers to be assisted to the detriment of the other steam lines and communications? These inconsistencies have surely assumed the form of a living embodiment of positive contradictions, are invariably regarded as an answer to the incompentcy and failure of the ministers to convince us of the reality and consistency of their ministerial utterances.

If the spirit of inconsistancy which has been so deplorably exhibited, and the wanton feeling of easy contentedness for the present, is the policy of the administration, it is time, then, to think of a change for the better. But we need not go so far as to ask for a change in the administration. Our duty to our constituents, and the desire for the good and stability of the government, prevents us from the suggestion of such a movement. Our only aim and wish is for a fair acknowledgment on the part of the ministry to view the situation and the perdicament they would be placed in at the coming legislative session of the Assembly.

Having publicly proclaimed and officially enunciated a strict policy of unreserved retrenchment, a candid restitution of a misapprehension would be a more noble action on their part to perform, than a stubborn resistance to the fate they would richly deserve by the folly of their own indiscretion, and by following too rigidly the ac-

tions that have marked the career and existence of all former administrations that has preceded them.

But what has been the cause of so many ministerial changes, occupying a period of only a short duration during the six years of the present reign? None of the changes have proceeded from the cause of any ultra measure, or marked by disturbance of any extreme political crisis, nor has it been followed by a convulsion from the dissatisfaction of the Executive head.

Every member of the Administration fell, from their inability to prove their sagacity and clinging fast to the rock of conservative contentedness for the present. Always fearful and lacking the courage of adventure and enterprise. If they fell, they fell from their own incompetency in exercising less ability and promptness to see the situation and necessities of the times and to provide for the future. The last Administration exhibited a want of energy and public spirit; though not unlike the former ones, it nevertheless allowed itself to be sacrificed by the presence of private interests, the lust of gain, and the betrayal of the dignity of its official position. If such then has been the historical record of the changes that have befallen so many Administrations, it is better that they fall, and, unlike "Lucifer," it is to be hoped that they may "never rise again!"

It is a pity though that the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people has been preached with such amazing force by the associated press. There is a refinement in the exercise of proper wisdom when uttered with judicious prudence; but when abused by illiterate condemnation, it becomes a farce in the possession of those whose pretensions and aims have endeavored to make it a jewel.

The present King came to the throne by his hereditary claims to the position constitutionally provided, and was accepted by the constitutional confirmation of the powers to carry out those claims, and not exclusively "by *virtue*" of the votes of the Representatives of the people. The Representatives are formed of only one sectional part of the conclave to make it a whole. The rights and privileges of the Crown, by the occupation of the present *regime*, is distinctly and clearly defined, and no other interpretation of the word could be made to suit the whimsical opinion of a disturbed intellect, nor the power of the throne be made subservient to the caprice of individual judgment.

A fair criticism on the part of the press would be greeted and hailed with respect, but the unmeasurable abuse and unreserved canting of its liberty, which has been exhibited for the past month, must most surely be regarded with suspicion. I quote the *Advertiser* of Feb. 7th: "So ended the last day of election in Honolulu, which may indeed be the last under the present regime." Again, the same paper of the 14th, says:

"There are victories more disastrous than defeats. This idea should give pause to those who feel jubilant at the result of the late election because of the success of their efforts to bring about the result. To one who thinks, the expression of opinion by those who are largely interested in shaping the laws governing property, concerning the representation of this city in the coming Assembly, are full of warning. So long as governors hold the respect of the better class governed, so long their office is assured, their decrees obeyed; but when the air is full of expressions of dissatisfaction coupled with contempt for the governors, so sure may we feel that the elements which go to make the State strong are crumbling, and that sooner or later a new order of things must become a fact."

And again another. *The Hawaiian Gazette* of Feb. 11th, says: "But at the same time the novel lesson of power to name the person who shall occupy the throne has not added strength or stability to the nation." Here is an insinuation that after the death of the present king the reign of the heir-apparent will not add strength or stability to the nation, or a distrust of a row to take place at the termination of the reign of the present regime."

Here is threatened and predicted a state of anarchy and confusion disatrous to the safety of the commonwealth, and undesirable for the future. But shall we take it as the "casting of the shadows of coming events" of evil communistical designs, of a promotion and accessories to a reign of terror and violence, and a silent preparation for the destruction of our rulers and the last of our independene? Or are we simply to consider these incendiary utterances as a morbid defection of the mind of one possessed with a sentiment of treacherous design, and publicly expressing "the black utterances of a depraved imagination."

It is well that we can point our finger at those who were so anxious for "law and order," and credit them with inciting and sowing the seed of discord. But as there are no tyrants and despots to be made victims of, let us rejoice that the vituperative utterances of the press are but the disorder of a nervous irritation, and editorial failure during the late elections to usher a journalistic partisan candidate into a seat in the Assembly.

"The powerful influence of the Executive has always been brought to bear on elections." So it has, directly or indirectly, whether at the convivialities of Ems, or in the seclusion of Hohenstaufen, or at the levees of Buckingham or the drawing-rooms of St. James. This "two-thirds of a loaf of bread" business, as history can prove, is a universal custom wherever the Anglo-Saxon race is distributed about the world, and wherever he has left his foot-prints, as the history of a hundred years can prove, the White House not being an exception to the general rule.

It has been handed down by our teachers in civilization, and it is a thing no doubt to be regretted; but still, right or wrong, the thing is done, for the practice has been taught us by our tutors of the Anglo-Saxon race. And the custom has become almost a law, and practiced by all civilized countries, whether Teutons, Goths, Scandinavians, Saxons or Anglo-Saxons, more particularly the last.

And as the associated press has shed so many lamentable tears for the principle of popular representation, it would be better to let us know whether the custom has been charged in the countries where they are nursed with particular care by the powers that be. And it does not follow that the "powerful influence" alluded to has always been successful, or has a bearing of great weight at times. Nor is it the bearing of that great influence against the principle of popular representation which has caused the defeat of the favorite candidates of the press and caused the ire so painfully exhibited, but it is the sting of defeat assured by their own negligence Yet grant that it is a defeat, it would be far better to own it fairly than to wail over the bones of a carcass.

As the matter of currency has been touched upon by the press lately it would seem as if we are now verging on the brink of another crisis of silver depreciation. The press and the financial community of Honolulu seem to overlook the fact of constant irritation in the money market, caused by those who have imported silver into the country, lies in the refusal of our financiers to admit the feasibility of the proposal made in my manifesto issued before the election.

It was there proposed that we should have a proportional quantity of silver and gold coins of equal value with those of the United States coinage, and of the same denomination or a little higher. But the disadvantage of rating the silver coin higher than 87½ cents in its intrinsic value, as the American silver dollar, will be seen at once. This can be obtained by recommending the negociation of a currency convention with the United States Government, rating our silver coins at the same value as the American silver coins.

In that way there would be less speculation in Mexican dollars, and a great convenience in paying debts between the two countries. The disadvantages already existing would be obviated at once. We can pay our silver dollar there for the same value as the American silver dollar is paid here; but in the present situation, the people in America have to pay less on their side, buying coin valued at the mint at 87½ cents and sent down here for 100 cents—gain on the American side of 12½ cents; whereas we on our side have to pay that 12½ cents more on 100 cents there, or its equivalent. The currency convention will do away with all this. Of course the speculators will have their grumbles against the idea, but it will do away with all the trouble that has been raised by the press during the last month. There is one party to be benefitted by it, and that is the Government.

Our coin currency, then, will not be under the mercy of the bankers or the merchants or traders to depreciate whenever there is a surplus of silver currency of other countries in the country. But if matters continue in the present existing manner of dealing with currency,, as soon as a turn of depreciation takes place, the market is over-flooded with foreign currency (Mexican dollars); then the loss will fall very heavily on the natives. Establish our own currency, as proposed by me, and the whole difficulty will be obviated. It is hoped that these proposals will meet the views of those

who were so much opposed to the loan, and consider its advantages in a more practical light, to remove the existing burden for the common benefit of all.

As the proposal of a loan has furnished a text of personal abuse and reproach to my colleague and myself, I will quote two authorities which have strengthened me in proposing the loan, for objects nearly similar, differing only in the manner and number of objects proposed at the time.

Advertiser, of the 4th of July, 1874:—"What is the use of trying to make a bugaboo of our domestic debt of $350,000, when it is well known the government could pay off this debt any day by the sale of government property in this city."

Let us make it $3,500,000, if we could always have as much internal improvements and as good sound property to show as we have now for our present indebtedness.

There are croakers about public and private enterprises of any kind, who would not wish us to have a foreign dollar or a foreign loan, *who are as narrow in soul as their unexpanded indigenous nature, and who pander to native prejudices*, and amend ability to superior enlightened influence. *It is lucky for the country that none of those kind of foreign croakers found a place at this time among our native legislators.*

It is indeed true that there are croakers among us in the form of the two "Ministerial utterances," and supported by the press with the highest admiration and with a spirit of unlimited praise. This is surely an uncompromising situation to be in. The Ministers of the King's Cabinet, and the press as their sponsers, are "Croakers." Such being the open declarations made by the laudable utterances of the yress previous to and since the election. That is applying it to them in the sense that was used at the time. And surely my proposal of $10,000,000 "is not very far from the sum of $3,500,000 proposed at a time when the state of the country was not so prosperous as now."

"And it is indeed lucky for the country that none of those kind of foreign croakers found a place at this time among our native legislators." So must it be!

Here is another of the same date: "If, however, such is the idea of the public or the Legislature, it would appear a most reasonable thing to advise His Majesty to see if sone one else could not do. It now appears that the benefit of a loan, and for the object we first pointed out, is not denied by any one, and we feel, as we have said before, no small degree of satisfaction in seeing that some persons of influence have adopted the idea. As the Bill in its entirety has our *hearty approbation, we shall continue to give it our support, and are convinced that those who oppose it will be held by the public to a strict accountability if it shall fail through their agency.*"

The italics of the two quotations are ours. But it seems though now as if the "hearty approbation" and the continuance to give "their support" upon a measure precisely of the same nature, only perhaps more extended in the application of its purposes have entirely deserted the good graces of the Press.

The Hawaiian Gazette, of the same year, states the object by which the *intended* loan, above quoted, was made, for it says—"This feature (*to legalize the borrowing of money to aid sugar plantations*) as far as may possess it, we heartily endorse, as we consider it the first duty of every government, more especially one having population and limited capital like ours, to do all in its power to cherish every industry and to open the avenues through which produce and manufactures may reach their market. *National aid may also be wisely invoked* to assist private industries, though this is liable to serious abuse through favoritism. Still these private enterprises which government may properly assist, and for these *especially pioneers efforts to develop new industries national aid should be extended.*

And again: "We heartily endorse the amount of the loan, as also the rate of interest, provided the last sentence of section five be amended so as to forbid the sale of the bonds at less than par."

The italics are again ours; and we are greatly surprised that when a loan is proposed to legalize the borrowing of money to aid sugar plantations, the whole empire, with the press dangling at its heels, is up in arms in praise for the laudable enterprize. Everyone "heartily endorses" the amount of the loan, and wisely invokes national aid to assist private industries; but the matter of "life" of the aborigines of the country is invoked by the building of hospitals and the establishment of a higher educational system, the Ministers fly at the proposition and grasp it by the

throat, and, with the keen knife of public utterance, endeavor to sever the head from the neck and cutting from ear to ear its prospects, the press holding on as an accessory to the crime and death of the loan for the good of the people.

Incomprehensible as these utterances made by the ministers and press may have been, they were nevertheless dictated by a sincere desire to promote the interests of the sugar plantations, and for that alone. But when the suggestion is made for the benefit of those to whom the paramount interest should have been the first consideration, it is treated with the utmost indifference and contempt.

The following table, showing the decrease of the population, will give an idea of the importance of the subject which has been proposed:

Islands.	*Estimated* 1823.	*Census* 1832.	*Census* 1836.	*Census* 1253.	*Census* 1860.	*Census* 1866.	*Census* 1872.	*Census* 1878.
Hawaii.....	85,000	45,792	39,364	24,450	21,481	19,800	17,001	17,034
Maui	20,000	35,063	24,199	17,574	16,400	14,032	12,334	12,107
Oahu.....	20,000	29,755	27,809	19,126	21,275	19,799	20,671	20,236
Kauai.....	10,000	10,977	8,934	6,991	6,487	6,299	4,961	5,634
Molokai	3,500	6,000	6,000	3,607	2,864	2,299	2,349	2,581
Lanai.....	2,500	1,600	1,200	600	646	394	348	177
Niihau	1,000	1,047	993	790	647	325	323	177
Kohoolawe..	50	80	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals...	142,050	130,313	108,579	73,138	69,800	62,959	56,897	57,985

Estimating the population on the arrival of Captain Cook in the year 1778, to have been 400,000, the decrease in 45 years was 257,950, or a percentage of 64.6. Another table is annexed, showing the total decrease of population from 1778 to 1878, with its percentage:

Yrs.	*Population.*	*Decrease.*	*Percentage.*
1778	400,000	.....	.....
1823	142,050	257,926	64.6
1832	130,313	12,737	9.7
1836	108,579	21,734	20.0
1853	73,138	25,704	31.0
1860	69,800	3,338	4.7
1866	62,959	6,841	10.8
1872	56,897	6.062	10.9
1878	57,985	4,023	7.8

In the last figures will be noticed the decrease of the natives and half-whites exclusively. The comparative census of the year 1872, or a space of six years, the natives and half-white population fell to 47,508, or 4,023 less, or an equivalent to the death rate of 7.8 percentage. The increase in population for the year 1878, as the above table shows, has been mainly due to the influx of foreigners and Chinese, and immigration since the passage of the Treaty. But, really, there is none to the credit of the increase of the aboriginal race.

From the year 1860 the death rate shows a marked difference to the ones of the previous years. That is to say, take from 1832 to 1853 and from 1860 to 1878, an average of 23 years in space, the percentage will be one-half in favor of the latter period. The year 1860 was an era of the first practical endeavors to save the native race from extinction, and the experience of nearly a quarter of a century, since the building of the Queen's Hospital, should be enough to convince us all of the advantages to be derived from a further extension of building hospitals throughout the whole Islands of the Group.

I have annexed another table showing the death rate at the Queen's Hospital as far as practically can be obtained for the seven years from 1872 to 1878:

Yrs.	*Inmates.*	*Deaths.*	*Saved.*	*Percentage.*
1872	250	20	330	5.7
1873	395	15	350	3.7
1874	343	27	310	7.8
1875	373	21	252	7.7
1876	288	17	271	5.9
1877	256	21	235	8.2
1878	247	22	225	8.9
Total	2,162	143	2,009	47.9—66

Comparing the above table with that of the years 1853 to 1860, the percentage will be found to be equal to two-thirds in favor of the latter; that is to say, equivalent to 18.2 per cent. of deaths in 1853 to 1860, against 8.7 per cent. in the years 1872 to 1878. The latter percentage is taken from the aggregate of the two populations of 1872 and 1878, but taking natives and half-whites exclusively the correct percentage of deaths would be 6.6 per cent.

What more forcible evidence can be brought to bear upon the importance of building hospitals upon each island of the group, as was proposed in my manifesto issued before the election, which the Minister of Finance has so severely criticised.

It is said we have not estimated wha

amount these hospitals would cost; but that is the duty of the Executive, not ours. We have given the *whys* and *wherefores*, and have proposed the loan to meet all the requirements necessary, and it is their executive duty to carry out the work—not to shirk it and say, "No! we have $400,000 in the box the present year; next year's balance will probably be $600,000, so that at the biennial fiscal period we may be able to show $1,000,000, and that too without borrowing."

To this can be attributed the Minister's extreme indifference to the life of the people, which is the life of the nation. He would rather see money accumulate in the box than that his people should be saved. He would hoard it for the purpose of self-aggrandisement; but for the salvation of the race he will not spare it. The other Minister would have the money go for "building railroads and patent slips, and other legitimate purposes," but as for the kanakas, he would let them go to the dogs!

Why then should there be a fear for the loan if there will be an accumulation of $1,000,000 before the next biennial period? Here is decisive proof that the interest of $10,000,000 can be paid promptly whenever it may become due. The waiting for the accumulation of a million would be fully equivalent to borrowing now and paying double after. For under the first arrangement you have lost time; and under the second, although you may have to pay double, still you have had the advantage of gaining time.

Taking the death rate of natives and half whites for the years 1872 to 1878 as a guide for future calculation, say that the population the present year, 1880, is 47,508 as a starting point, allowing the mortality to be the same throughout, in sixty-two years there would not be a single native Hawaiian to record the history of their extinction. The following table will give a synopsis which will show at a glance a conception of the subject before us:

Year.	*Population.*	*Decrease.*
1880	47,508	4,023
1886	43,482	4,023
1892	39,459	4,023
1898	35,435	4,023
1904	31,413	4,023
1910	27,390	4,023
1916	23,367	4,023
1922	19,344	4,023
1928	15,321	4,023
1934	11,298	4,023
1940	7,275	4,023
1946	3,250	4,023
1952	zero	zero

The above table will convince the most circumspect of the real significance of advancing this important subject, enriched by statistical confirmation of the truth that the decrease and death of our race is sure, and it is passing on to its destination faster than we realize. It becomes our proper duty to look at it in a more serious light than to treat it in the manner that has been done.

The adoption of a narrow view and a system of rigid economy and retrenchment, which may indeed meet the exigencies of the present moment, would only be a fatal check to the patriotic motive of building hospitals for the life and preservation of a perishing race; the advancement of our educational system for the benefit of our children; the development of our resources, and the further promotion and stimulation of the productiveness of the country.

By the proper appropriation of time you would have saved the people; we would have built our hospitals; we would have education brought to a higher standard, and a larger contribution toward the saving of the people. We would have our railroads, our permanent docks for ships, and all other improvements necessary. Better to adopt the idea of the proposed loan than to save the people by driblets. Better put your railroads and docks on a proper basis of a national public loan, than make your improvements by sections, parts and pieces, and on the false principle of borrowing foreign capital and pledging the government to pay the interest upon unknown capital held abroad. It may be a very easy mercantile business-like way of "beating the loan about the stump," but it is not honorable, nor politic, nor official like.

It is going "on a wrong tack." The ministerial utterances mean well enough, but he don't know. When the credit of the government is good to-day, and its bonds are at a high premium. let us utilize its advantages. But the borrowing of unknown foreign capital, and the attachment of government pledges, is entirely out of the question.

It is proper to show that we have strained every nerve for the one object we have in view—of saving the remnants of a dying

race. Let us try to repair the wreck while our ship is yet afloat, and has not yet foundered. Let there be no economy when the question and subject before us is a matter of life and death. The cry of economy and fear of adventure, combined with indifference and negligence, have been the sap that has undermined the prospect of saving the life of the people.

It is the economy of time to be gained, making the economy of money a secondary consideration to the more important one of saving the people, but making money the motive power and force to infuse vitality and to furnish resources for the recuperation of the race.

Our wisdom and intellect should be devoted to studying the economy of time in the work of saving the race from total extinction. Let the "life of the people" be our plan of operation before every other consideration. The loan being our moter, there is no doubt that the work before us will be well done, aod when completed let us thank ourselves for having performed our common duty for the preservation of our people. The advocates of the loan will then have some credit and merit to their praise for having been instrumental in saving our own kindred race and blood.

Let us leave to our children our virtues and not our faults. Let us show to them that we have made some efforts and endeavors to save the people, so that they may be imbued with the same spirit for the further continuation and perpetuation of the good work. Let us build our charitable, our educational and our scientific institutions now for their benefit in the future. Let us build our railroads, our lighthouses, our permanent docks and other improvements for their use hereafter, that their admiration for us may not be diminished, but handed down as a fitting monument of praise to posterity.

We have spent and are expending at present large sums of money from year to year for the benefit of immigration, but to the saving of our own people we give very little attention; in fact it has become a ministerial policy to reject any mooting or mentioning the idea of endeavoring to save the race. It is *tabued*, and in this lies a strong force against those who have publicly opposed the scheme of a new loan; while the subject of immigration seems to be uppermost in the minds of the administration to deluge the country with hordes of wild south sea cannibals, Potuguese and Mongols, they are quietly winking and looking passively upon the dying natives, who are dying by hundreds—passing away before the very noses of those in authority.

Is this the gratitude that we are to receive from the ministry? When we ask for bread they will give us stones. When we cry to them, Spare us! they will say, Yea! Stay but a little while longer. Let us hoard the $400,000 in the box until it has reached $600,000; and wait a little while longer till we have accumulated $1,000,000. For what? He does not even then say, To save the people. It is this lukewarmness that makes it a question in my mind whether the Legislature will consent to give another dollar toward immigration, unless it is shown by the administration that they are doing, and will do, something for the perpetuation of the Hawaiian race.

The proposal for the defence of the country, as shown in my maifesto, has received its proportional share of sneers from the press and reproach from the Ministers. The disparagement and burlesque flung at the suggestion is seemingly strange, for it only reflects to the Ministers' credit the confirmed attributes of a neglected military genius. Second to my first proposition, the question and subject of military defence should be considerd by them of vital importance to the country. The matter has not received the attention which was due from their position as Ministers of the Crown, nor the gravity of the subject weighed with any regard to future events and the destinies of the country. The geographical situation of our minim group of islands amid the vastness of the Pacific Ocean will play a most important part in the commercial as well as the political events of the future.

Shall we need to remind the Ministers to study their histories and geographies again? Can they not see the situation and the relative position we occupy with the surrounding countries, North, South, East and West? Will they remain indifferent to the signs of activity, life and enterprise that are going on around us? The present Pacific Mail Steamship line to Australia, the new China line, and the probable gigantic steamship line, by which the commercial advantages accruing to us would be enormous—almost beyond conception.

Already on the north and west Russia has entered into the arena of commercial enterprise with China, Japan, extending to Singapore, Penang and India. Already on the east the Southern Pacific Railroad is being rapidly pushed forward to completion. Already the electric spark has been applied to the first mound tunnelling by the energy and genius of Count Ferdinand de Lesseps, inaugurating the commencement of the practical working of the Panama Canal; the question of completion becomes only a matter of time.

But how have the proposal and question been met by the present administration? The same spirit of contented ease prevails, and is exhibited on this subject as well as on the former. More than this. It shows out more plainly the spirit of duplicity to conceal the real situation of our position, considering its political and commercial value. Our strategical position in relation to that of the nations surrounding us is entirely ignored or dissembled by official indifference.

The ministers do not say we need no force at all, but proceed at once to ridicule the idea, as if it were a matter not within the province of their executive as well as their constitutional duty to attend to. This inert neutrality of action, politically speaking, throws discredit upon the sagacity of the administration, for negligence and passive indolence in watching the activity of the times around us, which is becoming more and more apparent and approaching us nearer and nearer. And now, I should say, is the accepted time to build your railroads and permanent docks (not patent slips). Now is the day of salvation. Now prepare your telegraphs by sea from island to island; and from inland to inland your hospitals, schools and fortifications. And do not build by driblets—pieces, parts and sections, make one job of it. The economy of time again comes in upon us to stimulate our actions. Accept the loan, and you will perceive that we have advanced fifty years ahead without detriment to our resources, but improving them. Refuse it, and you will have thrown us back a hundred years behind the times. To build a house up and wait for the material is a tiresome and costly job. Furnish your material first, then build, and you will not only have your house built well, but cheaper.

So, on the same principle, apply the loan proposed by me, and you will find its application is equally suited. But the sluggish mediocrity of the miserable sneaking proposition of the minister of hoarding $400,000 now, hiding $600,000 another time, until it is $1,000,000, is sickening in the extreme. The minister says it is wise statesmanship to do so. I say it is going on another wrong tack. "He means well enough, but he don't know."

Our strategical position is similar to that of Switzerland to Germany, Italy and France, and that of Belgium to England, France and Germany. Hemmed in on all sides, their duty to themselves and to their national existence is to be prepared. They are loaded and crowded with treaties of the same nature as ours, commercially and politically. But the force of circumstances, and the disablity of England and France to maintain the Holy Alliance of 1856, whereby the Ottoman Empire was left to her fate in 1877, the moral strength of the reliance in treaties of the same nature has been shaken and considered untenable. What is the condition of those countries now? With true national instinct of their situation and strategical position, they are arming, and armed to the teeth!

There is no laying back and showing signs of repose, with enchanted security that the treaty with England and France in the case of Belgium, or France with Italy in the case with Switzerland is considered tenable. To a certain extent as allies it is. They must show to those nations whom they have trusted and would become probable allies, that they are well prepared to assist in the struggle for the maintenance of their national existence, as well as their independence. Our country's defence need not be done by a single stroke of the pen in a minute, nor is the colossal sum of $500,000,000 required to be expended in an hour, which computation of figures by far exceeds the limits of proper calculation to be expended for the purpose, even of $400,000,000 in excess of the sum of $1,000,000 proposed by me to be expended within the limit of ten years. Nor are the Islands of Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Lanai and Kauai to be neglected. Nor is it necessary to cede any of them away. The proposition of forts "for the defence of Oahu," was intended for the first expenditure, and to be extended when the time arrived for extension.

The advantages of an extended system of railways around all the Islands can be seen at a glance. For while in time of peace they furnish facilities for inland trade, in time of war and invasion the conveyance of troops from one point of attack to another, repelling an aggressive invader, on the principle of an interior line of defence, they become a convenience.

With the facilities and improvements in the materials of modern warfare, whereby it becomes an acknowledged fact that ships cannot sink land forts, which has been proved by practical experience in the past as well as the present. And a knowledge of the topographical situation of the Islands would satify the connoisseur that the whole group can be made invulnerable, and that within the limit of expenditure mentioned by me; provided, as I have stated, the system of extended railways is to be carried out to meet the requirements of the objects proposed, which is by far the most economical as well as the most expedient measure to adopt. You will then have the material ready for two purposes; or to apply to it the adage, "of killing two birds with one stone."

The climax of absurdity has really been reached when the ministerial utterances declare that we have no men to control and occupy such affairs. Here again is another proof of ministerial incompetence to judge human nature, which we may suitably call the gift of a withered and blighted genius. Men of other nations are not at all exacting to the form of national punctilliousness. They would be willing to engraft on their own the system of another country, provided their talents, their eneries and genius accepted and acknowledged its advantage. If men are treated with proper civility and respect, and paid the amount which their genius and work is worth, they become satisfied and willing to undertake anything for the country of their adoption.

How have our public affairs been managed at the head of our Government ever since the time of Kamehameha I. Although he had his own native counsellors, John Young and Isaac Davis were his private advisers as well, and so down to the present day. Men have adopted our country as ther homes; their interests are here, their families, and all they are concerned in in this life.

No matter whether their national proclivities or honor may be at stake, their adoption together with their innate fidelity to the profession of arms, and integrity to duty and obedience, there would be no difficulty in obtaining good men to conduct these very "affairs" that the Minister has bewailed himself so much of the want of.

But we need not look elsewhere for men. We have enough material in men to take care of these very "affairs." A child does not come to maturity in a day, nor a tree bear fruit in an hour. It wants time. With steady application, study and education to military affairs, we will have a number of native Hawaiians that will do credit to the profession in arms, and it is the Minister's duty to encourage it and not discredit it. And not only in this department but in every department of the Government. It is *Hawaii Ponoi* duty now to try to take the administration of the Government in their own hands, and not allow it to be ruled by every beach-comber that comes into the country.

History of the past and present furnishes too numerous instances to mention here. It is better to dismiss such fallacious arguments in silence than to pour over a portfolio of proofs to convince imbecility.

The question, of course, will naturally be asked—Where is the invader? Where is the enemy that is going to fight us? My direct answer will be, to watch the force of future events. As England, France and the United States are concerned, and are probably our allies and friends, we must consider ourselves safe; that is to say, as long as either of these nations prevents each other from taking us—a point of importance we may dwell on hereafter.

But look across to the west and see the horizon of commercial activity commencing on that side of the water.

Russia, China and Japan—three of the most powerful naval powers on the Pacific Ocean. Through the force of special gift of the "blood and iron" avaricious propensities of the Anglo-Saxon race have actually been spent for the want of more territories to be purchased at the cost of blood, and more lands for plunder and inhabitants to be murdered, still looms up in the distance; three new races of avaricious propensities which will play no small part of importance in the political game of the future, and it is for these that I have mainly asked that the administration should be on the

alert, and a part of the loan should be devoted for the purpose. The Slavonic, the Tartars and the Mongol races—these are the races to be feared. Though just emerging from seclusion and entering upon a lively interest in trade and commerce, but still remaining and assuming that despotic and autocratic sway, that reasoning to right and justice are out of the question. Besides retaining the spirit of trade and commercial enterprise, their object has a double meaning. The spirit of conquest only lies latent for the present, and only dying when the force of conquest has been spent. The ambition and love of conquest for territories and lust for plunder and murder will only commence when they have not sufficient forces to repel their aggressors. And, pray, what have we to rely upon? Of whom shall we look to for support?

Not upon England alone, for she has already acknowledged her naval weakness. *The Army and Navy Gazette*, of the 3rd of January, says: "Out of a total of 55 iron clads afloat and in course of construction, some 28 are rendered *absolutely useless*. From this and other causes we are not at all surprised to find a decided inclination growing up throughout the country to condemn our navy as inefficient."

And again: "Of these ships not one is a match for the Italian iron clads Dandolo and Duilio, the most powerful ships afloat, while a target, representing a section of the Inflexible, carrying 24 inches of armor, has already been penetrated by a Krupp gun and that at a range exceeding *one mile;* the gun being less powerful than those carried by the Italian iron clads." The result of the naval combat in the Pacific clearly goes to condemn most of the iron clads on the list of so-called efficient ships of the Royal Navy, on which, under the good Providence of God, the wealth, safety, and strength of the kingdom chiefly depends.

If any one would take the trouble to read Major Arthur Parnell's work on "Coast Fortifications and the Naval Attacks of Fortresses," it will bear me out in proposing the idea of the defense of our country. He says: "Our naval history points to the fact, in actions against forts, that we have gained fewer laurels in purely naval combats than any other nation."

He then gives instances of the attack of the allied fleet on October 17, 1854, on the Sebastopol forts, resulting in a complete failure, despite the great preponderance of artillery on the side of the allied fleet. The same as the Federal attack on Charleston, and the combined fleet of France and Spain in 1792 against Gibraltar.

The same paper of the 13th of December, 1879, remarking on the same topic, says: "Examples of the inefficiency of naval attack on coast fortifications can be multiplied. We think Major Parnell has done good service in bringing this important subject forward, especially as it is in the defense of their strongholds that foreigners can hope for success over our fleets. With the introduction of iron clads and heavy guns, the disparity between forts and ships instead of having been decreased is unquestionably greater than it was. Our heavy iron clads are not only more liable to sink than wooden vessels were, but the vital advantage that the gunners in forts always had over seamen in ships in fighting with their guns on rigid platforms, instead of from one in perpetual motion, is now intensified, owing to the greater degree of accuracy with which guns can be fired and to the enormous increase in the weight and destructive power of the projectiles in use."

And again: "The word defense ought to be unknown in our navy except in connection with the study of the attack or fortresses, and those," according to Major Parnell, "should be engaged in battle by iron clads without the aid of troops on shore. For, supposing, that the ships succeeded in silencing the forts they would gain but a barren honor, even were none of the vessels crippled or sunk during the bombardment, as until the escarps are breached it could not be taken, and it is quite out of the power of ships to breach masonry escarp walls. Even if they were breached an assault from seaward over the intervening water would be certain to end in disaster." Hence Major Parnell lays it down as a rule that ships should never engage forts except to aid a land attack, or some great tangible object is to be gained by success, and then only if there is no alternative, for ships do not enter the contest on even conditions. They can not capture, for while the chances of now-a-days of their being themselves sunk are very great, and whatever the issue they will get but little credit.

England has altogether in commission

202 vessels of war, 55 of which are ironclads. Out of 55 ironclads 28 are declared absolutely worthless, leaving 27 effective out of the 55 in commission. Only two are on the Pacific station, and both are included among the absolutely worthless. In fact, none of those in commission have armor thicker than 8 to 9½ inches. The two vessels commissioned, the Shannon 4 inch, and the Triumph 8 inch, to protect their guns, are reckoned among the *absolutes*.

Let us now take up the case of France. Out of 48 of her first and second rate ironclads none of them exceed over 22 inches of armor. Though the French ironclads carry no 81 ton guns of 16 inch calibre, where similar British vessels only carry the Woolwich 35 ton guns of 12 inch bore; thus where British ships carry 25 ton guns the French metal exceeds 50 tons. The French naval force has altogether 217 ships in commission. The first-rate ironclads, numbering 16, vary from 15 to 22 inch armor. Her second-rates, numbering 12, have armor from 10 to 14 inch. She has besides, 10 first-rate iron coast defence vessels and 10 second-rate. Of these none are on the Pacific station.

The United State have a naval force of 48 vessels in commission, four of which are ironclads; the rest are wooden vessels.

This is a most deplorable acknowledgment of the state of affairs, and severe to contemplate, to find the very nations we have relied upon for the tenability of our position, our treaties, guarantees and securities, are now declared by their own experienced connoisseurs as absolute failures.

France fares better than England in every respect. Having received a lesson of humiliation from neglect during the late war with Germany, she has re-built her navy and made it suitable to the times. And it is a question whether she would venture a costly war for the protection of these Islands, for she holds now in her possession two most important strategical positions in the Pacific Ocean (Tahiti and Nuuhiwa), equally as good as that of the Hawaiian Islands; and besides, the guarantees of these Islands with France are not pledges to protect us, but are simply that neither France nor England should hold any possesion on these Islands. As far as these pledges go to protect us, they are none. So with America we have none. Here I quote the Declaration made by England and France, through their representatives:

DECLARATION.—Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and His Majesty the King of the French, taking into consideration the existence in the Sandwich Islands of a Government capable of providing for the regularity of its relations with foreign nations, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to consider the Sandwich Islands as an Independent State, and never to take possession, either under the title of protectorate, or under any other form, of any part of the territory of which they are composed.

The undersigned, Her Britanic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Ambassador Extraordinary of His Majesty the King of France, at the Court of London, being furnished with the necessary powers, hereby declare in consequence that their said Majesties make reciprocally that engagement.

In witness whereof, the undersigned having signed the present declaration and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done in duplicate at London the twenty-eighth day of November, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

(Signed) ABERDEEN. [L.S.]
ST. AULAIRE. [L.S.]

The origin of treaties of amity, friendly and commercial relations with the three powers were made under a most trying circumstance. It commenced by England and France yearning after the Sandwich Islands, and was frustrated by Commodore Jones, in 1826, in securing treaties with the Islands, which put a stop to their designs.

The only country that treated us with respect in those days was the United States. But I need not refer to by-gones, for England and France have since acted fairly towards us, and have assured us of their good will by firm pledges between themselves not to take us.

To return to the original subject. I have proved so far the insecurity of our position, and as far as the strength of our probable allies are concerned. The strength of Russia, China and Japan, on the other hand, by far exceeds those of England and France.

Although I have no possible data and information of the strength of their navies at present, still every one knows that China is now in possession of iron clads and guns far superior to any that either England or France can ever expect to send out to the Pacific Station in case of a sudden emergency.

It is to those nations that we shall have a fear, and now is our time to consider the matter with more seriousness than has heretofore been given to the subject, and not shrinkingly retreat into the arms of blind passiveness under the plea that we have no men nor money to spend but for legitimate purposes only. For the consideration of military expedience of *ships, soldiers, guns and fortifications*, are not only "legitimate purposes," but it becomes a constitutional duty for the Executive to perform without shirking from its responsibilities. Though they may be considered by the uninitiated in the art of military science as but the parasites of our vanities and tools of human ambition, still, all the world over, they have proved to be but necessary adjuncts of a nation, no matter how insignificantly small.

Though the subject of defense has been brought up now, it is hardly expected that the importance of the matter can be realized in a moment. Nor is it intended to give

false alarms of visionary dreams of the worst that may come upon us in the near future. A community like ours, far away from the turmoils and disturbing elements that is agitating other countries, resting in perfect peace and security, should not forget that troubles, disasters, pestilence, invasion and wars have their visitations and courses to perform in the cycle of time as regular as the seasons of the year.

And while we are in prosperity, living in happiness and contentedness, it becomes our national duty to prepare to avert the disasters that will follow should we persistently ignore the lessons taught us by the experiences of the past. In conclusion, I will again remark that it is far better for us to show that there still remains in us some vitality to prepare for the struggle of the future, than to repose in despondent inactivity to meet the inevitable fate of the weak.

While yet there is time to make amends, we ask for a just consideration of the subject before us. If we have been too outspoken in our views, we have only done it to defend our position as a legitimate privilege and the right of conscience, to dispel injustice and the continuance in the desire to do right. If he have overstepped the mark of discipline, we have only done it to defend the honor of our commission and profession.

If we have done our constituents an injustice by unintentionally misleading them we have done it from a purely patriotic motive. If our motive be honorable, let its principal and spirit be appreciated. If dishonorable, let it die the death of those undeserving the merit of a noble deed. Not even flattering ourselves with the assurance of success, we expect it to be met with an acquiescence for the full ventilation and freedom of thought and discussion. So that not a stone should be cast to the discredit of benevolence and impediments laid in the way of philanthropy, nor obstacles placed in the path of patriotism, to mar the prospects of the life, health, wealth and independence of our country.

ROBERT HOAPILI BAKER,

Lieut Household Guard, and Member Elect for Honolulu.

Honolulu, March 16, 1880.

I may add a few words in defense of the officers and members of the much talked-of Prince's Own Corps, as I was present on the occasion of the 12th, Accession Day, at their lunch, given by His Majesty the King, Colonel Commanding the said Corps, who was present, and being the day of their re-organization, after the disbandment of the old Corps organized under the name of "Prince of Hawaii's Own," it was customary for the Corps to give an entertainment.

The whole affair passed off well, and it was a magnificent lunch. After the usual honors, I was called upon to make an address on the liquor question, of which I did not give them much encouragement. One of the guests made a few remarks upon their duties as soldiers, but no allusion was made of the loan during the whole time I was present, nor was it true that His Majesty made any mention of it.

There was only one member, a sergeant, who was a little jolly; and probably there would not have been so much talk if it had not been a rainy day, and where the least spot of dirt on a pair of white pants would have been sure to be noticed.

Then, again, the officers that were spoken of as being noisy on the streets were not commissioned officers, but sub-officers or cadets preparing for commissions, though allowed to wear a sword (without the frog or epaulet) and the uniform of the Corps. As no proof of drunkenness could be made against them they were dismissed with an admonition by the Commanding Officer.

At the Court Martial of the sergeant who confessed his guilt, the only punishment that the officers who presided at the trial could inflict was to deprive him of his good conduct medal; any other punishment would have been an infringement upon the Civil Tribunals of the country, which was their duty to have arrested the man and not the officers.

But why have the officers and members of the Prince's Own Corps been singled out for a mark of disgrace on this occasion when other corps and gentlemen civilians have acted more disgracefully than the Prince's Own on the occasion of the 12th. Yes! and volunteers in the United States, too; when in 1878 a New York regiment were bayoneting and shooting one another, and acting a hundred times worse than our volunteers have done.

Our volunteers are a credit to this or any country. On a convivial occasion like that on the 12th, it is to be expected that there should be some life and animation in the affair, and not stuck to their seats like a lot of puritanical bobs or whimsical quakers, to simply say yea! or nay!

At the Court martial of the sergeant he was asked where he got his liquor. He answered that it was given him by Sergeant H. of Company C., who brought it with him.

This one instance shows that it is difficult for the officers to control these matters when an individual member can get drinkables from other places than those that were used on the occasion.

From my personal acquaintance with the officers I can say that they are honorable men in good standing, and should be exonerated from the abuse that has been unmercifully dealt upon by the press.

THE THIRD
WARNING VOICE.

THE THIRD WARNING VOICE.

To the Honorable Noble C. J. McCarthy,

Chairman of the Committee upon Military Matters, and Gentlemen composing the Committee.

Gentlemen:

Inspired by an entirely pure and patriotic motive, I have ventured to approach you gentlemen upon a matter of which I consider my duty to touch upon while the Legislature of the Kingdom is now in Session assembled. The subject of Military in this country, has always been put down, as useless and a costly appendage. I would readily accede to this idea, if our late experience have not been shown to the contrary, then I would say and admit, that the force of my remarks has no weight. But what have we observed for the last sixteen years? Riots, bloodshed, lawlessness and murder, and observe the outer world where every civilized and enlighten nations of the world are all arming and are armed, only too ready and at any moment

to "Let loose the Dogs of war." We may not expect it, but it will inevitably come, in spite of our expectations and hope it will never come.

We have been a warlike race for generations to generations back, and for nearly half a century we have enjoyed the blessings of peace and the imagination of our permanent security, but the evil day come, and caught us with surprise and for the last 14 years, there has been a clash of sentiments caused by divergent interest, that the nation is imperilled at every moment to political strife, and the loss of its atonomy and independence. What have been as a warning voice in the past, will worthily suit a sagacious administration and astute statemanship with a wise and patriotic Legislature to perform, is to carry out what is deemed and an actual necessity, so that any clandestine movements in the future can be put down with vigour and energy. Thus saving thousands of innocent lives, the unwarrantable destruction of property and the loss of prestige and honor among the family of nations.

There are always to be found in every well regulated community, men of such stamp as have figured largely in the late event. Unscrupulous, greedy and bigoted, that nothing is mean enough, but to satisfy their lust and ends. Though unsuccessful and down now, will like the hybride ophidian will raise again to take another snap at the bird that innocently roams from branch to branch and from flower to flower, for a brief period only to be swallowed by the hydra never to appear again. This is the condition of the country now, and now is the time to take seriously into heart and consideration to ward off in time an inevitable doom were we to remain in passive ease and in silent assurances that no such danger may be expected. The exhibition of a weak and timid policy is the ruination of the nation, and nothing can exonerate the character of men and Legislature to allow the country to drift to this end, but a stamp upon their brows as partizans to undermine and ruin the country.

Surely there is enough means to carry out the organization of a respectable and effective force for any emergency, were the authorities alive to this matter. If the Government and the Legislature flinches from the labor of financiering for the Military, then let the Military authorities work their own destinies. The question may be pertently asked whether the full resources of the country have been properly developed?. Have the cultivation of valuable plants been worked out systematically? Of cocoanut, tea, banana, coffee, castor oil, tobacco, olive, grape, the fisheries and sundries of articles that will surely conduce to the commerce and to the financial welfare of the country. From Hawaii to Ocean Islands-Echos? Clamorously answers—No! No!! No!!!

The display of our energies, knowledge, tact and push, have been sadly wanning in this respect. We have boasted highly of our intelligence, our schools, our houses of worship and charitable institution. The enjoyment of our luxuries, the mechanic that built our houses and the feed we eat are all from abroad. This is sad indeed, when we consider our education for the last fifty years, have not produced one genius, not one talent. Not one artist nor mechanic to prove that our education has been a benefit to us. Echo? Faintly smiles and says—Oh! Oh!! O!!!

Let us take a glance at the past two and three years and register the profits of our plantations and see whether the assessment of them have met the proper mark of their values. The rise of price upon sugars, have enhanced their value from 16 per cent. to 70 per cent., and some as near as to 80 per cent. Now, what has been the taxation value placed upon them? Not over 5 per cent. The margin to this profits seems fictitiously large, but they are evidently and approximately true and without exaggeration. Here is great injustice which the law upon taxation should be remodelled, so that the rich go not scot free, and the poor! poorer!! and poorer!!! It is the duty of the

House to promptly take this matter into consideration, or there will caused another evil that, the Government will have to handle in the future, while is time enough to avert the evil.

In submitting these estimates, I have ouly been prompted by the high consideration that, I have done my duty to my Sovereign, my country and to His Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects, that their love for their country and fatherland may not be diminished, nor their patriotism be lowered and weaken by any intimidation on the part of those who have been for the last 20 years, decrying the unusefulness of the Military, when they have been foremost and most unwant only and unwarrantably during the last decade were the ones, who took up arms against the laws of the nation, and cause a rebellion by force of arms, disastrous to the Kingdom and its people. Not for the sake of social and political reforms, but for mercenary purposes, much of which deeds were done with malice and with plunder.

Though, I was not in Honolulu on the 30th of June, 1887, but visited the city three weeks after, I was then convinced by the plans laid out for the defence of the Palace, of the distribution of the men and disposition of the arms, were so perfect that an invasion of the Palace was an impossibility. And were a siege laid to take it, they had already a supply of rations for 12 months, would have kept them alive until the besiegers would have been forced to an armistice. A sortie party were ready at the least attempt of invasion and after the disperation of the invaders, the city could have easily be reclaimed. There is really nothing worthy of merit that can be properly claimed by the late revolutionist, but, bravade-bumbast and selfagrandizement during the four years term of the late fiascoans. In justice than to place the honor where justly is due, it is to the officers and men of the regular Military forces of the Kingdom which have been obviously proven by their conduct and character during the late unpleasantness, that they were law abiding peaceable and did credit to the profession of arms they have sworn to support and maintain. Their character now stands untarnished and unblemished, and vindicated as subsequent political events have proven, and were I allowed a paradox upon bulwers inspiration of Rechelieu's soleliqui on the force of his pen, I would transpose the sentiment by expressing for the benefit of the present crises, "The ballot, is mightier than the gun."

I am indebted to Captain Robert P. Waipa, of the King's Guards, for the estimates and organization of an arm force. With it, I have appended my report to the Legislature Assembly of 1884, as well as my reply to the Ministers of the period in the year 1880, which evidently proves that seven years prior to the insurrection of 1887. The officers of the regular forces gave full warning to the Government and to the members of the Legislature of those periods, that a fatal disaster would surely occur, if they did not take measures to prevent its occurrance. Most prophetically, this event did really occur seven years after on the 30th of June, 1887. Reports were rumored tha the late Minister Mr. Gibson, strenuously endeavour to avert the disaster, but it was too late. He left the Palace on that day a pitiful object of unrelentful spite against himself for allowing himself to be victimised by the folly of his own indiscretion and imbecile incompetency. Three weeks before the 30th of June, he was commanded to have executed and prepare a warrant for the reading of the "Riot Act" and the readiness of the document "Proclaiming Martial Law." These two things were never executed, consequently the failure of the regular soldiers to do their duty, and the Marshal of the Kingdom to do his. For the soldiers' duty, is to back and support the police, after all other means have been done to induce the mobs and rioters to disperse. Then the soldiers are called to perform their messages and measures of insuring peace, which mission they have always prevented to be executed promptly and afficaciously.

There is no doubt the figure representing the cost of maintaining so expensive an institution as that of the Military, will bewilder the members of the Assembly, but if they would only take into account what has been squandered during the incumbancy of the late administration, of drafts without Vouches, of Opium without License, of sugars leaving the country without taxation, and numerous other incongruities, and an appalling sight is at once exhibited that no sound mind can hesitate for a moment to the capability of the Government to maintain, a proper and sufficient force to be prepared for any emergency in the future.

In conclusion and for the purpose of vindicating the character of my former brethren in arms, it cannot be doubted that they have in a great measure maintained their status and positions as due their character and discipline as gentlemen and soldiers. For the people, have not scrupled to stigmatize them as unworthy of the title and positions they hold. For 16 years of my connection and service in and with the King's Guards, I have never know them to be lacking of courage their duties and knowledge of their profession. Perfection is the standard and not the rule with them, considering the limited means placed at their disposal. Nevertheless, their intergrity to their duties and their discipline have always been maintained and never for a moment questioned.

Few outside of naval and military circle know the causes why no shot in anger were fired by the King's Guards at the time and riot of June 30th, 1887, of which the *Friend*, the *Saturday Press* and the *Hawaiian Gazette*, have lauded with high plaudation the success of the bloodless revolution and rebellions scheme of inaugurated by the Reform Party during that period. It was simply owing to discipline and obedience to orders. In absence of a "Riot Act" being publicly read, nor a "Martial Law" proclaimed, to warrant an active demonstration on their part. but in strict obedience to the Constitution and to the Laws of the land,

to the Commands and Rules and Regulations of Military Law as prescribed in every well regulated military organization of all civilized nations, and community in the world, no blood: Yea! not even one jot or little of blood was shed.

Verily! Verily!! This bloodless revolution, has been tenaciously claimed as a grand and glorious victory gained by the "Honolulu Rifles, the Boys in Blue," and for the Reform Party in particular.

Now that the scene has changed, a proper vindication of the character of the officers of the Guards with their men should be at once recognized, that aspersion should not be cast against them for doing their duty.

I would then suggest aud propose in order that the expenses of the organization of the military, be not felt by the general revenue of the government, it would be well for the Government to monopolize the manufacturing and selling of liquors, the licensing of opium and awa; by thus with holding the franchise in its own name and power, the evils deriving from such source will surely be diminished. It will not only be a source of revenue to the Government, but a great prevention of evils which up to date, have not in the least diminished, nor abated.

The strict observance of law, regulation and discipline by the officers—the Guards and the Native Hawaiian Volunteer soldiers, have not been properly understood by the foreign community nor the country at large, why the bloodless revolution succeeded and to their credit then, must be attributed in a great measure. Why the musket, guns and munitions of war was silenced? Not because, they were afraid to use them on account of the Honolulu Rifles, or the foreign mob outside of them, but because they knew the law and shooting thereof without authority and justification of law, that it was criminal to do so. They stuck to their duty and discipline and saved not only themselves of being implicated as murderers, but saved life, property, plunder and every accesses that would have been done under the Holy Name of Crime.

The Hawaiian soldiers have prove themselves beyond reproach, and the Government and the people at large can now surely trust the officers of the natives soldiers and population are capable to fill honourable and responsible positions. This single instance alone have proven beyond a doubt, their trust worthiness. They have proven, they have done their duty as well as any soldiers under similar organization of any civilized country in the world. It is also proven, they are thorough amendable to law, order, and military discipline.

This splendid corps of able bodied men, styled the Honolulu Rifles, at the onset behave well and remained in strict obedience to military rules, and carried out the order issued from the Headquarters of His Ex. Hon. A. Rosa, the Commander-in-Chief and Governor of Oahu, on Thursday, the 30th of June, 1887; but less military cast by their sponteneous turn out on Friday, the 1st of July, without orders to seize some arms from Australia consigned to G. W. Macfarlane & Co., which turned out afterwards to be a shipment of rice bird guns. On the occasion of the 1st of July, they were marching with arms through the streets of Honolulu, fluffing here and fluffing there, and fluffing everywhere, without orders and discipline, threatening every d—m Kanaka and that dared to be insolent, insulted the British Commissioner and other Foreign Representatives, and Lord knows what else they would have done. It would here be observed. To the credit of the native Hawaiian soldiers the native population and the Chinese, they restrained from any excesses, and thus saved life and property, which would otherwise have been a most fatal consequences to the foreign community of Honolulu. Indeed, I would not have mention of the lawlessness that prevailed and the mocked arrest and threats to hang the late poor Mr. Gibson, an object of persecution, which the high Courts of Honor would not for a moment hesitate to abjure. But, when it was observed at that time, that our high Courts of Justice was in full operation and in league with

the League of 13, one can easily imagine what state of things prevailed during the crisis of that critical period.

The history of this honorable corps of gentlemen Volunteers, styled the old Honolulu Rifles was organized in 1846. In 1852, received a formal recognition from the Government and styled Hawaiian Guards. In 1854, the tactics of the corps was changed to that of Artillery, and in 1858, reorganized and a charter obtained under the title of Honolulu Rifles, and the tactics changed back again to Infantry. For nearly half a century, this corps maintained a high reputation for drill and discipline, and included in its ranks most of the influential merchants of high standing in the community. The late C. H. Brewer, Mr. Coady, Captain of the Rifles; T. Spencer, J. H. Paty, F. Ladd, J. S. Walker, Thompson, J. McKee, Anthony, J. C. Spalding, Bartow, J. Meek, J. H. Brown, M. Brown, Vincent, Ritson, J. O. Dominis, E. P. Adams, W. F. Allen and a host of other eminent men of the period. But, an evil hour at last came over the corps and were led astray from duty and honor to recklessness and disorder. A high honor and military prestige they have decidedly lost and have never recovered to this day.

The rumor circulated and carried out by the reduction of the Guards to 30 by the late administration, that 60 of them was a menace to the peace of the City of Honolulu, now stands as utterly groundless, and can only be ascribed as a muddy political trick probably to carry out another bloodless revolution, this time perhaps a more practical one to really kill, to murder and thrust of Blood! Blood!! Blood!!! As if the appetite for it has not been satisfied, and as if for the desire of saturation of the streets of Honolulu with more innocent blood, have not been thorougly complete. This was a remark, that fell like crumbs from a rich man's lips and one in high authority during the late administration. There were not "Black birds" enough for his bag, but not being a sportsman contented himself by taking in lame ducks for his bag, and has lately left the

lakes where the black birds abound. and have struck out alone to parts unknown. Verily! Retribution has come at last, and by a providential dispensation, the "black birds" are still alive, swimming and kicking.

There is one thing that the public can be assured that we will not realize here in Hawaii nei, what is used in Military parlance "South American Soldiery." That is to say, taking into consideration the action taken by the native officers during the crisis of 1887.

I do not claim I have a right to be entitled to the honor of a martyrship, but I may safely be categorically classified among those that were legislated out. Although I have suffered considerably, but have no axe to grind against the principal of Reform. Every student of political history is assured that Reform is a necessary adjunctive ingredient for all governments. Neither have I any animosities to any individual, and if any of my remarks have swerved in the least from the path of decorum, I have not done it with intention of malice, but I hope I have kept myself within the strict line of Military observation and my comments, a brief and a fair criticism upon the past history of the condition of the country's affairs and its people. and its vindication to every fairly minded individual verified and confirmed.

Though I have generalized the whole subject without entering into details, still these historical events may be considered a fair exposition of the critical times.

I will conclude by adding, that it is only in the Military profession and occupation that the life of the nation, of the dying Hawaiian and Aboriginal race can have hope for its continuance, perpetuation and maintenance. We were taught to be more enlightened and less barbarian, to discard the Ma-lo and assume a little more *parisian* garb, to discontinue athletic exercise, and games of surf riding, and (boxing) Lua, for a little more devotion and prayer, to exclude honest work and farming for a little more Mammon, and less greediness, to give up your lands and

properties for a little more Holy Ghost! to appease the anger of *Him* who furnished and lavished his, and he that doeth, shall reap a ten million plantation. Throw and cast thy bread upon the water thusly, verily, this was done. Presto-change! Hands up! Your King! and your Dom! or a little lead. But we only got in answer from Madame Pele's sonorous. odoriferous. sulphureous, affluctive grunt *mahope*! the interpretation of which is the sweet bye and bye! Uh! and down went McGinty to reap Elisha's boy, all in their suit of sailor clothes, &c.

Though a more sentiment of gravity, befitting the occasion, still one cannot help to use a little satire, so thoroughly do we enjoy the joke and the manner we have been imposed upon. Anyhow we hope we have learnt a good lesson, and shall in the future he more wise accordingly.

Those then, that are enured to hardship by exercises, gymnastics and healthy out door sports as the statistics of England, Germany, United States, Austria, France, Italy, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland and even little Belgium can prove the true cause of the resuscitation and vitalization of its races. Besides this, the Military is the great Educator of the common people, and a Home for the poor and destitute. A great workshop for those that need steady employment. Its occupation comprises all manners of manual labor under the sun; as to its profession, it embraces all sciences.

The true soldier then is a real lover of peace and not of war. He is only compelled when duty calls him to employ his physical energies and mental qualities to the best of his ability to do his duty to his Sovereign, his country and honor to the profession he is ordained to maintain.

I have the honor to be, Sirs,
Your most Obedient and Humble Servant,

ROBERT H. BAKER,

Colonel on His Majesty's Personal Staff and Equery in Waiting, Member of the Privy Council of State, Ex-Governor of Maui, &c., &c., &c.

The idea of arming the Police to provide for a National Army of defense is unconstitutional, and should never be considered for a moment. Fancy a man of peace to be a semi-man of war.

Soldiers and sailors are an expensive luxury for every nation to provide. They of course are a source of great expense, if due care is not taken to economise the purchase of their kit and uniform, and that their canteen is properly cared for. A soldier is a dandy and a spendthrift. He does not keep his money, at the same time he is a great medium of circulation. The shop keepers and store and every other trade are those that are immediately materially benefitted by large expenditures of moneys in this direction. Though the money is provided for them it goes right back again to the source of taxation where its maintenance have been directly derived from. This principle is equally applicable to the soldier as to that of the police. Although the polices' salaries are higher and double that of a soldier, but in his clothing the police has to purchase his uniform on tick paying by installments to our local tailors at an exceedingly exhorbitant price. A policeman has to pay a whole month's salary for his uniform without helmet, great coats, boots and other accessories in the way of duty provisions, both Summer and Winter. To give an idea of comparative cost of each soldier to that of policeman:

POLICEMAN.		SOLDIER.	
Coat	$ 20 00	Full Dress	$ 5 60
Pants	10 00	" "	3 34
Hat	2 50	Helmet	2 10
Shoes	3 00	Boots	1 50
Shirt	1 50		50
Underdrawers }	1 00		25
Flannel }			25
Stockings	25		12
	$ 38 25		$ 13 75
Without Winter over Coat & Oil cloth, add	27 00	Winter over Coats	6 30
Total	$ 65 25	Total	$ 20 05

A RESUME OF THE MILITARY EXPENSES FOR TWO YEARS.

1st—Estimate General Staff	$ 45,680 00	1st—Members, staff	Ten.
2nd—Estimate	66,012 00	2nd—King's Guard, foot	127 Rank & File
3rd— "	57,162 00	3rd—Infantry, foot	111 " "
4th— "	42,624 00	4th— "	57 " "
5th— "	66,622 00	5th—Artillery	146 " "
6th— "	41,488 00	6th—Cavalry & semi-Police 80 Horses	521 " "
	$ 319,578 00		521
Munitions	25,000 00		
Survey	693 00		
Gymnastics	270 00		
	$ 345,541 00		
Total Staff, Rank & File	531 men.		

If these estimates are considerably over the capacity of which the government is to maintain, reduce the amount to one-half and that will be better than nothing at all.

Like all technical Institutions of every civilized nation the Staff is the most important; and, without which, no proper Military Organization can be carried out, no matter how large or how small. Where everything has to be undone and anything made new under the new Order of things where every Rule, Regulation, Laws, Drawings, Plans and Surveys, Triangulations, Topography have to be made to suit Military requirements. The people living in this country of blessed peacefulness of a century, have not the least possible idea what an efficient force is required for this nation. Everything has been put down to subdue the ardour and Martial spirit of the people, and to trust to the "Big Book" that the teaching has not been consistent thereof, that they are tired of such nonsense, and the manner in which the churches have been disseminated, to their worshipers proves their patriotic feelings will not end in smoke.

King Kalakaua himself
wrote this
L. L. Thurston

U. M. HYDE
3189 Honolulu.

Ua unuhiia keia pepa malalo iho ma ka olelo Hawaii, a e loaa no me ka uku ole, ke kii ae ma na hale kuai buke o Thos. G. Thrum, a ma ka hale kuai no hoi kekahi o J. M. Oat, Jr. & Co., ma alauui Kalepa.

This paper translated into the Hawaiian language can be had gratuitously by calling at Thos. G. Thrum's Fort and Merchant street Stores, and J. M. Oat & Co.'s, Merchant street. Extra copies of the English edition can also be obtained at the same places. Read and circulate.

HAWAIIAN
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SHALL OPIUM BE LICENSED?

OPIUM IN HAWAII.

BY WM. R. CASTLE.

One of my earliest recollections is of the discussions, frequently renewed relating to the use of opium in the Islands.

When I would ask what it was all about I was told by my father of the opium war in China, by which the drug was forced upon that people against the will of the government, and how pernicious were its effects and influence upon the mind and physique of mankind. My boyish interest was excited and whenever in my reading—I found anything about opium it was eagerly devoured. The thought grew into a conviction with me, boy as I was, that opium was a subject of importance in Hawaii. That much interest in the subject was felt at that time is shown by the fact that legislation was attempted for its control. Its importation was not prohibited, and the duty collected was simply that of a drug, Physicians were allowed to keep it. There is no doubt that it was imported by a number of individuals besides druggists.

The lack of comprehensive and reliable statistics in former years, as well indeed as at the present time, prevents a thorough showing of the opium question for the country; but so far as possible information has been collected from various sources—chiefly from reports made to the legislature of the Kingdom from time to time.

The earliest statutory provision appears to be the Act of May, 1856, the preamble to which reads:

Whereas, suicides and serious riots are of frequent occurrence from the use and abuse of opium and other poisonous drugs, and whereas there is danger of the pernicious habit of using opium being acquired by His Majesty's native born subjects from the example of the Chinese, etc.

The Act then provides that the importing, selling, vending or furnishing opium or any preparation thereof, except by licensed physicians as medicine, shall be punished by fine. The license was fixed at $40 per annum to physicians.
physicians and surgeons at forty dollars a year to import and sell opium and other poisonous drugs, but it was provided that such license should not authorize the holder to sell or furnish opium or preparations thereof or other poisonous drugs to Chinese or Coolies, except on prescriptions. (Civil Code, Sec. 83, *et seq.*)

This remained law a little more than a year, and whether or not it very much obstructed the importation of opium, is shown by the fact that in 1859, opium to the value of $12,143 was imported and paid duty.

In August 1860, the importation and
This law was enacted shortly after the first considerable influx of Chinese into the country, and it is undoubtedly a fact that to them Hawaii owes the vice of opium using. Those early Chinese had the name of being a very bad lot and it is probably true that they came fairly by the reputation. The preamble to the Act indicates the fact that they soon acquired an evil notoriety in the matter of opium at least. The Hawaiian with his sociable nature and readiness to acquire any new thing, soon became addicted to the use of the drug—and this fact aided in the passage of the law.

In spite of the prohibition however, the use of opium continued.

It was not very difficult it was said to

ations thereof or other poisonous drugs to Chinese or Coolies, except on prescriptions. (Civil Code, Sec. 83, *et seq.*)

This remained law a little more than a year, and whether or not it very much obstructed the importation of opium, is shown by the fact that in 1859, opium to the value of $12,143 was imported and paid duty.

In August 1860, the importation and sale of opium was licensed by act of the Legislature.

Two permits for Honolulu and one for Lahaina which at that time was a place of considerable business, were prescribed. They were to be offered at auction to the highest bidder at the upset price of $2000 each. The licenses permitted the sale of opium to Chinese only. They were to be delivered only on the execution of a bond inthe penal sum of one thousand dollars, not to sell or furnish opium to any person except Chinese. Physicians and surgeons were permitted to prescribe opium, the rest of the community were inhibited on pain of fine or imprisonment, not to deal in the deadly stuff.

This remained the law of the land until 1874. But the expectation of those who believed that an income of at least $6000 a year would be derived from the sale of licenses were sadly disappointed. The Chinaman with his rare ability for combination and respect for Chinese obligations, bid $2000 for the first license put up and nothing further was offered; as a result of this, but $2000 a year was received by the Government for seven years. In the eighth year or 1868, the two great clans, the Poonti and Hak-Ka fell out and bid against each other and the license sold for $2,952.75. After this the licenses—sold for Honolulu only—brought enormous figures, the biennial periods ending respectively March 31, 1870, 1872 and 1874 showing receipts of $18,534, $22,248 and $46,714; no license was sold for 1876; that for 1875 brought $19,266, in spite of the fact that the prohibitory law of 1874 would soon go into effect.

Under the license law of 1860, the Government received as compensation for the privilege of selling a drug so poisonous and deadly that on no account could it be sold or furnished *to any but Chinese!* the sum of $123,716, besides the considerable amount received as duty on its importation.

The large amount bid for the license, again aroused public discussion and in 1874 when the bill to amend the license law by permitting but one to be sold and that to be put up at the upset price of $16,000, was under discussion before the Legislative Assembly, the interest was sufficient to procure the signing by a very large number of citizens and residents, of a vigorous protest and petition. This was placed before the Assembly, and in deference to an undoubted public opinion, a very stringent prohibitory act was passed and signed by the King. It is singular that the other statute enacted at the same session was also signed and is now in the volume of laws of 1874, though it is clearly repealed by the last clause of the prohibitory statute signed one week later. This law bears marks of hurried action and was cumbersome in its execution; Section 1 absolutely forbids the importation of opium or any preparation thereof, or its sale, furnishing, etc, under pain of not over two years imprisonment; Section 2 excepts the Board of Health, giving it authority to import and use opium etc, for medicinal purposes.

Section 3 makes the possession of opium or preparations, an offense punishable by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than one year. Section 4 punishes physicians who sell, prescribe or furnish opium to persons in the habit of smoking or otherwise using the same, by a forfeiture of all opium in his possession and by fine of not less than $25 nor over $100.

This law is now amended by the Act of 1880, which inflicts fines ranging from not less than $50 to $500, besides the said terms of imprisonment, one half of the fine to go to the informer. The object of this amendment as will be conjectured is to stimulate the reporting of offences in the expectation of reward.

Thus the law stands to-day. How long it will stand remains to be seen. A considerable and perfectly honest, intelligent and patriotic portion of the community believe that the use of opium, which cannot be absolutely restrained, can best be held in check and regulated by stringent license laws.

The business of dealing in opium is very profitable, and no effort has been or will be spared in the future to procure the repeal of the present law and the re-enactment of a license Act. This influence has been felt every session of the Legislature since 1874. Simon Kaai has led it, has introduced the bills and twice has been victorious in the passage of the Act. In every case his argument has been the infamous one—that opium could by the law, be sold only to the Chinese and that therefore no Hawaiian could get it and be killed, as for the Chinese, well——!

Mr. Kaai has gone. It may be said that

the veil of Charity should tenderly be drawn about him. He was a man of unusual ability. He might have stood to-day the leader of his race. His power swayed and controlled them, but he chose to prostitute himself to evil. He was the recognized champion of opium license, and no doubt its paid champion. The Chinese to-day, to the writer's knowledge, are offering large amounts to procure the passage of license laws.

The present session of the Legislature sees a bill to provide a license and repeal the prohibitory statute—introduced by Mr. Lilikilani of "gatling guns" and "Na lay tor pedo" memory. His great learning (?) and eloquence (?) displayed in his manifestoes of 1882—may possibly assist him in securing the passage of this bill. It provides for a license to be sold at the upset price of $30,000, to authorize the sale of opium to *Chinese only*, and prescribes a multitude of penalties for selling or furnishing to the Hawaiian, or for violating other provisions of the Act, which is long, cumbersome, and after all its verbiage, only creates anew, the right to sell opium.

Mr. Pilipo, of N. Kona, moved the rejection of the bill, but withdrew his motion at the request of Mr. W. O. Smith, who thought the matter should be carefully considered before such action was had. Mr. Smith is no friend to free opium and his motion, in the writer's opinion, is intended to more effectually kill the measure. The bill is now in the hands of a committee, and will be brought before the House for action at an early day. It ought to be printed and circulated freely in the community that all might see and understand its terms and intent.

The King has vetoed the bills which have twice passed the Assembly and each time in response to the strong protests placed before him by the community. It is said that the last time, his veto was in consideration of the declaration by Chinese young men that many of them could not resist the use of opium if its use were licensed, while they are able to keep from it by the help of prohibitory statutes. His Majesty is deserving of all praise for this action which is understood to be contrary to his own views of public policy and was a yielding in favor of the humane side of the question. The Chinese form now a very large minority of the population, and Christian civilization demands that their rights and needs receive protection as well as those of the rest of the community.

What were the numbers of the Chinese in 1860 is not certainly known, as they were counted with Hawaiians at some places in the census of that year. In 1866 there were about 1200, of whom 370 were in Honolulu and 500 on Oahu. In 1872 their numbers had increased to 1940, one-third of whom were in Honolulu and about half on Oahu. In 1874 began the influx of Chinese which has kept up till the present time in greater or less volume and the census of 1878 shows 5800, of whom 1300 were in Honolulu and 2200 on Oahu. The census to be taken next December will probably show not far from 20,000, with from 6000 to 8000 in Honolulu.

If therefore prior to 1868, it paid to sell opium to less than 1500 Chinamen at a cost for the privilege, of $2000 dollars per annum, and after 1868 to 1875 to not over 3500 at a cost from $15,000 to $20,000 a year, it is natural to suppose that the right to supply the demand of from 12,000 to 15,000 Chinamen to-day is worth much more, and this fact is appreciated by those who want revenue—from legitimate sources if possible—but revenue at any rate.

The use of opium was not confined to the Chinese during the days of license. The vice spread among the natives and some others. It is estimated that when the prohibitory act went into effect, not less than 500 to 1000 natives had acquired the opium habit. Its allurements were even more powerful with them than with the Chinese and the consequent ruin and death sooner reached. What its effects have been can never be known in the absence, not of reliable, but of *any* vital statistics in most parts of the Kingdom. It is believed to-day that not more than 50 to 100 natives are opium users. The great decrease in the habit is due not as much to reform as to the prohibitory law. It can not be had as it once could.

The old law prohibited the sale to natives. It did not prevent them from visiting the frequent opium dens and partaking with the Chinese, of the drug, for which they paid, not the holder of the license, but the proprietor of the den. The Hawaiian, however, got all he wanted of the drug, at any and all times. He merely handed his "hapaha" to the Chinaman, who bought of the dealer, and simply delivered his purchase, and exactly the same thing will occur again. These places do, not exist to-day as they did in former years. They cannot, for the danger of detection is too great, and the Chinaman who would furnish opium to the Hawaiian, well knows that his victim after enjoying the deadly trance caused by its use, will report to the police for the reward promised. Why

should he not? His moral sense is destroyed. No spark of honor which might induce the protection of a fellow, guilty only as the informer is, remains in the breast of the depraved smoker. It is not necessary to picture these opium dens, for probably all hearers of this paper know from the vivid pictures so often drawn, of the appearance of the opium taker. It was the unpleasant duty of the writer to visit many of these places in the line of duty as tax assessor of Honolulu in 1867 8 and 9, and the scenes there witnessed cannot be forgotten while memory lasts.

Those who would witness the effects of opium using can do so to-day by stepping into the Police Court, where the miserable wretches with their startling faces and look of death are frequently arraigned to answer for the offense of having opium in their possession. The punishment of imprisonment is a mercy, yet a mercy full of horror to those whose use thereof is constant; for the two or three months of deprivation is a terrible ordeal.

The reports of the Supreme Court to the Legislature make a significant exhibit as to the offenses connected by name with opium.

For selling opium without license, 4 convictions in 1864-5; 1866-7 2 cases; 1868-9 8 cases; 1870-1 33 cases; 1872-3 38 cases; 1874-5 53 or a total of 139 cases. This makes no account of smuggling cases; of commitments for insanity, or for the many other charges directly or indirectly traceable to the use of opium. In the report to the Legislature of 1878, the Chief Justice says that 107 complaints under the opium laws had been filed, and that there had been 87 convictions, besides which most of the 116 smuggling cases had been for opium. Of these 107 complaints, 75 were for the possession of opium under the then new prohibitory law.

In 1880 the Chief Justice says that there were 131 cases of possession of opium, 19 for selling opium and 38 for smuggling opium, a total of 178 cases. In 1882 the Judiciary report states that 613 cases have arisen under the opium statute. It further shows that it is evident the strict law against its possession is valuable as tending to restrain the native population from its use. The report to the present Legislature shows 127 cases for possession of opium, 21 cases for selling opium and 22 cases for importing. Since 1876 then the enforcement of the opium laws has involved the trial of not less than 1400 cases. But it cannot be argued from this that the law should be repealed on the ground of expense, as the heavy fines collected, never of prosecutions. Several vessels have been seized for smuggling opium, and one has been confiscated, it appearing that the officers were concerned in the offense. It is thought to-day that a large part of the smuggling carried on now is by the lumber vessels which are supposed to possess peculiar facilities for hiding it. The report of the Attorney-general to the Legislature of 1882 calls attention to the ease with which opium can be smuggled and to the impossibility of preventing it by means of searches, as it would impose an intolerable burden on commerce to compel an examination of every article of merchandise.

The custom house statistics show that from 1859 to 1875 $170,789 worth of opium was imported. It paid a duty of 15 per cent. Since 1875, under the prohibitory statutes, 3632 pounds have been seized as it has been smuggled into the Kingdom. Opium is smuggled constantly. It is brought into the Kingdom in such quantities that its price to-day is only about $13 a tin. Though this may be for the poorer qualities brought from the Coast and Victoria. It is said that good Hongkong opium is to-day worth $20 a tin. Two tins are about one pound. It is the impression among the officers of the Government that smuggling is now conducted by a powerful ring numbering in its midst many names unsuspected by the community. Under the old license, opium was smuggled in considerable quantities and the holders of the licenses could not stop it any better thanthe Government. Nothing for or against license can be argued on the question of smuggling.

The question for our law makers to decide is this:

Will you have the Government derive a revenue from the importation and sale of opium, knowing that to license it will largely increase its use, and will bring within its influence a large number of people, chiefly Hawaiians, who are now exempt?

Are the premises upon which the foregoing proposition is based, sound? Will more people be exposed? Are the effects of opium injurious to the body or mind or both?

Let us see what evidence is offered upon these points.

The vital statistics for Honolulu, (I find less than $50, fully pay for the expense none for other places,) for the past four years place opium as the cause of death in eleven cases. Here it is credited with being the direct cause. How many more are owing to that cause indirectly can not

be known, but in all probability more than eleven.

Mr. David Dayton says: "I have been in the Police service ever since there was an opium law in the country, and from my twenty-five and more years of experience, I say unhesitatingly, if you want to sow death broadcast through our streets, let the sale of opium be again licensed!"

He says: During the last few years when opium was licensed, its use spread very rapidly among the natives, and when the prohibitory law went into effect, I think that not less than one thousand of them had acquired the habit, and it affected and ruined them sooner than the Chinese, but I think I am safe in saying that where there used to be twenty-five native opium users, there is not more than one to-day. It was a common thing during those last years, on going the rounds, in the morning, through the lower parts of Honolulu—Puukolo, Kikihale, Kepahoni, etc.—to find a person on the floor dead, from the effects of using opium, and sometimes it was a native. The Chinese could not smoke or eat all that which was sold. It stands to reason that the holder of the license would sell all he could—and he will do so again. Large quantities of opium were sold by the licensee to people who went all over the country, from Hawaii to Kauai, peddling it, and it was sold and furnished to natives—and it will be again. The Police Court room would be foul with the breath of the opium using crowd who collected. It was not uncommon to have to give a prisoner a dose of opium before he could be arraigned in the morning, he would be so exhausted from the lack of the stimulant over night. But since the present law went into effect that necessity has arisen but a few times. If it is again licensed it will surely hasten the death and extinction of the Hawaiian race. Prisoners in those days frequently had to be doctored at the jail for two or three months, to cure them of opium before they could go to work. The opium using class furnish a constant and steady stream of criminals, they are burglars, thieves and the perpetrators of other crimes. The recent cases in the Supreme Court for burglary and larceny are *all* from the opium using class. This class having very largely decreased does not now furnish the same quota as formerly. The use of opium seems to act as an incentive to various crimes. This testimony was endorsed by Mr. Parke, Marshal of the Kingdom, whose experience extends back to 1850.

Several old opium users have been interviewed by the writer within the past week and their evidence concurs, that to again license the sale of opium will be the worst thing that can happen to the native Hawaiian. The suggestion that under the proposed law the native cannot get opium is scouted as absurd. The old law is cited and the fact that although prohibited, natives got all they wanted, and more and more of them were becoming opium users. "We cannot get it to-day as we could then," one said, "it can be purchased but with such danger and risk, that we don't like to try it, and so very few natives use it." Opium takes away a man's strength. He becomes a lazy fellow and will not work, and he cannot do the same work as a man who does not use opium. One man said: "I used to be one of a gang of laborers on a plantation, and several of us smoked opium—we were a miserable crowd—we never had more than a single shirt to our backs, and we never could work like the other men. Once a man—an opium smoker was seen trying to break a woman's finger to get her ring which he wanted to get opium with. The men used to sell and pawn every thing they had for opium.

Several of the leading Chinese of the city; men who have no connection with the Chinese or any other Church, but who are old residents, who have had experience in business, under license and under prohibition, and who have a practical acquaintance with various phases of industry in the country, were interviewed.

They say: "If the Government want to make money out of opium they can make a great deal, and probably more by selling licenses to everybody anywhere, who will pay a thousand dollars for one, and it would bring in a revenue of from $40,000 to $50,000 a year." A great deal of money can be made by the holders of the licenses. Of course the man who has a license will, as a matter of business, sell all he can, any one would, it would not be good business conduct to do otherwise. But no doubt the free sale of opium is a bad thing for the plantations. The rice growers are now troubled with the opium smokers, they number about four or five in a hundred, but if opium could be freely bought, the per centage would rise very high. The opium user does not earn his wages and is a bother, they are turned off, but go to other places and are employed and then the discovery is made, often after a debt is incurred, that they are opium users. If the Government wishes to have regard for the physical condition of the laborers in the country, it will not license opium. The use of opium is a great detriment to the

value of labor. The great increase in the demand for opium to-day does not arise from its being used more by individuals, or by persons who never before used it, but from the fact that the number of Chinese in the country has vastly increased. Even the Chinese who use opium but not habitually, are not as likely to use it, or become slaves to the habit with prohibition as with license. If a license is again issued opium will be used in mercantile transactions, as liquor and cigars are to-day; a hoped for purchaser will be invited to partake of a whiff of opium, where now he is asked to have a cigar or a glass of wine. The unanimous opinion of these Chinese gentlemen is, that the opium user is a pauper and must at some time or other become a public charge.

Others were interviewed and the testimony agrees with the foregoing in all its main features.

It should be borne in mind in considering this question, that the Chinese now form a very large part of the population of the country, and the proportion is likely to become greater. Saying nothing of the infamous argument that the *Chinese* are to be permitted to purchase and use this article which is sure to bring ruin and death to so many of them, because they are *Chinese!* there are other aspects of the case which must be considered. What will be the effect on the community of the mingling of a large body of opium users with the general public. Such a thing cannot be otherwise than injurious to any people. The mere presence of a body of law breakers, of a pauperized class is an injury, the extent whereof cannot be measured, the tone of any community where this class is permitted will of necessity be lowered. Such a class will inevitably add to itself outsiders, who will not only become themselves opium users and paupers, but criminals. It ought also to be remembered that the Hawaiian has not the cunning and secretive qualties of the Chinese, and under prohibition could never hide his violations of the law as do the latter, consequently it adds another reason in favor of prohibition.

This subject has been considered largely from the point of view of Honolulu, but what is true here is true in the country to a greater or less extent. The planters say that under the license law, Monday and part of Tuesday were useless as far as Chinese labor was concerned, as Sunday was taken up with smoking opium, the result whereof being to render the men unfit for work. Under prohibition, although the evil is not cured, yet it is reduced to a fraction of its former magnitude, and only trouble can result from renewing the license. Statements from the other islands are not full enough to permit of the claim that this is the unanimous voice, but it is the opinion of an intelligent portion of our agriculturists, whose interests lead them to careful statements of their views. They have rights also which are deserving of recognition. The native in the country can procure opium as easily as in Honolulu; perhaps he is not as likely to become addicted to its use as in town.

Nothing has been said from the medical stand-point. It is pretty well known that physicians in the Islands regard the matter of the chance of opium being easily procured by the natives, with dread and alarm. They believe as they informed the writer in 1876, that free opium would quickly bring the remnant of this race to an untimely end. The general physical, moral and mental effects of opium are so well known as to require no further mention.

Thanks for statistical and other information here given are due to the Collector-General, the Minister of the Interior, the Chief Justice and others. It is only to be regretted that sources of statistical information are so unsatisfactory on many points. Bnt that must be so until a better system than at present, except perhaps in the Supreme Court and Custom House, shall prevail.

W. R. Castle.

Honolulu, May 7th 1884.

VACUUM.

A FARCE IN THREE ACTS.

VACUUM.

A FARCE IN THREE ACTS.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ:

SKYHIGH—*Emperor of the Coral Reefs and Sand Banks of the Blue Big Sea.*

PALAVER,
COCKADE,
CALABASH,
PICNIC,
} *Their Extravagancies the Incompetents.*

BANANAGAN—*Lord High Pipelighter to His Most Imperial Majesty.*

MANGO—*First Kahili Bearer to His Most Imperial Majesty.*

DANDY—*Court Fool.*

COWRY—*First Lady in Waiting.*

CASCADE—*Second Lady in Waiting.*

Knights, Ladies and Flunkies.

ACT FIRST.

SCENE:—*Palace of the Flying-Fish. Ringing of Fire-bells in the distance.*

Enter HIS MOST IMPERIAL MAJESTY SKYHIGH, WITH BANANAGAN.

EMPEROR: Where is the fire?

BANANAGAN, *bowing:* I don't know. Your

DANDY, *bowing low:* Yes, sire, I have, Your Most Imperial Majesty, and the fire is out.

BANANAGAN: Just what I said, a fire has no chance when the firemen are around.

EMPEROR: Did you see my old company?

DANDY: Yes, sire, it was there with the rest.

EMPEROR: Which company did the most good in putting the fire out?

DANDY: None of them do any good, Your Imperial Majesty, the fire burn out itself.

BANANAGAN: Was there no water?

DANDY: Yes, the water he come after the buildings were burn down.

BANANAGAN: Burnt up, you mean.

DANDY: I mean burn down.

BANAMAGAN: DANDY, you don't know what you're talking about.

DANDY: Well, I know when a building is burn down.

EMPEROR: What did my gallant company do when the water came?

DANDY: They take a drink and then they put out the ashes, and then they say they were going to the Hang Hi coffee house to have some W. C. T. U. coffee.

EMPEROR: BANANAGAN, to-morrow send to the foreman of my company a commission of

Knight Companion in the Imperial Order of the Cocoanut.

BANANAGAN: I will not fail, Your Imperial Majesty. *Exit all.*

ACT SECOND.

SCENE: *Palace of the Flying-Fish. Council Room. The* EMPEROR *seated at an office table,* BANANAGAN *standing.*

BANANAGAN: Yes, Your Imperial Majesty, that's what they say.

EMPEROR: That the gold is all gone!

BANANAGAN: Yes, Your Imperial Majesty.

EMPEROR: Well, this is pilikia; what do they propose to do?

BANANAGAN: To pay in silver.

EMPEROR, *rising excitedly:* What! to pay me in silver!

BANANAGAN: Yes, Your Imperial Majesty, and they say if things don't improve they will be lucky if they get enough silver to do it with, before long.

EMPEROR: How do they mean?

BANANAGAN: I don't know.

Enter COWRY *with deep obeisance to the* EMPEROR.

COWRY: Her Imperial Majesty the EM-

Imperial Majesty, but I'll telephone and inform Your Imperial Majesty.

Exit BANANAGAN.

Enter MANGO.

EMPEROR: MANGO, go and look at the fire and report to me.

MANGO, *bowing:* To hear is to obey. *Exit* MANGO *backwards, bowing.*

Enter BANANAGAN.

EMPEROR: Well, BANANAGAN, what news?

BANANAGAN, *bowing:* Your Imperial Majesty, the fire is burning on the west side of Lahui Avenue, but the gallant firemen are fighting the flames, and they will soon spend their force.

EMPEROR: Who will spend their force, the firemen?

BANANAGAN: Yes, Your Imperial Majesty, that is, excuse me, I, ahem—I mean—the fire.

EMPEROR: Do you know what houses are burning up?

BANANAGAN: Yes, Your Imperial Majesty, that is, the Central thinks it is the new Bastile, and possibly the coffee house of Hang Hi.

EMPEROR: Well, MANGO will soon be here. Of course they have put it out by this time.

Enter CASCADE, *excitedly:* Oh! the city is burning up and my father's house will go too.

BANANAGAN: Oh no, madam, they'll put it out in a few minutes, our gallant firemen they always save the city.

CASCADE, *relieved:* Oh, is that so!

Enter MANGO, *running.*

EMPEROR: Well, MANGO, how is it?

MANGO: The publishing house of the Daily Anathematizer has burnt to the ground and the flames are spreading to the new Bastile.

EMPEROR: Well, this is pilikia. Why don't they put it out?

MANGO: I believe there's no water.

EMPEROR: Impossible! Is my gallant company at work?

MANGO: Yes, sire, they are hard at work pumping air into the fire, but that seems to be no good.

BANANAGAN: If they can pump hard enough to blow the fire out, it would work well.

EMPEROR: That's so! I think I will go and inspirit my old company.

CASCADE: Oh, do go, and all will then be well!

Enter DANDY.

EMPEROR to DANDY: Have you been to the fire?

PRESS says they would pay her salary in silver money.

The EMPEROR *looks helplessly at* COWRY *and then at* BANANAGAN, *and finally says to* COWRY: Come again, Madam, in one hour, and BANANAGAN, notify my INCOMPETENTS to assemble here at once.

BANANAGAN: It shall be done, Your Imperial Majesty.

Exit COWRY *and* BANANAGAN *backwards, bowing.*

EMPEROR, *with his hands in his trousers pockets, walking about the room with a puzzled air:* I cannot understand; my trusted Prime Incompetent, PALAVER, has always told me that we were prosperous. He said the other day that under his intelligible management my country was making rapid strides. I think that was what he said; and now to think of paying my salary in silver money! I don't think I can stand that: but he will explain when he comes.

Enter BANANAGAN *with* PALAVER, COCKADE, CALABASH *and* PICNIC. *The* EMPEROR *requests them to be seated and they all seat themselves around the table.*

EMPEROR: I have sent for you, gentlemen, that you may explain to me about the finances of my Empire.

PALAVER, *slowly rising and standing with bowed shoulders and washing his hands with invisible water,* E-r-r-r-r-h-m, Your Most Imperial Majesty, Er-r-r-r-r-r-h-m, the country is prosperous; there is indeed at present a slight friction in currency matters, which Your Most Imperial Majesty's internal enemies have precipitated upon the country by their preposterous gold law.

EMPEROR: Why did you not tell me that the gold law was—was—pre—posterous, that I might have vetoed it?

PALAVER: Well, Your Most Imperial Majesty, E-r-r-r-h-m (*clearing his throat with a sound like letting go an anchor*) you see—that is—Er-h-m, I might say that Your Most Imperial Majesty will comprehend, if I am not mistaken, that at that period in our history it seemed to be necessary as a matter of policy, to allow the law to pass.

EMPEROR: Necessary to pass a—a—pre—posterous law as a matter of policy? I do not understand. I am sure you said then that it was a good law and that it would strengthen the administration and weaken the opposition.

PALAVER: Er-h-m, Your Most Imperial Majesty must have misunderstood me; however, we will let that pass; all we have to do

now is to gradually prevent the law from working and then we shall be all right.

EMPEROR: Is that so ? Do you all think that way gentlemen ? (*The other three Incompetents rise and bow, and say in concert:* We do, Your Imperial Majesty.)

EMPEROR: Well, how about my salary ? BANANAGAN tells me there is no gold in the Treasury and that you want to pay me in silver

PALAVER: May it please Your Most Imperial Majesty, I may state, Er-h-m, that. Er-r-r-h-m, that owing to disturbances in the currency caused by this same gold law and the machinations of Your Most Imperial Majesty's internal enemies, there is a temporary absence of gold in the Treasury, but I may assure Your Most Imperial Majesty that—er-r-r-h-m—that under the precautions we have taken it will not happen again. Moreover—

EMPEROR: But do you mean that this time you would pay me in silver ?

PALAVER: Er-r-r-h-m, even in that case, Your Most Imperial Majesty, you will receive silver dollars which are distinguished by the common appellation of Skyhigh dollars, and which are honored with Your Most Imperial Majesty's likeness enduringly stamped upon

them, a coin which for the first time in the history of the realm, has given the empire a truly national currency, minted by Your Most Imperial Majesty's Government, making thereby an historic epoch in our history of unprecedented grandeur and importance ; and I may here further add that under our arrangements with Sir Silvergilt, Your Most Imperial Majesty's sincere friend and able supporter, these silver dollars are about to become, and Er-r-h-m, even now are, though most people have not found it out, of the full value of gold.

EMPEROR: Is that so, gentlemen ; do you all think so ? (*The other three Incompetents rise and bow together and say in concert):* It is, we do, Your Imperial Majesty.

EMPEROR: My chief Pipelighter told me this morning that he was informed at the Department of Finance that if things didn't improve, I should be lucky if there was even enough silver to pay me in before long. (*groans from the Incompetents.*) Now, if the country is prosperous and making rapid strides, I don't see how this could happen.

PICNIC, *rising:* We hope to have everything all right, Your Imperial Majesty, very soon, in fact, I may say, we are assured of it ; but in the meantime, in case of a continued

stringency in the money market, which may temporarily embarrass the payment of Your Imperial Majesty's salary in silver, that would be a matter of small moment, as we have accumulated a large quantity of silver certificates for any emergency that may arise; in fact, the quantity now stored up is sufficient to allay any anxiety in the most unexpected crisis; these will always be on hand with which to honor Your Imperial Majesty's drafts, and are, in point of fact, as good as silver and possibly better, in case we should be unable to entirely prevent the gold law from working. If worst comes to the worst, however, a properly drafted Banking Act, like the one we so timidly surrendered at the last session of the Imperial Parliament, authorizing the issue of bank notes, would relieve the Treasury and again place the affairs of Your Imperial Majesty's government upon a prosperous footing.

EMPEROR, *rising:* Well, gentlemen, I thank you for your explanations which I don't understand very well, but as you all agree with His Extravagancy PALAVER, I think it must be so. I wish you good morning.

Exit the four Incompetents backwards, bowing.

EMPEROR: Well, BANANAGAN, its all right, isn't it?

BANANAGAN: Yes, Your Imperial Majesty, that is, perhaps so, if the country prospers.

Enter DANDY.

EMPEROR, *continuing:* My Prime Incompetent says that my country is making rapid strides.

DANDY: S'pose he stride backards?

BANANAGAN: Oh, shut up, you fool. (To the EMPEROR): In any case, Your Imperial Majesty will have the first show at the Treasury.

Exit all.

ACT THIRD.

SCENE: *Room in* PALAVER'S *house.* TIME, *night.* PALAVER, COCKADE, CALABASH *and* PICNIC *sitting around a table, upon which are two kerosene lights and bottles and glasses.*

CALABASH: You see, gentlemen, we ought to have a policy. I say we ought to announce a policy. For a long time I have felt this; it is expected of us.

PALAVER: Well, Er-r-r-r-h-m.

COCKADE, *gesticulating:* A policy may be a very good thing, gentlemen, at the right time and under adventitious circumstances. But is this the right time? Are there not other things of vastly greater importance that we should acquire first? Moreover have we suffi-

cient funds to carry out a policy? When I was in the Interior Off—

PALAVER, *looking at the ceiling:* We might perhaps have a policy if we wanted, one without carrying it out.

COCKADE, *subsiding:* True, we might. I did not think of that.

PICNIC *to* CALABASH: What kind of policy does your Extravagancy propose?

CALABASH: I had not thought of anything in particular. But if we should decide that it is a good thing to announce a policy, then will be the time to—to—consider what it shall be.

PICNIC:- I agree with His Extravagancy CALABASH in the main, but differ with him slightly in the details of his proposition; to explain, I would reverse his order and suggest that we consider some policy first and decide afterwards whether to adopt it or not. Will some gentleman mention a policy?

(*A Pause.*)

PALAVER: As no one is ready to name a policy, I might venture to suggest one for your acceptance, a policy, I might say, I have made my own for some time and have found that it works well.

All the others: What is it?

PALAVER, *leaning back in his chair looking at the ceiling with his hands meeting at the finger tips:* It is, Er-r-r-h-m, it is—it is—er—the policy of—er—keeping in office.

All the others: Hear! Hear!

PALAVER: I began life in humble circumstances, but have always had an insatiable ambition for power. A somewhat checkered career, with many ups and downs, has led me by a long road to the responsible position I now fill. At last my hopes are realized; the toil and the disappointments by the way are past; I have reached the goal of my ambition; I have power, and with that I care not for friendship nor the confidence of men, for I have that with which to compel their obedience or their submission. I am the real ruler; our Emperor over yonder thinks that he is sovereign and that I am his devoted servant, but he is mistaken without knowing it, and he will never find it out; as long as he is humoured with money, state ceremony, salutes, flags, royal orders, and other fol de rol, he is happy and imagines he is governing the empire. A simple and ignorant people are also easily managed; a little patronage intelligently distributed, their hereditary vanity and prejudices judiciously handled, and the thing is done. Of course there are, and always will be, a number of discontented persons, who pull wires and magnify slight evils as a means of obtaining possession of the highest official positions, but they are a mere handful, and if we manage right, will always remain so. And so, gentlemen, you see my policy. You are welcome to it. We stand or fall together.

ADDRESS
TO THE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE!

(*In English and Hawaiian.*)

I the undersigned, who have heretofore addressed you many times on public affairs, through the columns of the Nuhou, and other mediums of communication, think this present election period a proper occasion for venturing upon a word or two of advice and suggestion. But I hasten to say at the outset of my remarks, that I am not a candidate for election as a representative of the people in the next Legislature; and you will readily believe me when I say, that I have no occasion to seek or care for the emolument of office, whilst the island of Lanai affords me very bountifully the means of competence and independence. I speak therefore from the promptings of a sense of patriotism and as a lover of Hawaii.

1. I regret to say that I hear mention made among you of an "Emma Party;" as if the question of the election of a Sovereign of these islands was still an open one, and was not irrevocably settled. I now say to you most emphatically that the persons who pretend to form such a so-called party, and who advise any disloyalty to the reigning Sovereign, are fomenting a most foolish and dangerous discussion;—one that is most hurtful to the peace and credit of the country, and injurious to the reputation of the illustrious person, whose name is no doubt wrongfully assumed as a party denomination. Listen not O, Hawaiians! to such wicked and dangerous, though stupid advisers, who set up pretentions as an "Emma Party."

When Kamehameha V. died, without naming a successor, it was perhaps a misfortune for you Hawaiian People, who had been nurtured in traditions of reverence for a Sovereign Chief, to be called upon to elect a successor to the Throne; but this only remained to be done in accordance with the provisions of law. I then joined with Hawaiian Electors, and I can claim with a few others to have wielded an important influence in the organization of the popular feeling, which led to the election of King Lunalilo. And again at the demise of the chosen Chief, I took a lead, as you well know, in organizing public sentiment towards the election of His Majesty on the Throne; and

CALABASH, *standing up, dramatically:* Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears. The noble Brutus hath told you that Cæsar was ambitious, and Brutus is—

COCKADE *to* PALAVER: Your policy, as so succinctly portrayed by Your Extravagancy, is beyond all doubt the best one for us at the present time; it comes to me with something like the force of genius. When I was Chief Cler—

CALABASH: Brutus is an honorable man. (*sits down.*)

PICNIC *to* PALAVER: Your policy, if it can be called a policy, has certainly the merit of being supported by distinguished precedent. We seem to be unanimous in its favor, unless His Extravagancy CALABASH dissents.

CALABASH, *rising, impressively:* Though I am native here and to the manner born, it is a custom more honored in the breach than the observance. (*Sits down and goes to sleep.*)

Enter officer in military uniform who hands an envelope to PALAVER, *who respectfully remarks:* A dispatch from His Most Imperial Majesty, *and tears it open and reads. As he proceeds his face lengthens and his jaw drops.*

PICNIC *and* COCKADE, *anxiously:* What is it? What news? PALAVER'S *jaw drops still lower, and as he falls back in his chair he says hoarsely:* We are dismissed. (*The faces of* COCKADE *and* PICNIC *simultaneously lengthen.*)

TABLEAU.

CURTAIN.

in so doing, I opposed the candidacy of a most distinguished high Chiefess, whom I, as well as you revered as the most illustrious Lady of the land. Therefore, in view of the part I have taken, I may be permitted to speak now, and to advise you Hawaiians on the subject of loyalty to the Sovereign. I desire to say to you, that not only is it in accordance with the sanctions of law, your bounden duty to sustain loyally the choice of your representatives; but that it is more especially your highest interest to cultivate and cherish a sentiment of love towards the recognized Head of your Nation; and to unite as one man to guard his person and uphold his authority; by so doing you will establish a name for good sense and patriotism which will be a guarantee for the highest prosperity; because when you respect your own laws, and your lawfully, chosen Sovereign, you win the respect of powerful nations able to assist you, and the confidence of men of capital who will come here to invest their fortune. Athens, the most distinguished state of ancient times, and not comprising within her limit more people than even poor Hawaii, is said by the great thinker Schlegel, to owe her pre-eminence to the intelligent and unanimous loyalty of her people in support of her lawfully chosen leaders. And so, Hawaii, united by love and loyalty will be like an unassailable column of iron, being sustained by the generous sentiment of the civilized world, but if divided by factious disloyalty, she will be but a rope of sand, ready at any moment to be broken and destroyed.

3. You are advised by some people to disregard a treaty of reciprocity, negotiated with the Government of the United States of America. This treaty is virtually a law of our land, and only held in abeyance, or withheld from promulgation, on account of having to await a conclusive action on the part of one of the contracting powers. Therefore the advice to disregard what your Legislature has enacted is most foolish and mischievous.

You Hawaiians will all remember, when it was proposed during the reign of King Lunalilo to cede Pearl Harbor, as an inducement for the United States to grant us a treaty of reciprocity, that I then opposed the contemplated cession, as not only unpatriotic but unstatesmanlike. I then contended, as I now contend, that America ought not to be offered a bonus to induce her to join with us in reciprocal commercial relations, as she regards our little state as a political foster child, and claims this archipelago as situated within the scope of her continental policy. That Pearl Harbor scheme was justly defeated and abandoned, and a new treaty for reciprocity was brought forward and ratified by your Legislature. This treaty proposes an exchange of products with a mutual remission of duties without any concession of territory, and is without the serious objections that were urged against the former defeated treaty. It is true that a clause has been admitted into the treaty now pending, which discriminates against other foreign states besides America, with whom we have treaties, and one to which I would have objected at the time of negotiation; yet if this discrimination awakens no discussion on the part of such powers, you Hawaiians have no business to raise any question, and you ought and you must sustain in good faith the present treaty of reciprocity entered into by your King and his negotiators, and ratified by your Legislature.

But I agree with the objectors to the treaty in one particular, that we should have no increase of the burthen of taxation, in order to carry out its provisions. I oppose any additional tax on account of the treaty, because we ought to meet any deficiency in revenue, which its operation may occasion by retrenchment. If the treaty should cause a loss in the revenue of even $100,000 we should endeavor to meet the loss by a curtailment of expenditure to that amount. This must be done, even if many offices of the government have to be abolished. We pay too much to office holders. Our government expends about eighty per cent. of the revenue for salaries and other expenditures that bring no return, and only about twenty per cent. for internal improvement. This state of affairs ought to be changed, so that we should pay only about twenty per cent. of our revenue for salaries, and the larger portion for much needed improvements and the upbuilding of the country by repopulation.

4. Repopulation!—this, O Hawaiians! is the great question for you to consider, to favor and to act upon. You, through your government, must act upon it, or you must die as a nation. You are even now too few to constitute an independent state qualified to hold diplomatic relations with other states. You Hawaiians numbered in 1872 about 49,000 souls, and as decay continues and not increase you probably do not number at this time more than 45,000 souls; and among this number not more than 5,000 able bodied men can be found. The whole Hawaiian nation could be transported in one ship, the *Great Eastern*, across the ocean; and therefore, you and we foreigners all included with you, are too small a number of people to be entitled to rank as an independent state, and would not be so recognized, were it not for the courtesy and permission of great states whose ships of war patrol the great ocean. And were it not for this recognized political existence of Hawaii, brought about by wise foreigners, advising your kings you would be subject to the dictation of any man-of-war that

entered the port of Honolulu, even like Samoa was recently when her chiefs and people were summoned before a tribunal to consider a claim for damages, which was set up in her port by the ship of war *Portsmouth*, and so be like that country without the protection of your own courts of law. This kingdom is indeed helpless by itself. We could not defend our capital of Honolulu, and our small commerce against the attack of any small piratical ship which should come against us with only a squad of men and half a dozen guns. We would be obliged to appeal to the first man-of-war that came along for protection. Therefore there is danger if this weakness of Hawaii should continue, and as is likely in view of your decline in numbers, it should become more and more debilitated; and we should have to appeal often to a man-of-war for help and the preservation of order, that our independence would be taken away, as a gift we could not preserve, and a foreign force be placed over us for our permanent protection.

This, Hawaiians, is not a dream, it is a real and imminent danger; therefore how silly is all the talk of demagogues who seek to be elected as representatives when they talk to you about the danger to the independence of the country on account of a proposed loan or a treaty or anything else of that kind. The real danger is owing to your decline down to a mere remnant of a tribe, so that your King and your country are almost left without dignity or adequate support. This decline of people and the question of repopulation should occupy your chief attention, and cause you to set all minor questions aside.

5. And now I will consider with you the causes and the remedies for this decline. The usual talk of the demagogue is that the presence of the white foreigner is connected with the decay of the red skinned native. But this statement is not true; and is disproven in many countries where the red and the white live prosperously together. It is not true in Java and the Moluccas from whence your forefathers came. There the red skins have increased from one million to many millions since the whites went to live among them, because the native people have become as orderly and industrious as the white foreigners. But it is apparently true, in part of America, where the red skin has been a ferocious savage in times past and has continued so to this day, not caring for any industry or law or order, and only bent upon war and destruction,—such savage people must cause their own destruction, like the lions of Africa or the tigers of Asia, if they will not listen to the voice of law and order which governs the world. But you have listened to wise teachers and legislators, and therefore you might expect to prosper and increase as the red people do in Java, the Moluccas, the Phillipines and in British India;—

and if you do not prosper there must be some cause of decay in your blood or in your situation.

Perhaps both these influences affect you. You need new blood. You should mingle with other races kindred to you, and become a reinvigorated people. You have been so long, so many ages isolated in the great ocean, and have so long inter bred and associated in your narrow isles under the destructive influences of a polluting heathenism, that your blood has become corrupt and weakened, and predisposed to receive and succumb to every new disease that comes to desolate your beautiful islands. The red people of Java do not suffer from foreign diseases any more, nay not so much as the foreigners, because the red people of Java have as healthy and as vigorous a constitution as the foreigners. And their vigor and increase is owing to their being a mixed people of kindred races, consisting of the ancient Jawi or Javanese stock of the Sundese, of Malays, and of Hindoos;—the latter having founded a great colony in Java, and constitute the bulk of the population of the island, which now numbers over 15,000,000 of red skins like you, and yet all are now called Javanese. And were these islands to gradually receive 50,000 Hindoos and other red races, kindred to the Hawaiian, the offsprings of these new people and of you native people would all be Hawaiians; and so your name and race would continue to possess this archipelago, even should you increase to 1,000,000 of souls.

Therefore why should you, O Hawaiians! occupy and disturb your minds over questions about a loan, or a treaty, or even a succession to the Throne, which you cannot affect or change. Let your minds dwell upon your sad condition as a decaying remnant of a once numerous people. Listen not to the lying talk of those who tell you that it is the presence of the foreigner which causes your decline. Look to your sad disproportion of sex. The last census in 1872 showed that there are nearly seven thousand more males than females. Seven thousand men in a little community like this who cannot get wives! Look at Hilo in a population of 4220, there are about one thousand men who must be without natural and lawful partners. And notice Koolaupoko on this island, where there are 1224 men and 804 women! How in such a state of society can the men find helpmeets to increase and multiply as God commanded? They do not find them; but O, sorrow! two and more men are content to live with mutual consent with one woman, under your miserable designation of *punaluas*, and there are no children! No troops of children in Hawaii, and how can there be, when so many of your poor women are defiled and blighted with sterile wombs! This is a woeful condition of your race,

—a condition which will not permit any hope of improvement in fecundity or morality; but it affords this hope, that it is a state of things which if properly represented to Christian nations like Great Britain, having the control of populations of a stock suited for your national physical recuperation, would strongly and effectually appeal to their enlightened and philanthropic spirit to induce them to grant to Hawaii every opportunity for increase of people which the demoralized and declining state of this country requires.

It may be asked, since I am not soliciting any office at your hands, as I surely am not, now, nor have done on any previous occasion, because if you were to thrust upon me the duties of a representative, one of my first acts would be to urge the doubling of the tax upon your worthless dogs and horses which you prize so much, even more than the life of your race; so it may be asked, I repeat, why do I come forward now to speak and to address you, and why do I concern myself to declare unto you Hawaiians such bitter things? Why? Because I am one of you, and with you, and this is my country. It is true I came from a great and glorious country, which I love, and ten thousand fold mightier than Hawaii; but I have found a home in this poor little land where I have lived and prospered for fifteen years. I have planted my stakes in the isles. I am not a transient gatherer of the good things of the land which I hope to spend elsewhere. I am one with Hawaii, and would seek my prosperity in her advancement; and I now appeal to you and your representatives that may be, in the cause of peace and order, and that you may turn your minds to your only question of national life. I do not feel that I honor the teachings and the political spirit of great America by coldly and indifferently looking upon your decay, or by hoping that you will become too weak and miserable to take care of yourselves, and have to be charitably taken care of under the tutelage of my father-land. No; not so do I understand the spirit of Columbia, the land of refuge of the poor and oppressed of all climes. I would have you become a valued ally of, and not a dependant beggar upon America. And if it should appear wise and needful to surrender at some future day, your political birth-right of independence, I would have the power with which you must unite, proud to take you, and proud of the acquisition of the Hawaiian Archipelago.

But I will not contemplate any surrender now, nor for many years to come. Neither America, nor any other nation wants to interfere with your national independence. They all want Hawaii to remain a neutral and prosperous little state, to be the especial refuge and recruiting station of the commerce of the world in the Pacific Ocean.

Therefore, O Hawaiians! listen not to demagogues who would disturb your minds and alarm you in respect to the alledged designs against you, of America or any other foreign country. Listen not to discussions about treaties, loans, or other things which you cannot change, and which do not vitally affect you. Listen not to the voices of politicians who cannot keep and who perhaps do not care to keep one promise that they make to you. Listen not to men who led some of you into trouble during the late riot, and who could not or would not help those they led away when the hour of danger and retribution came. But listen to a voice of love prompted solely by a care for your life and increase as a people. I ought to love you Hawaiians, though you are so poor and degraded, with your weakness and decay in the eyes of the world; for to Hawaiians I owe my life. Yes,—there was a time when driven out to sea in an open boat, Hawaiians, who could have saved themselves by swimming through breakers, yet struggled during a dreadful night of toil and fear with agonizing thirst in order to save me. And again when I had gone down into the depths of the sea in your stormy channel of Molokai, a Hawaiian sprang for me and bore me up, and saved my life. Therefore, shall I not speak unto you and for you, and cry out in all love and earnestness of soul, when your race is dying, and your poor little ship of state is in the political breakers? I will, O Hawaiians! and I speak without fear or favor unto King and to people alike.

And thus I would speak unto your King. O, Chief! successor of the Great Kamehameha, and seated on the Hawaiian Throne; though your state be small, and the least among the family of nations, yet your opportunity for renown as an illustrious ruler is as great, as if you governed millions of souls. Of you and of your government there will be expected by all thoughtful men of the civilized world some wise, patriotic, and faithfully pursued policy for the cherishing and increase of your people; and that such policy will be held paramount to any other questions whether of trade or finance, or other particular interests of the country. And you, O people! must strengthen the hands of your King with cheerful service and a zealous loyalty. And then you, united with true hearted and loyal foreigners, can all join together as a strong and harmoniously blended little community in the building up of Hawaii. We can with union and wise co-operation stop the prevailing wail of death with the voices of increasing people. We can with more women of chaste races to be found and got by the seeking, have more fruitful unions and gladden with marriages the land so saddened with funerals. We can make our lonely valleys resound joyously with the clamor of little children. We can enliven once more the now silent shores of Hawaii with a thronging

and a busy people. And then when an electric cable unites us to our neighboring continent, and to the rest of the world; and when the fleets of the Pacific rendezvous in our port of Honolulu, and the trafficking and traveling nations fill our marts with wealth gathered from all quarters of the globe,—then may little Hawaii the least, be one of the most blest of the family of nations; and being strong in her Christian, moral and enlightened attitude, sit royally as the Queen of the great ocean, and shine forth as a proud and redeemed state before an admiring world!

Your fellow Citizen,

Walter Murray Gibson.

HONOLULU, January 31, 1876.

THE GRAND DUKE
OF
GYNBERGDRINKENSTEIN.

Annotations in this copy were made

by W.D. Alexander.

THE

GRAND DUKE

—OF—

GYNBERGDRINKENSTEIN

A Burlesque in Three Acts.

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

To the Public of the Duchy.

HONOLULU, H. I.
1886.

THE

GRAND DUKE

OF

GYNBERGDRINKENSTEIN.

A Burlesque in three Acts.

Dramatis Personæ.

The Grand Duke of Gynbergdrinkenstein.	
Nosbig,	Minister of State.
Foolscap,	A. G., or Law Adviser to the Duke.
Major Borrow Barker,	Equerries in Waiting.
Major de Horsey Cornbin,	
Major Heep Savey,	
Herr Von Boss,	Millionaire.

Princes, Governors, Generals, Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants,

TWO PRIVATE SOLDIERS,

Police, Servants, Menials, Slaves, Hula Girls, Voters, &c., &c.

1886

THE

GRAND DUKE

OF

GYNBERGDRINKENSTEIN.

A Burlesque in three Acts.

ACT 1.

SCENE 1.—*Grand Duke's morning room.*

NOSBIG, GENERALS, COLONELS, EQUERRIES, 2 PRIVATE SOLDIERS, &c., &c.

Enter GRAND DUKE, C.

[*All bow low.*

G. D. My Noble Lords, my Ministers of State,
My numerous officials, small and great,
My Generals, Colonels, Majors,—all the lot of you—
[*Bow low.*
And my two private soldiers—all I've got of you,
Your Grand Duke now salutes you; if he could
Do more for you, you know your Grand Duke would.
[*Exit Generals, &c.*

[*To Nosbig.*] How now my ancient Minister of State,
Dost bring me tidings of this day's debate?
How works our bold majority?

Nosbig. Your Grace,
They vote as men who strive to gain a place,
With salary attached, from public purse.

G. D. Well, greybeard, they might do a great deal worse.
Suppose they did not vote as we could wish,
A pretty kettle that would be of fish.

N. Your Grace I—hem—I meant no passing slight.
I look upon it—hem—in different light.
Our pre-election policy they say

Has gained for us the victory of to-day;
But not without slight scandal.

G. D. Let it pass.
The man who preaches honesty 's an ass,
Not fit for politics.

N. I—hem—agree
Most cordially Your Grace. Just look at me
A pilot in the dark and crooked way,
Of foulness that must shun the light of day.

G. D. You grand old fraud. You were the boy to win,
Seeing the way you handed out the gin.
Not gin-gerly, but with a gin-erous hand;
The alcoholic wave, that swept the land,
Carried you on to power. And mark you well,
If you can't make the estimates to swell
Beyond all precedent, without a doubt
You'll get the "chuck." I'm good at chucking out.

SONG.

AIR—"*The Fox and the Hare.*"

Dear drinking friends on you I call
To listen to my lay,
Of how I run this side show
In my own peculiar way.
I admit of late, to have got into my pate,
One notion without doubt;
Which is that if a man, has the will and way, he can
Make a firs trate "chucker out."

CHORUS.

The Ministers of State, Officials small and great,
Our defenders both by land and sea;
Though from early dawn till late, they labor for the State,
Can all get the chuck from me.

I confess that this idea only took a solid hold
Since Nosbig's been in place.
His policy no doubt is to cut and slash about,
At any hostile face.
And since I have begun, I've had no end of fun,
With friend and foe alike.
How the people talk and stare, as the heads drop here and there,
At every ducal strike.

CHORUS.

The Ministers of State, Officials small and great,
Our defenders both by land and sea;

Though from early dawn till late, they labor for the State,
Can all get the chuck from me.

[*Bows to N.*

N. Your Grace I—hem—I promise you to try
My best to pile the estimates as high
As my subservient following will permit.
In fact rely on me for doing it.
I think if we appropriate just twice
The Nation's gross receipts, it will be nice.
What thinks Your Grace?

G. D. Why, dear old chappie,
My whims you'll gratify and make me happy,
Or else you've got to go. I tolerate
Your evil eye near me, because I hate
To be confronted with sound common sense;
Your lack of which, old boy, is just immense.
Now hie you to your task.

N Your Grace, I go
To take my servile following in tow. [*Exit bowing.*

G. D. [*sol.*] In spite of that old man's uncanny face
I like to have him in his present place.
Whate'r I order he is sure to do,
And stands a deal of solid bullying too.
In spite of snubs he hangs on to employ
With whine and whimper, like expectant boy
Who hears the step that brings along the cane.
Another would have told me very plain,
To run the show myself, and let him out.
But Nosbig—

[*Enter servant*] Well sir, what are you about?

[*Servant hands card. Duke reads.*]

Von Boss! Oh, hang it all, just when I feel
A No. 1. I'll bet he'll put his heel
And likewise foot down solid on some job
Nosbig and I were fixing. Yes, odds bob,
I bet he will. [*To servant.*[Ho! menial, let him in.
[*sol.*] I always feel Von Boss is bound to win.
His arguments convince, he awes us much.
Fact is, Von Boss has got us in his clutch,
And sometimes squeezes hard.

Enter Von Boss. *Duke gushingly.*
Aha, dear friend,
I trust that you have come along to spend
Some time with us.

V. B. Oh no, Your Grace, I came
To drop a hint or two, and trust the same
Will have attention prompt; or sad to tell
Von Boss will make Rome howl, in fact raise—well
Your Grace knows what. So listen now I pray,
And read—mark—learn—digest Von Boss' say.

G. D. [*Aside.*] Oh dear, I felt his visit boded ill
To my and Nosbig's schemes. Oh bitter pill.

V. B. Your Grace, remember that the times are hard,
I therefor counsel you to play a card
You played two years ago. At once proclaim
Expense must be cut down; and see the same
Is this time carried out. And don't feel sore
If there is no procession as before
To thank Your Grace; for you must clearly see
The last time 'twas a sell; the agony
Was piled on just the same, in wanton spite
Of message which Your Grace was pleased to write
Unto the Senate. I mean business now.
Economy must rule, or else—a row.
I've too much capital invested here
To relish foolish waste, or let them steer
The Ship of State upon the sunken rock
Of Bankruptcy. I could not stand the shock.

G. D. My dear Von Boss, you know we look on you
As one to help us out of any stew.
Needless to say I'll take your good advice,
I own expense is naughty—but it's nice.
I'll send a message fore the clock strikes ten
To all my gin—, beg pardon, *gent*lemen
In Senate sitting. They at once must rub
Or strike (with stuffed or any other club)
All items out which savor of expense
From out the Bill of Estimates; and hence
Commence anew to vote the public cash
To pay two years of ministerial hash.

V. B. Your Grace, I take my leave, I say adieu.

G. D. [*Aside.*] A deu---ced deal too late, you've turned the screw.

V. B. I am about to visit other shores,
Where live some most unmitigated bores,
Who own shares in a certain company
Which I myself did float; and don't you see,
From time to time they get a little mad,
And ask all sorts of questions good and bad
About the company, as if the show
Ran on a shaky basis—don't you know.
So long, Your Grace. I'll say my last ta, ta.
Remember my advice, don't go too far
And sling the dollars round as if you all——
Had wealth of Ormuz at your beck and call.
Give honest saving policy a try.
So long, Your Grace, *so long*, ta, ta, bye-bye.

G. D. [*Rising excitedly.*] Now bet you're life I'm ready for a swear.
I feel inclined to howl and tear my hair
From off my ducal head. To think I'm balked,
To think my line of duty must be chalked
Within such narrow limits. All my schemes
Of splendor vanish now as empty dreams.
Where will the Army and the Navy be?
(The latter very much I think—at sea.)
To think the cash has been forbidden now
To purchase for myself a pleasure scow.
I scow--I to think on it.

Enter Nosbig *and* Foolscap.
How now? How now?
My merrie men I think we'll have to bow
And kiss the rod. The great Von Boss was here
And played a game of skittles (minus beer)
With all our pretty plans. Our natty schemes
Are now u. p. Mr. Von Boss it seems
Is just as solid as the great Muldoon.
He says the present time is none too soon
For measures that will check the too free use
Of coin of the realm. Alas, our goose
Is beautifully cooked.

Your Grace hold on,

N. I see a loophole to escape this wrong.
Von Boss will shortly leave.

He will?

G. D. He will.

F.

N. And it will likely be some months until
He comes again. Therefore we've time to run
The show just as we like, and have the fun
Of fooling Herr Von Boss.

Nosbig, old man,

F. In jobbing on the sly, I bet you can
Give any man the odds. You have a care
Von Boss is like the lion in his lair,
Best left alone.

Yet Nosbig, are you sure

G. D. If we adopt your plan, we are secure?
Should Herr Von Boss once rise in anger wild,
He'd bust us all; yes every mother's child.
Let caution be the word.

Leave all to me,

N. I'm equal quite to this emergency.

SONG.

AIR---"*If you're anxious for to Shine.*"

If you are anxious for to shine in the ministerial line,
As a most distinguished man.
You must hold it no disgrace to hang on to your place,
The very best you can.
If the Opposition jostle, you will rank as an apostle,
In the so called "Patriot" band,
Set one race against another, every pang of conscience smother
With a firm determined hand.

CHORUS.

And every one will say, as you go your righteous way,
If jobs are rampant under him as they must surely be,
I hardly think his posing as a saintly man is good enough for me.

If you want to be a slave and learn how to behave,
And likewise act as such,
Take pattern after me; in that *role* all hands agree
I please them very much.
To cringe and bend the knee, is sweet and dear to me,
As the Grand Duke fully knows.

I smirk and grin and laugh, and take as well meant chaff,
His very heaviest blows.

CHORUS.

And every one must say as I go my righteous way,
If jobs are rampant under him as they must surely be,
I hardly think his posing as a saintly man is good enough for me.

I've been in many a tighter place before,
And always managed to squeeze through the door,
Though jammed at times 'tis true.

F. Your Grace, I think
This is occasion for a friendly drink.
The worthy Nosbig sets our hearts at ease;
We'll put up any sort of jobs we please,
Ignore Von Boss and his unasked advice,
Treble expenditures, and in a trice
The work is done; and then our finger snap
At Herr Von Boss or any other chap.
To pass unhonored such a plan were sin,
Let's celebrate Your Grace in "lection gin."

G. D. Not much! there's some I passed for Starchy Cott, A. S. Cleghorn
All duty free—he gave me half the lot
For my good service. Come, let's go and drink,
And while we soak we've ample time to think
Of what wise things we'll in our message say,
So that Von Boss will think we're all o. k;
And that his sage advice we'll act upon;
Thus soothe suspicion till he's fairly gone.
This way I beg of you. [*Exit* N. *and* F.
[*To servant.*] Oh, by the way,
Haste to I. Colonel Bottle's house and say J. Harbottle Boyd
He must appear in uniform, 'tis meet
His feathers, lace, and orders be complete,
And let him wear the trusty blade he drew
When making conquest of an island new, Ocean Is.
To add to our domain. For now he goes
To make the public think I tweak the nose
Or rather noses of the men in power;
So tell him to be here within the hour.

END OF ACT I.

Some weeks are supposed to pass between Act I and Act II.

ACT II.

GRAND DUKE *discovered in his study.*

G. D. Ah, ha, the morning paper of to-day?
Let's see what Nosbig's organ has to say
Of things political.—Ah yes, I see
The same as usual, there's much praise of me
And of my doings, also the old song
Of "Nosbig" right, and "Opposition" wrong.
A "Dole"ful countenance they now present
As if they had a Thurst-on and repent,
The waste of "lection gin." A symphony
In Wight and Brown. They fight apparently
Like knights of old, nor break their spears for naught;
The victor's victory is dearly bought,
When all their crooked ways are brought to light
And openly paraded in the sight
Of all the world.—Ah, Nosbig, it is true,
You're not the happiest of mortals—you
Are held up daily to the nation's scorn;
And what makes your position all forlorn,
Is that you stand alone, without one friend.
Haha, you've once or twice been near the end,
[*Knocking without.*
Of what is called your tether.—Well come in.
[*Aside.*] Some fool to bother me with "cheek" and "chin."

Enter BORROW BARKER.

Halloa, my gallant Major, how are you?
Sit down—Halloa—Dear me. You're looking blue.
Why, what's the matter? Speak!

Major B. B. May 't please Your Grace,
My evil tidings' written in my face.
Ah! well your brow may gather in a frown,
The great Von Boss this day arrived in town,
And swears by all the Saints alive and dead,
He'll paint it through and through the deepest red
Was ever seen.

G. D. [*Rising and staggering.*] Oh! Barker, Oh! great Scott.
Why hang it what a miserable lot
Is mine.

Enter DE HORSEY CORNBIN. *Rushing in excitedly.*

de H. C. Your Grace, Von Boss is on the quay;
His anger is an awful sight to see.
His speech is full of death—and wounds—and gore.
His thirst for blood increases more and more.
He says he's been betrayed, and all the lot
Of his betrayers shall be sent to pot—
Wherever that may be—Your Grace, he's mad,
And when I think on it, it makes me sad,
And wish myself away.

G. D. And what of me?
That I'm in sorest straits you must agree.
I told him his advice was sound and good,
That Ministers would help him all they could,
And promised him reform. Instead of which
The estimates are swelled to such a pitch
That taxes must be raised, likewise a loan
Be promptly floated, else our Ducal throne
Will not take rank with those of Powers called "great,"
Which rankles in my mind.

Enter MAJOR HEEP SAVEY. *Hastily, excited, swagger.*

Major H. S. Your Grace, a fate
Dreadful to think of, stares us in the face.
Von Boss is back and vows this blessed place
Too small to have two Dukes. The air is blue—
Full of strange oaths—and many fresh and new—
He claims authority—that he alone
Stands as the dreaded power behind the throne.

G. D. The mess is awful.—Soft—here comes the man
To get us out if anybody can.

Enter NOSBIG, *bowing.*

Well Nosbig, I suppose you too have heard
Von Boss is back?

N. Your Grace, a little bird
Has whispered to me something of the sort;
Also that Boss' temper's rather short
At this same moment.

G. D. [*Angrily.*] Don't stand chattering there
When any moment we may lose our hair
And scalp. Von Boss the warpath means to tread,
And paint us and the town a sanguine red.
You got us in this mess, now get us out—
And that at once. We may be put to rout
At any moment.

N. May it please Your Grace,
I wish most ardently to keep my place
As Minister of State.

Major B. B. Hear, hear.

Major de H. C. Bravo.
We understand.

Major H. S. Haw! damme, yes.

G. D. Just so.

N. And therefore I at once suggest a plan,
To soften and appease this awful man
Of threats and oaths.

de H. C. The odds are seven to three
On Nosbig 'gainst the field.

Major B. B. And as for me
I'd bet on him as though I held a hand
Three aces and two kings; so let the band
Play up, we're saved, I think.

Major H. S. Haw! damme, haw!
A nasty look things had. I never saw
A loophole to escape th' expected blow.
"Intelligence" at fault—haw—don't ye know.

G. D. Let Nosbig speak.

N. Your Grace, and gentlemen:
With truth I say I don't remember when
I've hit upon a plan as neat and sound
To smooth a somewhat rough and thorny ground.
My counsel is to summon Herr Von Boss

Tell him—Your Grace—you feel quite at a loss
How to reward him for his fostering care,
The interest that he takes in each affair
Pertaining to the State. Tell him report
Of loan at six per cent—is idle sport,
Of Opposition loafers—sidewalk lies—
Which men of wealth and dignity despise.
Tell him you really mean to do what's right,
Although the estimates present a sight
Of woeful waste and frivol. Then Your Grace,
Smile on him with a friendly pleasant face,
And round his neck a Royal Order throw,
A blessed token—so that all men know
You are at peace—and that the goose hangs high.
Your Grace, I've said my say. [*Bows low.*

G. D. Good Nosbig, I
Am pleased at your suggestions. You be sure
If they succeed, your place is still secure.
I'll try them right away. An equerry
Will go at once down town and try and see
Mr. Von Boss.—Give greeting kind and fair,
And tell him should he chance to take the air
In the direction of my ducal home,
I should for one be glad to see him come.
De Horsey take the message.

De H. C. Sire, I go
To do your bidding. [*Exit bowing.*

G. D. Gentlemen, you know
This is a chance to fill a friendly glass
Of gin and bitters; do not let it pass
Unhonored by. [*To B. B.*] My Major, call a slave
To bring the drinks. And now a merry stave
I'll sing to you until they do appear,
Of all the jobs we'll perpetrate this year.

SONG.—JINGLE-EM.

AIR.—"Jingle Bells, or the One Horse Sleigh."

Dashing at expense like a one horse little State,
Making ducks and drakes of all that's good and great.
Bring the bob-tailed nag, the beggar's going to ride.
Frivolity and jobbery must travel side by side.
[*All put hands in pockets, jingle coins and join chorus.*]

CHORUS.

Jingle'em, jingle'em, jingle all the day,
It's nice to spend the public cash in a free and easy way.
Jingle'em, jingle'em, jingle all the day,
Never mind the piper or the man who has to pay.

To find our father's bones we'll buy a little pig,
Who'll grunt and root around to show us where to dig.
Of Generals and Staff we'll raise a decent few,
But the full strength of the privates must continue still at 2.

CHORUS.

Jingle'em, jingle'em, jingle all the day, &c.

We'll have a little boat to sail upon the sea,
And fill her up with drink, as full as she can be;
Then gaily step aboard and gently heave the lead,
While each one does his best to cool a hot and swelly head.

CHORUS.

Jingle'em, jingle'em, jingle all the day, &c.

[*During which enter De H. C., Converses aside with Duke.*]

Major B. B. Bravo Your Grace.

Major H. S. Hurrah!

Major B. B. Bravo!

Major H. S. Hear! Hear!
A lovely ditty pleasant to the ear.

N. And capitally sung. [*Bowing low.*

Enter SLAVE *in velvet breeches and two odd shoes.*

G. D. Hear are the drinks
My worthy friends; and any one who thinks
My head is level—here's to him and his. [*All drink.*
And now you will excuse me, for it is
The hour I set aside for deepest thought
To this my country's welfare.

N. Dearly bought
The hour of mental struggle, if the strain
Should prove unhealthy for the Ducal brain.

G. D. Adieu until again we meet. [*Exit.*

N. Adieu, [*Bowing low.*
Your Grace, may every blessing go with you.
Majors and Equerries I take my leave,

Important business calls. I truly grieve
To tear myself away.

B. B. Don't let that cloy
Your happiness, we'll do our best old boy
To get along without you.

De H. C. Yes, good-day
We'll manage somehow. [*Exit Nosbig*

H. S. Damme-haw—I say
Let's sing the song we've got to sing—us three
The day the Grand Duke has his jubilee.

B. B. All right—de Horsey first—then you—then me,
Beginning altogether, don't you see.

SONG.—THE EQUERRIES IN WAITING.

AIR.—"Two Obadiahs."

All together.

We are Equerries in waiting and Majors on the staff,
Though our claim to army rank is very small---
Very small.
In points of etiquette and rulings of Debrett,
Our ignorance is palpable to all—
able to all.
Yet we "whoop her up" incessantly, although our hats so white,
Are, owing to a swelly head, occasionally tight.
We'll strive for ducal favor with a stiffened upper lip;
But as for self respect, why,—let her rip—
let her rip.

Major de H. C.

I am very small in stature, and very big in talk,
I'm considered somewhat knowing on the track—
[*B. B. & H. S.*] on the track.
When the odds are very long, then the burden of my song,
Is "Oh to spot" the winning horse to back—
[*B. B. & H. S.*] horse to back.
For it seems that there are others, much more knowing cards than I,
Who whilst I lose, are piling up the shekels on the sly.
I think I'll give up talking horse and haunt the track no more,
For the odds against my luck are 6 to 4—
[*B. B. & H. S.*] 6 to 4.

Major Heep Savey.

I "intelligently" swagger in the "haw! haw! damme" style,
My chronic state is one of very dry—
[*B. B. & de H. C.*] very dry.
Supposing that it pays, I find the means and ways,
For a small detective business on the sly—
[*B. B. & de H. C.*] on the sly.

I sometimes brag a little of what I've seen and done,
The ignorant believe, and think I'm real A No. 1,
But those who know---say "not for Joe"---don't think to take us in.
Beneath the clove we seem to scent the gin—
[*B. B. & de H. C.*] scent the gin.

Major Borrow-Barker

You've heard my brother Equerries, my comrades bold in arms,
But you have not heard directly yet from me—
[*H. S. & de H. C.*] yet from me.
Although quite free from guile, and always on the *smile*,
I'm really just as mad as I can be---
[*H. S. & de H. C.*] he can be.
I own to have a weakness and when poker is the game,
I just love to take a hand----and lose my dollars at the same.
But a man who puts the screw on says I'm not to touch a card.
I must obey at once—its awful hard---
[*All together*] awful hard

[*Exeunt.*

END OF ACT II.

Some unknown period is supposed to pass between Act II and Act III

Prophetic

ACT III.

SCENE.—*A dark street.*

Enter NOSBIG *stealthily, hat drawn over eyes, coat collar turned up, doing his best to disguise himself. Bag in hand.*

N. I think "Pa's safe." I hope I am. Oh! dear,
There's not a gleam of future hope to cheer
My dark and dismal path. [*Clock strikes.*] There sounds the hour
At which they said they'd join me, should the power
Be left with them to do so. May His Grace
Be able to escape this cursed place,
To foreign parts unknown, before the pack
Of snarling misers get upon his track;
For though these misers are the men who pay
The Nation's income, they should have no say,
In spending of the same. 'Tis no use now
To weep and whine, they've kicked up such a row
That all of us—His Grace—and those who threw
Their lot with ours, are sizzling in a stew
Warm and unpleasant. We depart to-night
In preference to stay around and fight.
Ah! there's a footstep, I must have a care
Of falling into any well laid snare.

Enter GRAND DUKE, *muffled up, bag, &c.*

The Duke! No! Yes—that heavy step I know
'Tis his. Your Grace, I'm here prepared to go
Along with you and yours to any clime.
[*Aside.*] As long as I can rob him of a dime
And trade upon his name.

G. D. Ah, thanks.—'Tis sad
To think how quickly we've gone to the bad;
It dated from the day those merchant men
Made protest 'gainst the tax bill,—also when
Von Boss returned the orders we conferred—

Knight of the "Turtle" and the "Frigate-bird."
If we had then foreseen the end of all,
We might have shortened sail and faced the squall.
Where are the dollars we have thrown away
In shady jobs, and pleasures of a day?
[*Angrily to N.*] 'Twas you led me astray. You oft suppressed
What was the truth.—At other times you dressed
The facts in form to suit the Ducal eye.
How well you conjugate the verb—to lie—

N. Your Grace, I fail to see the present use
Of vain regret, and personal abuse.
We've rowed together in the self same boat.
I stuck to you as long as you would float,
As others stuck to me. Our day is done,
The other side have fought the fight and won.
The biter has at last been badly bit;
Our party motto now—"git up and git."

G. D. Halloa, what have we here? Some more of those
Who were my boon companions? [*Aside*] I suppose

Enter Majors Borrow Barker, Heep Savey *and* de Horsey Cornbin, *muffled up.*

They only come here now because denied
All hope of pardon from the other side.
Well, gentlemen, the night is dark and damp,
Not one of us has thought to bring a lamp
To light us on the way. Well, never mind,
As long as we can safely leave behind
This fatal spot, and seize some fisher's boat
To carry all the crowd to lands remote.
We do not ask for light.

Major B. B. Your Grace, alas,
That this misfortune should have come to pass,
I heard a rumor, I believe 'tis true,
The army's been disbanded.—Think of *two*
Fierce, warlike soldiers turned upon the town.
The list of officers will be cut down
Till of some fifty, none are left to draw
The sword from out the scabbard. And the maw
Of many an unbeliever opens wide

To eat the sacred "pig"—the nation's pride.

de H. C. I also hear the scow will now be sold, Kamiloa
Converted into solid U. S. gold.
The generals and staff are now no more,
"Intelligence" was quickly shown the door.
The papers of the Board for finding bones
Were sold for ballast, mixed with certain stones
From out the Ducal crown.

H. S. Haw—damme, yes.
Our fate I fear is now beyond a guess.
Along our line we've sounded the "retreat,"
We're face to face with "Anger and Defeat."
I vote we skip before we get run in.

G. D. Oh for a glass of Starchy's British gin Cleghorn
To brace me up.

de H. C. I also feel the cold
Right in my bones.

B. B. I think 'twould make me bold
If I could get a drink of something hot.

N. Come gentlemen, you seem to have forgot
A fact we all most bitterly deplore,
The time for mixing drinks is past and o'er,
For any of this crowd until we reach
Some other land.

G. D. Good Nosbig, I beseech
You let us have one song before we go—
Some gentle ditty, something soft and low.

SONG.—Said Moses to Aaron.

Grand Duke.
Said Moses to Aaron a Royal Duke 'tis clear,
Must sometimes pay for foolish whims a little bit too dear.
It's better to be wise and true, which everybody knows is
Not a plan I favored much.
[*N., B. B. & Comp'y.*] Right you are says Moses.

Nosbig.
Said Moses to Aaron a Minister of State,
In spite of all his power can't control decrees of fate.

My bed's been chiefly one of thorns, instead of blooming roses.
Rather rough, dear boys, on me.
[*G. D. and Equerries*] Right you are says Moses.

Borrow Barker.

Said Moses to Aaron an Equerry must be
A man of goodly manners in whatever company.
He must not gamble, drink, or swear, or take to tweaking noses,
I don't think we can fill the bill.
[*G. D. and N.*] Right you are says Moses.

de Horsey Cornbin.

Said Moses to Aaron, a Major on the staff,
In consequence of ignorance, must stand a deal of chaff.
The way we dress in uniform for duty, I suppose is
Sometimes quite remarkable.
[*G. D. and N.*] Right you are says Moses.

Heep Savey.

Said Moses to Aaron, the great "Intelligence"
Of the Army and the Navy, must take his departure hence.
The haw! haw! damme militaire, by fate's most cruel blows, is
Bound to skip the tra-la-loo.
[*G. D. and others.*] He wont be missed says Moses.

G. D. Let's see, we must not leave a friend behind,
It would be inconsiderate and unkind.
Are we all here? Where's Foolscap?

B. B. Sir he came
With us right down the street. I'll call his name,
Perhaps he may be near.

N. Oh! don't. Oh! please.
A passing guardian of the peace may seize
Us all.

de H. C. Ah, there he comes, in hottest haste,
So fast I almost think he must be chas'd.

[*All scatter as F. runs in excitedly, but gather round as he speaks.*]

F. Why do you run away? There's naught to fear,
I know of no policeman being near.
By this time all must be asleep, as sound
As drunken men.

H. S. Haw! damme, let's go round
And cut their badges off.

G. D. Let no one stir
On such a foolish errand.

F. Please you, sir,
I heard just now that some have made their peace
With those in power;—all goes to increase
The Opposition strength. The men, who drunk
Your liquor by the bucket, all have shrunk
From moving in your cause. The youth you know
Who was a waiter some eight years ago,
And at your table handed round the plates,
Is doing now his best to work against the fates,
And keep an easy, well paid, public post,
By taking sides with the avenging host.
He, who as Finance Agent of the throne,
Was sent to try and raise the famous "loan,"
Will have the public confidence no more;
Still he's allowed to creep back to his store.

G. D. Come, let's be off.

N. Yes, please do come along.

B. B. 'Tis late.

de H. C. Yes.

H. S. Damme, only one more song.

SONG.—THEY'LL RUN US IN.

AIR.—"*Gendarme duet from Genevieve.*"

G. D. We are about to run away.
B. B. Which means "vamoose the ranch."
N. We'd rather far unpack and stay;
de H. C. But they reject us root and branch.
G. D. We had our choice 'tween "right" and "wrong," and went back on the "right."

Equerries. They'll run us in! They'll run us in!
G. D. & N. They'll run us in! They'll run us in!
Together. If they find us here to-night.

G. D. If we had taken good advice, we would not be here now.
N. We had fair warning once or twice, and then there came the row

G. D. The Opposition braced right up, we didn't stay to fight.

Equerries. They'll run us in! They'll run us in!
G. D. & N. They'll run us in! They'll run us in
Together If they find us here to-night.

[*Exeunt,*

[*Curtain, Thunder, Red Fire, &c., &c.*]

THE END.

GYNBERG BALLADS





The Order of the Bar.

(A SUGGESTION FOR AN ALTERATION.)

We, Gynberg's Duke, by Legislative vote,
Wishing to make appreciative note
Of all and sundry who advance the name
Of Gynberg, on the splendid page of fame—
By teaching "kindred people" t'is no sin
To follow Gynberg's lead in swilling gin—
Do here proclaim to all, both near and far
We now create the "Order of the Bar."

ARTICLE I.

This is to recompense all men of worth,
Whose noses have by drink now blossomed forth,
And thereby wafted to each coral strand
The goodly record of the Gynberg land.

ARTICLE II.

The Duke shall always see the drinks are there,
But may appoint a "Vice" to fill the chair.

ARTICLE III.

Of classes five this Order shall consist,
According to the regulation list;
3, 4, and 5 may leather medals wear,
1, 2 have collars and must bang their hair.

ARTICLE IV.

The number of the members must depend
On how much ready cash there is to spend;
And if it chance the rations short should fall,
The Duke may, if convenient, drink for all.

ARTICLE V.

A Council of Executive shall be
Each member, of the Duke, a nominee;
And each may sign the other fellow's name,
Or anybody else's—all the same.

ARTICLE VI.

Appointments may be made, as we devise,
By Counsel at the Bar—or otherwise.

ARTICLE VII.

The Council known as "Grand" shall now consist
Of members in the Dukedom—on the list—
And in November we will set aside
A day to wallow in the ginny tide.

ARTICLE VIII.

Extraordinary meetings may be held
When Ducal thirst refuses to be quelled;
But two weeks' notice must be given of that,
For time to pass around the Ducal hat.

ARTICLE IX.

A member who, with "heel-taps" should be caught,
Before the Council shall be duly brought,
And if convicted by a two-third vote,
Pure water may be pumped into his throat.

ARTICLE X.

If any member notified to come,
Neglect the summons and remain at home,
He shall be punished for his willful whim,
By having all the drinks put down to him.

ARTICLE XI.

The "Keeper of the Corkscrew" we shall chose,
Amongst those members most renowned for "booze;
But in his absence any "foremast hand"
May wield the corkscrew at the Duke's command.

ARTCLE XII.

The full-dress of the Order all must wear,
With oil of cocoa first anoint the hair,
Then draw on "cuffs" and place the "collar" trim,
Fix the "gemmed gaiter" (not too much of him),
And if the weather should be raw and damp,
Add one pair spurs and one used two-cent stamp.

ARTICLE XIII.

All members, who are called to "tend the Bar,"
May wear a white and green five-pointed star

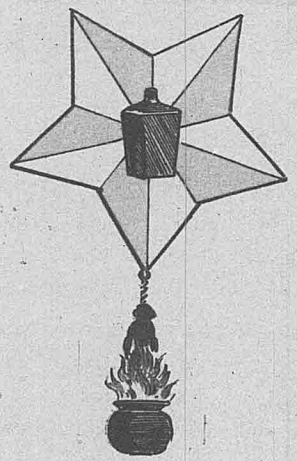
Of good shoe-leather—pendent from the same
A nigger roasting in eternal flame.
What is yclept "Insignia" shall be
The same for each—whatever his degree;
For when all hands have drunk till all is blue,
What matter then a collar, spur or shoe.

ARTICLE XIV.

In matter of the proper dues and fees
We let all members give just what they please,
For money is a thing they have not got—
A very sorry, impecunious lot.

ARTICLE XV.

The Dignities and Honors of this Bar
Both sexes may attain; and, in so far
As different costume is both due and right,
The ladies wear rosettes of green and white.
Attest our Hand, the Ducal Seal affix—
Leave blank the month—and date it '86.





The Opium Racket.

I.

Little You Lie was quick as a trap,
Chosen man of a "hui" was he,
Sent to confer with the Gynberg Duke,
As to the 'Opium-License fee.

II.

Much pow-wow had that worthy pair,
Haggle and worry—now laugh, now frown,
Finally settled was that affair
For five and seventy thousand down.

III.

Rushed You Lie to his trusty pals,
Told them his tale with frantic joy;
Filled they their glasses with strong "samshu"
And drank—"Grand Duke he bully ole boy."

IV.

Ran that "hui" all round the town,
Gathering shekels of silver sheen,
Piled them into an old handcart—
Joyous sight for the Duke, I ween.

V.

Trundled it up to the Ducal home,
Duke's eyes bulged with a lurid light—
Come again to-morrow, quoth he,
Give you your license, my boy—all right.

VI.

You Lie's "hui" all met that night,
"Whooped her up" till the roosters crow;
Great their glee at the bad "go-by"
They had given Bun Chung & Co.

VII.

Very same night the Bun Chung crowd
Met at their secret place of biz,
Very much troubled each heathen mind—
Very much lengthened each heathen phiz.

VIII.

Settled at last to send Bun Chung
Early next morning to see the Duke;
Told him he must that license get,
Some way or other, by hook or crook.

IX.

Went Bun Chung to palatial halls,
Peeped right into the Ducal hand;
Five and seventy thousand saw
And went five better—so cool and grand.

X.

Smoled the Duke all over his face,
Grinned like blazes from ear to ear,
Told Bun Chung the license was his—
Bring the shekels and never fear.

XI.

Trots Bun Chung to his hopeful Co.,
Got them a handcart, new and strong,
Piled in the eighty thousand cash,
(Merry was he as he shoved along).

XII.

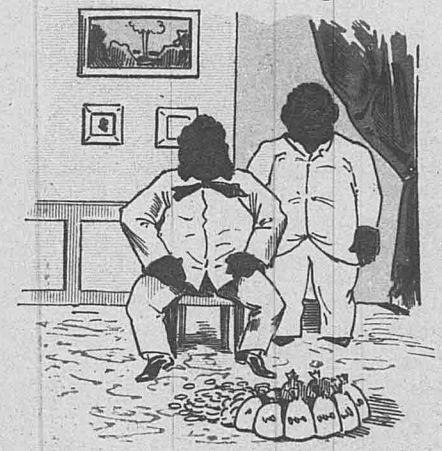
Grand Duke sitting with fat Kiyi,
Dusky couple convulsed with mirth—
Whispers Ki in the Ducal ear,
"Play this racket for all it's worth."

XIII.

Grand Duke says, "Oh, bully Bun Chung!
Leave these shekels with us, and mind
Call for the license to-morrow noon—
It will be ready, all sealed and signed."

XIV.

Bun Chung closed his sinister eye,
Thrust his tongue in his dexter cheek,
Said, "Me sabbe too muchee you,
Now takee licen all same you speak."



XV.

Grand Duke saw that the game was up,
Saw Bun Chung would rake in the "pot,"
Ordered the license to be prepared—
Bun Chung got it right on the spot.

XVI.

Bun Chung's crowd had a high old time—
Regular heathen jamboree;
Hadn't they euchred the smart You Lie—
Wouldn't his wrath be a sight to see?

XVII.

Reading a "daily," little You Lie
Saw of the Bun Chung opium deal;
First he couldn't believe his eyes,
Then he commenced to kick and squeal.

XVIII.

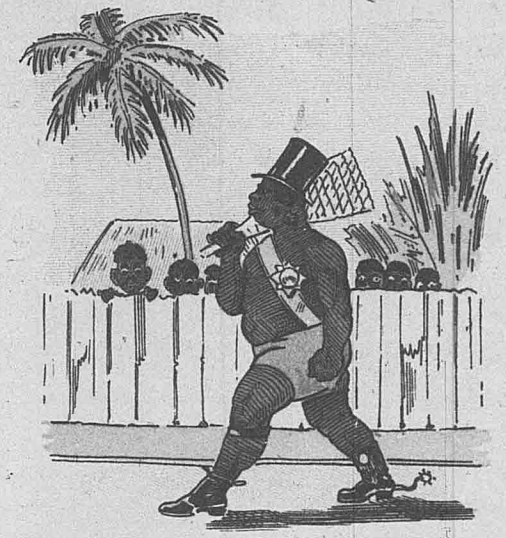
Tore he up to the dusky Duke,
Cursed him roundly in good Chinee—
Made demand for his money back,
Speaking in language loud and free.

XIX.

Grand Duke said he was indisposed,
Nosbig told him to mind his eye—
Bribery was such a grave offense
Better say nothing to fat Kiyi.

XX.

Then You Lie took a Chinese oath,
Said to his country he would appeal—
Publish the facts before the world,
Gynberg's Ducal Opium STEAL.



A Stranger asks Bliff about the Historical Procession.

I.

What! No one ever told you, then, of all the little tricks
They played here at the Jubilee—November '86—
My boy, we "whooped her up" right through two solid weeks of rain,
I only wish that I could live that fortnight once again.

II.

The liquors flowed in rivers deep, from ginger-ale to gin,
And all the bummers sat right down to soak the liquid in.
We'd fights right on the Ducal lawn, the drunks lay thick around,
And many were the solid men who slept upon the ground.

III.

The ancient Gynberg "hula" kept agoin' day and night,
The army—officers and men—kept gloriously tight.
The "Kilu-Kilu" Club had meetings every day at four,
And bal's of turine were dearer than they ever were before.

IV.

What! that don't interest you—you say, nor yet what we imbibed?
Historical Procession, then, is what you want described.
Well, honestly, I'm up a tree; I really can't pretend
To say where history came in, unless right at the end.

V.

For those who saw the whole of it were done uncommon brown—
Some thought it was a circus that had just come into town;
The most it did was here and there to raise a feeble laugh,
And sorry victims in the show got endless fires of chaff.

VI.

There seemed to be a surging round of sundry fish and pigs,
By ladies rigged in mermaid's tails and flaxen-colored wigs;
While gentlemen, in pasteboard hats and cloaks of calico,
Kept singing some outlandish dirge in solemn tones and slow.

VII.

The "Kilu-Kilu" Club was there in costumes fresh and new,
And like the beasts from Noah's Ark they stepped out two and two;
The balls of turine they'd left at home but brought their fans along,
And every now and then they whooped the chorus of a song.

VIII.

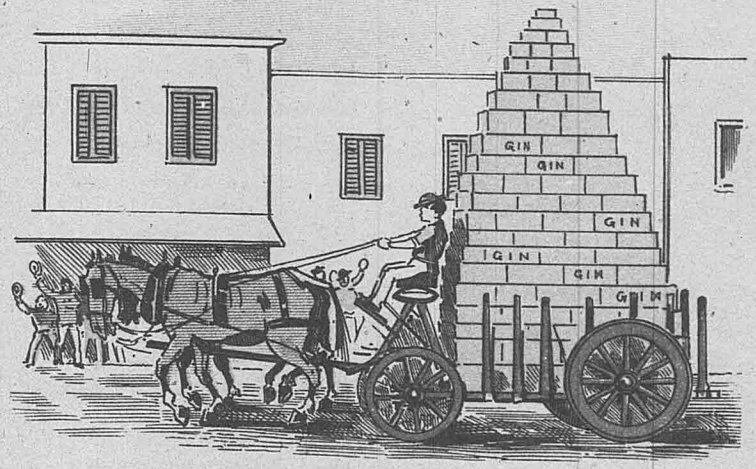
I guess most everybody there felt pity at a sight
Which placed all those engaged in it in such a foolish light,
And t'was not till the last of all the items did appear
That every woman, man and child gave out a ringing cheer.

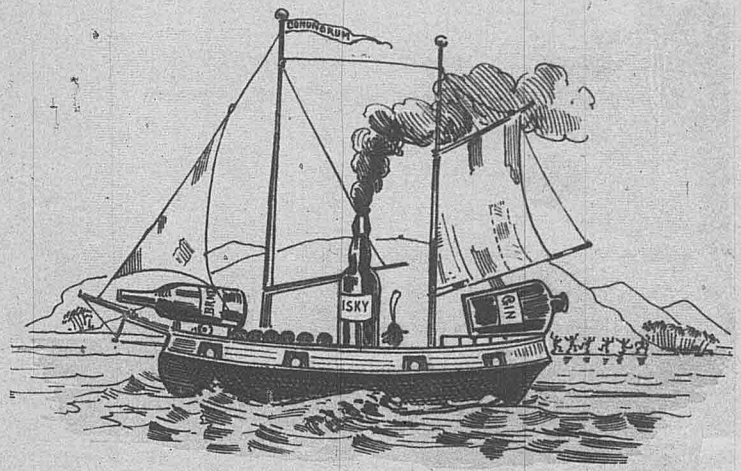
IX.

Behold! a dray piled wondrous high with boxes green and square,
And many free, unbiased votes were safely bottled there;
No wonder yells, and hoots, and calls, were added to the din,
At sight of such a lavish load of Ducal "Section Gin."

X.

And that's all I can tell you of that idiotic show—
The blam'dest thing you ever saw—S'long—I've got to go—
The Admiral waits for me down in Cooner's shady lane,
To drink with Savey and the "boys"—S'long—See you again.





The Conundrum.

I.

Why, what a "Conundrum," ha! ha! he! he!
Five knots at full speed, ho! ho!
Bah! it must be mere chaff, but, oh, don't make me laugh!
Just to think of it tickles me so.

II.

A son of Jack, ha! ha! ho! ho!
Will get the command, he! he!
And the Gynberger fleet will be "Bummers' Retreat"
When the Grand Duke takes trips on the sea.

III.

Heep Savey and Nosbig, he! he! ha! ha!
De Horsey and Barker, ho! ho!
Will serve out the gin as the Bummers drop in—
It don't cost *them* a cent, don't you know.

A crew for Reform, boys, ho! ho! ha! ha!
To train for the Navy, he! he!
Then when war is declared, we are fully prepared
For all hostile manoeuvres at sea.

V.

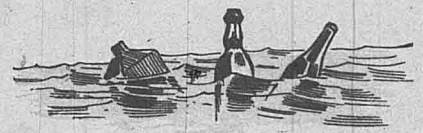
Oh! what a surprise, ho! ho! ha! ha!
For the heathen Chinee, he! he!
When he asks a new deal on the opium steal,
To be threatened with our Nav-ee.

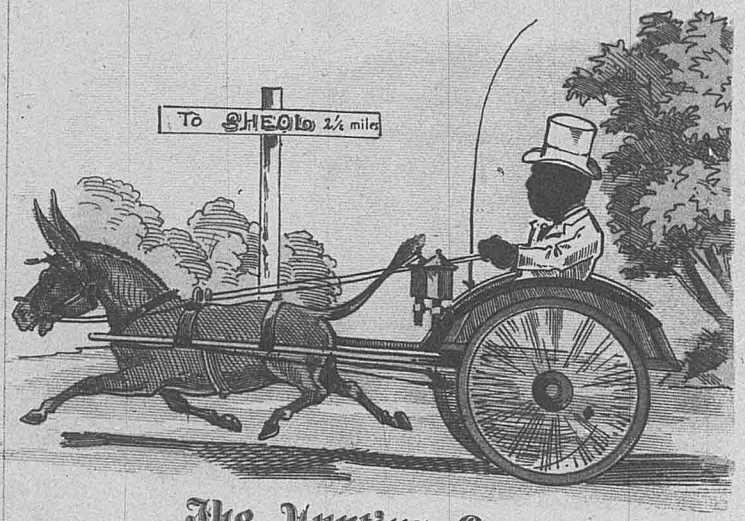
VI.

Put the Grand Duke on board, he! he! ho! ho!
His Bummers and Friends, ha! ha!
Make Poker the game, and moisten the same
With oceans of usquebaugh.

VII.

Then should it so chance, he! he! ha! ha!
The "Conundrum" should sail, ho! ho!
On her watery track, and never come back?—
Just to think of it tickles me so.





The Hunting Cart.

I.

The Grand Duke sent an order to be filled without delay,
To certain worthy people in the carriage-building way—
To build him in the latest style, light, elegant and smart,
What military sportingmen would call a "Hunting Cart."

II.

But first there was a meeting held to talk the matter o'er,
The Duke, by virtue of his rank, was first to get the floor;
His would-be friends and hangers-on sat round to take it in,
The "equerries-in-waiting" were on hand to pass the gin.

III.

The great part of the gathering were not Gynberger men,
But "letters patent" from the Duke made each a citizen;
So, when His Grace's vocal pipes their brazen clarion rung,
He spoke a language which was not the Gynberg mother tongue.

IV.

He rolled out lengthy sentences, delightful to the ear,
But mixed them up so helplessly the meaning was not clear;
The big words had predominance—and it was plainly seen,
His Grace had not a notion of what half of them did mean.

V.

At last he ceased his jumblement and sank into his chair,
And everyone was really glad to see him settled there;
For though the servile cheering of his speeh was just immense,
The feeling at its ending was of gratitude intense.

VI.

Then jumped Heep Savey on the floor—a lengthy son of Mars,
Who told "the boys" how carts were built for use in the Hussars;
One little detail slipped him though in what he had to say,
And that was—when the cart was built where was the cash to pay.

VII.

When he sat down, then other would-be sporting men chipped in—
De Horsey C. and Barker, representing "cheek" and "chin;"
Then lesser lights must have a chance their paltry fads to bring,
Till Nosbig coughs, and hems and haws, and jumps into the ring.

VIII.

Your Grace, and gents, I truly trust and hope with all my heart,
His Grace may soon be driving in a bran new "Hunting Cart;"
Just let me ask one question, you'll excuse my being blunt,
But when he gets the "Hunting Cart" what is he going to hunt?

IX.

It cannot be for "Honesty," he's gone away for good;
It cannot be for "Truthfulness," he isn't understood;
It cannot be for "Dignity," we lost him long ago;
It cannot be for "Modesty," she isn't in the show.

X.

We cannot hunt for anything that's honest firm and true,
Not one of us knows how to start and see the business through;
I hazard this suggestion, though you brand me as a prig,
Let's stick to rooting out of bones and Gynberg's sacred pig.

XI.

The motion met no favor from the gin-imbibing crowd;
They moved the "previous question"—then rose the Duke's voice loud,
Write down and send the order—light, elegant and smart—
What military sportingmen would call a "Hunting Cart."



Sixty per Cent.

I.

Habraham Offnung, Charge d'Affaires,
Residence, 36 Redcliffe Square,
Chosen by Gynberger, Duke, I ween,
To represent him near England's Queen.

II.

Who and what is this Habraham O?
Little boy Bliffy, why, don't you know?
Kensington shoddy—ill-bred and stiff,
"Old Clo" racket, my little boy, Bliff.

III.

Go to the Palace, my boy, some day
Gaze at the elegant art display;
Habraham bought those daubs in a heap
As "Private collection—got dirt cheap."

IV.

Yes, four thousand was more than enough,
Scrapings of Warden Street—vilest stuff—
Most would consider the bargain hard
At five and seventy cents the yard.

V.

Habraham Offnung has twice been here,
Seems to have captured the Ducal ear;
Flattered the Grand Duke with all his might—
Oily tongue hath that Israelite.

VI.

Habey is lavish in spending gold,
Bribing the papers—so they unfold
All the moves of the "Wandering Jew"—
Where he goes to and what's to do.

VII.

Growled we and grumbled at Herr von Boss,
Threw up our hats when he got the toss;
Freely his tongue wagged—he talked quite tall,
Trying to "Hector" us one and all.

VIII.

But have we changed for better to-day?
Jews hold the money-box—What d'you say—
Little boy Bliffy, for choice of two,
Golden-Gate German or—London Jew?

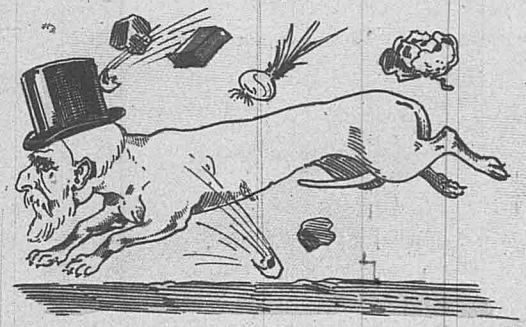
Bliff's Advice to the "Boys" and Others.

To the G. D.—

My dear Grand Duke a word with you although you're most "gone in"—
It's not considered princely to be often tight on gin;
To wanton waste and tinsel show you're Ducal tastes incline,
Recall to mind the prodigal who fed on husks with swine.

To Nosbig—

You rascal of the deepest dye—unmitigated fraud!
You panderer to silly waste, while "bums" and "beats" applaud;
Already you have lost your hold, fast waning is your star,
Go—clothed in nature's meanest garb—a human "pariah."



To Borrow Barker, A. D. C. (equerry in waiting, etc.)—

My burly mayor, if you can accept a friend's advice,
Don't cultivate a snobbish taste for racing, cards or dice;
Live like a man, within your means, contract no further debts—
You'll find it pleasant to be free from bitter, vain regrets.

To de Horsey Cornbin, A. D. C., etc.—

Oh, harmless little equerry! Oh, pretty little swell!
It's not so hard to size you up, most anyone can tell;
Your mental caliber is small, your "cheek" is just immense,
Your admiration of yourself so laughably intense.

To Heep Savey, A. D. C., etc.—

Heep Savey, swagger as you will, you've made your shameful mark
As one who eats the salt of friends, then stabs them in the dark;
Give up your small detective "biz," however well it pays,
And make your "loot" of public funds in less unmanly ways.

To Foolscap—

You're perched now on a topmost branch of Gynberg's legal tree;
We're glad to see you roosting there, and were you only free
From baneful Ducal influence, you might, in years to come,
Be competent to fill the bill and help the country some.

To Sitrûc—

Is life worth living, S., my boy, in your exalted place?
D'you ever dare to utter "NO?" You're scared I guess to face
The music—when the Duke gets mad you sadly want in "grit;"
Drop Savey as your guide and chum, and brace yourself a bit.

To Lot Moriarity, X. 45—

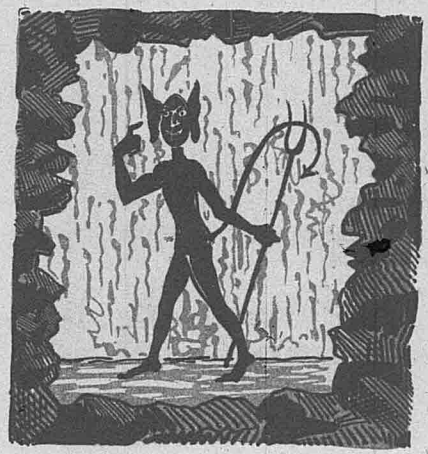
My worthy "dandy copper" of the Gynberg "Broadway squad,"
Take care that you yourself some day ain't languishing in "quod;"
You've done the "new-broom" biz a bit, but there must clearly be
Temptations which you can't resist, Oh, "Mor-i-ar-i-ty!"

To Admiral Grisley, late, etc.—

Most worthy Lord High Admiral, of Gynberg's Ducal fleet,
To see you in your naval togs must be, indeed, a treat;
For you, one time in ship's routine, must have a simple charm
The moment when the sun has got "above the foreyard arm.'

To Hazel Dell, by many only known as "Son-in-law"—

In all your Daddy's dirty pies you've had your dirtier paw,
Whence came the cash you bank with Herr von Boss? It's hard to tell;
But you and Dad will find that out, when spending it in ——





The Invitation and the Snub.

I.

A notion once went roaming through the Duke of Gynberg's pate—
Methinks, quoth he, the times have been a little slow of late;
There's quite a chance for me to set the ball a rolling now,
And give our good Gynberger folks a No. 1 "luau."

II.

Long sat he with Sir Sitruc to talk of ways and means,
And many were the feeble jokes they cracked behind the scenes;
But that which showed the weakest want of wit in that respect,
Was wording of the invite in the Gynberg dialect.

III.

Most everyone was asked to come—they drew no sort of line,
For Dick asked Tom and Tom asked Hal to drink the Ducal wine;
And Sitruc he was on the rush, and worked both long and hard,
To see that every sweep in town had got his proper card.

IV.

He courted popularity—he wished not to offend—
He hoped by asking everyone to make each one his friend
His chief adviser, Savey, cried: "I invite all hands I say,"
(He runs some hacks and likes a chance to make the business pay).

V.

The invitations went forthwith to every house and home,
By cartloads they were shoveled out, bidding each guest to come;
Then came the joke—not two in ten of those who got a card
Could puzzle out the meaning of a single Gynberg word.

VI.

Says Uncle Sam, "Now what in thunder does this business mean?"
And John Bull growls, "Oh, D—— it all, the like was never seen!"
Even the sad You Lie appeared, and standing at his door,
Said, "Me no likee allee same, no allee same before!"

VII.

And Jean Crapaud swore, "Non d'un non quelle imbecilite,
Il parait que le Duc, comme fou, veut s'immortaliser!
"Ach! Gott, soll mich behuteu," quoth the Teuton from the Rhine;
"Was hat er vor," "I dinks he drinks more strong as Scherman wine."

VIII.

And some one heard a whisper of a very smart rebuke
Administered to Sitruc and through him unto the Duke;
And when another invite shall be issued for a feed,
You bet that some will get it in a language they can read

"HAWAIIAN GAZETTE" REPORT.

THE CORONATION

OF

KING KALAKAUA,

(FEBRUARY 12TH. 1883.)

AND

UNVEILING CEREMONIES

OF THE

STATUE OF KAMEHAMEHA I.

AND

GRAND STATE DINNER, Etc.

(FEBRUARY 14TH, 1883.)

BY OUR OWN REPORTER.

HAWAII'S HOLIDAY,

CROWNING OF KING KALAKAUA

FEBRUARY 12, 1883.

SCENES AND INCIDENTS.

HONOLULU:
HAWAIIAN GAZETTE PRINT.
1883.

CORONATION CEREMONIES.

Monday the 12th inst. the day set apart for the Coronation of His Majesty has come and gone and with it the cares and fears of those most anxious regarding the full accomplishment of the crowning folly. The day preceeding, rain poured in torrents and seemed to presage ill for the presence of a large audience. On the morning of the 12th the skies cleared, the sun's bright face gleamed above the horizon and although the skies were cloudy and streets muddy, the weather was propitious. At sunrise salutes were fired by the water battery at the foot of Richard Street and a large gang of prisoners were engaged strewing rushes along King street, the route to be taken by the procession. The towers of the Palace were gaily dressed with flags and banners as was also the Government House and the war and merchant vessels in the harbor. From all the consular flagstaffs flags were displayed, and the city from seaward must have presented a very fluttering appearance.

THE PROCESSION.

The first item arranged officially on the programme for the day was the procession, and the various bodies to compose which were ordered to form on King street at 9:30 a. m. Hon. J. A. Cummins was the Grand Marshal of the day assisted by Mr. Charles Lucas, Clarence Macfarlane, Capt. Tripp, John Colbourn and Harry Whitney. The Fire Department was promptly on hand at the hour set, but a wait for nearly a half an hour after the time for starting became necessary, before the Grand Marshal gave the signal "forward." The procession moved in the following order:

Police under Captains Tell and Fehlbehr.
Royal Hawaiian Band.
Royal Cadets.
Members Fire Department, without Apparatus.
Industrial School Band.
Teachers and Children Public and Private Schools.
Collegians.
Members of Mormon Church.
Secret and Benevolent Societies.
Free Masons.
Island Delegates.

The procession was almost entirely composed of people from the ranks of the native population some of the foreign societies in the ranks being represented by two or three members only. The total number of people who took part in the procession including the school children, was 630 and was seven minutes in passing a given point. The streets which had been strewn with rushes in the morning were wet and muddy, and the mud soon appeared upon the upper side of the rushes and served to bedraggle the dresses and underclothing of the many native ladies and children who walked in the procession adding greatly to their discomfort. The route traversed was short, being only from the Bethel to the Palace along King street, and did not take but a short time for the procession after starting to reach its point of destination.

THE GRAND STAND.

The members of the Legislature, Officers of the Government, the Clergy of the several Churches, and the public generally, who had received cards of invitation to witness the ceremony were seated in the building into which the Pavilion, where the final act of coronation was to take place, extended, designated as an Amphitheater. This Amphitheater or Grand Stand was semi-octagon in shape and occupied a space covering over 300 feet of ground. The interior was filled with fifteen rows of seats extending around the building and afforded seating capacity for 3200 adult people. Besides the facilities offered in the building, ten rows of chairs had been provided for the vacant space across the interior between the facades and which was floored entirely across, affording further accommodations for 2000 more people. Entrance was obtained from the Richards street or northwest side, and a passage through the center of the building allowed free egress to the Palace Gates on the west. The roof of the structure was supported by thirty-six posts, and was 20 feet in height in front, and 16 feet in height at the back, thus allowing an unobstructed view of the Pavilion to all the spectators present. The upper part of the facade of this building was arched in form and ornamented by a succession of small heraldic shields, emblematic of the various countries on the globe, and the shields were surmounted by flags also indicative of the nationality displayed on the shields. The front of this so-called amphitheater was thirty feet from the sides of the Pavilion, thus being near enough

to enable the assembled multitude to see and hear all connected with the ceremonies.

THE PAVILION.

In the pavilion the august ceremonial of the coronation was to take place. This building was octagon in shape, and approached to orientalism in style and finish. The roof of the pavilion was 14 feet in height, surmounted by a dome, also octagon in shape, and supported by eight reeded columns, placed equi-distant, resting on coved buttresses. The dome of the building was, as before stated, also octagon in shape, and was ornamented on each of the eight sides with colored shields displaying the coats-of-arms of one of each of the eight great nations of the world, America occupying the central position, Great Britain to right of centre, Germany to left of cehtre, the others on the panelled fronts prepared on the remaining five sides. Flags of the different nations surmounted the shields, the whole being surrounded with wreaths and circles of the native *ti* leaves. The ceiling of the dome was richly ornamented and displayed the artistic taste of a master in frescoing. The central piece on the ceiling was a representation of the Hawaiian coat-of-arms in tinted colors, surrounded by a curtain of gauze, the edges of which were draped, and drooped gracefully from the jointure of dome and supporting columns. The octagon shape of the dome gave to the interior eight sides, each of which was ornamented with a drawn panel, each panel bearing the name of a King of Hawaii, the name of the present sovereign being also apparent. The name of each sovereign was painted in golden letters, surrounded by wreaths of ferns, and each surmounted with a golden crown, the whole presenting an elaborate appearance. Surmounting the dome was an octagonal shaped cupola bearing aloft a spear shaped finial.

Entrance was obtained to the Havilion from the Palace stoop by means of a planked passage which bridges the distance between, also patterned after Eastern or Oriental style and ornamented by two elegantly turned *amphora*, or jars, which displayed on their sides figures of nereides in the abandonment of the *hula*. The entire cost of the two structures is in the neighborhood of $9,000, and the substantial manner in which they have been built reflects credit on the constructors.

THE PALACE VERANDAS.

The troops were posted all along in front of the Palace Walls on each side of the steps, and saluted as the Foreign Diplomatic and Consular Officials arrived. Seated on the veranda was His Excellency R. M. Daggett, U. S. Minister Resident, His Excellency J. H. Wodehouse, Her Brittanic Majesty's Commissioner and Consul General, Mrs. and Miss Wodehouse, Mons. Feer, Commissioner of the French Republic, Mrs. and Misses Feer, Count De Louvier, Chancelier of the French Legation, Countess De Louvier. Consuls F. A. Schaefer, Italy, J. H. Paty, Belgium, D. A. McKinley, United States, A. Unna, Denmark, R. W. Laine, and Mrs. Laine, Mexico, J. C. Glade, Germany. Vice Consuls Theo. H. Davies and Mrs. Davies, Great Britain, W. Pfluger and Mrs. Pfluger, Russia. There were only three ladies present in the consular circle. On the town side of the entrance sat His Excellency the Premier and Mrs. F. H. Hayselden, His Excellency the Minister of Finance, His Excellency the Minister of Interior and Mrs. J. E. Bush, His Excellency the Attorney General and Mrs. Preston, Hon. J. S. Walker and Mrs. Walker, His Lordship the Bishop of Olba, Gov. P. P. Kanoa, Hon. J. M. Kapena, Mrs. Kapena and daughter, Hon. C. R. Bishop and Miss Cleghorn, Hon. S. N. Castle, Hon. H. A. P. Carter and Miss Carter, His Excellency the Japanese Ambassador and suite, Hon. Godfrey Rhodes and Mrs. Rhodes, Hon. B. H. Austin and Mrs. Austin, Hon. R. Stirling and Mrs. Stirling, Hon. J. P. Parker, Hon. J. A. Cummins, Hon. W. Jas. Smith, Hon. J. Kaae, Col. J. H. Boyd, Col. Iaukea, Major C. T. Gulick, Major Antone Rosa, Hon. P. Kanoa, Mrs. C. B. Wilson, Capt. Hayley and Mrs. Hayley. On the Waikiki side sat Captain H. Wilson of the U. S. S. *Lackawanna*, Captain Edwards of H. B. M. S. *Mutine*, Captain Pearson of the U. S. S. *Wachusett*, and Captain Chateauminois of the French Corvette *Limier*, Lieut. Commander D. C. Woodrow, Lieut. Commander L. Kingsley, Lieut. J. W. Carlin, Lieut. J. H. C. Coffin, Lieut. H. F. Tichbourn, Chief Engineer J. Q. A. Zeigler, Paymaster W. W. Woodhull, Surgeon C. H. White, Midshipmen F. J. Moses and W. M. Long, of the U. S. S. *Lackawanna*; Lieut. Commander A. H. Vail, Lieut. B. S. Richards, Lieut. W. C. Strong, Master C. Foster, Master J. M. Bowyer, W. R. A. Rooney, Chief Eng. Jas. Butterworth, Surgeon W. R. Dubois, Passed Asst. Paymaster R. Frazer, Lieut. Robert Benson, Midshipmen J. S. Knapp, H. L. Rodman, of U. S. S. *Wachusett*; Lieut. G. P. Henderson, Lieut. E. L. Long, Lieut. C. H. Dore, Surgeon T. O. Sullivan, Paymaster A. D. Dunne, Chief Engineer Geo. Sullivan, of H. B. M. S. *Mutine*; Lieut. Commander Lecuve, Lieuts. Aubry and Busnel, Surgeon Daniel and Paymaster Ollevir, of the French gunboat *Limier*.

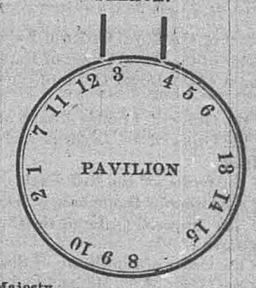
The Pavilion and Amphitheater looked very tawdry, with a lot of little cheap flags, showing very plainly the effects of Sunday's heavy rain which had also washed the white off the boards of the Amphitheater, making it more like a stable than ever. The Amphitheater was well filled, very largely with natives. Of the foreigners present it was noticeable that very few of the best of our citizens could be seen, save those who are in government employ. The effect looking from the Palace veranda, was anything but impressive. At half past eleven twenty-four large Kahilis were brought out of the Palace and stationed on each side of the bridge connecting the Palace with the Pavilion.

THE ROYAL PROCESSION.

About a half an hour later the Royal Procession issued from the Palace in the following order:

Marshal of the Household, Hon. J. M. Kapena.
Marshal of the Kingdom, Hon. W. C. Parke.
Chaplain of the Household, Rev. A. Mackintosh.
The Honorable President of the Legislative Assembly, Hon. Godfrey Rhodes.
The Chancellor, Hon. A. Francis Judd.
Princesses of the Blood and Consorts.
Bearer of the King's Jewels and Decorations.
Bearer of the Sceptre.
Bearer of the Sword of State, Col. Iaukea.
Bearer of the Crowns, Col. J. H. Boyd.
Bearer of the Robes.
Bearer of the Palaoa.
Bearer of the Puloulou.
Bearer of the Torch of Iwikauikaua.
Bearer of the Kahili of Pili.
The King's Chamberlain.
Their Majesties the King and Queen.
Bearers of Her Majesty's Train.
Ladies in Waiting to the Household.
Aides de Camp.

The foremost of the Princesses was the little Kaiulani, dressed very prettily in light blue corded silk trimmed with lace, pale blue ribbons in her dark hair. She was followed by Miss Barnes, her governess, and had on each side kahili bearers; The kahilis were white and had excessively handsome stems of native woods. Next came the Princess Likelike and Hon. A. S. Cleghorn. The Princess was dressed in brocaded white satin trimmed with pearls and feathers, Sarah Bernhardt gloves, scarlet satin shoes. The Princess Liliuokalani and His Ex. Governor Dominis followed. The Princess' dress was of gold brocade, the front part of white satin embroidered with gold, and a heavy crimson velvet train; the head-dress was of delicate white feathers tipped with pearls and gold leaves. Then followed the King and Queen, the former bare-headed, in a white military uniform with blue trousers, wearing on his breast a profusion of native and foreign orders. The Queen's dress was a Princesse robe of white silk embroidered with gold, low necked, and fastening up the back. Over this was a crimson velvet robe, also somewhat in the Princesse form, the fulness of the train being arranged in plaits in the centre seam. The velvet robe does not meet in front, but is drawn together with gold cord and tassels, and the whole is magnificently embroidered in gold and bordered with ermine. Brussels lace encircles the neck, and also the short sleeves of the underdress. The Queen wore a diadem and looked very dignified. The King looked ill at ease. Their Majesties took their position in front of two crimson and gold chairs in the pavilion and facing Waikiki, and the company, as shown in the accompanying diagram:



1. His Majesty.
2. Her Majesty.
3. Marshal of the Household—Hon. J. M. Kapena.
4. Marshal of the Kingdom—Hon. W. C. Parke.
5. Chaplain of the Household—Rev. A. Mackintosh.
6. President of the Legislature—Hon. Godfrey Rhodes
7. Chancellor—Hon. A. Francis Judd.
8. Princess Liliuokalani and Governor Dominis.
9. Princess Likelike and Hon. A. S. Cleghorn.
10. Princess Kaiulani and Miss Barnes.
11. Bearer of King's Jewels—Col. J. H. Boyd.
12. Bearer of Sword of State—Col. C. P. Iaukea.
13. Bearer of Royal mantle—Governess Kekaulike.
14. Bearer of the Crown—Kawananakoa.
15. Bearer of the Palaoa—Kuhio.

After their Majesties had thus taken their places the choir sang the following anthem, the location of the singers and the surroundings greatly marring the effect of the really good voices:

"Almighty Father, hear! the Isles do wait on Thee,
That Thy hand shall lead our chosen Chief and King.
Bless, O God! the purpose of his life and rule.
Let the Isles increase in souls and joy.
Send healing unto the People of the King.
Let wealth and thrift come flowing from afar.
Let the nations rejoice in the freedom of the Isles,
And peace and good will forever bless the land.
And the glory for all ages, evermore. Amen."

HIS MAJESTY'S TITLES.

After a fanfare of trumpets, the Marshal of the Household, in a very loud voice and with ridiculous emphasis and declamation, proclaimed the style and titles of the King. The manner in which this was delivered marred altogether the effect of the scene. The following is the text of what he said:

Princes, Nobles, Representatives, and People of Hawaii assembled—I here proclaim unto you that David, Laamea, Kamanakapuu, Mahinulani, Naloiaehuokalani, Lumialani, Kalakaua, the King, Generalissimo, Ke Alii Kapu, Hoano, Ka wela, Ka moe, Ka Ikuhaipuhilaniinui, Wohi Kuakahili, Haku o ka Poni ana i Moi, Haku o ka Ohiako a me ka Palaoa Pae, Kukuiaikeawakea, Kama Alii Hanau o Ka Aina,

Grand Master of the Royal order of Kamehameha 1st,

Grand Master of the Royal Order of Kalakaua,

Grand Master of the Royal Order of Kapiolani,

Grand Master of the Royal Order of the Crown of Hawaii,

Knight of the Order of Francis Joseph of Austria,

Knight of the Order of St. Lazarus and St. Maurice of Italy,

Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia,

Knight of the Order of Daunebrog of Denmark,

Knight of the Imperial Order of the Chrysanthemum of Japan,

Knight of the Order of the Crown of Siam,

Knight of the Order of St. Michael and St. George of England,

Knight of the Order of Leopold of Belgium,

Knight of the Order of Vasa of Sweden and Norway,

Knight of the Order of the Conception of Portugal,

Knight of the Order of Charles XII of Spain,

Knight of the Order of the Lion of the Netherlands,

Knight of the Order of Liberator of Venzuela and Bolivia, President of the Privy Council of State, the Son of the Alii Kapaakea, and the Alii Keohokalole, is the rightful occupant of the Hawaiian Throne, and Sovereign Chief of the Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies, as heretofore claimed by his predecessors, chosen by the Nobles and Representatives of the Kingdom, and that you render unto His Majesty all fealty and loyal obedience under the laws of the Realm.

THE CEREMONY.

Princess Poomaikelani then advanced and presented His Majesty a Puloulou and a Palaoa borne upon a cushion, ke Kukuiomoiokauikaua and the Kahili of the King Pili as symbols of ancient supreme chieftancy, which being accepted by His Majesty were placed beside the throne and remained there during the ceremony.

The Chancellor then advanced, and standing before the King said: Sire, is Your Majesty willing to reaffirm your previous oath?

The King replied, "I am willing."

The King then left his throne and advanced towards the Chancellor, raising his right hand and said, after the Chancellor, "I, David Kalakaua, King of the Hawaiian Islands, having on the 12th day of February, A. D. 1874, in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the Kingdom, been duly elected by the Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Islands in the Legislature of the Kingdom assembled to the throne of Hawaii, and having on the following day taken the oath prescribed by Article 24 of the Constitution, do hereby of my own grace and motion solemnly reaffirm the same, and I do hereby solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God to maintain the Constitution of the Kingdom whole and inviolate, and to govern in conformity therewith." The King then signed the oath and returned to the throne.

The Chancellor then placed the sword in the King's hand and said: "Receive this Kingly sword as the ensign of Justice and Mercy." The King received the sword, passed it back to the Chancellor, who passed it to the Noble in charge of it, as he was ordered by the Chancellor to unsheath it and he then unsheathing the sword carried it naked during the rest of the ceremony.

Princess Kekaulike then advanced with the Royal Mantle and placed it in the hands of the Chancellor, who placed it on the King's shoulders. The placing of this feather cloak or mantle on the shoulders of the King was the most effective part of the ceremony, and the cloak looked graceful over the King's military uniform. In placing the cloak the Chancellor said: "Receive this ancient Royal Mantle of your predecessors as the Ensign of Knowledge and Wisdom."

The Chancellor then put the Ring on the fourth finger of His Majesty's right hand and said: "Receive this Ring, the Ensign of Kingly Dignity."

The Chancellor then delivered the Sceptre to the King and said: "Receive the Royal Sceptre, the Ensign of Kingly Power and Justice." The Majesties then became seated.

Prince Kawananakoa then advanced with the Crowns, the Choir singing the following Hymn:

Almighty Father! we do bring
Gold and gems for the King;
Pure gold for the true Chief,
The symbol of true Love.
Gems of the hidden mine,
Gleaming forth a glory;
The glory of unfolding Isles,
That grow in wealth and peace—
That come to crown their King.
The heir of the farthest ages
Chosen by Thee, Almighty Father!
To whom the honor and the glory.
Amen.

The King rose and the Honorable Godfrey Rhodes, President of the Legislative Assembly, took the King's Crown and raised it up before the people and placed it in the hands of the Chancellor, saying: "I present this Crown to the rightful

King of these Islands, approved by Acts of the Legislative Assembly in the Legislature of the Kingdom assembled of the years 1880 and 1882." The Chancellor then placed it in the King's hands saying: "Receive this Crown of pure gold to adorn the high station wherein thou hast been placed."

The King then taking up the Crown by the centre ornament with one hand placed it on his own head, and taking up the other Crown in the same way he placed it on the head of the Queen. This act was altogether marred by the rather undignified way in which the crowns were taken up by the King. In coronations where the King crowns himself it is usual for the monarch to take both hands and in a solemn manner to hold the crown high in front, as the President of the Legislature did in this case, but by taking hold of the small button or ornament at the top, the effect was rather comical than otherwise. On crowning the Queen the King said: "I place this Crown upon your head to share the honors of my throne."

The crowns of both King and Queen are exactly alike; they are in the Imperial form, and are of gold lined with crimson velvet. The gallery of the crown is formed of taro leaves (a plant indigenous to the Islands), which are copied in green gold set with brilliants, and the whole is incrusted with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, opals and pearls. The coronation ring is gold, and bears the Hawaiian arms, the crown and motto being set in brilliants. The sceptre is chased, ornamented with small gems' heads, and surmounted by a globe with a dove upon it.

A prayer was then offered by the Household Chaplain, Rev. A. Mackintosh, as follows:

Almighty Father, who crownest thy faithful servants with mercy and loving kindness, look down upon these thy Servants, KALAKAUA and KAPIOLANI, who now in lowly devotion bow their heads to Thy Divine Majesty; and as Thou dost this day set crowns of pure gold upon their heads, so enrich their royal hearts with Thy Heavenly Grace, and crown them with all princely virtues which may adorn the high stations wherein thou hast placed them, and Thine the honor and the glory for ever and ever.—*Amen.*

FINALE:

Their Majesties then resumed their places upon the Throne at the conclusion, and signals from the Palace towers announced the event, and a royal salvo of guns was fired from the Water Battery, Punchbowl, and the war ships in the harbor, the salute from the *Mutine* being especially noticeable in its resonance.

The Choir then sang the following Anthem:

Cry out O Isles, with joy!
With loud sounding praise,
Unto the Almighty Father
Who gave union to the Isles
Who gave them places on high
Among the mighty of the earth:
Who hath led our Chief and King
Along the paths of the world,
And led Him to a Throne
Set up by Thee, O God!
In the hearts of his People.
Cry out O Isles with joy,
With loud sounding praise,
Unto Thee, Almighty Father!
For all ages, evermore.
Amen.

The Coronation Ceremony having thus been completed, the King and Queen, attended as before, retired to the Grand Hall where they disrobed. Following was the form of Procession leaving the Pavilion:

Marshal of the Household.
Marshal of the Kingdom.
Chaplain of the Household.
The Honorable President of the Legislative Assembly.
The Chancellor of the Kingdom.
The Governess of Hawaii.
Princesses of the Blood and their Consorts.
Bearer of the Palaoa.
Bearer of the Puloulou.
Bearer of the Torch of Iwikauikaua.
Bearer of the Kahili of Pili.
Bearer of the Jewels and Decorations.
Bearer of the Sceptre.
Bearer of the Crowns.
The King's Camberlain.
Bearer of the Sword of State.
Their Majesties the King and Queen.
Bearers of Her Majesty's Train
Kahili Bearers.
Ladies in Waiting to the Household.
Aides de Camp

There was a small attempt at a cheer at one moment but it was not taken up. The whole affair was viewed with profound silence, except from the guns, band, and one ancient voice which indulged in a *mele*.

It was understood that there would be a reception after the ceremony, but after the visitors waiting some time it was announced that the Queen would not receive, so the ladies did not enter the throne room. The official and other gentlemen were presented and the King withdrew, and the remaining guests departed, many thinking how uneasy must rest the head with such a crown.

The rain, which had been holding off during the coronation ceremonies, now poured down in torrents and the streets were soon deserted by all but those whose plethoric purses allowed them to engage the omnipresent expresses. This sudden shower caused the postponement of the unveiling of the statue of Kamehameha until the 14th inst.

UNVEILING THE STATUE.

The unveiling of the Statue of Kamehemeha. I, was one of the items on the programme which was to follow immediately after the Coronation Ceremony. The prevailing unpropitious weather delayed the consummation of this event until the 14th inst. at noon. The Statue was placed on a pedestal prepared for it in front of the Government building, and was supposed to be a *replica* of the original Statue which had arrived here in a damaged state, having been on board a vessel that was burned and sunk off the Falkland Islands, then fished from the bottom of the sea, arriving here by the *Earl Dalhousie* so badly damaged that the present Statue was ordered to replace it. This last Statue represents Kamehameha in a standing posture, the right hand extended in welcome, the left grasping a spear. The head of the Conqueror is covered with a helmet-shaped covering and over his broad shoulders is spread the famed feather cloak. The feet are covered with sandals, the shape and size of the sandals are however, regarded as lacking the similitude of those worn by the ancient chiefs of Hawaii. The helmet and cloak were gilt and presented a resplendent if not a natural appearance. The pedestal upon which the Statue is mounted shows on its four sides, in relief, incidents connected with the life of the dead King.

A platform had been erected to accommodate the invited guests and speakers on the occasion, and was occupied by His Majesty and His Ministers, His Ex. Gov. Dominis, Hon. C. R. Bishop, Hon. A. S. Cleghorn, His Ex. Rollin M. Daggett, American Minister; His Ex. J. Hay Wodehouse, British Commissioner; His Ex. Henri Feer, French Commissioner; Hon. J. M. Kapena, Hon. Godfrey Rhodes, Hon. P. Kanoa, Hon. S. N. Castle, Hon. W. C. Parke, Hon. H. A. Widemann, Hon. J. U. Kawainui, Hon. Robt. Stirling, Capt. Edwards, H. H. B. M. S. *Mutine*, Capt. Wilson, U. S. S. *Lackawanna*, Capt. Pearson, U. S. S. *Wachusett*, Capt. Chateauminois, French Corvette *Limier*, Count de Louvier, Capt. Thos. Spencer, Capt. A. B. Hayley, Lieut. J. N. Hayley, F. A. Schaefer Esq., J. C. Glade Esq., Lieut. A. Souza Canavarro, J. W. Pfluger Esq., and others.

Troops were arranged on either side of the platform, members of the Legislature occupying seats arranged around in front, and the Band was stationed in close proximity, and played several choice selections during the ceremonies. The balconies of the Government House were filled with members of the Royal Family and the gentler sex. Precisely at noon the flags which surrounded the statue were drawn aside, the flags on the Government House hoisted and a salute was given from the battery stationed at the water side.

His Excellency Walter Murray Gibson, the Premier, then delivered the following able address which we take from the columns of the *Commercial Advertiser*.

Kamehameha was the reputed son of Kalaniopu but it is well known that his real father was Kekuhikili, who was in those days the King of West Maui and of Oahu and Molokai, and whose name meant "Thunder." However appropriate the name may have been to the father, who can gainsay the fact that here in his son, whose effigy is here before us, we had a veritable "Son of thunder." It was a saying of Kotzebue, the Russian commander, with many other commanders of distinction who came in contact with him, who were greatly struck with the character and deportment of the Hawaiian hero, a saying which we find in Kotzebue's narrative of his visit to these Isles, when expressing his admiration of the King, that "Kamehameha ought to have a statute erected to his memory." This prophetic saying of Kotzebue is accomplished to-day. This hero must ever be the most striking figure in the history of these Islands. He was a hero of the type which elevates a nation. It was not by mere force and conquering capacity that he became the creator of a nation out of the [illegible] and warring tribes. He elevated them from their condition into national life. How pre-eminently he stands above his barbarous surroundings! It was not merely courage—animal courage—which distinguished him. In this he was eminent; but he was eminent also in his moderation, in his self-denial, in his pure regard for the welfare of his people as a thing above all personal desires and claims. What a marvel was his conquest and organization of these Islands. He showed in his career all those characteristics which are developed by education, by the influence of tradition and of history. But no! It was from the darkness of the age and surroundings without education, without the guide and spur of tradition and the history of great predecessors and their works that this hero came forth panoplied with force, skill, and [illegible] capacity. Cæsars and Alexanders have done great deeds, but what had they not of backing in traditions and education. Here was a man isolated from the civilized world as if his sphere of life had been cast in the moon, who came forward and

fulfils the character of eminent men who started with so many advantages. Kamehameha was not wonder-stricken or abashed by the new beings and their vessels and implements of destruction. The encounter of Kamehameha with Cook was, no doubt, a determining influence in the future career of the conqueror. Piianaia says that the hero appreciated the English commander as a friend, and was adverse to the hostilities that ended in the death of Cook. He lamented the death of the white commander. Though bold, skillful, and successful as a warrior, Kamehameha loved peace better than war, and the good of his country more than many victories. He fought to secure peace and suppress turbulence. His wars did not originate in personal ambition and love of conquest. He was drawn into them, one after another, by the force of circumstances.

When we read of Asiatic, Polynesian and Indian heroes who have been great conquerors, we find that the spirit of conquest held possession of them as a mania; that they never relaxed the slaughter of their fellow-men so long as there was an opposing force to be overthrown and destroyed. But in the Hawaiian conqueror we behold a ready disposition to become a peace-maker. There is a traditional saying, originating in his times, that the pre-eminent result of his victories was "that old men, women and children were safe reposing in the highway." This traditional saying, which has never been disputed, is illustrated in one of the tablets which adorn the pedestal of the Statue. Such a condition of affairs had never before been known, in Hawaii, so far as we know from the records which have come down to us. His conduct as a ruler and an organizer of the Kingdom must command our highest respect. In this respect he resembles Egbert of England, who united its seven kingdoms. Before his time, the will of the chiefs and certain religious or superstitious fanaticisms had filled the place of law. That only was a crime which annoyed or injured the great man or his favorites. But Kamehameha the conqueror imposed upon himself and chiefs, laws suppressing violence and wrong calculated to restrain the powerful, and to benefit the common people. In spite of his eminent prestige and absolute prowess and genius, he did not make his own word the sole foundation of these new laws. He had the wisdom to select superior men as his councillors, and the good sense to carry himself in accordance with the general tenor of their advice. And more than this; it is handed to us by the tradition of his own people that he gave force to his laws by uniformly obeying them himself. He said to Vancouver that he should be the last person who ought to violate the established regulations of the country he governed. His power of self-restraint was indeed one of his marked characteristics. He qualified himself for being the conqueror of others by a thorough self-conquest. All that we know of him betokens this. His calm and dignified behavior on board of Cook's ship—his prompt acquiescence in the will of Kalaniopuu, when ordered to retire to his own estate and devote himself to the care of the war god Kekukuilimoku—the terms in which he related to Kotzebue the injurious conduct of certain Russian subjects, and the alarm which their threats (made in the name of the Russian Emperor) had caused amongst his people. These, and a score of other instances, may be cited to show the self-control which this hero had acquired. From hence came that deference to the opinion of his men of experience, which was, no doubt, one of the surest foundations of his power. Of the strong, sound sense which characterized his rule we have many instances. When he visited his dominions, and went abroad with his retainers, he saw how they eat up the land, and then, unlike other chiefs, he set himself to correct this. He ordered the cultivation of fields so as to provide beforehand for his own subsistence and that of the chiefs and people who accompanied him. He planned the organization and preservation of the country for his posterity. When the sandalwood, which formed at time such a source of riches to the country, was being gathered, he commanded that the young saplings be preserved. His officers said, "You are old and must soon die, and we know not whose will be the sandalwood hereafter." He indignantly replied, "Have I not sons? To them belongs the young sandalwood." Had his successors been as wise as he, this source of wealth might have been preserved in our forests to this day. Again, another instance of his attention to the future. It was always a great matter of interest to Hawaiians to possess the beautiful feather cloaks. When the birds were caught for the sake of the coveted feathers he would not allow them to be killed. He insisted that they should be set free in order that their feathers might grow again, and be there for those who should come after him. His people recognized this wisdom and moderation, and gave him their highest reverence.

And again we must notice how Kamehameha—this so-called barbarous chief—was quick to appreciate and to seek and to acquire for himself and his people the skill of the white man in the mechanical arts, and especially in ship-building, from the moment that it came under his notice. How quickly sprung up with him, as with Peter of Russia, the desire to acquire ships and to learn the art of constructing them. He goes himself and sends his young men to Vancouver to learn. He takes the shipwright's tools in his own hands, and assists and encourages his young men in their work. Again, behold him when in the position of Cæsar when he desired to invade Britain—when he, too,

wishes to invade another island, and has no war vessels. He goes with his own men into the forests; he accompanies and directs them as a master workman, and builds and launches a fleet. Or again, when he stands on the bluffs at Kohala, as represented in one of these tablets, where he organizes and trains them, teaching them to form rapidly into effective line of battle from a previous condition of apparent wreck. His character as a man in the domestic relations, is most pleasingly set forth by Vancouver in his account of the reconciliation of Kamehameha and Kaahumanu; of his loving artifices to bring it about and his happy feelings at the reunion. His magnanimity is shown in this instance. Kahahawai, a powerful chieftain fought him determinedly. He was defeated, and he with some followers were brought into the presence of the conqueror. The vanquished chieftain said: "Here we are, and if you command us to lift up our heads, we lift them up. If you say bow down in the dust, then we bow down. And if you say die, we die." Kamehameha bade his fallen foes return in peace to their homes.

In no particular, however, is the sagacious character of the hero of Polynesia more markedly displayed than in his relations with white men, and his advice to his successors and followers to maintain forever friendly relations with the new comers. He who had tens of thousands of trained warriors at his command, and saw the white man only as a chance stranger, yet he understood and appreciated the power of the foreign race. He would not oppose them in vain like savage Indian and Asiatic chiefs. His prudence and self-command were conspicuously shown in the case of a commander who had, in revenge for an injury done him, enticed alongside of his vessel and wantonly destroyed a hundred and twenty natives of Maui. When a small vessel, which also belonged to this man, had been seized by some of his people, and the crew, with two exceptions, massacred, he took compassionate care of the escaped men, and ordered that the vessel itself should be hauled up on the beach and protected by awnings until its owner should come to fetch it away. Every characteristic of this Hawaiian hero indicates a man of pre-eminent courage, of prudent forecast, of correct judgment and humane spirit, and presents in fine the eminent character of one who was an honor to the whole human race. It is his character and acts that give significance and consequence to this Hawaiian State at this day. But for Kamehameha the Hawaiian Islands might now be sharing the condition of the dependent islands of this ocean. Had the Maories of New Zealand possessed such a hero and statesman they would have avoided the treaty of Waitangi and preserved their independence to this day. This hero so impressed the Powers of Europe, that we find the Monarch of England writing to him a letter, styling him, "His Majesty the King of the Sandwich Islands," accompanied by the present of a vessel, and assuring him that he would cause his commanders to respect the Hawaiian flag wherever they might meet with it. By him was laid the foundation of the national structure to which Kalakaua gives the finish. The first Monarch laid the foundation in the obscurity of a rude time, with his spear and strong arm. The seventh Monarch, who has just been crowned, perfects the national structure with all the enlightened and scientific appliances of our age. May the race of the great hero be preserved. May Hawaiians be roused to a devotion to the nationality founded by the Conqueror. His last words in dying were—"Move in my good way." Yes Great Chief—we will swear here—every true Hawaiian, and every friend of Hawaii, to preserve forever the independency of the nation you did establish by thy prowess and wisdom!"

At the close of His Excellency's remarks the Band played a lively air, the members of the Legislature cheered, and after quiet had been restored Hon. J. M. Kapena delivered another address in native. At the conclusion of Hon. Mr. Kapena's address, His Majesty departed for the Palace accompanied by his staff officers, Cols. Iaukea and Boyd, and the rest of the company dispersed and the Great Kamehameha, a King crowned by the love of his people, was left alone in his glory.

THE STATE DINNER.

On the evening of the day on which the statue of Kamehameha 1st was unveiled, His Majesty gave a state dinner in the banquet room of the Palace. Invitations had been extended to forty people, nearly all of whom accepted. At 6:30 the guests began to arrive and were received at the Palace steps by Colonels Iaukea and Boyd, of the King's staff. His Majesty standing in the hallway received the guests in turn; they were then escorted to the cloak rooms by pages in waiting. At a given signal the guests were marshalled in procession and marched to the banquet hall. His Majesty occupied a seat at the centre of the table, the Queen being seated directly opposite. There was also seated at the Table His Ex. J. O. Dominis, Hon. A. S. Cleghorn, Prinsess Poomaikelani, Princess Kekaulike, His Ex. the Premier, His Ex. the Minister of Interior and Mrs. Bush, His Ex. the Attorney General and Mrs. Preston, His Ex. Rollin M. Daggett, American Minister Resident; His Ex. J. Hay Wodehouse; H. B. M.'s Commissioner and Mrs. Wodehouse, His Ex. Henri Feer, French Commissioner and Mrs. Feer, His Ex. Paul P. Kanoi, Governor of Kauai; Commander F. Pearson, K. C. B., of U. S. S. *Wachusett;* Captain Frederick Edwards, of H. B. M. S. *Mutine;* Captain Henry Wilson, of U. S. S. *Lackawanna;* Captain Chateau minois, French Corvette *Limier;* Hon. Godfrey Rhodes, Hon. Hermann A. Widemann, Hon. J. M. Kapena and Mrs. Kapena, Hon. A Francis Judd and Mrs. Judd, Hon. W. C. Parke and Mrs. Parke, Hon. B. H. Austin and Mrs. Austin, Hon. H. W. Severence and Lieut. A. de Souza Canavarro.

The table was very tastefully arranged and the following *menu* was offered for the refreshment of the assembled guests:

MENU.

SOUPS.

Mulligtawny, Turtle, Windsor.
Soup a la Reine.

FISH.

Boiled Uhu, Ulua, Ohio, Fried Mullet.
Kumu, Moi, Crabs, Anchovies.

VEGETABLES.

Mashed Potatoes, Sliced Sweet Potatoes,
Sliced Potatoes, Taro, Green Peas, Tomatoes.
Corn, Asparagus, Spinach.

ENTREES.

Wild Duck with Mushrooms, Lawalu'd Pigeons.
Plover, Pheasant,
Fillet of Veal. Mutton Cutlets.

ROASTS.

Boiled Turkey Truffle Sauce, Boiled Ham.
A la Mode Beef, Fillet of Veal,
Canvass-back Duck, Chicken Pie, Roast Goose

CURRY.

Shrimp Curry, Bombay Duck.
Cheese, Salad.

WINES.

Sherry, Hock and Rhine Wine, Claret and Burgundy.
Champagne, Beer, Port, Liqueurs.

DESSERT.

Iolani Pudding, Wine Jelly, Sponge Cake.
Cocoanuts, Papala and Fruit Cake.
Strawberries and Ice Cream.

FRUITS, POMPOMS, TEA, COFFEE.

The Royal Hawaiian Band was stationed on the Ewa verandah of the Palace, and, under the direction of Bandmaster H. Berger, discoursed sweet music during the discussion of the viands by the assembled guests. Following was the programme:

Pas Redouble, Kalakaua	Michels.
Overture, Festival	Bach.
Cavatina, Nabucco	Verdi
Waltz, My Queen	Goote.
March, Coronation	Meyerbeer.
Overture, Tancredi	Rossini.

Hawaii Ponoi.

At the hour of 9:30 o'clock their Majesties withdrew and the guests, under the conveyance of Colonels Boyd and Iaukea, were safely ensconsed in their carriages and departed for their homes.

INCIDENTS.

A lunch was spread at the Government House and the Ministers Gibson, Preston, Kaai, and Bush with the members of the Diplomatic and Consular Corps, members of the House of Nobles and commanders of the men-of-war satiated the cravings of good appetites after the unveiling of the statue of Kamehameha. His Excellency, the Minister of Finance was just drunk enough to be disagreeable and disgusting and his actions at table induced His Excellency the American Minister, and Commander Pearson of the U. S. S. *Wachusett*, and others, to withdraw from the drunken Minister's presence.

After leaving the presence of the Kamehameha statue, on the 14th inst., His Majesty, accompanied by Col's Iaukea and Boyd, visited the Barracks and conferred decorations of the Order of Kapiolani on some of the soldiers and band boys.

One of the members of His Majesty's Privy Council of State was debarred from seating his daughter on the Palace verandah during the Coronation.

The ushers appointed by the Coronation Committee, consisting of Messrs. W. Unger, J. Simonson, W. L. Wilcox, J. Robertson, C. N. Arnold, F. Clark, Henry Smith, George Smithies and A. Fernandez, acquitted themselves of their arduous duties in a creditable manner, seating the large audience orderly and expeditiously.

KALAKAUA DEAD.

THE KING DIES ON A FOREIGN SHORE, PASSES AWAY AT THE PALACE HOTEL AT SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., JANUARY 20, 1891.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES AT SAN FRANCISCO ARRIVAL OF THE CHARLESTON WITH THE BODY OF THE DEAD MONARCH. RECEPTION IN HONOLULU LYING IN STATE.

Notes on the King's Trip through Southern California, by Lieut. Geo. P. Blow, U. S. N. Reports of Rear-Admiral Brown, U. S. N., and Medical Inspector Woods, U. S. N., to Hon. John A. Cummins, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kingdom of Hawaii.

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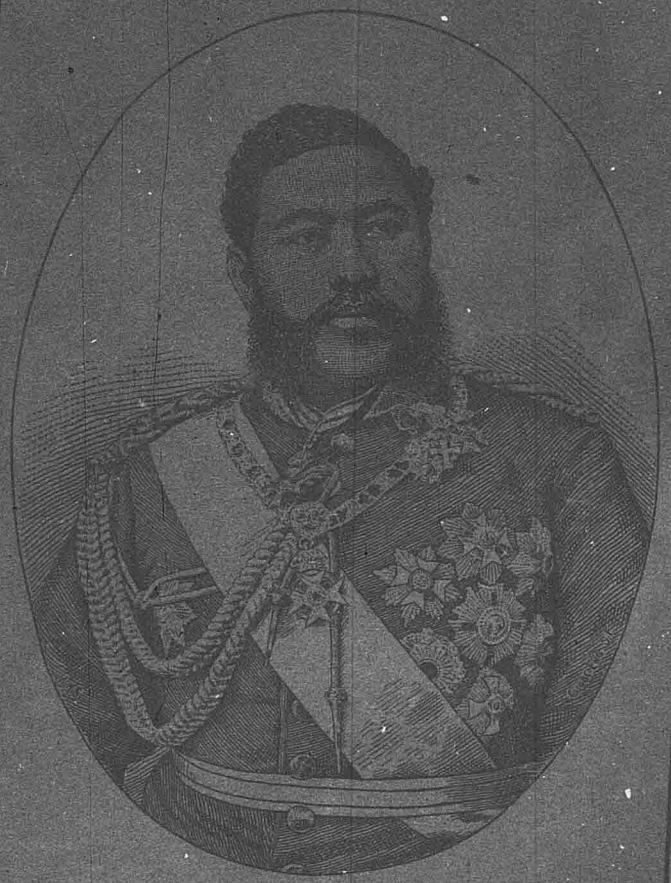
HONOLULU, 1891.



Kalakaua

THE DEAD KING.

THURSDAY, Jan. 29.

The U. S. Flagship Charleston has just arrived in the harbor, bringing the remains of His Majesty King Kalakaua, who died in San Francisco at 2:30 p. m. the 20th instant. Admiral Brown of the Pacific Squadron was delegated by President Harrison to assume the sad duty of bearing the news to the beloved subjects of the late monarch, and on the arrival of the Charleston a reporter obtained the following details prepared by Henry Bigelow, of the San Francisco "Examiner," who is familiar with the facts, and accompanies the vessel, by the permission of the Admiral.

The King's fatal illness was of a few days' duration, lasting from Saturday, January 18th, to the following Tuesday. Information has reached the Islands from time to time concerning the hearty welcome given to His Majesty by the people of California and reports have described some of the splendid receptions held in his honor. December 27th, the King started on a tour of Southern California in a special car, placed at his service by the Southern Pacific Railway Co., to respond to the cordial invitations sent him by the municipal authorities of Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Diego, and other cities. The journey proved to be a series of fetes, dinners, public receptions, etc., that taxed the energies of the King beyond their endurance. While at Santa Barbara, a fatiguing drive of 12 miles in a cold wind, resulted in a severe chill, which prostrated the King, and which ended in a slight shock of paralysis, January 5th. He recovered from this sufficiently to depart for San Francisco, Jan. 7th, but on his arrival there, by the advice of Admiral Brown and Fleet Surgeon Woods, decided to decline the invitation to the State Inaugural Ball at Sacramento and to remain in the seclusion of his hotel apartments. By this time, Dr. Woods had arrived at the decision that the King's symptoms were those of Bright's disease of the kidneys, although he had not determined yet as to the progress of the disease. The King's return to San Francisco was the signal for a renewal of the bounteous hospitality of her citizens, which the King, notwithstanding his precarious condition, was reluctant to refuse.

Tuesday, Jan. 13th, against the emphatic wishes of Admiral Brown, he attended a banquet at the California Hotel given by Mrs. Henry Gillig, and on the next evening, spent an hour at the reception tendered him by the Masonic Order of the Mystic Shrine.

The consequences were manifested in a sudden attack similar to the one in Santa Barbara; this occurred on Thursday, Jan. 15th, and from that hour it was the beginning of the end.

Admiral Brown, who had been his host, throughout the entire visit to California, and had exercised all the means that lay in his power to secure

the complete success of the affair, now took his post at the bedside of his dying friend, and remained there till the end.

Dr. Woods at the outset prepared to battle with the terrible disease, in order to raise the monarch to a degree of health sufficient for his return to Honolulu, before death came. Saturday, however, saw only the most fatal symptoms, and those around the dying man realized that the last hope had fled. Colonel Baker and Colonel Macfarlane almost refused to believe the terrible announcement, and when the end came, Tuesday afternoon, at 2:30 o'clock, they were utterly prostrated by the shock.

During the last 48 hours of the King's existence, he was entirely unconscious. His last words in English were spoken to Admiral Brown, Tuesday morning, and after that he murmured only a few Hawaiian words of endearment to Colonel Baker, lapsing into his last sleep soon afterwards. Prayers were said in the King's appartment by Revs. J. Saunders Reed and F. H. Church, of Trinity church, from Sunday night till the King's death. At the last moments, there knelt near the dying monarch's bedside, Admiral Brown, Rev. J. S. Reed, Colonel Baker, Colonel Macfarlane, Consul McKinley, Dr. Woods, Lieutenant Dyer, U. S. N., Hon. C. R. Bishop, Claus Spreckels, Paymaster Burtis, U. S. N., Mrs. Swan, Senator Whitney, Judge Hart, Mr. R. J. Creighton (Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1886), and the native servants of the King, Kalua and Yeast.

On the evening of Tuesday, the body of the late monarch was embalmed under Dr. Wood's supervision, and Wednesday morning escorted by a detachment of U. S. Marines (from the "Charleston") to the mortuary chapel of Trinity Church, where, in a magnificent casket it lay in state guarded by a detachment from the U. S. Cavalry, until the funeral services of Thursday. Sorrow for the dead Monarch was universal in San Francisco. Courts were adjourned out of respect to his memory, the Custom House and Appraiser's buildings closed, the Produce Exchange adjourned, etc., etc., and flags flown at half-mast everywhere. The funeral services were arranged under the direction of Admiral Brown, with whom the Mayor of the city and Supervisors conferred. They were conducted on a scale that has never been equalled on the Pacific Coast. General Gibbon, commanding the Military Division of the Coast, took charge of the procession, and there participated in it detachments from the regular army and the National Guard, besides the Masonic representatives and various civic organizations. The evening papers of Jan. 22d estimate that over one hundred thousand spectators crowded the streets to view the funeral cortege as it passed from Trinity Church—where Rev. J. S. Reed held the services—to the Washington street wharf. At the latter point the casket was removed to the U. S. steamer Madrone, to be transferred to the Charleston. Minute guns were fired for an hour from the man-of-war, and were answered by the various forts in the bay. At 4 o'clock, the casket was placed on the deck of the Charleston, the band playing the National Anthem of Hawaii, and half an hour later, the vessel steamed majestically out of the harbor on its sorrowful mission.

ARRIVAL AT HONOLULU.

When the telephonic news went round this morning that the Charleston was off Koko Head, many people received it as a practical joke attempted on the community. When it was added that the Charleston had the Hawaiian and American flags at halfmast the sad truth was realized that King Kalakaua was dead.

By nine o'clock communication was had with the American flagship, both by the code of signals on the U. S. S. Mohican and by steam launch. The Mohican's flag was put at halfmast and her yards were crossed. H. B. M. S. Nymphe displayed similar signs of mourning. Hon. Samuel Parker carried the news of the King's death to the Palace. All Government offices were closed and the flags on public buildings placed at halfmast.

As the Charleston's entrance of the passage was announced, crowds of natives and foreigners gathered on every point of vantage upon the water front. The Charleston steamed slowly through the passage. The Hawaiian flag was at halfmast on the mainmast, Rear-Admiral Brown's flag being at the head. The Stars and Stripes floated halfmast at the peak. Conning towers, bridge, davits, railings, and cables were draped with black crape. The Charleston rounded the lighthouse and, dropping anchor in the naval row opposite the King's boathouse, swung into position.

Shortly before the entrance of the ship, Mr. Jas. W. Robertson, acting Chamberlain, came ashore in a boat from a visit to the Charleston, and, landing at the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Company's wharf, declined to speak to anybody as he hurried off to the Palace in Major Seward's buggy that was waiting. The members of the Cabinet assembled at the same landing, but only stayed a few moments. Everybody was enquiring when the King's body would be landed, but there was no information to be gained. Mr. Jos. O. Carter, who had been appointed one of a committee to welcome His Majesty home, was the first to board the Charleston, in a steam launch from the Mohican, after the sad news of His Majesty's death was learned. Mr. Carter was, perhaps, the most judicious selection that could have been made to formally welcome His Majesty home, on account of the high regard and personal esteem in which he had long been held by King Kalakaua. Mr. Carter was accompanied on his sad mission by Captain Shepard of the U. S. S. Mohican, who introduced him to Rear-Admiral Brown of the Charleston. Admiral Brown immediately entrusted Mr. Carter with all the official dispatches to the Hawaiian Government, which the latter gentleman conveyed to their destination.

Diplomatic and Consular flags are flying at halfmast, also flags on many private houses, and the shipping in port.

Business houses and manufactories are numerously closed, and there is a general suspension of business.

The arches intended for a living King's reception, with other decorations in progress, have been removed.

As the Charleston came to anchor, native women on shore set up a loud wailing.

The Government schools were promptly dismissed in honor of the late King.

LANDING OF THE BODY.

It is not decided when the King's body will be landed. The Privy Council is summoned by notice in this paper to meet at two o'clock this afternoon. At this meeting the landing of the body, the date of the state funeral, and the proclamation of Queen Liliuokalani's accession will all probably be determined. The likelihood is that the body will be landed late this afternoon.

THE SUPREME COURT ADJOURNS.

At the opening of the Supreme Court this morning Mr. Justice McCully said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE BAR AND OF THE JURY.—

In view of the great national bereavement which has overtaken us, nothing else is to be expected but that the business of the Court should be suspended.

I regret that it must be suspended for the day only, for tomorrow we must resume our duties here. It is necessary, as we are in the midst of a case, otherwise there would be a longer adjournment.

I refrain from making any expression here now concerning this event. We are all at one in our feelings today. What is appropriate is suggested to every man of us without any remarks from a Justice of the Court.

Mr. Sheriff, you may adjourn the Court until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

CHAMBERLAIN MACFARLANE NOT RETURNED.

Col. G. W. Macfarlane, His late Majesty's Chamberlain, has unfortunately been detained at San Francisco by illness, on the official advice of Fleet Surgeon Woods to Rear Admiral Brown. Dr. Woods reported that by request of the Admiral he had called professionally on Col. Macfarlane, for the purpose of determining whether it was prudent for him to make the journey on the Charleston. He found the Colonel in a state of nervous prostration from recent excitement and grief, and also suffering from acute pleurisy of the right cavity of the chest, in the first stage, which condition caused the doctor to decide against his making the journey.

Mr. J. O. Carter brought a message ashore from Admiral Brown for Hon. E. C. Macfarlane, the Chamberlain's brother, to go on board. The Admiral, knowing that Mr. Macfarlane would not have a letter from his brother, on account of his severe illness, thoughtfully sent for him to tell him of the Colonel's condition, and to assure him that there was no cause for alarm. Mr. Macfarlane went out in company with Hon. Samuel Parker and remained about a half an hour with the Admiral.

RETURNED TO REST.

Five o'clock was the hour officially fixed for the landing of the late King's body from the United States Flagship Charleston yesterday afternoon. Captain Shepard of the United States ship Mohican had been under orders, from Rear Admiral Brown in San Francisco, to make arrangements for the fitting return of His Majesty to his royal seat when surrendered by the Charleston on Saturday next from the republican yet regal hospitality of the great American Union. The same gallant commander, Captain Shepard, was now charged with the sad duty of arranging for the respectful return of the inanimate clay of the lamented monarch to his late realm. Well did he perform the mournful service. The Government's arrangements on shore were equally perfect, a creditable fact considering the short time at disposal.

The place appointed for the landing was the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Company's dock, the very spot where the late King only two months before had quietly taken leave of the dignitaries of his kingdom, as he embarked on board the Charleston for his visit to the United States, whence it was fated he should never return alive. At this spot the frame of a triumphal arch of welcome had been erected. The motto in the King's mother tongue welcoming him back to sit on his throne had been already in place when the tidings came that for Kalakaua there was no more a crown on earth. Now the glad inscription is veiled with the insignia of woe, and the rough temporary braces are swathed in the somber habiliments of mourning. Then the sunshine of one of Hawaii's most glorious days seemed to promise a reunion of prince and people happier than the parting. Now a clouded sky and weeping elements were in sympathy with the extinguishment of all the loyal hope and goodwill that followed the sovereign on his last living voyage.

The scene at the landing was one never to be forgotten by anyone therein mingling. In every direction landward stretched a sea of humanity, composed of almost all nationalities under heaven. A solid mass of all races, sexes and ages occupied all the adjacent standing room allowed, while carriages, shipping and the vast lumber piles bore hundreds of curious spectators.

A squad of police under Captain Kamana and Lieuts. Nahoolewa and Kaiana were on duty keeping an ample space clear at the landing. They performed this service with creditable efficiency, keeping the front ranks of the crowd "dressed" in military exactness. In consequence, the throng was rescued from what would otherwise have been the semblance of a confused mob, and given the respectable appearance of a great, well-aligned, hollow square of well-behaved people. This was effected by the policemen being stationed in front at intervals of a few paces, while the officers in charge of them attended to the odd corners. Better results could not have been secured by any equal number of policemen.

Awaiting the body at the landing were their Excellencies John A. Cummins, C. N. Spencer, Godfrey Brown and A. P. Peterson, Ministers of the Crown; His Excellency John L. Stevens, United States Minister Plenipotentiary; Mr. H. L. Severance, United States Consul-General, and Mr. F. A. Schaefer, Dean of the Consular Corps. Hon. J. L. Kaulukou, of the Privy Council, who was one of the last to take leave of His late Majesty at departure, and Mr. C. W. Ashford, a member of the late Cabinet, were also present.

Bang! At eighteen minutes to five the Charleston fires the first minute gun, announcing the departure of the royal remains from foreign territory on board that ship. It is followed by a gun from the Mohican, and the Hawaiian battery chimes in with the solemn booming. Three minutes later a steam barge wheeled into the dock, followed by two rowing barges. From these there land under the canopy arch Rear Admiral Brown and staff, Commander Remey and officers of the Charleston, Captain Shepard and officers of the Mohican, Captain Turner and officers of H. B. M. S. Nymphe, Hons. C. P. Iaukea and Samuel Parker, and Hon. R. Hoapili Baker, who went away as aide-de-camp to the King.

The third boat to heave in sight being fitted up as a catafalque is easily recognized as the royal mortuary vehicle. It halts at the right corner of the wharf on the entrance to the dock, while a numerous flotilla of naval boats sweep into view in curves from opposite directions and rush up to the landing. A company of U. S. Marines and companies of American and British blue jackets come ashore and are speedily marched into line on Fort street, with the left resting on Allen street while awaiting orders to march. One company of blue jackets is retained as a guard of

honor at the landing, not counting which the colnmn numbers 40 U. S. Marines, 56 blue jackets from the Charleston, 56 blue jackets from the Mohican, and 30 blue jackets from H. B. M. S. Nymphe, with officers of all in addition, making an entire escort of 230 or 240 rank and file. Whenever the first gun had reverberated a number of wailers on shore started their outcry, keeping it up at the landing till the procession had started and then all along the route.

All being in readiness the floating catafalque draws up to the landing precisely at five o'clock. Messrs. H. H. Williams & Co.'s hearse is in waiting, drawn by four black horses. The coffin is carried from the barge to the hearse by a squad of blue jackets. Its elegance is densely veiled in heavy black drapery. As the coffin was to be moved, it had to be divested of gorgeous but faded floral tributes, placed upon it by the late King's mourners in the foreign land.

The order to march being given, the escorting column formed fours, and at the word of command started the slow procession to the Palace. The Charleston band playing funeral dirges led the way, and the guard of honor marched on either side of the hearse. Policemen kept the line of march clear. Dense masses of people line the route through Fort and King streets, while the intersecting streets were crowded up and down for some space on either side. Spectators chiefly ladies and children also swarmed in the windows overlooking the route. The Palace yard was densely lined long before the cortege arrived there, besides which there were hundreds of natives already stationed in the grounds. The Ministers and foreign representatives, Rear-Admiral Brown and staff, with the other notables receiving the body at the wharf, followed the hearse in carriages. Immediately behind the hearse were Hon. Curtis Iaukea, P. C., Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Hon. Samuel Parker, P. C., who were appointed by Her Majesty the Queen to represent the Hawaiian Kingdom and be an escort aboard the U. S. F. S. Charleston, and to accompany the remains of the late King to Iolani Palace. These were succeeded by a long line of private equipages with a dense mass of foot passengers closing in behind. Many of the stores on Fort, Merchant and King streets were draped in black. Messrs. Egan and Gunn made a notably beautiful display of mourning and flags. The gateways of the Hamilton House were festooned with crape, and Honolulu Engine Company's house was tastefully draped.

The frame of what was to have been the Fire Department's living arch of welcome to the returning fireman King, at the house of Honolulu Engine Company on King street, was screened with crape and on the inscription board, instead of the jolly hail of welcome that was intended, was the sorrowful legend, "We mourn our loss." On the triumphal arch at the main gate of the Palace ground the lively colors of bunting originally entwined around the pillars were hidden under solemn black crape, and the gilt of the surmounting crown was scarcely visible through the like web of woe. The carriage drive to the front entrance of the Palace was lined most of the distance on either side by members of Hawaii and Mechanic Engine Companies, of the former of which His late Majesty was once an active and during his kingship an honorary member. They were dressed in their uniforms of red shirts and dark trousers, and before each fireman a torch was burning, the staff of which was planted in the ground. The contingent with its flaming accessories made a characteristic and impressive part of the local guards of honor. Fire Marshal J. C. White was in charge of the firemen. The end of the line next the Palace was guarded by the "Native Sons of Hawaii," uniformed in white with military helmets.

The Royal Guards were stationed at the left of the Palace steps, while the Royal Hawaiian Band was posted at the opposite side. A score of retainers bearing kahilis lined the steps on both sides. Male and female mele singers and wailers were on the first veranda, chanting their dismal tributes to departed greatness and rending the air with melancholy wailing. Col. J. H. Boyd, Majors J. D. Holt, Jr., H. F. Bertelmann and Captain Lilikalani of the late King's staff were conspicuous in the throng at the great doors by their brilliant uniforms. Mr. J. W. Robertson, acting Chamberlain, was also arrayed in the full insignia of that position, holding in his hand a white-plumed cocked hat. Mrs. J. W. Robertson, lady-in-waiting to the sorrowing Queen; Mrs. Chas. Clark, maid of honor to the Regent; Mrs. Jas. I. Dowsett, Sr., Mrs. Saml. Parker, Mrs. J. O. Carter, Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Wilson, and Mrs. Haalelea were with many other mourners on the veranda.

Waiting to receive the royal remains were Hon. J. O. Dominis, H. M.'s Consort; Princess Poomaikelani, Hon. A. S. Cleghorn (father of the now Heir Apparent Princess Kaiulani), His Excellency John A. Cummins, Hon. A. F. Judd, Chief Justice and Chancellor, with Their Honors Justices McCully, Bickerton and Dole of the Supreme Court, and Hons. John S. Walker and W. G. Irwin of the Privy Council.

Mr. Cummins had left his colleagues at the landing, and proceeded to the Palace before the procession, as the formal receiving of the body at the entrance was to be done by himself as Premier, Hon. John S. Walker as President of the Legislature, and Mr. J. W. Robertson as Chamberlain.

As the head of the procession approached the Palace yard, Dowager Queen Kapiolani appeared on the balcony, directly above the main entrance. She displayed paroxysms of grief to behold which was heartrending before being kindly led away. Swaying back and forth in anguish, weeping hysterically, she alternately clasped her hands above her head and hid her face behind a large handkerchief. When the stricken woman leaned forward in intense agony, one could not but fear that she would inflict bodily injury upon herself from the iron picketed railing. Her visible cryings of distress were cruelly drowned by the band music and the multitudinous wailing below. Queen Liliuokalani also appeared on the balcony, making most grievous demonstrations, she also having to be soothingly removed.

As the cortege passed through the gate the Royal Band played the Dead March in Saul, continuing the mournful strains until the coffin was borne up the driveway and into the Palace by the detachment of blue-jackets. His Lordship Bishop Willis with Revs. A. S. Barnes and S. H. Davis followed the coffin inside. When the burden was deposited in the Throne Room, the band ceased the dead march and played "Nearer my God to Thee."

While the procession was approaching the Palace, a gorgeous rainbow appeared directly over the building. Although not a rare phenomenon here, this meteorological apparition was remarked upon as a pleasing symbol of the peaceful end-

ing of a somewhat troubled career, as well as an omen of hope for a kingdom that has passed under many threatening clouds.

The coffin was placed on a bier in the middle of the Throne Room. Upon it were laid the late King's crown of state, resting on a beautiful pillow of velvet trimmed with gold, also his sword and scepter, and a royal feather cloak. When the coffin was rested Rear-Admiral Brown and the principal officers were presented to Queen Liliuokalani in the Blue Room. Her Majesty was escorted into the Throne Room, leaning on the arm of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Last night the Queen privately viewed the remains; as also did Messrs. C. B. Wilson, J. C. White and Henry Smith, on behalf of the American Legion of Honor, of which His late Majesty was a member. Kahili bearers in relays watched over the remains all night.

LYING IN STATE.

The casket containing the lifeless remains of His late Majesty is placed on a table in the centre of the Throne Room. Over the table and under the casket is spread out a large feather cloak, which formerly belonged to Nahienaena, an old chiefess of renown and a sister of Kamehameha III. Another feather cloak is thrown over the casket, excepting as far as the glass front, showing the emaciated features of Kalakaua. About midway of the top of the casket are crossed the sword and sceptre of state, draped, with the crown placed at the centre of the cross, these being mementoes of his coronation in 1883.

Inside the west door of the Throne Room are placed two large kahilis, one on each side; three large kahilis are placed on each side of the corpse, four are at the head towards the east and three at the foot towards the west, and on each side of the dais of the Throne are also two large kahilis. Inside of the large kahilis on the sides are six bearers of smaller kahilis, waving them to and fro. One kahili worthy of mention stationed at the head, composed of *mamo* (yellow) feathers, is named Kaolohaka, being a family heirloom.

At the head, resting on the brim of the casket, sits the Queen Dowager weeping and mourning, a pitiable sight to look at, her face covered with a fan. Other members of the Royal family sit near, and about the room are members of the personal staff of His late Majesty.

People of all classes, without distinction, were admitted into the solemn presence of the dead king, no more to reign. It was the most pitiable sight to see his native subjects, men, women and children, the old and the young, wailing, as is the usual custom among the Hawaiians, at the death of a sovereign or chief. The people entered the front or makai side of the Palace and going in a semi-circle through the Throne Room came out at the back or mauka side.

Amongst those who called were the Hawaiian populace at large, scholars of the Kawaiahao Female Seminary, St. Andrew's Priory and Iolani College, the Diplomatic and Consular corps, Admiral Brown and Staff, the Captain and officers of H. B. M. S. Nymphe and many others. When Admiral Brown left the chamber of death it was noticed that his eyes were wet with tears. Noticeable amongst the callers and mourners were the retainers and retinue of Her late Majesty Queen Dowager Emma.

ANCIENT CUSTOMS.

The torches burned are symbols of the late King's descendence, he being descended from Iwikauikaua, an old chief of renown. Iwikauikaua burned his symbol of ancient rank and sovereignty during the day time, hence it is known amongst the Hawaiians at the "Kukuiailkeawakea" (the torch that burns at midday).

Two native men were noticed to have disfigured their heads by shaving parts of the scalp. It is an old custom amongst the Hawaiians to perform such acts of disfiguration for any one who is beloved, whether chief or commoner. Such an act is called by the Hawaiians as "maewaewa" or "manewanewa." It is not only in the shaving of the head by men and the clipping the hair short by the women, but also by breaking a front tooth. One of the men is Charles Kaiaiki, of Kona, Hawaii.

NOTES OF KING KALAKAUA'S TRIP THROUGH SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

By George P Blow, U. S. Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station.

December 26, 1890.—Detailed by Rear-Admiral George Brown, U. S. Navy, to accompany Royal party through Southern California, "to see that His Majesty receives the respect and attentien due his rank," and to render "such assistance as may be in your power." This detail was made at the request of His Majesty

Saturday, December 27th.—At 4 p. m., took the ferry for Oakland, and boarded the private car "Sacramento" which had been kindly loaned by Mr. A. N. Towne, Vice-President of the Southern Pacific R. R. Co. The party consisted of the following persons:

His Majesty King Kalakaua, King of Hawaii.

Colonel G. W. Macfarlane, H. M.'s Chamberlain.

Colonel R. H. Baker, H. M.'s Aide, etc.

George P. Blow, Secretary and Aide to Admiral Brown.

George E. Whitney of Oakland, California.

East, H. M.'s Valet, and two servants belonging to the car.

The party was accompanied as far as Vallejo Junction, by Admiral Brown, Medical Inspector Woods, and Lieutenant Field. On telling the King good-bye, Admiral Brown said that all the necessary arrangements had been made, that all the railroad officials had been instructed by telegraph to show His Majesty every mark of respect and to make the trip as pleasant as possible, and that every contingency had been foreseen and provided for. He also promised to join the party at Santa Barbara, if not sooner. Dined in the private car and retired early.

Sunday. December 28th.—Passed a pleasant and comfortable night and rose about 9 o'clock. The weather during the day was warm and pleasant, and overcoats were all discard-

ed. His Majesty was much interested with the country and delighted with the climate, and said that he felt better than at any time since he had landed. He sat on the rear platform of the car, smoking, and seemed in excellent spirits. At each small town, crowds of people were waiting to see His Majesty. The King was frequently cheered by these people, and seemed much pleased and gratified at the good will thus shown.

Arrived at Los Angeles about 2 p. m., and found a large crowd waiting to receive us. A large delegation, headed by Mayor Hazard, General McCook, and members of the various City Boards and Exchanges, came on board and were presented to the King. They stated that a crowd of 5000 people were waiting at the other depot to receive us and that they would be greatly disappointed at our passing through the city without having a chance to see the King. An invitation was given and accepted to visit Los Angeles on the way back to San Francisco.

At about 9 o'clock reached San Diego, and were met by an immense crowd. The city officials, headed by Mayor Gunn, conducted the party to carriages, and, preceded by the State Militia and Brass band, escorted the King to the Coronado Hotel. After an informal reception of the officers of the Militia, the King retired for the night.

Monday, December 29th.—The King passed a good night and rose early and took a walk around the Hotel. He expressed himself as much pleased with the climate and the hotel, and seemed in good spirits. He said he had rested really well and felt much stronger than when in San Francisco.

During the forenoon, held a reception in the hotel parlors, when the Officers of the U. S. Army, stationed at San Diego, and the guests of the Hotel, were presented.

At 1 o'clock, the City Officials took the party to drive around the City, and to visit the Chamber of Commerce. Returned to the Hotel and dined quietly in a private room. The King was enthusiastic over what he had seen, and denied being tired. Soon after 10 o'clock, however, he retired to his room.

Tuesday, December 30th.—King passed a quiet night and rose early. He seemed to be in good spirits and spoke frequently of the climate and future prospects of the City of San Diego. He referred to some charts which I had gotten from Washington for him, and asked many questions as to the advantages to be derived from a cable and steamer line to this point.

At 3:30 p. m. went to a Masonic dinner, given by Mr. McLure of San Diego. During the dinner, which lasted until 7 o'clock, the King was particularly bright, and toasted his hosts in a short speech. After the dinner, he visited the local Masonic lodge, accompanied by Mr. Whitney and the other Masonic guests.

About 10:30 he returned to the Hotel, saying that he had passed a most agreeable evening, and soon after retired.

Wednesday, December 31st.—At 9 o'clock, accompanied by a party of ladies and gentlemen, took a special car which had been tendered by Mr. Babcock, and visited the famous Sweet-water Dam, and then went down to Tia Juana and crossed the Mexican boundary line. The King was shown the Dam by Mr. Babcock and was greatly interested in the method of its construction, and the system of irrigation in use. Arrived at the Coronado about 5 o'clock and soon after went to dinner in private room.

At 8:30 attended a Musical Entertainment in the Ball Room, given in his honor. After the music the ball commenced, but the King seemed slightly tired from his long ride, and shortly after 10:30 left the room and retired for the night, stating that as he was going to leave early in the morning, he would get as much sleep as possible.

Thursday, January 1st, 1891.—At 7 a. m. boarded the Private Car Sacramento, and started on our return North. Arrived at Riverside early in the afternoon, and were met by Mr. Johnson and friends, who conducted the party (excepting myself) through the orange groves and explained the whole system of orange culture to His Majesty. The party returned to the Sacramento about 5:30 p. m. delighted with their trip. Dined quietly in the car and at 8 p. m. went to the Opera as guests of Mr. Johnson, to hear Emma Juch in Faust. The King seemed to enjoy this greatly, and asked to have Miss Juch presented, when he thanked her for the pleasure she had given him. Returned to the car about 11 p. m. and all retired.

Friday, January 2nd.—Spent a pleasant night on the car, which started early in the morning for San Bernadino and Pasadena. Breakfasted on the train about 8:30 and spent the forenoon in talking and watching the country. On our arrival at San Bernadino, the King and Colonel Macfarlane took a short drive with the Mayor of the City. During their absence it was found that the overland train was late about 3 hours, and our arrival at Pasadena would be delayed unless we could get a special engine. Upon requesting the proper officials, the President of the California Central R. R. ordered the track cleared and sent a special engine to take us through to Pasadena. This run was made at the rate of 65 miles an hour, and it was necessary to slow down for lunch, which we had in the special car.

Arrived at Pasadena about 1 p. m. and drove to the Raymond, where rooms had been engaged in advance. Here, for the first time, the King acknowledged himself tired and undressed himself and went to bed, and had a good sleep until dinner time. Dined at 6 p. m. and at 7:10 started for Los Angeles to attend the opera. The King seemed to have entirely recovered from his fatigue, and was bright and cheerful. We were met at the depot by Mayor Hazard, General McCook and staff and other officials, who conducted the party to the Opera House. During the opera (Emma Juch as Carmen) the King was particularly bright and pleasant, and after the first act, when the Prima Donna was called before the curtain, he personally presented her with a bouquet, to show his appreciation of her acting and singing. After the opera the party was entertained at a light oyster supper which only lasted about an hour, when the party returned to the depot and took the train for the Raymond, arriving there about one o'clock a. m. The King was cheerful and talked a great deal on the way back to the Raymond, and showed no signs of fatigue. He retired at once on his arrival at the hotel.

Saturday, January 3rd.—Took the morning train and arrived at Los Angeles at 9:55 a. m., where we were met by the same city and military officials and driven to the Hollenbeck Hotel, as guests of the city of Los Angeles.

Had a quiet lunch at the hotel at 1 o'clock, and at 2 p. m. started out for a drive around the city, accompanied by all the city, State and military officials. Having received a telegram from Admiral Brown that

he would arrive by the 2:55 train, I drove in company with Major Bonebreak to the depot to meet him. On his arrival we started out to overtake the rest of the party, and finding that we were ahead of them, went to Major Bonebreak's house to wait for them. They arrived soon after and light refreshments were served, and the party dispersed.

Had a light dinner at the hotel, and at 6:30 received General McCook and staff in the parlor. At 7 p. m. accompanied by the General and his staff, Admiral Brown, Mayor Hazard and various city officials, went to the City Hall, where a public reception was held, lasting until about 9.

At this reception, it is estimated that between 5000 and 6000 people were present, and that the King shook hands with the majority of this number. During this time he showed no signs of being tired, but really seemed to enjoy the novel sensation of shaking hands with an American crowd. He also had the pleasure of meeting and talking to one or two persons whom he had known in the Islands or had seen there on a visit.

At about 9:30, escorted by the same officials, he drove to the California Club to attend the banquet prepared in his honor.

During the banquet, which by special request of His Majesty ended at midnight (the next day being Sunday) the King was in unusually bright spirits. He talked much more than usual, showed no signs of fatigue (notwithstanding his busy day) outlined the speeches which were made at his request by Colonel Macfarlane and myself, translated a speech made in Hawaiian by Colonel Baker, and finally at the close of the dinner he rose and made a short and very able speech himself, thanking the people of Los Angeles for their courtesy, and inviting them all to visit the Hawaiian Islands.

The banquet closed with all the honors given the King, and shortly after midnight the party returned to the Private Car for the night.

It had been the intention of the party to stay at the hotel, but at the suggestion of Admiral Brown, that, as we had to start so early in the morning, it would be better to sleep on the car, we adopted his idea and went at once to the depot.

His Majesty's high spirits still continued, and he remained up, smoking and talking to the rest of the party until after 2 o'clock, when he retired because he was afraid that he was keeping the rest of us awake.

This was the last time that he was really well and in his usual spirits.

As Admiral Brown will give a detailed account of the trip from the time he joined the party, which time may be considered as almost identical with the real beginning of His Majesty's last illness, I will close these notes.

Before doing so, however, I will say n recapitulation, that the weather had been perfect during the whole time since leaving San Francisco. The temperature was moderate, being about 70°, and there were no cold winds. On starting from San Francisco, His Majesty had quite a severe cold. This cold had almost, if not quite, disappeared by the time we reached Santa Barbara.

During the trip he had been cheerful and talkative, and seemed to enjoy greatly what he saw. He spoke frequently of Admiral Brown, wishing that he could have taken the whole trip, and referring to the great obligations under which he found himself, for the latter's continued kindness and courtesy ever since he had embarked on the Charleston.

At the many dinners, banquets, and other entertainments which he attended, the King ate very little, and generally drank nothing. On several occasions he even responded to toasts with water. On other occasions he would simply raise his glass of champagne to his lips in drinking toasts. On being asked why he drank nothing, he would reply, "I promised the Admiral not to drink anything."

Twice only, did I notice any symptoms of his disease (this from late revelations). On December 31st, at dinner, and once when lunching on the train, he seemed to be in a light doze for a few moments. On inquiry, however, I was told that he had frequently done so in Honolulu, before his departure for California. As the character of his disease was not then even suspected, I was reassured by this statement, and gave it no further thought. In each of the above cases, he rallied at once when spoken to and became bright and cheerful again almost immediately.

The King was subjected to no fatigue, carriages being always provided for beforehand, and, up to the time of his arrival at Santa Barbara, had probably not walked a quarter of a mile altogether.

In conclusion, I wish to state that every attention was paid to His Majesty and party, both by private and public people. At every point we were met by kindness and hospitality, and our only trouble was in declining the innumerable invitations without hurting the feelings of our would-be hosts. The railroad officials were particularly kind and considerate in their attentions, and too much credit cannot be given them for their courtesy. The state and City authorities did all in their power to make His Majesty's trip a grand success, and large delegations of these officials, together with representative men from the different City Boards and Exchanges, met the train at every stopping place to extend the hospitalities of their cities. Among all this kindness and goodwill the attentions of the Officers of the U. S. Army (we met no Navy, as we did not go to any Naval Station) were conspicuous. Every attention allowed by the Army regulations was paid although it was know that His Majesty was traveling incognito. This was particularly the case in San Diego, and Los Angeles. His Majesty appreciated these courtesies and frequently spoke of them.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

GEO. P. BLOW,
Secretary and Aide to Commander-in-Chief Pacific Station.

His Excellency,
JOHN A. CUMMINS,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Kingdom of Hawaii.

NOTES ON HIS MAJESTY'S TRIP TO SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, FROM LOS ANGELES TO SAN FRANCISCO.

By Rear-Admiral George Brown, United States Navy.

I joined the Royal Party at Los Angeles, on the afternoon of Saturday, January 3d, 1891, at the house of Major Bonebrake, where refreshments were served, and then the drive around the city and Park was continued.

In the evening there were the public reception at the City Hall, and the banquet at the California Club, already noted by Mr. Blow. After we reached the private car "Sacramento," then on the side track with beds made up ready for occupying, about 1 a. m. on the morning of the 4th, His Majesty was in unusually good spirits, and sat talking with the party about the events of the day, and at the same time smoking his pipe, until 2 a. m., when he retired.

Our car was attached to the regular train leaving Los Angeles at 7:25 a. m. About 8 a. m., I entered His Majesty's stateroom and found him bright and cheerful. He was dressed by 9 a. m. and sat in the rear end of the car, talking and enjoying the scenery. At 11 a. m. we sat down to our lunch and His Majesty ate a good meal. Before we had finished the train stopped at Carpenteria, 11 miles from Santa Barbara, and our car was boarded by a committee of citizens of Santa Barbara, among them being Mayor Barber and Dr. McNulty. Colonel Macfarlane left the breakfast table and received them, and soon afterwards attended His Majesty to the rear end of the car, when the committee were presented. Dr. McNulty, having attended the king professionally some years ago, was warmly received by him, and the two conversed together until the train reached Santa Barbara about noon. There was an immense crowd of people at the depot, from which place our party was driven to the Arlington Hotel in open carriages. The first carriage contained His Majesty, Mayor Barber, Colonel Macfarlane and myself.

On our arrival at the hotel we were ushered into the parlor, and when the whole party had entered, His Majesty was presented with the freedom of the city in the form of an address by Mayor Barber. His Majesty soon sat down, and on being told by the Mayor that carriages were at his disposal for a drive around the city at any time he might name, he thanked the Mayor, and turning to me said, "Admiral, don't you think I had better rest this afternoon." I said, "Yes, Your Majesty, if you feel so inclined." About 1:30 he retired to his room, and was not disturbed until about 5:30, when I entered and told him that dinner had been ordered for 6:30, and that he had an hour in which to get ready. I learned that at about 4:30 His Majesty had taken a cup of tea and some toast.

At 6:30, we dined, but His Majesty did not eat as much as usual, and said very little while at table. At about 8 p. m. he retired for the night.

Engagements for Monday the 5th instant, embraced a drive to the olive and fruit farm of Mr. Elwood Cooper, 12 miles from Santa Barbara, and the start was to be made at 9 o'clock. About 7:30, I entered His Majesty's parlor and found him in his underclothes, sitting on the sofa, trying to light his pipe. I said "Good morning, Your Majesty, I hope you had a good night's rest." I noticed that something was wrong with him, for he looked at me with a vacant and almost idiotic stare, as if he had never seen me before, but in a few seconds he recognized me. I asked him if he had ordered his breakfast and he said no. I told him that I would do so if he would tell me what he wanted. He answered "tea," and I told him that I would also order some eggs, as he had a long drive before him.

I at once went to Colonel Macfarlane's room and told him that all was not right with the King, and told of my visit to him. Between that time and 9:30, when the King entered the carriage, I went to his room three or four times, and found that he was making preparations for the drive, although I told him that, if he did not feel well, he had better give up going out. He said that he would go.

About 9 o'clock, Dr. McNulty arrived at the Hotel and informed me that he was not feeling well, and would therefore not go with us. I told him that I considered it imperative that he should go, and in the carriage with the King, as he was not well. I took Dr. McNulty to the King's room and he said that the fresh air would do no harm, and would probably brighten the King up. After urgent solicitation the doctor decided to go with us.

We rode in a four-horse carriage, with the front part up and the rear part down. His Majesty and Dr. McNulty occupied the rear seats, and Colonel Macfarlane and myself the front seats. I sat directly opposite His Majesty. There was a gentle breeze blowing, but the weather was warm (temperature 60°). I very soon noticed that His Majesty was very drowsy. I gave him a cigar which he lighted with difficulty, as he could not exercise force enough to draw it. He soon fell asleep and would awake at frequent intervals and relight his cigar, which would die out while he dozed. This condition continued during the greater part of the twelve mile drive, which occupied two and a quarter hours. At frequent intervals, His Majesty endeavored to expectorate, but did not appear to have the power to eject the saliva (which was thick and almost froth). He tried to take his handkerchief out of his left outside breast pocket of his overcoat with his right hand, but could not do so. On these occasions I took his handkerchief out and wiped his lips and chin for him.

On reaching Mr. Cooper's residence, His Majesty was welcomed by Mr., Mrs. and Miss Cooper, and invited into the parlor. He talked but little while in the parlor, but seemed interested in books of photographs of local scenery that were shown him. At the invitation of Mrs. Cooper, the party went out to see the botanical garden, and I accompanied the King, holding his left arm as his step was unusually feeble and very short. He evinced some interest in what was shown him, at the same time showing a desire to terminate the walk by turning to-

wards the house and not following Mrs. Cooper. When we reached the house the King sat down on the floor of a porch as if very much fatigued. Mr. Cooper at once invited him to the parlor, where he sat down for about ten minutes, when all went to luncheon in the dining room. Mr. Cooper sat at the head of the table, His Majesty on the right, with Col. Macfarlane next to him. I sat on Mr. Cooper's left and immediately opposite the King. He ate very little and did not touch the champagne which had been poured out for him. He very soon became drowsy and went to sleep. I made signs to Col. Macfarlane and he aroused the King two or three times. As soon as lunch was over, the carriages were ordered, and while they were being hitched up, the party started on foot for the olive oil mill, about 300 yards distant. I walked with the King, holding tightly to his left arm. His step was slow, and it appeared difficult for him to lift his right foot. He did not appear to be at all interested in the working of the oil mill and process of manufacture of the olive oil, although he had some days previously expressed a strong desire to learn all he could on the subject, as he told me that he thought the olive tree would flourish in Hawaii.

The carriage being ready we said good-bye to Mr. Cooper, but in doing so, His Majesty failed to follow his usual custom of thanking Mr. Cooper for his hospitality and kindness. He merely shook Mr. Cooper's hand. We drove into the city in about two hours, and during this time the King became more and more drowsy and slept nearly all the time, the intervals between naps being fewer and of less duration. As we entered the city Col. Macfarlane and I managed to keep him from sleeping.

We reached the Hotel about 5 P.M., and His Majesty retired at once to his bed. At the request of Colonel Macfarlane and myself, Dr. McNulty took charge of the King professionally, and was very attentive to him. I saw His Majesty several times that evening and night, but, as he was sleeping, I did not speak to him. The medicines given him operated freely during the night, and during next day (Tuesday) he remained in bed or in his parlor all the time until near sunset, when he dressed and sat on the veranda for about an hour.

On this day, Tuesday, January 6th, 1891, His Majesty was to have driven to the Hot Springs, and to have lunched with Mr. and Mrs. Warren, whom he had met at Honolulu. This engagement was cancelled at the advice of Dr. McNulty. That evening His Majesty said that he felt much better, and that he was equal to keeping his engagements. Consequently, at 8 o'clock, he held a public reception in the parlor, and at 9 P. M. entered the ball-room and took his seat in a large chair on a raised platform on the side of the room. As the guests filed by, the King stood up, bowed to the guests as they were presented, but shook hands with only a few of them. Then a Commandery of Knights Templars marched into the room, halted, faced and saluted the King, and were presented in a body. Subsequently, several Knights and their wives were presented by name.

The dancing commenced at 9:45, and immediately after the first quadrille, His Majesty, accompanied by Colonel Macfarlane and myself, retired from the ball-room and went to bed for the night. Shortly after this time Dr. McNulty called on the King, and, after his visit, Colonel Macfarlane and I had a consultation with the doctor as to the King's condition, and as to the probability of his being able to start for San Francisco at 10 o'clock on the following morning as arranged for. Colonel Macfarlane asked what effect the jolting of the car would have. The doctor said that he would decide whether the King should start when he called early the next morning.

Colonel Macfarlane suggested to the doctor that he should accompany us to San Francisco, and I advised him to do so. The doctor said that he would gladly do so if he, after his visit the next morning, thought it necessary. Both myself and Colonel Macfarlane urged that he should go, no matter what the King's condition was found to be next morning, and the doctor consented to accompany us. This he did, and administered medicines during the trip.

Wednesday morning, the 7th, the King was much improved in every respect, his step being more natural and his mind much brighter. We left Santa Barbara at 10 A. M., and for nearly an hour the King sat in a chair on the rear platform of the car. I was with him at this time, and considered that his condition improved every minute. He smoked his pipe frequently during the day, and ate considerably at the noon meal, and also at dinner about 6:30 P. M.

The following morning, Thursday, the 8th, he was up and dressed by 8 o'clock, at which time Mr. Blow and I left the car at Vallejo Junction and went up to the Navy Yard.

I did not go to the city on Friday, the 9th, but went there on Saturday, the 10th. I found His Majesty much improved, and Dr. McNulty still with him. I remained with the King until 3:30 P. M., when I went back to the Navy Yard. Dr. McNulty left at the same time for his home in Santa Barbara, and requested me to ask Fleet Surgeon George Woods to take charge of the case. This I did, on my return to the Charleston, as His Majesty had also expressed a desire to have Dr. Woods attend him.

Tuesday, the 13th, I spent all the day at the Palace Hotel, Dr. Woods being in constant attendance. During the forenoon the King told me that he had given up his contemplated trip to Sacramento, as the dinner was to be given that evening in San Francisco.

Mr. Gillig and Mr. Unger arrived at the Hotel, and I met them in Col. Macfarlane's room before they saw the King. I explained to them that the King was a very sick man and that they, as friends of his, should not for one moment think of taking him to dinner that day—that Dr. Woods protested against it, but as they knew how determined and headstrong the King was, and that, as it would be almost suicidal for him to go to their dinner, they could show their friendship for him by postponing the dinner.

They, however, insisted that the dinner could not be postponed, and said that the King could go to the California Hotel, show himself to the ladies of the party, and leave as soon as he was inclined to do so. Then before these gentlemen saw the King, I introduced them to Doctor Woods, who, in my presence, told them that under no circumstances would he consent to his patient going out that evening. They then saw the King and arranged for him to attend the dinner.

I was invited, as was also Mr. Blow. I could not attend, but Mr. Blow did so as a matter of duty, in hopes of being able to induce His Majesty to leave the dinner table at any time when he (Mr. Blow) should see that the conditions were such as to make it advisable and desirable that the King should do so.

Mr. Blow informed me that the dinner was an elegant one in all its

appointments, given in a private room in the California Hotel, that there was speech making, music, and dancing. Also that His Majesty ate very little and drank nothing, and did not enter much into the gayeties of the evening, though he seemed to enjoy himself. The King returned to the Hotel, accompanied by Mr. Blow, about 11:30 p. m., immediately after dinner.

Colonel Macfarlane did not attend this dinner, as he was confined to his room by illness of a slight nature. Colonel Baker, however, did attend.

The report of Fleet Surgeon Woods will give an account of all events which occurred after this time.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
GEO. BROWN,
Rear Admiral, U. S. N.,
Commanding U. S. Naval Force,
Pacific Station.

To His Excellency,
JOHN A. CUMMINS,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Kingdom of Hawaii.

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF KING KALAKAUA.

By Medical Inspector G. W. Woods, U S. Navy, Surgeon of the Fleet.

U. S. FLAGSHIP CHARLESTON,
At sea en route to Honolulu,
January 26, 1891.

HON. JOHN A. CUMMINS,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Kingdom of Hawaii.

SIR:—Deeming it to be my duty, I herewith present for your information a full account of the last illness and death of His Majesty Kalakaua I., King of Hawaii.

The first symptoms of His Majesty's illness occurred at Santa Barbara, California, which place was reached, on the return from the Southern California tour, on the morning of the 4th of January. His Majesty had eaten a moderate breakfast, had received the Mayor of Santa Barbara and a few representative citizens on the special car, and was subsequently driven to the Arlington. Here a small reception was held, and the Mayor proposed an afternoon ride to view the points of interest in the town and vicinity. This was declined on account of fatigue, which was considered only natural, as His Majesty had been for two nights deprived of needed sleep and rest by reason of dinners, a reception, and attendance on the opera at Los Angeles. Retiring to his room as soon as possible, His Majesty slept the whole afternoon, only rising for dinner, and retiring again as soon as dinner was over. Admiral Brown noticed, during the day, that the King's mind was dull, and that he was not in a normal condition.

On the morning of Monday, the 5th instant, an excursion was made with the Mayor and others to Cooper's ranch, distant twelve miles from Santa Barbara. The same conditions being noticed by Admiral Brown as on the previous evening, he requested Dr. McNulty, one of the entertaining party, to ride in the carriage with His Majesty. During the trip, a constant disposition was manifested to fall asleep. and both on the way and in viewing Mr. Cooper's beautiful estate, an entire indifference to all that was shown him. At luncheon he indulged in no conversation, fell asleep repeatedly, but when aroused was coherent, though sluggish in his speech. Returning, he so repeatedly fell asleep he could not keep his cigar lighted, and had great difficulty in expectoration, those near him finding it necessary to wipe away the saliva.

His Majesty's condition was now such as to demand medical attention, and Dr. McNulty was requested to act in his medical capacity. In addition to symptoms already mentioned, Dr. McNulty noticed a distinct loss of power over the right side, making him fearful of hemiplegia. Free purgation, which was at once instituted, relieved these symptoms, and on the following morning His Majesty was pronounced better, though intellectual dullness and somnolence persisted. During the day, Tuesday, he remained quietly in his room until evening, when he attended a reception and ball for a brief period, retiring at 10 P. M.

It is to be noted that both Admiral Brown and Colonel Macfarlane most earnestly urged His Majesty not to make the excursion to Cooper's ranch, or attend the ball and reception, their efforts being seconded by Dr. McNulty's professional opinion, but without avail, and only succeeded by the most energetic pleading in cancelling an engagement to luncheon on Tuesday at the Hot Springs, distant twelve miles from Santa Barbara, where he was to be entertained by old Honolulu friends, Mr. and Mrs. Warren.

Wednesday, the 6th of January, the royal party returned to San Francisco, accompanied by Dr. McNulty as a matter of precaution, and it was noticed by Admiral Brown that His Majesty somewhat brightened up and seemed to be in a degree himself again during the journey, which was accomplished by noon of the 7th of January, when the party reached the Palace Hotel, San Francisco. Dr. McNulty remained in attendance on His Majesty until Saturday, when, after giving advice, and prescribing appropriate medicines, he took his leave.

His Majesty was not seen professionally again until Tuesday, the 13th inst., when Medical Inspector G. W. Woods, U. S. Navy, was requested by Rear-Admiral Brown to enquire into the King's condition, and by His Majesty solicited to remain in attendance. On this day he was in a lethargic condition, rather than comatose, and when aroused was able to engage in conversation coherently and intelligently, though the mental processes were slow. A dinner party was to be given on this evening by friends to whom His Majesty was specially devoted, and on Wednesday evening he was to be introduced into the Masonic order of "The Mystic Shrine," attendance on both being considered imperative: and no argument would serve to alter his determination.

On Wednesday morning, succeeding the dinner, he dressed as usual, and, after a light breakfast, eaten in silence, seated himself in a chair before the fire, and sank at once into a deep sleep, which lasted most of the forenoon. On waking he was urged not to contemplate going through the proposed ceremonial of the evening, and his serious condition was explained to him as a reason for this urgency, viz.: that there was probably a suppressed secretion of the

kidneys, due to disease of those organs and a commencing uræmic condition, that caused great apprehension. His only answer was to the effect, "I must go," and "nothing shall prevent me from going." During the day he slept constantly, and indulged in no conversation. When aroused, his only thought was of the evening ceremony, and he would murmur, "I must go, I must go to the Shrine." Recognising that His Majesty would persist in his purpose and forcible opposition was out of the question, an attempt was made to prepare him for the ordeal. Up to this time, only remedies prescribed by Dr. McNulty had been employed. Now free cartharsis was produced, which somewhat relieved his lethargic condition, and at 8 p. m. a glass of coca wine (vin mariana) with a bowl of bouillon were taken, which gave him considerable energy. At 8:30 the Masonic committee appeared to conduct him to the Temple, and His Majesty was placed more especially in charge of his old friend General Dimond, who promised that His Majesty should be submitted to no shock, or fatiguing ceremonies, and should be back at his apartments within an hour, which promise was faithfully kept. Instantly on his return His Majesty was put to bed, and sank into a deep sleep, after a diuretic remedy had been administered.

On Thursday morning His Majesty insisted on going to the breakfast table, where he occasioned great alarm to Colonel Baker by refusing to respond to questions, dropping his knife and fork, and with difficulty taking food in the intervals of short periods of sleep. Being summoned I at once had His Majesty placed in bed, and got from him reluctantly an assurance that he would remain there, and submit to orders and treatment. The action of the kidneys was in a degre suppressed, and the small quantity of urine passed was found to be highly albuminous. There was no evidence of dropsy in any form, either anasarcal or of the cavities: the tongue was thickly coated; there were slight febrile symptoms, and a lethargic condition, having a tendency to pass into coma; the heart was evidently largely hypertrophied, and the liver contracted, a condition probably due to cirrhosis. The diagnosis was interstitial nephritis with uræmia, for which condition remedies were given to act on the hepatic system, bowels, skin and kidneys.

As the day (Thursday, Jan. 15th) progressed the cerebral condition became more distinctly comatose, and from this time His Majesty ceased to converse, his words being whispered with difficulty, and his recognition brief and imperfect. In the afternoon Colonel G. W. Macfarlane, and Consul McKinley, at my request, consented to a consultation, and A. F. Sawyer, M. D., an eminent consulting physician of San Francisco and Prof. W. S. Taylor of the University of California were summoned. After a careful examination of the patient, both diagnosis and treatment were approved; and from this time onward, until the time of His Majesty's death, these gentlemen were twice daily at least, in consultation with me, every symptom closely watched, and careful consideration given to changing conditions and alterations of treatment.

During Friday, the 16th, there was but little change noticed, His Majesty on several occasions called for his pipe, and took a few puffs—his last smoking—sitting on the edge of his bed in a semi-comatose condition. He also insisted on rising from his bed in response to the action of his medicine. Good action of the bowels, skin and kidneys had now taken place, and was easily maintained. A singular feature was noticed in an intermittent loss of power over the right arm. No trouble in protruding the tongue, and in a straight line, was observed.

Saturday morning febrile symptoms were manifested with flushed cheeks, stronger pulsations in the carotids, but the most careful physical examination could not determine any intercurrent inflammation, and the fever, which lasted to the end, with increasing respiration, but without dyspnœa, was attributed to cerebral irritation, with possibly serious effusion. During the day, occasional uræmic convulsions of a slight character occurred, principally manifested on the right side.

From Friday morning, His Majesty was abundantly fed with milk, both alone and in the form of punch, and previously with broths, tea, rice and cocoa. Although the skin was now acting profusely, the kidneys were secreting to the extent of 30 ounces in 24 hours, which gave great encouragement, yet the urine was still highly albuminous. On Sunday, His Majesty passed small quantities of blood from the bowels, which was supposed to be hemorrhoidal. The comatose condition was noticed as increasing, although all the emunctories were working perfectly to relieve the system of urea. Cups were applied on either side of the spine, from the nape of the neck to the sacrum, and over the kidneys. Occasional uræmic spasms. Toward evening there was another sanguineous stool, and urine was passed in considerable quantities, involuntarily. At noon all medicine was stopped, save an occasional diuretic dose, as perfect action of remedies had been obtained. Small quantities of milk and milk punch were administered at short intervals.

Monday, January 19th, almost complete coma with hissing stertor, uræmic odor of breath, and pupils sluggish. Urine and fæces passed involuntarily; no blood in latter. Temperature varying from 100 to 102 degrees, respiration 26, increasing in the night to 32. During the evening, as there seemed to be no hope that His Majesty would survive, or that he would recover consciousness, communion service according to the rites of the Protestant Episcopal church was held in his presence, of which His Majesty was, of course, unable to partake. The service was conducted by the Reverend F. H. Church, and holy communion administered to Colonel Baker, Mrs. McKinley, Mrs. Price, and Mr. C. V. S. Gibbs, warden of Trinity; Colonel Macfarlane, Senator Whitney, Consul McKinley, and Dr. Woods being also present. The Reverend Mr. Church remained in the hotel all night, hoping for some return of consciousness, when His Majesty might be able to receive.

On Tuesday morning, it was plain to see that His Majesty could not survive many hours. Deglutition had become difficult, and his strength was only maintained by brandy and glycerine trickled into his mouth from a drop tube. It was noticed that there was no evidence of paralysis on this day, either in tongue or arm. The breathing toward noon was labored and stertorous, and 32 to the minute, the temperature rising at one time to 104, and then sinking rapidly to 100.5. The body was covered with a clammy perspiration, and the heart beat feebly and rapidly, all giving evidence of the failure of the vital powers, and that the end was drawing near.

At this juncture, the Reverend J. Sanders Reed commenced to recite, in impressive tones, comforting passages from the Scriptures, which

were continued to the end, varied by the singing of hymns, the Reverend Mr. Church leading. At the last, this service was changed to prayer, all kneeling; the words of devotion mingling with His Majesty's last breath.

At 1:30 the breathing became very labored, and increased to 56 respirations per minute, the extremities were cold, the heart's action almost imperceptible. Gradually the respirations diminished, and at 2:30 p. m. Tuesday, January 20, 1891, His Majesty, Kalakaua I. of the Kingdom of Hawaii, ceased to exist.

There were present at this moment at the bedside, on the right of His Majesty, Reverend Mr. Reed, Colonel Macfarlane, and Admiral Brown; on the left, Colonel Baker, Kalua, and Kahikina; and at the foot of the bed, Mrs. Swan, Consul McKinley, and Medical Inspector Woods. Grouped around were Lieut. Dyer, Hon. C. R. Bishop, Mr. Godfrey Rhodes, Judge Hart, Senator G. E. Whitney, Mrs. McKinley, Mrs. Price, Mrs. J. Saunders Reed, and the Hon. Claus Spreckels.

At 6 p. m. the body was embalmed by Dr. J. E. Williams, under my personal supervision, by injection from the aorta, which afforded an opportunity of inspection of some of the viscera without their removal from the body. The heart was found greatly hypertrophied, there was evidence of slight pericarditis, and the aorta and its branches were atheromatous, suggesting the possibility of capillary rupture within the cranium, as complicating the cerebral uræmic symptoms, which had been before considered. The liver was contracted, and distinctly cirrhotic. Other organs could not be examined without a complete autopsy, which was opposed. No effusions were found in the cavities.

At 11 a. m. of Wednesday, January 21st, His Majesty's body, dressed in plain evening dress suit, was placed in the casket, gloves embroidered with the royal arms upon his hands, and the ribbon and cross of the order of Kamehameha I. with the star of Kalakaua upon his breast.

At 1 p. m. of the same day the body was transferred to Trinity Chapel, and to the care of the U. S. Military authorities, being attended by Colonel Baker, Consul McKinley, Lieut. Dyer and Medical Inspector Woods.

In closing this report, I wish to call attention to the fact that His Majesty was undoubtly seriously ill when he left Honolulu early in December, and there is a history of symptoms pointing to developing disease of the kidneys, covering a period of more than a year.

As regards Admiral Brown, Colonel Macfarlane and Colonel Baker, words would be superfluous in commenting on the sorrowful interest, and affectionate regard, displayed by these gentlemen, so closely identified with His Majesty; but I must specially refer to the devotion manifested by the Honorable D. A. McKinley, Hawaiian Consul at the port of San Francisco. Mr. McKinley was tireless in his attendance night and day, from the first moment that His Majesty's illness was declared to be a grave one, in spite of constant acute suffering, on his own part, from rheumatism; and Mrs. McKinley joined with her husband in sympathy and kind services.

Finally, I feel it to be my duty to express my earnest appreciation of the services, and the kind and loving attention bestowed by His Majesty's Hawaiian attendants upon their sovereign. It was perfect in its character—such as no foreign servants could have given, rendering the presence of the trained nurse almost superfluous—and both soothing and comforting in the highest degree, their native words being, at last, all His Majesty could comprehend.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

G. W. Woods,
Medical Inspector, U. S. Navy.

BENCH AND BAR.

ELOQUENT ADDRESSES BY THE MEMBERS IN HONOR OF THE DEAD MONARCH.

The Supreme Court assembled in Banco at Aliiolani Hale at 10 o'clock Saturday morning. Present the full bench: Hon. A. F. Judd, P. C., Chief Justice and Chancellor, with their Honors Lawrence McCully, P. C., Richd. F. Bickerton, and Sanford B. Dole, Associate Justices.

Their Excellencies John A. Cummins, Minister of Foreign Affairs; C. N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior, and Godfrey Brown, Minister of Finance; Hon. John O. Dominis, Her Majesty's Consort; and Rear-Admiral Brown, United States Navy, sat at the right front of the bench. His Excellency A. P. Peterson, Attorney-General, occupied a position at the head of the convocation of the Bar in front.

Other members of the Bar present were Mr. W. R. Castle, Hon. J. L. Kaulukou, Hon. A. Rosa, and Mr. C. W. Ashford, former Attorneys-General; Mr. Chas. Creighton, Deputy Attorney-General; Messrs. Jona. Austin, W. A. Whiting, Wm. Foster, W. O. Smith, J. M. Davidson, F. M. Hatch, L. A. Thurston, E. ff. Ward, J. M. Monsarrat, J. K. Kahookano, Holokahiki, J. H. Barenaba, J. A. Mageon, S. K. Kane, W. C. Achi, Enoka Johnson, W. F. Frear, W. C. Parke, W. H. Wright and J. K. Kaulia.

His Lordship Bishop Willis and Rev. S. Davis sat in the rear. Mr. Henry Smith, Clerk, and Mr. A. W. Carter were at the desk. Mr. W. L. Wilcox, Hawaiian interpreter; Mr. J. M. Vivas, Portuguese interpreter; Mr. Li Cheung, Chinese interpreter, and Mr. F. J. Testa, deputy Hawaiian interpreter, and Mr. J. W. Jones, Court stenographer, were in attendance.

SPEECH OF MR. W. O. SMITH.

Mr. W. O. Smith, at the opening of the Court, rose and addressed the Court as follows:

May it please the Court, at a meeting of the Bar held yesterday on the occasion of the death of His late Majesty Kalakaua, some resolutions were adopted by the Bar to be presented to the Court this morning, which with the permission of the Court I will now present:

Whereas, His late Majesty King Kalakaua has been removed by death leaving a bereaved nation; an afflicted widow, the Queen Dowager Kapiolani; and a grief-stricken sister,

Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani, and

WHEREAS, His late Majesty was a member of the Hawaiian Bar, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in the death of His late Majesty King Kalakaua we recognize that the country has lost a great friend; one whose aim was to place Hawaii high among the nations; whose endeavor was constantly directed towards maintaining and increasing her prosperity:

RESOLVED, That the Hawaiian Bar remembers with pleasure His late Majesty's genial courtesy and friendly presence in its occasional gatherings wherein he appeared as a member:

RESOLVED, That the Bar herewith tender to Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani, to the Queen Dowager and the relatives of the late King their respectful sympathy and condolence:

RESOLVED, That the members of the Bar do wear a mourning badge from the present time till the expiration of fourteen days after the funeral.

And be it further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be presented in open Court with the request that the same be entered upon the records of the Supreme Court.

May it please the Court, in presenting these resolutions it is with peculiar sadness. We have met here before, the Bar and the Court, in memory of Attorney-Generals and members of the Court, Justices of the Court. Now we meet in memory of a member of this Bar who was elevated to the highest office in the Kingdom, and I believe that it is the first time within the history of this country, and of this Bar that a member of the Bar was elevated to that high office. It is with special sorrow also, for he had not reached the three-score years and ten, or by reason of strength attained four score years, but has departed in the prime of life. He was called away from home and those who were dear to him, and, while attended by those who were as kind as friends could be, doing all for him that was possible, still there were only one or two of his own people with him, and while his remains were brought back here with all the state and pomp that could be tendered, his remains were brought comparatively alone, but they were received by those here who sincerely mourned his loss; the Nation is now in mourning. This is also an occasion of peculiar sadness to the people and the nation, because as each of the Chiefs depart those who remain become fewer in number.

As a Hawaiian and in sympathy with this people, it comes to me with peculiar force and sadness, as we remember the great Chiefs who have lived and reigned and ruled in this country—it is sad to contemplate that they are passing away. It seems to me that in this connection it is not inappropriate to remind us, as members of this Bar and of the Court, of our high responsibility in this country. From our training, the nature of our business, we have peculiar responsibilities in regard to the future of the country and its government, to see to it that right principles be maintained.

It is sad when death comes to any home, to anyone. It is peculiarly impressive when it comes to a nation, and in this case the Sovereign who has been taken away was a member of the Bar of this Court. We are all ministers of justice and, by our training and special knowledge upon these matters, we have a higher responsibility than many others have. He has gone to the Great Advocate, the King of kings. The days will soon pass and we one by one must follow him.

This is not an occasion for extended remarks. I wish on behalf of the members and brethren of the Bar to express our sorrow in the tenderest tribute to his memory.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S SPEECH.

His Excellency A. P. PETERSON made the following remarks:

In seconding the resolutions which have just been moved I would remark that His late Majesty having been, as has already been stated, a member of our bar, although for many years a silent one, it is most appropriate that we as a body should notice his demise in some such fit and proper manner.

Kalakaua was admitted as a practitioner before the Courts of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1869 and that instance in his life, which gave him fellowship with the fraternity of lawyers, was always remembered by him with pride, although his after career took him from the active practise of the profession.

In less than five years from his admission to the Bar, the Hawaiian Kingdom called him to assume the duties and responsibilities of Sovereign, and as King of Hawaii will the world ever remember him.

As Ruler of this Nation he ascended the throne at a time when the industries of the country were in a critical situation, and almost his first efforts were directed towards improving the material prosperity of his country, and to his own personal influence, when on his visit to the United States, in a great measure, was due the success which attended our efforts and resulted in procuring for this Kingdom, that great boon which has enormously increased the wealth and prosperity of the country —Reciprocity.

From that time until his death he was continually thinking and planning projects which he thought might improve the material condition of the nation, and while some of these may have appeared to other minds somewhat fanciful, still it showed that he had the well being and prosperity of his people at heart.

He was, as is well known, a man of uniform courtesy and gentlemanly bearing. High and low were treated alike by him, with his kindly disposition, which forgot all differences both of rank or opinion, and those who knew him best as well as the passing stranger, all bear testimony to his genial, kind-hearted nature.

Such is the man, human, as we all are, with his failings, as we all have, whom it has pleased God to remove from our midst, and today it can honestly be said that a nation is plunged in sorrow at the sudden news of the death of His late Majesty Kalakaua. May the good work he did ever remain green in the memory of his people and may *our* thoughts of him ever remain kindly and just, for was he not one of us?

SPEECH BY MR. HOLOKAHIKI.

Mr. HOLOKAHIKI said: May it please your Honors, I have not a great deal to say on this occasion, having been taken totally by surprise and not knowing that I would be called on to make any remarks until within a very few moments.

It is well known to Your Honors that His Majesty was a member of this bar, having been licensed to practise several years previous to myself. I have been present during the trial of cases in which he was counsel add in which he showed marked ability. After his accession to the throne, he still remembered his old friends of the bar, being always pleased to meet and converse with them.

We as lawyers when we have cases to defend before the Court are able to make a defense and sometimes

successfully combat the charges brought against us, but when the summons comes from the Almighty Judge of the Universe, any demurrers or defenses that we may make are of no avail and we have to comply with the summons. This should teach us to conduct ourselves so that when the final summons does come, we should be prepared to meet it.

SPEECH BY MR. ROSA.

Hon. A. Rosa spoke extemporaneously as follows: May it please the Court and members of the Bar, I in company with a friend the other day, examined the list of attorneys of this Court and found the name of David Kalakaua, admitted as a practitioner on the 14th of April, 1869. Many of us perhaps have not seen him in active practise, perhaps some members of the Court remember him when practising, we have only the records of the Court in his handwriting to show that he was in active practise. In 1874 he was elevated to the throne of Hawaii and while King honored occasional gatherings of the Bar with his presence and on many occasions expressed himself as always being a member of the Bar. I remember an instance when he was called to the Bar for some purpose, I don't remember now what the occasion was. He sat where Justice Dole now sits. He said to the Bar: "Gentlemen, I am still a member of the Bar, probably one of the oldest;" and in his conversation with members of the bar he always mentioned his pleasure to be among the lawyers, and recognized that they were a responsible body of men in any community, particularly in the Hawaiian Kingdom. As remarked by our brother, Mr. Smith, the lawyers hold a peculiar and responsible position in the community, and I know from personal knowledge that His late Majesty always entertained that view. The Justices of the Court now all hold commissions from him. I held the position of Attorney-General under him in one of the most trying and critical times in this country, and I know that he meant well in everything and tried to do his best, but from some unforeseen circumstances could not always be controlled for the best of this country. He did what few Sovereigns would have done and endeavored to do under those circumstances what was best for the country, and that is clearly shown by the fact of his leaving the country in the most critical time to him personally to cement the ties with that great nation which watches this nation more closely than it ever did before. He left these shores against the advice, as I understand it, of his Cabinet, his physicians, relatives, and of many personal friends, to seek his health in a better and more bracing climate, but with a view, as I said before, of cementing more closely the ties between that great nation and this little country. He has no doubt succeeded in doing it, as we see from the newspapers glowing accounts of the attentions that were shown him; they say that no traveler who had ever reached the Pacific Coast ever received as much attention as did his late Majesty David Kalakaua. And that nation has shown it after his demise, in returning his body to these shores and surrendering it to the Hawaiian people and to the Queen Dowager and the Queen of Hawaii, presumably free of all expense. Its friendly feeling for this country has always been shown heretofore much to the credit of that nation, and the manner in which it has entertained our Sovereign, cared for and returned his remains, marks an epoch in the history of Hawaii which this nation will not forget, and we do not know how it can thank the Great American Republic for this courteous act. And I know that that feeling, that the Americans do not like the Hawaiian people, will be forever washed from the minds of the Hawaiians, for that great nation has shown by its act in bringing home the remains of His late Majesty David Kalakaua that it respects the Hawaiian people and its Sovereign who was the first King to land upon American soil. Some did entertain the idea that the American people did not like the Hawaiian people, but I noticed either in the Chronicle or Examiner a remark which entirely disproves it, that the first seats in the church were given to the Hawaiian people, the humblest of them that were residing in the State of California. I say, now, that that is a courteous showing by the American people that the Hawaiian people preceded the highest man in office in the State of California, and must necessarily bring the two nations more closely. It is another evidence of the kindly feeling entertained by the American people for the Hawaiian people and their deceased Sovereign and I hope that more of the Hawaiian members of the Bar will make some remarks upon this point, because the actions of the members of the Bar are always watched with interest and more especially in such times as we have been having. All actions of the members of the Bar, no matter which way their sympathies go or what views they entertain, are closely watched by every member of the community, and in these peculiar times it becomes the first duty of the Bar to watch closely these ties between the two nations.

Some have tried to create a rumor that the object of the King's visit was for some other purpose than to cement the ties between the two countries, but it was freely and vigorously contradicted. I don't think that any member of the Bar or any sensible member of the community has entertained such an idea.

We have no more of His late Majesty David Kalakaua, but we speak of him as a member of the Bar and as a man. His kindly qualities and genial disposition endeared him to every man he met, not only in his own country but abroad. They spoke of him as a most genial gentleman, a man having wonderful gentlemanly bearing, carrying himself with that degree of dignity that may become the highest potentate in Europe, and he has been very favorably compared with them. I have never known a person who has met him who did not thereafter mention those qualities and was glad to meet him again; even his worst enemies, if he had any, he always received in the most courteous manner that became a gentleman. No one denies that he was a well-bred gentleman and was an example as such to be followed by the Hawaiian people, and that those who were near him who followed his example have gained by it.

His manner at Court, his mode of conducting or of outlining ceremonies at his Court, was always admired by those who were present on such occasions. He always had in view that his Court should be respected, and whenever high officials from foreign countries came here who were presented at his Court they always remarked upon those points, that they did not expect that such a little country as Hawaii could have such a dignified Court for the entertainment of officials. Officers from ships of war and other high officials who come here and are presented at his Court, occasionally make remarks upon those points.

Now I will close my remarks by saying that I was a personal and intimate friend of his from my boyhood, recognized by him while at school and encouraged to a position in the office of the late Chief Justice Harris by him. He expressed the

hope that his late brother should have held the office rather than myself, yet he was glad to see a Hawaiian being taken up by the late Chief Justice under whom His late Majesty said he had received his legal training, which was very encouraging to a young man starting in the study of the law. By the kindly assistance of the Chief Justice and His Honor Mr. Justice McCully, I gradually received my promotion, and His Majesty always expressed the desire that some day he would be glad to see promotion by degrees. His late Majesty always spoke kindly of young members of the Bar and always recognized their good qualities, and showed that he did so by taking them into quiet conversation and encouraging them, with a view of bettering their situation in the Bar and generally in the country.

I cannot help taking this opportunity, as a man, as a member of the Bar, and as a member of this community, of expressing the deep sorrow that I have for his demise.

SPEECH BY MR. KAULUKOU.

Hon. J. L. KAULUKOU said: It is with a feeling of great sadness that I rise to speak of His late Majesty's decease. His decease is a great bereavement, not only to us as members of the bar, but to the whole people alike.

I feel that the Bar has reason to be proud that one of its members had been exalted to the high position which he occupied as head of the Nation. Former Kings of Hawaii took their position as head of the Nation through birth and descent, and it redounded to his credit that he should have been selected by the people to represent them in the high office which he held.

When His late Majesty ascended the throne, the industries of the country had almost come to a standstill, but through his untiring efforts and zeal, leaving his country in a time when his presence could be ill spared so far as his own interests were concerned, he managed to obtain that great boon to this country, reciprocity.

This country owes a deep debt of gratitude to the American people, they having shown him the highest honor during his brief stay on their shores and, when he was suddenly stricken down by sickness in their midst, having treated him with the tenderest care and kindness, and on his decease returned his remains to this country in fitting state.

REMARKS BY CHIEF-JUSTICE JUDD.

Chief Justice JUDD then spoke as follows:

BRETHREN:—It is true that His late Majesty Kalakaua was a member of the bar of this Court. He studied under the late Chief Justice Harris and was admitted on April 14, 1869, at the age of 32. At the time of his admission there were several lives between him and the throne and it was commendable that he sought to obtain a livelihood through this profession instead of being an idler. I had the honor of having him associated with me, during the year of his admission, in the defense of the "Kaonites."

The King had received in the Royal school a very fair education. He was always a reader, fond of books and study and had acquired a great deal of information on a variety of subjects. But he was especially interested in Hawaiian history and the ancient manners and customs. He spent much time in collecting the old traditions and legends and was probably at his death the best informed person on these subjects.

He was possessed of a good knowledge of human nature and displayed great tact in the accomplishment of his purposes.

He was a most affable Prince. He had the rare faculty inborn and cultivated by contact with a great variety of persons of divers nationalities, at home and abroad, of saying pleasant things in a pleasant way to all whom he met. And it made no difference whether the rank of the person he met was humble or exalted.

It was his happy lot to rule over this island Kingdom during a period of unexampled prosperity. He took a deep personal interest in the development of the industries of the country and saw during the seventeen years of his reign the Kingdom steadily advance in productive resources, in education, in sanitary conditions, and in the principles of constitutional government.

The King always respected the Court. However great the temptation was to do otherwise, he never made an appointment to the Bench which he did not feel sure would receive the endorsement of the best citizens.

From my acquaintance with His Majesty from boyhood I am free to say that, however much one might differ from him, his generosity and affability made one like him in spite of the disagreement, and I am sure the expressions of sorrow which pervade the community are sincere.

The gratitude of the Hawaiian people is eternally due to our great and beneficent neighbor, for the enthusiastic reception afforded our King in his last visit to its western shores, and for the kind and tender manner in which his remains were returned to his Kingdom.

The Court sympathizes fully with the Resolutions presented. They are ordered to be spread upon the record.

AT THE CHURCHES.

ELOQUENT AND TENDER ADDRESS BY BISHOP WILLIS, AT ST. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL.

As previously announced, the 11 o'clock service of the Bishop's congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral, Sunday morning, had special reference to the death of King Kalakaua. The royal pew and the next one had been upholstered in mourning material of black with white trimmings. In the second pew sat His Excellency J. L. Stevens, United States Minister Plenipotentiary, and Mrs. Stevens; Their Excellencies Chas. N. Spencer, Minister of the Interior, with Mrs. Spencer, and A. P. Peterson, Attorney-General. Leaning against the pillar, at the left of the royal pew, was the royal arms belonging to the Sisters, its frame draped in mourning.

The services were full choral, Rev. W. H. Barnes, who assisted the Bishop, intoning the litany. Psalms 89 and 90 and Hymn 184 were sung. The first lesson was in the third chapter of Genesis, the second in the fourth of 1 Thessalonians. His Lordship preached the special sermon, and the portion referring to His late Majesty is printed below in full.

Bishop Willis chose his text in 1 Thessalonians, iv: 13: "That ye sorrow not even as others that have no hope." The chapter of holy scriptures read in their ears contained the record of man's fall. Death had passed upon all men. All down the stream of time had been heard the voice of lamentation and mourning as children beheld their parents, and parents their children, rulers their subjects, and subjects their rulers, depart hence and be no more seen; and so would the voice of weeping be heard throughout the earth until the hour comes when "there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things are passed away." His Lordship spoke at some length of the hope of triumph over death kept before humanity in the gospel, and proceeded as follows:

With that hope we mourn for David Kalakaua, who for seventeen years sat on the throne of this island kingdom. In other places and from other lips you will hear the record of his reign, the advancement of his kingdom during it, the recital of the honor he received abroad, and last of all the deep respect with which the American nation, on whose shores he died, returned his lifeless remains to his island home. But here we cherish his memory as a member of this church, and the faith that he has testified in the Redeemer is the ground of the hopes we entertain.

In 1862, when, at the invitation of Kamehameha IV., a mission of the Anglican Church was sent out to these islands under my predecessor, the late King was one of the first to unite himself to it. His knowledge of the English language and his love of reading had enabled him to examine for himself the claims of the Anglican Church to be a true branch of the Church Catholic. In the register of confirmation the first entry is the name of Colonel D. Kalakaua, confirmed on December 21st, St. Thomas Day, 1862, and receiving his first communion on Christmas Day following. Of the ten who received the laying on of hands the same day, all but one have preceded him to the grave.

It is not my purpose to attempt a review either of the life or character of our departed sovereign. Rather would I furnish you with one or two statements of fact which will enable you to reply to those who may give expression to doubts regarding the sincerity of his religious faith. It may be said that Kalakaua was superstitious. Be it so. It is no proof that a man has not embraced the true faith because he was not wholly emancipated from the influence of the religion of his fathers. I do not say this was so. But I would point out that in this respect Anglo-Saxons must not compare Hawaiians with themselves. At least twelve centuries have passed since Thor and Odin were worshipped in the British Isles. Only seventy years have passed since the Hawaiians cast their idols to the moles and to the bats. Two points I would press on your attention. When Kalakaua was born only sixteen years had elapsed since the breaking of tabu and the overturning of the idols. The battle of Kuamoo in 1819 is witness that the nation was not unanimous in that strange uprising of a nation against its ancient faith, previous, be it remembered, to any preaching of the gospel on these shores. It was not likely that a religion upheld by an hereditary priesthood would be obliterated in a day. The nation might arise against its burdens and restraints, but the influence of the kahunas was certain to remain. Writing in 1840, at which date Kalakaua would have been four years old, Kapiolani, wife of Naihe, herself an earnest and devoted Christian, lamented the indifference of the young aliis (chiefs) to Christian teaching. What wonder if, in the years of childhood and boyhood, he received impressions from the influences surrounding him, which in later life were never wholly effaced?

Then there is another point: "The living exhibition of the Christian character is the first great instrument of Christian conquest over idolatry, and the inculcation of elementary truth the second." This is the burden of the letter of that great missionary Xavier. Must we not ask: Has that living exhibition of the Christian character been presented to the Hawaiian people by those who are called by the name of Christ? It is related of the first Kamehameha that, on taking a stranger to one of the heiaus and showing him the idols, he said: "These are our gods whom I worship. Whether I do right or wrong I do not know. But I follow my faith, which cannot be wrecked, because it commands me never to do wrong." If the lives of professing Christians are stained with lust, rapacity and fraud, what must be the effect on those who have been persuaded to turn from idols to espouse the faith of Christ and a religion of purity and truth? Shall we wonder if they should sometimes become perplexed and question with themselves? If what we see around us is compatible with Christianity, how is it better than the religion of our fathers, which at least commanded them never to do wrong?

It will doubtless also be said of Kalakaua, that under the influence of modern scepticism he had become an

tacks that have been made on the faith, and the efforts of certain philosophers to account for the created universe without a Creator. If there was ever a period in his life when his faith in God and Christ was shaken by these attacks of scepticism, he has left behind him the latest tokens of an unclouded faith that the providence of God is over all His works. Denial of the efficacy and need of prayer is the first outcome of unbelief. Where can you point to a clearer proof of the late King's faith than his appointment of special supplications, to be offered on his last birthday, to the throne of grace on behalf of the lepers of the land? That appointment was not made at the suggestion of others, but originated with His Majesty himself. The spread of the terrible disease has caused him deep anxiety. No expense has been spared by successive governments in the trial of different remedies, but so far in vain. Vain was the help of man. Of whom may we seek for succor but of Thee, O Lord! And so as the King of Nineveh called upon his people to call mightily unto the Lord, to avert the destruction of their city, did Kalakaua direct his people to lay their afflictions before the Lord of life and death, of health and disease, who alone is able to remove the scourge with which he has visited this peopled. In the Hawaiian translation of the prayers that were composed His Majesty's own hand may be traced.

If further testimony were needed on his undoubted faith in one living and true God, Maker of heaven and earth, upholding all things by the words of His power, I would remind you of the reverence he always exhibited in the House of God. His demeanor in this church bore witness that he acknowledged the presence of the King of kings. Next let me mention what you have all doubtless observed, that on the Sunday after his landing at San Francisco he attended Trinity Church and there received the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. That was his last communion. It was his intention on returning from Southern California to have again received the communion, before embarking on his homeward voyage. But God willed it otherwise, and at the celebration of the sacred mysteries by his dying bed he was unable to participate.

Let us listen now to the words of the Son of Sirach: "When the dead is at rest let his remembrance rest, and be comforted for him when his spirit is departed from him." If all would give heed to this advice and treasure also the maxim which comes down to us from the old heathen world—to speak only of the good that men have done after their death—the lines of our great poet might be forgotten:

"The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones."

It is not for any fallen man with the film of a fallen nature over his eyes to attempt to weigh in the balance the struggles of another with the sin that is in the world and in himself. It is not for man to judge of the secret struggles of a soul after light and holiness its conflicts with the power of the temptations of the world, the flesh and the devil. What can one know of the yieldings and the victories, the repentances and resolutions of another soul! "In the course of justice none of us should see salvation." But through the sacrifice of the Son of God upon the cross, satisfaction has been made for the sin of the whole world, so that though all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, yet the crucified Jesus is set forth as a propitiation through faith in his blood, unbeliever. He has left an undoubted witness that such was not the case. His literary pursuits necessarily brought him into contact with the at- to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins, that God might be just and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus.

It is revealed to us that round the throne of God before which we must all apper, there is a rainbow in sight like unto an emerald. The bow that was set in the cloud is the token to mankind of pardon and peace. Such was the silent message imprinted on the sky as the remains of the late Sovereign were being borne to the Palace which would hear his voice no more. The sun had almost reached the western horizon as the solemn procession attendant on the body entered the Palace gates. Dark murky clouds hung over the mountains, filling up the background, in front of which stood out the Palace in clear relief. Over-arching the whole heaven from north to south, and illuminating the dark clouds be hind, was a rainbow of unusual brilliancy and perfection. There on the face of nature presented to every eye was God's own symbol of His mercy rejoicing against judgment, the token of his pardoning love! It was a scene to leave an ineffaceable impression on the hearts of all that witnessed it, and as you have that scene before your eyes take up the words of the Psalmist and say, "If Thou, Lord, should be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? For there is mercy with Thee, therefore shalt Thou be feared."

AT SECOND ST. ANDREW'S.

At the morning service of the Second congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral, the Rev. Alex. Mackintosh took for his text the words, "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and the mortal must put on immortality." During the discourse he referred as follows to the death of King Kalakaua:

What varied thoughts are passing through the minds of all who are thinking of the man who but a few days ago was monarch of these fair isles, and who seemed but a few weeks ago to be strong enough to reign over them for fully fourscore years. But we know his race is run. All the glitter and pomp of a kingly life about to be buried in a gloomy tomb, how little it all seems to-day! Which of us would exchange the hope of the incorruptible crown for even a longer duration of such a life? We nearly all here know our late Sovereign. His life was as open to us as that of any other inhabitant of our city, perhaps more so to some of us. All of us knew his virtues, and his powers, and his weaknesses. He has gone to be judged for the last time, to the only power which has now the right to judge. Let us think on his kindly and sunny nature, his hospitable home, his endeavors to secure the prosperity of his country, his open-handed generosity. Few perhaps knew how many depended upon King Kalakaua lor their sustenance. Let us spend our feelings in smpathy with his bereaved widow, offering up our prayers in her behalf at this solemn moment to the throne of grace. Then afterwards how we can prove loyal subjects to the successor to the throne, doing each his best to spread the light and love of the gospel in this fair land! So shall we carry out the will of the King of kings, and earn for ourselves a share in His heavenly kingdom, when earth shall be no more.

W. D. Alexander.

THE ADDRESS

— OF —

MR. KALAKIELA,

by Kalakaua

STUDENT OF THE ROYAL SCHOOL,

TO THE

MASONS

VISITING THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Honolulu, June 28, 1887.

HONOLULU:
"ELELE" BOOK AND JOB PRINT.
1887.

ADDRESS

TO

VISITING MASONS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I present myself to you this evening, and in particular, to those who are members of the Mystic Fraternity, not as a lecturer on Science or General Literature, but in order to lay before you certain views and opinons on Masonry.

Before I do so, however, I must express to you my sentiment of ALOHA and of kindly greeting upon your visit to the Hawaiian Islands, and to us as a nation and a race—a visit which has been, in many ways, exceedingly pleasant and instructive.

You have had opportunities of observing our political and social conditions, and can judge for yourselves of the progress we are making. The warm reception which you have met at the hands of your brethren of the Hawaiian Islands, and the hospitality of His Majesty the King, tend to bind more firmly still the ties of our respective countries and other countries as nations.

Your visit has been instructive, for it has taught us that since the introduction of Masonry into these islands, it has been the means of elevating men that has not been brought under Christian influence, and causing them to become good and law-abiding members of the community.

It did not take long for the past Sovereigns of these Isl-

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"ELELE" BOOK AND AND JOB PRINT.
1887.

ands to appreciate the value of Masonry in that direction. Kamehameha III had intimated his wish to join the Craft, when a sudden illness which, in a few weeks, resulted in his death, and prevented him putting his design in execution. King Kamehameha IV joined "Le Progrés de l'Océanie" Lodge No. 24, and became a Mason of high standing—attaining, as he did, the 30th degree. His brother, the fifth of the same name, was a member of Hawaiian Lodge No. 21, under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of the State of California, and rose, by degrees, to the Royal Arch Chapter. His Royal Highness, the late Prince Leleiohoku, brother of the present King, was also a member of the same Lodge, and a Mason of high standing, and would have been one of the brightest ornaments of the Order had he not been cut off. The present King, Kalakaua, a member of Le Progrés, is one of the highest Masons here, His Majesty having, as I am informed, attained the honorary 33d degree; and, at present, during the absence of Hon. J. O. Dominis and Hon. W. C. Parke, has charge of the Consistory, under the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States of America.

America was the first to diffuse the light of Christianity over these Islands, and was also one of the first to contribute another source of light to the inhabitants of these realms, in the noble craft of Masonry; and now, by friendly national ties, and bonds of mutual commercial interest, we are reciprocally prospered, and each can enjoy the blessings of unity, friendship and brotherly love.

From recent researches in Ancient History, and from the Holy Scriptures, which are considered one of the great Masonic Lights, I have gathered certain teachings and passages which seem to me to be perfectly applicable to Masonry, but which are seldom or never interpreted in the manner which I hope now to elucidate, in a way I hope easily and intelligible to the honorable members of the Fraternity.

I crave your indulgence, ladies and gentlemen, if I fail in making myself clearly understood, in which case my failure must be attributed to my imperfect knowledge of the great mysteries of your noble order.

We all understand that ther are two principles in Nature—the Positive and the Negative. The same principles prevail in Masonary, and may be defined as the speculative and the operative principle. For my part I have taken upon myself the consideration in another form of the speculative principle in order to express my views in the manner presented in the first part of this discourse.

Many Masons regard the Craft as having been founded at the erection of King Solomon's Temple, that grand and noble building that has never, as yet, been excelled by the hand of man. I take exceptions to this belief, and am of opinion that Masonry commenced with the creation of man. His Lodge was the Garden of Eden, the four heads of the rivers that went out of Eden forming an outer line of a perfect square, the point diverging from the centre forming four angles of ninety degrees each, and each of the four heads pointing directly to the four cardinal points of the compass, North, South, East and West

The idea is no doubt, prevalent among you, as the belief has been universal, that the introductory part of the Scriptures must be taken as the exact declaration of God, who said, "Let there be light," and there was light.

This belief was changed when Sir Isaac Newton, by his astronomical researches, proved that it took thousands of years for the light to be transmitted from star to star.

It has also been a matter of firm belief that the geological formation of the earth was, begun and completed on the fourth day, whereas Science declares that it took millions of years to form one stratum of the Azoic age—the lowest in the geological scale of the world's formation.

Again, it is an article of faith that the creation of animals, and, lastly, of man, was the work of a single day. Cuvier, the great naturalist, followed by such other luminaries as Buffon, Darwin, Huxley and Hackel. has proved that they could *not* be the creations of a day; that these creatures were not the work of a manufacturer, nor was there a conjuror to breathe into man the breath that gave him life; but, on the

contrary, that, by the natural process of selection by contact, and like producing like, until the perfect and glorious man, who may be considered the *finale* of His work, appeared upon the scene of existence, to take his and her place among those natural productions which the only Great and Grand Master of the Universe, in His infinite wisdom, knew.

Recent archæological researches have proved that what was the origin of our Scriptures, viz: The Hebrew version is but the fifth in the line of descent of a series of editions that preceded it. I have, therefore, classified them in the following manner:

1st—Quiche Legends .....Atlantian.
2d—Ptah-hotep.....Egyptian.
3d—Moabite.....Assyrian.
4th—Chaldaic.....Persian.
5th—Hebrew.....Jewish.
6th—Greek.....Hellenic.
7th—Latin.....Roman.

From the last two editions have sprung the various translations of the Scriptures that exist in the English and other languages. No wonder, then, that the interpretations have been so diversified; and it is through this diversity of translation and interpretation that I take the stand-point which I do.

Of the Atlantian edition we have only scattered fragments, derived from some quite uncertain source, and found in the Quichian legends. Of the Egyptian, there are fragmentary proofs of its being a copy of the other—their first record or book being called the "Ptah-hotep." The Moabite is represented by the inscriptions and hieroglyphics, and is also fragmentary.

The Chaldaic is but a copy of the Moabite inscription, though differing in certain details, and is also fragmentary. The Hebrew, which is the origin of the Greek and Latin, is simply a reproduction of the Chaldaic version.

Wherever these histories existed, at the decay and fall of of one nation, the succeeding kingdom or people took up the

traditions of those that had gone before them, each, with a pruning knife, lopping off some small piece of the original until, finally, the Hebrew version took the form in which we now have it. They took to themselves the right or patent of claiming for their history and for themselves a direct ancestral descent from an ancestry and a history belonging, possibly, to an entirely different race of men, we, in our turn, have the right to trace it to where it properly belongs, and taking up the knife of criticism and comments, add what has been omitted and pruned away those meaningless passages which have been interpolated by copyists, to fashion history to their own ends and purposes.

A comparative presentation of the different editions I have quoted is very instructive:

QUICHE.	HEBREW:—GEN. I:
At first all was sea. No man, animal, bird or green herb—there was nothing to be seen but the sea and the heavens. The Creator, the Former, the Dominator, the Feathered Serpent—those that give life moved upon the waters like a glowing light.	In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth; the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep and covered with water. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the water.
QUICHE LEGENDS.	GEN. I:12.
Then Gucumatz was filled with joy and cried out: Blessed be thy coming, O Herat of Heaven, Huraukan, thunderbolt.	And God saw that it was good.
QUICHE LEGENDS.	GEN. I:9.
The creative spirits cried out Earth! And in an instant it was formed and rose like a vapor cloud. Immediately the plains and the mountains arose and the cypress and the pine appeared.	And God said, let the waters under the heaven be gathered to-gether into one place, and let dry land appear; and it was so.
The first man was made of clay, but he had no intelligence, and was consumed in the water.	GEN. II:7. And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground.

The Proverbs of Ptah-hotep is the oldest book of the Egyptians. This land of Ptah-hotep was a colony from Atlantis, whose people received the pure faith from the mother country, from the very first beginning of history. This book preached the doctrine of one God, "the Rewarder of the Good and the Punisher of the wicked. In the early days of the Egyptians they worshipped but one God, "the Maker of all Things, without beginning and without end." After the

Egyptian come the Assyrian and the Persian versions, of which I shall take that part only which speaks of the Flood:

But there was one among the giants that reverenced the gods, and was more wise and prudent than all the rest. His name was Noa; he dwelt in Syria with his three sons, Sem, Japet, Chem and their wives—the great Pidea (Noa's wife), Pandora, Noela and Noegla.

Noa perceiving the destruction he foresaw from the stars, began in the 78th year before the inundation to build a ship covered like an ark.

Seventy-eight years from the time he began to build the ship, the ocean of a sudden broke out, and all the inland seas and the rivers and fountains bursting from beneath, overflowed all the mountains, so that the whole human race was buried in the waters, except Noa and his family, who were saved by means of the ship, which, lifted up by the waters, rested upon the top of the Gendyoe, (mountains).

GEN. VI:4.

There were giants on the earth in those days. But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord. Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generation, and Noah walked with God. And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth.

The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God said unto Noah, the end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with violence through them, and behold I will destroy them with the earth. Make thee an ark of gopher wood. Rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. And every living substance was destroyed. Noah only remained alive and they that were with him in the ark. And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventh day of of the month, upon the mountain of Ararat

The inscription of the Moabite stone gives a similar detailed account of the dimensions and the manner of building the Ark. The name of Noah is memtioned, as are also those of his wives, by the Chaldean historian Berosus, from whose account I have quoted the above. But the Hebrew version on this point is silent. Not one of the wives of those sons is mentioned. The names of these people indicate that they were not of Jewish origin, nor were they Chaldeans, or Moabites, or Egyptians; but they would seem to point to a race of men anterior to those just alluded to, and of much greater enlightment. For it was by scientific deductions and by the use of astronomical and meteorological observations, mathematically calculated, that the advent of the catastrophe was foretold. It is certainly remarkable that, as Berosus states, "Noah perceiving the destruction he foresaw from the stars," he should, after taking observations have been more than seventy-eight years working out the problem. As the seventy-eight years were only the time before the inundation took place, he decided by calculations that he could not do otherwise than to build a ship covered like an ark. Nevertheless the Jews claim him as their ancestor,

and so do the Assyrians and the Chaldeans, but the Egyptians and the Quiche, still more ancient races, have very strong evidence against their claim to priority. And against this may be adduced one very conclusive piece of evidence in the shape of the inscriptions.

The origin of all written languages is Atlantian. All the others have come from the original, and had reached to a phonetic stage; and notwithstanding the lapse of time from the antediluvian period to this, every letter in our own can be traced back again to the Atlantian source.

The Druids believed in writings still more ancient that spoke of the Flood. They were styled the "Books of Pheryllt," the writings of Pridian or Hu. For "Ceridwen consults them before she prepares the mysterious cauldron which shadows out the awful catastrophe of the Deluge."

I have strayed somewhat from the subject of my discourse thus far, in order to make plain to you the drift of the subject which I have in hand.

Let us, then, take the Scriptures as we have them before us, not speaking of them in a disparaging manner, but taking them as they have been left to us,—as a leading string that has been preserved to guide us to paths that are true, adding more lustre to the fame of Masonry, and showing that the different stages of man's existence, infancy to youth, to manhood, old age and death, are the symbols that are being taught by the principles and guidance of Masonry.

I shall, then, commence by asking you, ladies and gentlemen, to picture to yourselves, as far as each individual can, the description of the Garden of Eden, as given in the Sacred Writings—that Paradise wherein Nature was profuse in the display of every description of abundance,—herbs, fruits and luxuriant foliage, and every possible thing ready for the reception and existence of man. And the Great Architect of the Universe, having surveyed the work of His hand, and seen that it was good, "blessed it." Now it happened that although the edifice itself was complete, something else was still wanting. It was the Keystone—the Keystone of the Royal Arch,—Oudum—Adam,— which, translated from the Hebrew, means man!

For it is written, "And God said, 'Let us make Oudum—man—in Our likeness and after Our image.'" This is an explicit declaration made to His companion, whoever it might be with whom he was communicating. For He must have had some one near to whom He must have addressed these words: "that man and man's offspring should have dominion over the fish of the sea, the fowls of the air, and the cattle, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth."

Here is also the desire in God, and in a natural way—to obtain an heirship to have possession and dominion over what was to be selected and set apart for a people after his own image.

The writer of the Pentateuch, Gen. I, 26, makes no mention of how Oudum was made. It is stated in the 27th verse that he was created, but this does not agree with the Chaldean version of the Bible, which says: "And God said, let us make Oudum after Our likeness, to be Our heir in the dominion of the earth."

This fact is corroborated by the remarkable incident of the discovery of the Moabite inscription which reads: "And God said 'Nan Ser'—'Let us do.'

Another passage occurs in the 3d verse, 5th chapter of Genesis, which reads thus: "And Adam lived a hundred and thirty years, and begat a son in his own likeness, after his own image."

I have omitted quoting certain parts of the 2d chapter of Genesis, especially verse 7th, where a description is given of how man was manufactured, which seems to convey the idea that the making of man was rather the work of a conjuror than that of an ingenious mechanic. God is a true mechanic. His nature does not admit of unnatural contrivances.

It is evident that chapter 2, verse 7, was interpolated by a scribe who was ignorant of the first principles of mechanics; and this method of man's manufacture adds nothing to the glory of the Great Mechanic of the Universe.

Having disposed of verse 7th of chapter 2d as irrational, chapter 2d introduced as a connection to the 1st. In chapter 3d, verse 24, the expulsion of the man from the garden took place at the east of the Garden of Eden, where Cherubim were placed with flaming swords to keep the way of the Tree of Life.

No enclosures of any kind are mentioned as surrounding the Garden, and perhaps there were none; but path-ways were no doubt there, directing and leading from North to South, and from East to West, following the courses of the rivers that went out of the Garden. In the middle of this was planted and grew the Tree of Knowledge, of good and evil—the centre of which is the point from which no true and good man, and especially a mason, can materially stray.

In the first verse of the same chapter a descriptive account is given of a very clever and subtle being, or animal; or beast, bearing the appellation of serpent, to whom has been attributed, in the popular mind, the procuring of man's fall by his disobedience to God's commands. In fact, the entire chapter of this awful business, the fall and degradation of poor humanity, tends to give a rather low conception of God's wisdom and benevolence.

In the preparing and the laying out of the Garden, there must have been some one to help, and this serpent or beast, or two or more serpents or beasts—for the word Khanasa, or serpent, in the Hebrew, is not of the *Opidian* genus, to which class the serpent belongs, but rather to the *Simia*, or *Satyrus* genus, or perhaps a higher order of anthropoids; but, as anthropoids, or any of the Simian tribes, have not that faculty of man, the gift of speech, it is most probable that this beast must have been a prehistoric man in the lowest scale of the human species; for having the gift of speech evidently points to the conversation which took place between the man and the woman.

The Hebrew text renders the word serpent as a *Khanasa*, derived from the Arabic root Khanasa and Khnansim, plural, which signifies apes of the genus *Pithecus*. Singularly enough, the same root may be applied to the Hawaiian word man. The Arabic Khanasa may be supposed to bear some

affinity to the word Kanaka; and the Hawaiian, having no letter S, K is used as a substitute in the derivative.

I may be allowed to remark here, that if the first translators of the English Bible, and the recent revisionists of it were as clever as the first Missionaries to these Islands, they would have done more to relieve the anxiety of men than they have done by leaving them in uncertainty. The first translator of the Hawaiian Bible, instead of using the English word for serpent which, in Hawaiian, means a "*moo-kolo*" took a word as near as they could to the Arabic *KNa-he-ka*.

From this it would seem very clear how an error was caused which has given rise to so many interpretations and commentaries. Each individual wrote his own, and thus one perplexity followed another until it became difficult to make up one's mind which of the commentators to approve.

The peculiarities of beasts applied in the sacred writings to the nature of the serpent may be accounted for by the fact that the unregenerate man was devoid of all honor and decency, full of bad inclinations and vindictiveness, and was a seducer and a babbler. Primitive men, in the lowest condition, as they were, I imagine them to have been the laborers that first cleared and afterwards beautified the Garden of Eden, under the supervision of the Grand Architect of the Universe. They planted the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, I should imagine, receiving perhaps the promise that after a certain probation they would have the privilege of viewing the tree of knowledge and be further rewarded by being admitted into the society of the man and of the woman, God's chosen heirs to this worldly estate.

The garden being completed, the tree of knowledge was allowed to grow, to blossom and to bring forth fruit, as the years went by and the man and the woman grew to maturity.

I can well imagine that these primitive men, over anxious to be admitted without delay, the serpent or Khnansim conspired to obtain the secret word, and seeing that man was much more favored, and was preferred to them by being placed in the garden, rebelled. Watching the three avenues

leading to the garden, one may have stationed himself in the south, one in the east and one in the west, in order to waylay either, should the man or woman wander that way, and by force obtain the password.

Eve, no doubt, was well acquainted with these beings, and it may be supposed that she had no fear of them or repugnance to them; for, in many of her rambles she must have had frequent interviews and conversations with them from without the boundaries.

The first "serpent" was placed in the southern path, the second in the western path, and the third at the east. I will suppose that the woman in her daily rounds first approached the southern path where she met with obstruction from a Khanasa; fleeing to the western path, and being stopped again she once more refused to give the password to Eden, and full of determination she reached the eastern path where she fainted and fell to the ground.

In that condition she was conveyed by the Khanasa to the centre of the Garden, where the Tree of Life was growing. On recovering her senses, she reproaches the man with his having forced his way into Paradise. The Khanasa, feigning humility, commenced in an artful manner his work of base deception.

To Adam only had God given the freedom and the knowledge to understand that he could eat of all the fruits in the garden, excepting that of the Tree of Knowledge. "Thou shalt not touch, handle or eat." The tree had a name, and that name was lost and revealed only in after generations, when man was again redeemed and made ready to receive God's holy commands.

God gave Adam the privilege of the first degree. At his initiation or birth, he was only entitled to and allowed certain privileges befitting his youthful age. In the second degree, on reaching manhood, he was again allowed further privileges, with a caution to be prudent and by no means hasty in lending himself to the evil designs and yielding to the Kanasa's temptations to corruptness of life. He too was to receive a great reward if he was patient, and should, in

period of seven years from the commencement of the edifice. At the close and completion of the Temple, a repitition of the action and history of the Garden of Eden again occured in the untimely and tragic death of one of the Grand Masters who is known, as I have stated, as Hiram Abiff, the Architect of Tyre.

This repetition of this tragedy is another of those divine dispensations to man to prove his fidelity and integrity to those great Masonic principles of fortitude, firmness and wisdom that he had laid upon his trestle board, that man should continue to live until such time as he should be called upon to present his square to square his actions before the Supreme Grand Master, the Grand Architect of the Universe.

time, take Eve to wife, and from them should descend an heir to the estate of which they and their seeds should be possessors forever.

These commands were broken by the act of the Khanasa or primitive man who first beguiled and reduced the woman from her allegiance, and she, in her turn, tempted the man, her betrothed. And shame fell upon them both, they knew that they were naked, and made themselves aprons of fig leaves.

When the man was first asked he confessed his guilt, pleading, however, that it was through the woman's tempting him. Eve blamed the Khanasa for having urged her to sin. The Khanasa was not asked for a defence, but judgment was at once pronounced upon him, and his race has ceased to exist, or counts but very few; but his progeny still live.

To crawl upon the belly is one of the chief characteristics of races which are possessed of Bracycephalic craniums. Women of a higher order and standard of perfection, to this very day, have a hatred to the offspring of these primitive men. "It shall bruise thy head, and thou, Khanasa, shall bruise hisheels." Judgment being pronounced upon the unfortunate pair, they were driven out of Eden, and as they were without clothing—having about them only the fig leaves of which, when they had become aware of their nakedness, they had fashioned aprons for themselves, God, in His great goodness and mercy showed that though they had sinned, there were some extenuating circumstances in their case, and some redeeming features in their character, and forgave them.

As we read chapter 3, verse 21, "Unto Adam and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins and clothed them." Figuratively speaking, God's making for them coats of skins in place of the aprons of fig leaves, by which they have endeavored to cover their shame, and the act of clothing them was the atonement, and man's redemption by acts of virtue and charity; he can again attain and gain admittance to that Paradise of Grace, that spiritual Eden and lodge above, not made by hands eternal in heaven.

These coats of skins, I infer, could not be any other than the lamb skin—the white leather apron and the badge of the Masons. It is the emblem of innocence and the distinctive marks of the Brethren of the Craft—a symbol more ancient than the Golden Fleece or Roman Eagle, more honorable than the Star and Garter, or any other order that can be conferred upon man, and more particularly Masons.

It was the symbol of God's redemption of fallen man, who by restitution can be reclaimed. Every Past Master who places these skins upon the candidates as they approach and enter the threshold of the holy precincts of their Lodges, are but the successors of that divine dispensation of Him who first gave it to man.

The Jewish nation were not Masons. They were at first a nomadic race, and were not admitted to its mysteries until a later period, or as near the time of the erection of King Solomon's temple. They were shepherds, and as they approached the higher civilization of Egypt, where the Pyramids and large structures were already built, they were astonished and surprised.

That Masonry existed and was instituted only at the time of King Solomon is not true, and there is no evidence to substantiate such an assertion.

That speculative and operative Masonry existed at a time anterior to the building of King Solomon's Temple, there can be no doubt. For proofs exist, that had not King Hiram of Tyre and Heirum Ovive, commonly known as Hiram Abiff, existed, Solomon would never have succeeded in building the temple.

Solomon simply assisted in a speculative manner the cementing and uniting of the spiritual work of the builders—not in the physical operation of the work, but in the speculative. This was the grand work, and the incentive that gave the builders of the Temple the fortitude to bear with all the fatigue and inconvenience during the lengthy

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MOVE!

EXCEL THE HIGHEST!

The Celebrated

LILIKALANI MANIFESTO

of the

Election Campaign

Of February, 1882.

TRANSLATED BY H. L. SHELDON.

HONOLULU, H. I.:
THOS. G. THRUM, PUBLISHER.
1882.

[TRANSLATION.]

MOVE!

EXCEL THE HIGHEST.

In support of the words of those associated in candidacy with me, I quote this little song: [Two verses of an ancient *mele* celebrating the prowess of warriors in battle is here given.]

The words of the song above quoted are applicable to the doings between F. Pahia and Keau, who are opposed to us two, Ed. K. Lilikalani and H. W. Lahilahi, we having been discarded from their ticket. After all four of us had sworn on the bible, our two names were cut off from the ticket of these two without their assigning any cause therefor; and so I now entreat everybody who takes our ticket, don't take the tickets bearing the names of those two, for we are separate from them.

In running for Representative I am not desirous of forwarding my own personal interests nor those of others who may be elected, but really for your good, O people! We have eyes to see, and we shall devote our entire thought and minds to the watchful care of the people's rights under the Constitution, and the management of our Government under the laws passed conjointly with the Nobles, for the good of the whole nation.

In the session of 1876 you chose me as one of the Representatives for Honolulu, and in that position I took up and supported measures that were for your good.

I trust that none of you will deny that you have been benefitted by my leadership on your behalf.

For the session of 1878 you again called upon me, but I was unable to comply with your wishes. At that session the Million Dollar Loan Bill which had been passed, was killed by the Representatives whom you chose, H. Waterhouse, Keau, Moanauli, jr., and Kalaukoa. These were the persons who bitterly opposed the Reciprocity Treaty and the Million Dollar Loan at that time. Then was killed one of the strongest measures for the benefit of the native Hawaiian, and a great loss was inflicted upon the whole race who were inclined to be industrious, from Hawaii to Kauai. Many are the branches

of profitable industry that offer to every one inclined to work; but the question is, from whence the needed capital? It cannot be had: If Bishop & Co.are applied to, the rate of interest is very high, and compounded every three months.

In the Loan Bill, passed in 1876,there was inserted a section providing for the letting out of a portion of this million of dollars. It was provided that the Government moneycould be borrowed bygiving security, on the growing crops without mortgaging the land. This was a most excellent law, exempting the land, but pledging the crop only. I exerted myself strongly for this very desirable act. with a view to the advantage of the common people; but the thief and robber came in the night and destroyed this measure for the advancement of the prosperity of the masses. It was these foxes that killed the law and caused the failure of one of the best measures for the good of the people.

What punishment would be adequate for these persons so regardless of the people's interest, for it is a great crime to mismanage the interests, and the wealth of the country, the nation and the government.

One year only remains when the Reciprocity Treaty will cease to operate. Foreigners only have got rich, not Hawaiians. It is true that Hawaiians have been benefitted but they have not become wealthy. Why is this? For the reason that they have not obtained wherewith to exhibit and put forth their working qualities.

In the session of 1880, you again elected me and Hoapili and we worked hard for the passage of the Ten Million Loan, but it was greatly opposed by the foreigners and also by the ministers, and it was killed; but a bill was passed, a secret million loan bill, which blinded the eyes of all the members of the house; I and my colleague very strongly opposed this bill which was as follows:

During the session of 1878, an act was passed relating to railroads. What did the government grant for the railroad of Mahukona?—equivalent to $2,500 per mile, for 100 miles, amounting to $250,000; add interest, (5 per cent,) $12,500; total 262,500 for that 100 miles. Herein was a new increase of the Government debt. But who is the official on the part of the Government who attends to the running of the miles, the hollows and crooks of the gulches, whereby a hundred miles will be soon passed without reaching Hilo. There is 500 miles of divergence here and there, and behold, this debt and interest may thus amount to $2,500,000,while neither Puna nor Kau are reached, 1000 miles traversed, sufficient for the million dollar debt which has been so much ridiculed before the public.

I am in favor of a loan by the Government if obtained openly and publicly, but not if incurred secretly and in a manner hidden from the people. It will therefore be well for the coming Legislature to regulate this matter. I am in favor of a railroad bill and grants of money. Some amendments are necessary to the railroad act, and they should not be done in a careless manner.

Now, am I wrong in demanding that the Government borrow ten millions, openly and publicly? In my little circulars issued at the time of election in 1880, entitled "Gathered Rays," I set forth my views as follows:

"*My friends, the people of Honolulu District:* Love to you! As I declared in my advertisements in the newspapers, that I was coming to town as a candidate to represent the district of Honolulu in the Assembly of 1880, so I have executed your call, leaving my business to mingle and meet with you at this time. Wonderfully pleasant is this request of yours, that I shall again stand forth before the assembly of skilful debaters that are to appear in the coming session, and new Ministers also who have been selected to sit in the house of debate of the past.

"I shall look about and see new faces among the Nobles, in the places of those who have passed away and with whom I sat in the session of 1876; but you will understand that in that session I was alone in advocating the benefit and the progress of the Reciprocity, for you, O! Hawaii; in which and in my arguments for the public

good, I was opposed by my three colleagues. They strongly opposed the Reciprocity Treaty and the Million Dollar Loan. I trust that those who agreed with them have now found out their mistake; for we see with our eyes the benefit of reciprocity, but you have not yet tasted of the wealth that would come of the Million Loan. For this one reason, only, have I consented to your desire for me to come forward again as your servant, in order to secure that new benefit. The Reciprocity Treaty was despised then, and I then took up your strong reasons of dislike for it without deceit, and I was alone in that year in fidelity to the treaty; and so I make known to you concerning this matter. Let us contract a large debt of $10,000,000: let us not be afraid of this. It is the right hand of the prosperity which will come to us through the Reciprocity treaty, whereby the Government and all of us will obtain wealth; and I will proceed to enlighten you.

"After the session of 1876 I returned to Kapaa to grow cane, with twenty or more companions. Now if the Million Loan had not been lost the native Hawaiians would have been assisted to independence and prosperity; for we could have borrowed money of the Government with which to erect a mill to grind our several hundred acres of cane; but we were hidden beneath the foreigners who owned the mill; and there were many delays; and the company with which we had contracted had no money. Through this the work was not extensive; and besides there were unforeseen losses; so we lost those years, but hoping that the second crop would in the end make up. Now if we look at the country, in every part where I have been, there are sugar and rice fields on every hand; the once barren plains are green with cane, the old taro patches that had been lying waste for want of hands to plant them are covered with rice crops; the pastures where roamed lean scraggy cattle are now occupied by new and large breeds, imported breeds of horses, large mules and fine merino sheep; and all these are signs of the wealth of the land; but all these good things are on the side of the foreigners only; and not for the Hawaiians. How is it that the foreigner is enabled to carry on these extensive operations? It is in this way: by borrowing from Bishop & Co., Hackfeld & Co., Irwin & Co., Schaefer & Co., Banning & Co., Brewer & Co. All these great commercial houses of this city are all merely agents of the sugar planters from Hawaii to Kaui. Some mills are profitable and some mills are now staggering under debt.

"Don't mistakenly suppose that the large immigration of Chinese is the cause of money being scarce in the country. That is by no means the cause. This is the cause: When Bishop & Co. went into the culture of cane at Kapapala, Keaiwa and Papala, they threw away nearly a half a million of dollars. Nearly $100,000 of that money went clear out of the country to pay for the mill only. And a portion of that half million was scattered in this country, which has been benefitted by the money thus spent for labor; but Bishop & Co. getting short of funds all the other houses have become short also, as Hackfeld & Co., Brewer & Co., and those before-mentioned. In drawing here and there it was apparent that large sums were invested by other houses in the plantations for which they had become agents. So they curtailed in labor expenses in order to carry on the business, and Bishop & Co. curtailed in order to meet losses in the Kau plantation. Through these curtailings on every side, the result has almost been a "stoppage of the wheels" of every sugar mill from Hawaii to Kauai, for the want of money. Owing to the scarcityof money the price of daily wages in Honolulu has begun to decrease, and the price of labor everywhere: the price of contract labor on plantations has fallen from $20.00 per month to $15.00 and as low as $12.00 or $10.00; labor in this city from $2.00 to $1.50; and, if the scarcity of money continues, it will fall to $1.00 and even lower. The introduction of numbers of Portuguese, Chinese and South Sea Islanders resulted in bringing down the wages of that class only, and for the time was a slight relief for the planters;

but it did not relieve the tightness of the money market. In fact the government was the only one benefitted, inasmuch as its treasury is full whereby the public debts can be paid off. I foretold this to you as the result of Reciprocity, and now it comes to pass. Here is the question: How can these mercantile firms support the sugar plantation enterprises now going on? Here is the answer, Bishop & Co. have borrowed money from Government, whose Treasury is full at this time, containing about $500,000—the exact sum will be made known when the Assembly meets. Now this money is what is relieving the stringency at present of Bishop & Co., Hackfeld & Co. and several other firms of this city have borrowed the government money, and thereby together with the little profit realized in sugar at present, they are enabled to do a little quiet business in these days.

"Now it appears that foreigners can borrow money of the Government, why not the natives as well? Is this equitable. Yourselves must answer this question. In the session of 1876, I worked hard to secure the Million Loan Act. It was passed; but in the session of 1878, through the timidity of the Representatives, whom we chose, it was repealed. What was the result? Consider now, the fact, that Government money is being used without authority of law. It would have been better if we had kept the Million Loan Act, under which the public moneys might have been loaned out openly and freely. But see now, this is extraordinary! We don't see the smallest fraction of this portion of the large amount of money now being unlawfully loaned and we cannot see it. Therefore, I advocate before the public the passage of a law authorizing and regulating the matter of borrowing and loaning money by Government by means of the Million Loan Act, under which legislation at each session of the Legislature the people might know just how the money is managed. Is the money secured? And whose the fault but ours for the repeal of the law passed in 1874. The Reciprocity Treaty is the trunk of the tree, which bears the fruit that has been scattered among us: the Million Loan is the root whence the blood of the clusters of ripe fruit. The fruit-bearing branch, with ripe clusters, which we are now enjoying—that is the Reciprocity Treaty; the future branches are yet to appear. When we shall try again at the source from which this branch was plucked we shall see the still larger increase of the wealth of the country, ten, or even a hundred times more than at the present time. Our existing statutes are all well enough now, with the exception of some amendments needed for progress; and the principal things of importance for us to think of are, the public health, the general prosperity and our national independence. Let us consider this proposition which I now submit; Where there is a plenty of money among the people, health will prevail, and we shall be enabled to keep our independence."

The same difficulty and injustice on the part of the Government continues now. I then asked, if Government money is loaned to foreigners, what is the reason that native Hawaiians cannot have the same privilege? Thereupon is based my strong desire that our Government should borrow to enable it to do even justice to its own race.

In times past there was much complaint from the people that the personal and animal taxes were burdensome. But now that money circulates freely among the people, as a result of the Reciprocity Treaty, for which I labored so strenuously, these complaints are no longer heard from the people.

Among the strong opponents of the Treaty were S. M. Kamakau, Pilipo, Kalaukoa, Keau and others, who prophesied that the Government would become involved in loss and debt by reason of the Treaty; but where now are their voices? Subsided, utterly. The shown receipts of the Government, owing to the Treaty, have been such as to meet all demands, being profits on money unused and laying in the Treasury. Let us bring up the Million Loan again the coming session, for it will be a strong support for the Treaty.

Let us also remember that among the large mercantile houses of Honolulu there is not one without a debt, from the banking house of Bishop & Co. to all wealthy houses in the city. So that if the *debt* is the foundation and source of wealth for the business houses, why not for the Government also?

In every occupation of man in this life, we are invariably dependent and indebted one to another. The helpless infant is constantly going in debt to its parents, during minority. Families become in debt to other families with whom they live on friendly terms; the pupil is indebted to the teacher for education. Between laborers and employers there is a constant system of debtor and creditor. The poor are in debt to the rich, and the rich to the poor; the people owe government for taxes, and the government owes the people for the money they pay in; the people owe the king on the throne for taking care of their interests, and the king owes the people for the expression of their loyalty. One government will owe another government; one nation another; one king owes another king; the earth owes a debt to God, and God owes the earth. Early in the history of our Government, eight years after it commenced operations, the Government began to borrow money to carry on internal works, and it has continued to do so up to the present time; for the construction of wharves, warehouses, roads, government houses, school-houses, water lots, and other needed improvements. If the Government had not borrowed money, there would be no wharves, government warehouses, government offices, nor school houses, and government would have to abandon the idea of every public improvement that is projected.

In the days that are passed the public revenue was small, and so was the debt, but now that the revenue is large it will not be wrong to increase the debt to enable the Government and the people to expand in useful improvements. Such improvements as railroads, telegraph wires, telephones, gas-light or electricity perhaps, new wharf facilities, good roads, the importation of laborers and recuperation of the population.

Castle and others said in the session of 1880, that this loan of ten millions was too large, for it was more than the Hawaiian Kingdom was worth. Wonderful! That is the conclusion of disorganizers. They are the people who conceal the bulk of their property. When J. E. Bush was made tax assessor, lo! and behold, it was mostly found. Moreover, the wealth of this city, concealed by them, was very large in years past.

But Castle said, that the basis of wealth of the Hawaiian Government was not large. Whose fault is that? They have reduced it, from their unwillingness to have the value of the country increase. They do not wish to see the money borrowed by government and invested in a way to secure profits from the lands now lying waste. The ten millions now projected, will increase the production of the country. It means more green fields throughout the Islands, and in the place of 40,000 tons of sugar sent from Hawaii to California, 1,000,000 tons and more, and in place or $6,790.816.24¢ exports in 1881, the table for 1884 will show $24,000,000. And in place of the revenue of 1881-82, of $2,200,080.44, that of 1883-'84 will amount to $8,000,000. If the Reciprocity Treaty shall go on for several years more, together with a Million Loan, it will appear plan enough that these figures are not axaggerated.

In the session of 1880, the Finance Committee reported that in their opinion the value of properties in the Kingdom amounted to $35,000,000. I totally disagreed with the figures of the committee, inasmuch as there was not an accurate enumeration of values from Hawaii to Kaui, in thees respects.

In 1860. or thereabouts, the entire island of Niihau, containing 70,000 acres, was sold to foreign sheep farmers, the Sinclairs, for only $10,000. In 1870, ten years after, the increase of those foreigners at Niihau was probably not less than $20,000 per annum. If we take this sum of $20,000 as repre-

senting the interest on capital, at 10 per cent. then the true capital would be $200,000 in the grazing business only. But if the business was sugar it is clear that 10,000 acres and more are fit to put into sugar. So, then, the value of Niihau, alone, amounts to $3,500,000, exclusive of 60,000 acres of sand and lava fit, however, for grazing and other purposes: value, altogether, $3,700,000.

There are 350,000 acres on Kauai. Throw off 300,000 acres, and we have 50,000 acres suitable for cane; equivalent to a true valuation of $17,500,000, for the island of Kauai.

Oahu has 350,000 acres, the same as Kauai. We will give it the same valuation, $17,500,000. Maui has 400,000 acres; throw off 342,868, leaving 57,858, equal to $1,999,500 in value.

Hawaii, 2,500,000 acres; throw off 2,142,857, leaving 354,142 acres fit for cane cultivation. This is worth $175,000,000.

Molokai, 200,000 acres; throw off 171,479, leaving 28,571 acres fit for cane cultivation. That is equal to $9,999,800 in value.

Kahoolawe has 30,000 acres; throw off 25,715, having 4,285 fit for cane; equal to $1,999,700 in value.

This estimate of values is based on one-seventh of the whole number of acres, leaving six-seventh acres waste land, consisting of clinkers, mountain wastes and gulches, including also lands fit for grazing purposes.

Cane lands are estimated to produce 3½ tons per acre, at 5 cents per pound. These estimates are by no means extravagant; but are below the true average. Let us figure up these valuations, and the table will appear as follows:

ISLAND.	AREA.	AVAILABLE ACRES.	VALUE.
Hawaii,	2,500,000	357,142	$175,000,000
Maui.	400,000	57,142	19,999,500
Oahu,	350,000	50,000	17,500,000
Kauai,	350,000	50,000	17,500,000
Molokai,	200,000	28,571	9,999,800
Lanai,	100,000	14,285	4,999,700
Niihau,	70,000	10,000	3,500,000
Kohoolawe,	30,000	4,285	1,999,700
	4,000,000	571,425	$250,498,700

Here we see the basis of the wealth of the country and of the entire Kingdom, calculated properly on the land only that is fit for cane culture. And how about the large area remaining? Cannot this be devoted to the cultivation of coffee, rice, cocoanuts, oranges, bananas and many other fruits, the raising of which will be profitable?

This sum shown above of $250,498,700 shows the value of money, in using $10,000,000. Ten millions is one tenth of one hundred millions. But in the table exhibiting the wealth of the country above given, the value reaches to $200,000,000, and $50,495,000 more which is one-twentieth. Thus the Government borrows $10,000,000 by showing that its values amount to $100,000,000 and the ten cents, the interest on $100,000,000 brings $10,000,000, therefore we go in debt for the amount of the interest on our capital of $100,000,000. But, according to the above table, our actual capital amounts to $250,498,790, so that we can reduce the interest from 10 cents to 4½ cents.

I have shown above that the grazing land were [are] worth $200,000, by estimating on the income. Below is a table of the lands left for grazing purposes:

ISLAND.	ACRES OF LAND.	VALUE FOR PASTURAGE.
Hawaii,	2,142,857	$7,143,190
Maui,	342,858	1,142,860
Oahu,	300,000	1,000,000
Kauai,	300,000	1,000,000
Molokai,	171,487	571,623
Lanai,	85,715	285,716
Niihau	60,000	200,000
Kahoolawe,	25,715	85,716
	3,428,632	$11,429,105

If we add the $250,498,700, value of sugar lands only, to $11,429,105, value of grazing lands we have the sum of $261,927,805. We have not yet estimated the value of products which can be raised on the lands which have been put down as pasturage.

Coffee	value of $10,000,000
Cocoanuts	5,000,000
Oranges	2,500,000
Various productions	2,500,000
Rice	18,072,195
	$38,072,195

Adding up all these bases of wealth we have the following table:

Value of sugar lands	$250,478,700
Grazing lands	11,529,105
Coffee, cocoanuts, oranges, rice, etc	38,072,195
	$300,000,000

Now this being the correct statement of the wealth of our Kingdom, it follows that the interest on ten millions borrowed would fall to 3 per cent. But we have not enumerated all our property in these millions. It amounts to more, for we have not counted our coasting steamers. If the Treaty continues in force, and we pass the Ten Million Loan Bill, it is evident that our coasting steamers will number twenty or more.

And while reckoning up the sources of wealth of our own country, let us not forget to reckon in the shipping from abroad. Before the expiration of ten years, the Isthmas of Panama will be pierced by a canal, bringing ships from the Atlantic to Hawaii on the way to Asia, and from Asia to Hawaii going the other way. And again, there are now five different railroads being laid from the Eastern States to California. What does this indicate? That during the next ten years the commerce of the world is going to be more active than ever it has been in past times. And what will be your position, O Hawaii! Shall you stand idle? No!—Go to the front! These are some indications that we shall have a great expansion in our inter-island trade, and foreign commerce and railroads opening up our resources, so that the wealth of the kingdom will reach $1,000,000,000. These are not mere figures artfully arranged. We have not calculated on the increase of wealth resulting from the investments that will be made here from abroad, which will swell our figures into the billions.

But while the merchants, like Castle and others, estimate the entire value of the kingdom at only $35,000,000, thus things are allowed to drag, in this country. Why do they object to a loan of one million, and why kill the million dollar loan in the session of 1878.

If the value was thirty-five millions then, one-tenth of that amount, say $3,500,000, would have been a fair sum to borrow, and not one million. But dreadfully alarmed were these timid statesmen. But when 1880 came, most of the merchants were in debt to Government. The money which the Constitution declares shall not be used without the consent of the Assembly, has nevertheless been granted by a crooked and unconstitutional process.

If there are smart statesmen who declare that the mercantile value ot this kingdom is only thirty five millions of dollars, what will be the value of the kingdom in a warlike or strategetic point of view? Here is Hawaii in the centre of the Pacific Ocean.

"A standing rock,
A raw crab for Lono;
A bank in the deep sea. etc."

The great powers that encircle Hawaii—America, England, France, Russia, China, Japan, the South American states, such as Chili, Peru, and the others, will not consent that this Kingdom shall be taken by any one of those powers; for to the one who took it it would be an expense of millions and perhaps billions of dollars, if a war should break out. And Hawaii has some good harbors at which could assemble the fleets of a foreign power and blockade the commerce of the nation that had taken this Kingdom.

The merchants do not seem to have considered the great value of the Kingdom in this point of view. The value is, in fact, beyond computation, but yet these merchants say that this Kingdom is only worth thirty-five millions, and that, therefore, the Government could never repay a debt of ten millions, and it would result in disaster and loss of independence. This is nonsensical talk, and stamps its utterers as no statesmen, like all other short-sighted simpletons who cannot comprehend that our position in the event of war is an element of wealth which cannot be overlooked nor overestimated.

And our position of value in case of war constitutes a reason why we should be vigilant to maintain our independence. And in this manner can we maintain that independence:

1. The Reciprocity Treaty will not only be a means of enriching the country, but also will secure the public wealth.

2. The Million Dollar Loan, as a support to the Government and a benefit to the nation, whereby the people can borrow money.

3. By vigilant care of our independence, and being prepared to defend ourselves.

We readily grant large sums for the foreigners of property, when they ask the Legislature for money to bring in laborers.

Again, they ask for money subsidies for lines of foreign steamers, and behold we consent, amounting altogether to $80,000 per annum, but when the people ask for a loan of a million of dollars for our benefit, behold, the government and rich foreigners say no. This is not equal handed, but injustice.

When, in the session of 1878, when I was not in the house, nor my confederate J. A. Nahaku, the Million Loan Bill was killed by those before-named, Henry Waterhouse, Keau, Moanauli, Jr. and Kalaukoa. They killed a measure of great value, the one measure that was introduced on behalf of the people, and which would have been for the good of the people and of the Government as well.

From the time of our first living under a constitutional government, from 1839-40 to 1876, forty-two years, there never has been a single measure brought forward on the side of the people like this, not one. From the Government side only has emanated all measures, and applied to the affairs of the peopie; but this Million Loan Bill of 1876 originated from the side of the people, when lo! It was struck down by enemies and killed; and we remain grieved and desolate.

In the session of 1880, my two colleagues, A. Kunuiakea and Keau, were bitterly opposed to the Reciprocity Treaty and the Million Loan Bill. Pahia run for the Assembly that year. He was opposed to the Million Loan, and said, collect from the people five dollars each;—men, women, children and foreigners,—for two years, whereby would be obtained the million of dollar loan. Two years have passed since he made this announcement, but he has not, so far, got a single dollar. How is this?

Here is another: How many times does he purpose to collect five dollars from the people to get the money to loan. It will appear to every thinking man that every man has already paid five dollars into the Government Treasury. The Government is the bank of the people. Each one has a right there to the extent of five dollars. But how can be obtained a million by five dollars apiece for two years, while in 1880 there were not over six thousand taxable men under the law, in the whole Kingdom. Including all the taxes—real estate, personal property, poll, horse, mule, dogs, carriage, seamen, the sum total received for 1876 was $213,930; 1878, $291,745; 1880———.

How can the million be got in Pahia's way?

Not so is this statesman's idea. I propose that the people unlock the bank of money which they have year after year deposited in the Government Treasury. Since the year 1840, up to 1882, by adding together the money received from taxes from that date up to to-day, it will be found to amount to one million and more of dollars.

To that money the people have a right, from time to time, to ask the Government to loan them a portion, as I have before said. Foreign merchants have borrowed and it remains to do the same. Shall we, the people, be denied that right? Shall we consent that foreigners shall have that benefit and it be denied to us? What child that sees the ripe fruit hanging on the tree but will seize it? Let us seize it now and enjoy it. Others have eaten and been satisfied, and we remain. This tree is $10,000,000, which we and nobody else have planted. Therefore, they who say

to the million loan, that it is a bad thing have no sight to say so—none! It is an excellent thing.

But the agents of Pahia's ticket are crying on the corners of the streets that Keau and Pahia, and those with them, are in favor of the Million Loan. O! Pahia; is that the truth? Have you changed, you and your friend Moanalua, Jr.; and his friend?

Do you agree to this? Perhaps, though it is only a bait of yours; but within the contempt and a snake.

Did you thus go hypocritically and deceitfully to the people in the election of 1880, and now agree with devilish intent and double tongue, and lick dirt, and say at this session, by your agents, that you consent to a debt of ten million? Not by any means!

As you broke your sworn promise given to me and my friend Lahilahi, so also will you break your promise about the ten million, when the Legislature meets.

For, as the book has it: "A man who often changes his mind is unstable in all points."

My ticket:—Ed. K. Lilikalani, W. M. Gibson, H. W. Lahilahi, J. A. Nahaku.

We have stood firm [from] the beginning, and have not altered our ticket from its first appearance to this time, and it only remains to go to battle.

From the outset, Pahia's ticket has been altered constantly. At first it was Pahia, Keau, Lilikalani, Lahilahi. It was this ticket we swore to on the bible. Shortly thereafter it was altered to Pahia, Kalama, Keau, Moanauli, Jr. Some time elapsed when it was again altered—Pahia, Joe Carter, Keau, Kalaukoa. On the day of election this will be the ticket: Joe Carter, Cecil Brown, Pahia, Keau. "The first shall be last and the last first."

How are we the people to place confidence in a ticket so perpetually altered? It resembles the pranks of 'a mad-man, and not the acts of a sane person,

> "A banana to-day,
> And peeled to-morrow;
> The next day a cocoanut,
> And a pudding the day after."

Wonderful! You, too, are mocking and twisting.

Therefore, O! ye regular and special constables; the regular and volunteer soldiers; the firemen; and the true foreigners! How is it; are you going to support these crooked ballots? Will you consent to sacrifice your rights and privileges to drift without any anchor to hold by? Think seriously of these names. They are not reliable to secure any benefit. Return, then, to the strong timber, that will stand the gale—to E. K. Lilikalani, W. M. Gibson, H. W. Lahilahi, J. A. Nahaku.

This is the ticket that wants no nonsense in the coming session; that will not waste the public money—which is our money—that desires a working and a short session, without a lot of useless legislation.

The department of the regular and volunteer soldiery and the police are one department. The police are to keep order in the city, and when they can't do it they are to be supported by the troops. That is the universal rule in such matters, and so is the law at present.

Therefore, hear ye, police! Do you think you will be supported by Pahia and Keau and those on their ticket? No! On the King's birthday you went to pay your respects, with the olive branches in your hands as your offering; and what did you then hear from the lips of the King. "We should approve of good uniforms being provided for the police. And it would be well to instruct you in military drill, seeing that the military and the police were the same kind of professions."

Then the king turned and spoke approvingly to you, William Tell, about the alertness of the men and their precision in marching, and the military style of his commands, and informed him that there was to be a change in the management of the force.

Are you men going to depend upon this changeable ticket of Pahia and others, to obtain your earnest desires? Not by any means. In the past sessions, Keau and those with him were the ones to reduce the pay of the police.

They belong to the party who are always demanding the reduction of the salaries of ministers and all other servants of Government.

If they wanted to cut down the police appropriation in a former session, they will do the same now. You can't depend on their word. They are fickle. Like a certain fish, they move forward and backward.

Ye Independent Guards, ye Cavalry, the Prince's Own and the King's Guard! This Keau and this Pahia are not the ones to face with you the wind and rain, and cold, and fatigue of a soldier's duty; standing guard at night at the Palace, and on great Government days. They are not of those that freely give their bodies and their lives for the King, good order, and the Government. They are fond of ease; they spend their nights in pleasure and feasting; they are powerful bread-eaters and are puffed up; and we are the ones who do the hard work.

In the session of 1880, this Keau and his party opposed the appropriation for military; taking sides with the foreign newspapers of 1880, abusing and ridiculing the regular and volunteer troops, the newspapers *Gazette* and *Advertiser*, then controlled by Dole and Hartwell. I and my friend Hoapili worked hard in this matter; when we had the small pox epidemic lately and disturbance arose, loud were the cries for "soldiers" soldiers!" and had it not been for the regular troops, the Prince's Own and the King's Company, that had been so abused the government work could not have been accomplished at that time. What was the policy of these papers? These men wish to see the Government fail; and the failure of the Government means the danger of the nation. And they had their will in Lunalilo's time. Because there were no troops, the riot was possible, which occurred at the King's election in 1874. The troops of the country save us from great riots. The government has lost several thousand dollars by this action of the *Gazette* and its friends.

Friends of the Independent Guards and Cavalry! it is evident that there are many deficiences of the service to be supplied; for the appropriation, which was too small, is exhausted. It is the intention of myself and those with me on the ticket, to look out for your interest. Don't sell or bargain your right to any other ticket; be wary of them, for they do not regard your interest.

O! Fire Department,—Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4; the Chinese Company; Hose Company; and Hooks and Ladders! Give us your confidence, that we will carry you through and increase your funds, and give you more engines, for the city is growing. We shall devote all our energies to your interest, for it is you who have to struggle patiently with the flames, while Keau and his confederates are asleep.

O! Ye fair ones of this town, enjoying with your sweethearts the fanning of the gentle trade wind, luxuriously reposing on the downy beds of love, tease and coax your husbands, by singing tenderly this song: [Now follows a verse of poetry describing a raging fire.] So do you again sing, good ladies: that song of love and excitement is yours; and where the song speaks of "tearing the dark trees," so do you tear and throw to the wind the ballots of Pahia's party.

Doubtless Kunuiakea and his party will be delighted to hear the news from California, that the Reciprocity Treaty is to be abrogated. If this treaty is defeated, it will probably be owing to Pilipo and his party, who have no regard for the source of prosperity of our laborers; such as the dock laborers, carpenters, painters, blacksmiths and iron workers, hotel servants, cooks, farmers, merchants—everybody. There will be distress from the fall of wages, from $2.00 per day to $1.00 and 75 cents. The prices of goods and all articles of consumption and use will go up and our prosperity will be ruined. It will be destroyed by the impoverishing policy of Kunuiakea and his party. The profits at the fish market will fall off. Some of the sugar plantations will be sold at auction. And in the midst of the general confusion there will be rejoicing in the

hearts of those who are not friends of this Kingdom.

But there stands one strong one, with his prevailing prayer, the landwinner, Kamehameha I, who said: "Struggle ye for my right. It shall not diminish; it shall not be overthrown."

So let us say of the Treaty—the source of national wealth, national growth, and national independence.

Therefore upon this platform:

1. Perpetuity of the Reciprocity treaty.

2. Importation of labor and population.

3. Guard the national independence.

Upon these principles we proudly and continually stand for final victory.

E. K. LILIKALANI.
W. M. GIBSON.
H. W. LAHILAHI.
J. A. NAHAKU.

These rugged lines are dedicated to those who voted for me in 1876, 1880, and now in 1882.

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A.P.L.A.

Aug. 1913

THE POSITION OF MEN AND AFFAIRS IN HAWAII.

OPEN LETTER TO HIS MAJESTY KING KALAKAUA.

JUDD & DETWEILER, PRINTERS, WASHINGTON.

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THE POSITION OF MEN AND AFFAIRS IN HAWAII.

OPEN LETTER TO HIS MAJESTY KING KALAKAUA.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August* 7, 1886.

May it please Your Majesty:

Justice, duty, gratitude, and honor demand that I should be reimbursed of the money generously advanced by me for the support of the three Hawaiian youths, Wilcox, Booth, and Boyd, taken first to Germany, then to Italy (Naples, Leghorn, and Turin), to school, and who were entrusted to me by your Majesty on the 30th day of August, 1880, in the Royal Palace in Honolulu, all my expenses and the ten months of my salary. The payment of such a bill ought to have been made six (6) years ago, but your Majesty, at the instigation of your GUIZOT, the criminal Mormon, Walter Murray Gibson, remained deaf, dumb, and blind to the dictates of the four first words of this present letter, and failed to do your duty like an honest man, a friend, and a king.

It is true that your Majesty has several times since July, 1882, advised me, through the good offices of a third person, to write to W. M. Gibson and that I would soon be paid. I declined to accept your Majesty's advice every time, and I decline it now, for the simple reason that I do not wish to dishonor myself by entering into written correspondence (verba fuggiunt et scripta manent) with an escaped Mormon convict loaded with crimes, whose most proper place is on the reef (State prison of Honolulu) for life, and not in the ministry, where this malvivent is an unpardonable outrage and provocation to public opinion, to public conscience, to public decency, and to public morality, and such an outrage upon a respectable population cannot be perpetrated and cannot for a long period be imposed with impunity, for the odium of the country will converge around your royal person.

A man may fall to-day, but he can rise again to-morrow, provided he has not dishonored himself. This is the reason why I have not entered into a written correspondence with the Mormon criminal W. M. Gibson; and, strange to say, such thing turned out to be the

principal cause for the non-payment of your Majesty's debt towards me. I have afforded to stand the delay for the payment of the bill due to me, but my honor is safe. Is the honor of your Majesty equally safe? Most decidedly not.

I know W. M. Gibson well enough to have been able to have weighed and judged him, while in silence I amused myself to hear from his own mouth, in the garden of the reformatory school, in the gin, beer and whiskey shops of the "*honest and respectable*" Italian consul and "*scrupulous*" administrator of the rich inheritance of the lamented Signor Giovanni Appiani from Genova in Vico del Dragone, in Italy, which rich inheritance of one hundred thousand dollars, equal to five hundred thousand francs, said Italian consul, Mr. A. Schaefer, greedily coveted long before the death of the Genoese, Giovanni Appiani (Charley Long), and in other places in Honolulu, the long narratives of his perpetrated crimes, sojourn, and escape from the Dutch Government State prisons in the Island of Sumatra; also of his various plans for dethroning or compelling to abdicate King Kalakaua, with or without the complicity of Mr. Philipo and of his underling, General Walker, and often came very humbly to ask the protection of my good will and to speak a good word for him to your Majesty, and with tears in his eyes begging that his bad antecedents abroad and in Hawaii be forgiven and forgotten, and the stigma of infamy be obliterated from him by appointing him (Gibson) as a member of the privy council (which was foolishly done by John E. Bush), and, like an abject man, he (Gibson), as a mark of gratitude, kissing my hand as he kissed yours the night of the 27th day of August, 1880, near the door of your *Sanctum Sanctorum*, when I warned your Majesty that that was the dangerous kiss of Judas Iscariot, you remember and should always remember.

Our learned friend, Professor Walter Hill, has seen many times the hypocrite Gibson in his day and night excursions to Kapalama school in search of protection from me, but in vain, because I knew Gibson since 1869, when I met and spoke with him at the State Department in Washington in Secretary Hamilton Fish's office, when Gibson brought charges against Mr. Pierce, of Massachusetts, the United States representative at that time in Hawaii, and I was was warned in that very office by a high official of the Department of State in the following words: "Mr. Moreno, do not let yourself be seen talking with that man. He is a Mormon. He is a very bad man, and bears a very bad character here and everywhere." And when I came to Honolulu I heard and saw worse about this man Gibson, and even from your Majesty's mouth several times.

"The Mormon Gibson should be ostracized socially, morally, and politically, as a leper, just as those of the Molokai settlement are physically."

"The inconsiderate selection of the outlaw Gibson for prime minister has been an undeserved mortification, dishonor, shame, and insult for the inhabitants of both sexes of your realm, AND PREGNANT WITH CALAMITIES, IT IS THE FATAL BLUNDER OF YOUR REIGN.

"If justice is not a word empty of sense in Hawaii, this man Gibson should be, without delay, arrested, tried, convicted, and, as the worst of felons in Hawaii, sent where he can do no more harm; and his ill-gotten wealth be confiscated. Thus the burlesque farce, the public scandal, immorality, and indignation will stop and some of the calamities which menace your person, your throne, and the welfare of your subjects may be mitigated and some others averted. Beware of Gibson!

"At the State Department in Washington there exists a well-circumstantiated report of the career of the emissary of Brigham Young to the Hawaiian Islands, Walter Murray Gibson, as a Mormon missionary, with all his real estate speculations for the building of a MODERN ZION in the island of Lanay, with the connected swindlings and extortions at the expense of his victims, the native Mormon proselytes. Yes, at the State Department they are well informed of everything concerning the swindler Gibson, and they pity the poor deaf, dumb, and blind King Kalakaua.

"The contact with this Mormon missionary Gibson is contagious, because it contaminates and demoralizes irretrievably."

All the foolish gossip, falsehoods, calumnies, intimidations (not to me), and the Don Quixotic bragadocio of the self-styled "the *greatest American general, statesman, and journalist*," windbag Comly of Toledo, Ohio, and of his absolute bosses, Clauss Spreckels and the easily-scared Christian missionaries (who are very rich and pay well their servile tools), in the months of August and September, 1880, redounded in favor of their religious antagonist, the Mormon missionary, W. M. Gibson, who is the living antithesis of their creed, customs, and traffic.

I met and left your majesty in former years as "that noblest work of God," an honorable man, and as an ambitious king, with the blood of the ancients in your veins and the spirit of the moderns in your brains, also strongly impressed with the noble idea of living in history as one of the grandest monarchs who have accomplished great deeds. To-day, if I have to judge from the choice of a low malefactor like W. M. Gibson for the lofty position of a prime

minister—the official and press reports—these facts would suffice for pursuading myself that there is something rotten in Hawaii, and that the honorable man and the noble idea of former years have degenerated into the reverse of the medal!! "*paribus cum paribus.*"

W. M. Gibson is not a statesman, is not a scholar, is not an educated man, not honest, of course not a gentleman, nor is he a well-informed man, but merely a characterless trickster, a shameless mountebank of low order, a slippery, heartless, and superficial politician, who, with his deleterious influence and melifluous tongue, with the assistance of his two worthy Dutch accomplices—the corner grocer, Clauss Spreckels, and the beer, gin, and whisky dealer (garzone-birrajo-vinajo-liquorista), A. Shafer—"*the honest and respectable*" consul for Italy, has reduced your Majesty to be the parody of a king, to be your own satire, to be your own shadow; when at the same time he, Gibson, is ruining and demoralizing the people, undermining your throne by spreading discontent, contempt, and pauperism at home, disgrace and ridicule abroad, putting in jeopardy the political independence of the country, increasing enormously the national debt, and secretly plundering for his own and for his relatives, and for his and their confederates' exclusive benefit, the finances of the kingdom, thus preparing for the misled King Kalakaua the same sad and humiliating fate which paved the way to exile for the misled Ismail Pasha, late khedive of Egypt; similar crisis is fast approaching in Hawaii, through a revolution of the exasperated native and foreign inhabitants, or through foreign interference; blind is he who does not see it. This is the effect—Boss Gibson's misrule is the cause.

History teaches us that the most powerful monarchies have been dishonored and led to their downfall by men of the stamp of W. M. Gibson.

It is sincerely to be regretted, it is discouraging, and it fills the heart with sadness when thinking men see that a king who had open to him every avenue to greatness and every opportunity at his command, reigning over a generous and law-abiding people, and over a country with a commanding geographical position in the immense Pacific ocean, between the two great continents of Asia and America, which country by the opening of the Panama canal and the completion of the Trans-Pacific cable, of which grand idea I am the projector and Cyrus W. Field the opposer. In fact Cyrus W. Field hired and sent in the year 1880 the hypocrite missionary's son "General" Armstrong to Honolulu to intrigue against my cable bill and of course to secretly slander me, with the help of Windbag

Smith-Comly and the "*honest*" tedesco Schaefer, the undesirable consul for Italy, inconsiderately appointed without being known to the ministry of foreign affairs of Italy, and solely through a letter of recommendation from Monsieur De Varigny to Signor Raffaele Delucchi, the Hawaiian consul in Genova. This insincere tedesco Schaefer, consul for Italy in Honolulu, at the instigation of his worthy friend and accomplice, the fugitive convict, W. M. Gibson, sent FALSE REPORTS to the ministry of foreign affairs in Rome against your majesty and me in 1880-1881. A low-minded man like this tedesco Schaefer for Italian consul in Hawaii, is a burning shame for the Italian nation and government, and the sooner this Schaefer is degraded the better. The consequence has been that Hawaii lost a grand opportunity, and the cable promised through Armstrong by Cyrus W. Field is not laid yet, and will never be as long as the Government of Hawaii will listen to the promises of Cyrus W. Field and of his hired tools, the low-bred missionary brothers Armstrong, of Hampton, Virginia, who for many long years have been there taking all possible advantages of the young Negroes and Indians' simplicity. This Trans-Pacific cable will be a very important factor for the changing of base and direction of the commerce of the universe, such a sovereign with his brilliant future, his fame, and that of his ancestors, the hopes, homes, lives, happiness, affections, substances, and honor of his subjects, as well as the grand destiny, resources, and interests of his dominions, thrown blindly in the hands of the MOST VENAL AND DEPRAVED VILLIAN ever landed on the shores of the Hawaiian Islands, by name, W. M. Gibson, from Salt Lake City, whose life is an uninterrupted career and a fountain of falsehood and felony; and the proclivity to crime is his second nature.

A glorious name for a king and for a nation is an universal majesty; but Gibson, Spreckels, and other members of the monopoly-government ring do not contribute towards this desideratum, but a great deal against it by tarnishing it.

I was allowed to read and digest three reports concerning the working of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty, studied and written on the spot, in which your Majesty is not made to occupy an exalted position, but a very inferior one, viz: "That of an apocryphal king and of the most obedient slave of Gibson and Spreckels, who have succeeded your Majesty in power and taken the reins of government, and with dirty subterfuges compelled your Majesty to take the humble back seat;" moreover that "Gibson and Sprekels—they do not make a secret of it; they boast of it, and laugh behind your Maj-

esty's back." Spreckels and his sons boast of it in San Francisco, and the same they do when they are in Washington, Philadelphia, and New York. These boasts of a foreign low grocer and of his sons do not suit the taste of a Democratic Congress and of a high-toned Democratic administration, having at the State Department statesmen of a proud nature, such as Secretary Thomas F. Bayard and Assistant Secretary Governor James D. Porter.

May it please your Majesty to extricate yourself from the grasp of Gibson and Spreckels, elevate yourself above the miasmatic and paralyzing influence of a parasitical *entourage*, and to rise up to the height of the destiny assigned to you by Providence and events to open eyes and ears to facts and truth, and deliver yourself and people forever from the Gibson-Spreckels incubus which has for many years oppressed Hawaii and the Hawaiians, and has thrown discredit upon the last vestige of monarchial institutions in the Western hemisphere.

Under the reign of Kamehameha V such a burlesque farce, which has become an international public scandal, would have had short duration, and the two principal actors, Gibson and Spreckels, would have been disposed of very abruptly, on the reef at once (the penitentiary).

In one of these reports I find that Gibson and Spreckles are styled "two *sharp* scoundrels, two unscrupulous land and money grabbers, two villainous usurpers of the powers and privileges of the weak, down-trodden king, and that the king is helplessly doomed by these two usurpers, who understand each other perfectly, and divide the spoils among themselves and with very few others; among whom are one Irwin and one auditor general by name of Walker." Everything is known in Congress and in official circles in Washington, and the impression is that the criminal Gibson has debauched and tempted King Kalakaua into political and financial crimes. Nobody cares for Gibson, for they all say that Gibson is merely following his life-long career of crime. It is for your Majesty that honest and generous men in Hawaii and in foreign countries feel and suffer for you and your race, and wish you all to be delivered from the pestilential contact of this Mormon Judas Iscariot—yours and your race ruin.

These reports, with the contents, and with the speeches made by me and by others before the Committee of Ways and Means, will be used on the floor of the House of Representatives and of the Senate when the Hawaiian treaty comes up for debate.

The opposition is not so much against the treaty as it is against Gibson, Spreckels, the ex-Chinese coolie, Ah Fong, the greedy missionary clique, and the monstrous monopoly. The American people are not niggard to that point to oppose the reciprocity treaty with Hawaii for the sake of a few millions a year, but do not desire to be art and part in this infamous job, entirely in the hands of a few of the lowest *canaille* (rabble) escaped to Hawaii from three continents and the island of Australia, which is a disgrace for America and Hawaii.

The Hawaiian treaty—I have carefully surveyed the situation in the Senate and House of Representatives—would be one of the safest things before Congress, and, with tact and ability, would be invulnerable if disreputable and obnoxious men like Gibson, Spreckels, and other rascals were turned out.

I, myself, am not against the treaty, but against the men who monopolize it to their own exclusive benefit and to the detriment of the American tax-payers, who do not get cheaper sugar, and of the excellent native Hawaiians who deserve better fortune, and a MOI (king) with more firmness and more correct judgment of men and things.

Gibson, Spreckels, Walker, and Irvin are not an element of force, but an element of disorganization, of disparagement, of want of confidence, of want of decorum, and a source of feebleness and of scorn.

The two missionaries, Carter and Mott Smith, here in Washington, have no avoirdupois; they are not the right men in the right places; they do not know how to talk nor how to keep silent; they are a slow, weak team altogether. The fat salaries paid to them is money thrown away.

When the weeds and nullities are out of the way the opposition to the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty can be mastered and condemned to impotency by demonstrating that the men who were the cause of such opposition are now kicked out.

Your Majesty's responsibility towards the Hawaiian nation is great, and your name will not be revered by the present and future generations of the Hawaiians if they loose the political independence of their Fatherland through your weakness and complicity with Gibson's multifarious crimes.

What most pains me is that in the debate of the Hawaiian treaty, your Majesty's prestige will receive some terrible blows, which will have an unfavorable echo among the kings of Europe and Asia, and even with the wise statesman and scholar, Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, wounding at the same time the pride and feelings of the Hawaiian nation. It appears to be a put-up job upon the smallest of

kings (Kalakaua) to play the smallest, the most unkingly, and most undignified part on the political stage of the world like a docile puppet in the hands of a perfidious and perennial Mormon delinquent and of a Jew grocer, whose supreme object and ambition is *auri sacra fames.* By the blundering choice of dishonorable men for honorable places, the affection, esteem, and respect of the thinking men of Hawaii and abroad has been alienated from your Majesty, beside the risk of being ostracized from the brotherhood of kings, and be considered a small parvenu, without ambition, without self-respect, and without ancestry nor *cachet*, and *en route* to perdition. Bad companions breed nothing good, nothing grand, nothing lasting. The severe lesson of gossiping barber, Neven Armstrong, and coarse butcher, Kalabash Judd, as companions in the fiasco voyage round the world, should have opened forever the eyes of your Majesty.

For all these evils your Majesty has no one to blame but yourself and the unwise method of your Majesty to always consider right the man who happens to talk with you the last, and the readiness to always consider his advice to be the best—blunders for kings in politics are more hurtful than crimes.

"*Qui amat periculum peribit in illo.*"

The Present Droll Situation In Hawaii.

The Mormon missionary, W. M. Gibson, in the role of prime minister, he represents the political, moral, social, and financial leprosy—the decadency—like his prototype the infamous Boss, W. M. Tweed, the plunderer of New York city finances.

The Dutch Jew, Sir Clauss Spreckels, represents the arrogant usury, the plebian effrontery, the wolfish rapacity, the Jewish selfishness and meanness, the insatiable leech, the vulgar bulldozer, and the king *de facto*—the dictator.

The noble Hawaiian, Kalakaua, represents the fat and timid lamb, the unconscious, satisfied, and the segregated victim from the honest—forced to see continually men and things through the Gibson-Spreckels-humbug prism, and the doomed king *de jure.*

The abnormal, oppressive, immoral, and farsical state of affairs cannot last any longer—must soon end in a partial or general collapse.

Conclusion.

I conclude with the peremptory demand for the payment of the bill due me, with interest to date from the year 1880. The money

for this purpose has been appropriated by the Hawaiian Legislature of 1880 in the sum of $15,000, and also by the Legislature of 1882, in the sum of $30,000.

The letter of credit dated Honolulu, August 30, 1880, and handed to me by the Minister of the Interior, Hon. John E. Bush, on William Martin, Hawaiian Consul General in Paris, is still in my possession and unpaid.

May the Almighty God and events sustain, protect, and defend the last of the Kings of Hawaii and the warm-hearted Hawaiians.

From the never-changing friend,

Celso Cæsar Moreno.

POST SCRIPTUM

to the position of men and affairs in Hawaii.

April 7, 1887.

The plain truth is that your Majesty has in an ungentlemanly mode taken all possible advantages of my friendship, good faith, and generosity in having me to advance my money, work, time, and influence for accomplishing successfully the missions entrusted to me while you were squandering at home and abroad the money appropriated by the Hawaiian parliament for such a purpose, and afterwards, at the instigation of your absolute bosses—the jew grocer, Spreckels, and the fugitive convict, Gibson—you have even broken your solemn promises of reimbursement of the money advanced by me and the ten months of my salary; which promise you gave me on the 1st and 2d days of July, 1881, at the Hotel Royal des Etrangers in Naples, and on the 4th of July of the same month and year at the Hotel du Quirinal in Rome. The humblest native Hawaiian, South Sea Islander, or Chinese resident of your kingdom would not be guilty of such a miserable proceeding, and every honest inhabitant of Hawaii will blush for the ignominious conduct of his misled king.

By your association with the fugitive convict, Gibson, and servility to his boss-ship, you have not elevated him, but instead the fugitive convict has lowered you to his level of infamy; and this is the verdict of the highest tribunal, which is the public opinion. I would never have dreamed such a degradation on your part after thirteen years of reign. What a fatality!

Those whom the gods wish to destroy first dementate them.

Just when the Government, Congress, and public opinion in America are determined to put an end to the scandal of Mormonism, with all its evil influences in the country, by abolishing it in Salt Lake City and all over the Territory of Utah, whence the emissary of Brigham Young, the Mormon missionary, Gibson, started for Hawaii, your Majesty, very unwisely and in a bad taste, inaugurated at the very western gate of Christian, moral, and civilized America the abominable and immoral form of government, "MORMONISM, CRIME, AND MONOPOLY SHALL REIGN SUPREME IN HAWAII," which is an insult to this age of progress and an outrage to the fair sex in your kingdom. This is regress; this destroys all the good work and sacrifices done and made by the Christian and civilized nations for over a period of half a century towards Christianizing and elevating the Hawaiian race, beside being a gratuitous insult and disregard to the United States, your best and most powerful friend in every and all circumstances. Please mark my words, if you really desire to have a dangerous enemy you have only to insult, and vex a good and powerful friend. *Est ecce assez clair?*

The distinguished statesmen at the State Department who have relations with Hawaii and the foreign office of all nations, probably do not feel highly flattered to receive official communications from the Mormon criminal, Gibson, with all the unfavorable and authentic record and reports on file in the archives in Washington, at the Hague, Padang, Batavia, &c.

The reports of the Honorable Minister Merrill and of the Honorable Consul General Putnam on THE POSITION OF MEN AND AFFAIRS IN HAWAII are very correct and well worthy of the two distinguished gentlemen, of their official position, and of the high destination sent to.

These reports, devoid of falsehoods, gossip, slander, phantasmagoria, and foolish malignity, are quite an improvement on those of Mr. R. B. Hayes, minister, in 1880, the self-styled "THE GREATEST WARRIOR, STATESMAN, AND JOURNALIST OF AMERICA;" the little Jim Smith-Comly of Toledo, Ohio; the most bombastic and ridiculous fool that ever left the shores of America for Hawaii.

All the wild-goose schemes put on foot by the empiric statesman Gibson are looked upon with derision here in Washington, and his official acts are considered null and void, Gibson being irresponsible—a man disfranchised beyond rehabilitation on account of his condemnation to penal servitude for felony, in conformity with the provisions of the penal code among the civilized nations of the earth; BUT ONE THING MUST BE WELL UNDERSTOOD, that President Cleveland, Secretary of State Bayard, and Assistant Secretary Porter are determined to never permit the present geographical and political situation in the Hawaiian and Samoan islands to be altered for the special or exclusive benefit of any European or Asiatic nation, even if it necessitates that the whole power of the United States should be brought to bear to prevent it; nor will they permit any paramount foreign influence to be established in those islands or any encroachment or cession of territory. The unalterable *statu quo* in Polynesia is the policy of the United States for the immediate present.

The opening of the Panama or Nicaragua canal, or both, or the rashness, blunders, and imbecility of some misled chief in the Polynesian Islands, may awake and bring to the surface some old or new plans to be carried into effect by the United States in regard to the said Polynesian Islands. Events are great factors towards shaping the policy of nations. If a nation cannot lead the events it ought at least not be behind them, and draw, if possible, her share of benefit from them—politically, commercially, and in acquisition of territory.

King Malietoa, of the Samoan Islands, to whom your Majesty offered protection and which his savage majesty scornfully declined, would certainly not have committed the disgusting and fatal blunder of choosing a Jew grocer (Spreckels) and a fugitive Mormon convict (Gibson) for his absolute masters, and would not have gratuitously insulted the United States by inaugurating a form of government so obnoxious to the American people, Government, and Congress, and outrageous to public morality. Mormons and Mormonism are an immoral residuum of paganism and barbarism.

The rumor in Washington is that King Kalakaua, of Hawaii, is more chivalrous than wise, more slave than free in the exercise of his prerogatives, and HIS royal brother, King Malietoa, is more wise than chivalrous and more fond of freedom than slavery, as it appears from his answer inpositively declining the protection lately offered through the Hawaiian ambassador, the Hon. John E. Bush, offered to him in the name of the Hawaiian monarch, qualifying said protection as unnecessary, inefficacious, and not desirable.

A copy of King Malietoa's answer has reached Washington, written in the German language and couched in terms not very flattering to HIS generous brother, King Kalakaua, stating that HIS royal brother of Hawaii is not able to protect himself, and that HE offers to others what HE does not possess and what he is much in need of for himself and for HIS race. Moreover, his savage majesty, King Malietoa, says that the burlesque and corrupt state of Government affairs in Honolulu is known to HIM just as well as HE knows the serious and honest state of his government affairs in Apia, where grocers, Mormons, and convicts do not rule supreme, but they are kept in their place.

If your Majesty really intended to follow in the Pacific islands the glorious example set by the chivalrous King Victor Emanuel in uniting Italy, your Majesty ought to have imitated IL RE GALANTUOMO in everything, especially in the choice of the right man and means in carrying out the grand, humane, and generous idea of uniting under your sceptre the whole Polynesian race and make Honolulu a monarchical Washington, where the representatives of all the islands would convene in Congress. Remember, these are the precise words I had the honor and courage to tell to your Majesty on the 26th of the month of November, 1879, when Governor Dominis introduced me to your royal presence for the purpose of exchanging ideas about the China line of steamers and my Trans-Pacific cable project, and also for receiving your Majesty's thanks for the presents I brought from China.

Your Majesty must remember that the first step I suggested towards carrying to success the idea of uniting in one realm the whole Polynesian islands was to take, without delay, possession of the Ocean islands, near which I passed in the Hoochung steamer in my voyage from Canton to Honolulu in the first part of November, 1879, then gradually, group by group, annexing all the other islands with the consent (*plebesite*), of course, of the chiefs and people. The formation of a Polynesian realm with Honolulu as the capital, you should remember, was the principal theme of our many and long conversations in the following year 1880.

King Victor Emanuel, the ablest sovereign of Europe of that period, possessed in a superlative degree the correct judgment of human nature, therefore he chose COUNT CAMILLO BENSO DI CAVOUR as HIS prime minister and co-operator in the grand work of uniting Italy. Count Cavour was a man who had an honorable and illustrious history as a statesman, scholar, patriot, synologist, warrior, and traveller, firm of character, and enjoying the confidence of the Italian nation and of all the sovereigns and statesmen of other nations; respectable and respected at home and in foreign countries. There is a great deal in a name, and success crowned the noble efforts of the gallant King Victor Emanuel and of loyal Count Cavour, and their names are revered by the present and will be by future generations. The work of King Victor Emanuel and Cavour began well, continued better, and terminated excelsior.

The work of your Majesty for uniting the Polynesian Islands has begun very badly; I may say it begun in sin, will continue worse—I may say in crime and will terminate worst—I may say in a dishonorable fiasco or a disaster for having blindly chosen for a prime minister and co-operator an obscure n alefactor loaded with crimes, W. M. Gibson, whose history is a long chain of crimes, with alternate residence in State prisons and among the Mormons, and your efforts for the uniting of the Polynesian race under the bossship of Gibson, who is despised at home and wherever he has been, will be crowned with ridicule or end in a catastrophe. Here I will quote your Majesty's own words (told to me dozens of times in 1880): "Gibson is a false and dangerous man, with exceedingly bad antecedents in foreign countries and here in the islands, and Judge C. C. Harris, who investigated culprit Gibson's conduct in connection with his native Mormon proselytes in the islands of Lanai, Maui, and elsewhere, wanted to send him on the reef (State prison) years ago, and I (the King) did all in my power to defeat him (Gibson) in his first political election in Lahaina. It is true that I used and continue to use him (Gibson) for the blackmail purposes in the Legislature and newspapers, but I despise him for his abjectness and always mistrust him." What a metamorphosis *ab illo tempore!!!* I have a good memory. The day that your Majesty allowed yourself to be bossed by the two secret partners, Spreckels and Gibson, that day marked the beginning of the end of your blundering political career and characterized you as without pride, dignity, or strength of will, and utterly unfit to rule and to reign as

a King. No wonder that his savage Majesty, your brother, King Matietoa of Samoa, refuses your protection and disdains to have anything to do with you and considers you beneath him, and has a profound contempt and horror for your civilization, for your boss ministers, and your form of government on the Mormon crime and monopoly plan.

I, that knew you intimately before you had the misfortune of falling a victim of bosses Spreckels and Gibson, truly consider you far superior to your present ill reputation and well worthy of a better fate. Your want of backbone and your readiness to believe all kind of wild calumnies and baseless absurdities invented by your enemies (GIBSON DOCET) against your friends, are the principal causes of your misfortunes and of the present state of degradation into which you and your country have fallen. Even in Shanghai you have been caught in a trap set for you by the two calumniators, Neven Armstrong and the lazzarone Ferdinand Deluca, the chief of the infamous Italian padroni and manutengoli (slave holders and accomplices), in the nefarious traffic of the unfortunate Italian slaves of both sexes and of all ages in the United States from 1867 to 1878, the period when lazzarone Deluca was consul general for Italy in New York, and now for a worse national disgrace, Minister for Italy in China. Of this lazzarone, Fedinand Deluca, if you touch his person from head to foot, out comes the sweat and blood of thousands and tens of thousands of Italian slaves, men, women, boys, and girls, kidnapped in Italy, or under false representations from there brought to America and sold or hired in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Chicago, and other cities, towns, and rural districts from the years 1867 to 1878, with the complicity of Consul Ferdinand Deluca with the infamous Italian padroni, traffickers in human flesh, sweat, and blood. When in 1873–'74 I had a bill introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Charles Sumner and in the House of Representatives by James A. Garfield, of Ohio, I denounced Consul Ferdinand Deluca before the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and of the House, to which the MORENO BILL for the abolition of the cruel traffic in Italian slaves was referred, and in the American, French, and Italian press, as the chief accomplice of the rascally Italian padroni and of receiving the lion's share from this infamous commerce in human flesh, sweat, and blood.

The Italian Government in 1876 had Consul Deluca tried for his inhuman crime, and this decision was taken after a long debate in Parliament, in Rome, sustained by my friends the Honorable Signori Crispi, Bertani, Correnti, Zanardelli, Ricasoli, Biancheri, Melegari, and others, and concluded in appointing four persons to investigate the charges I made against Consul Deluca. The gentlemen appointed were Signor Blanc, the Italian Minister in Washington; Signor Martines, commander of an Italian frigate stationed in New York; Signori Virgilio and Pochini-Finetti, members of the Italian Parliament who all, in August, 1876, met in the office of the Italian Consulate, at No. 7 Broadway, in New York, the headquarter of the infamous Italian padroni and their not less infamous manutengoli.

The trial lasted five days, and Consul Deluca, with the help of the testimony and money of his friends, the padroni, and the charms, tears, and intrigues of his New Orleans Creole wife, narrowly escaped degradation. This lazzarone Deluca is the man whose COWARDLY LIES told to you in Shanghai you took as true and which you remember contributed so much to close to you all avenue to sympathy, respect, and honor when you arrived in Rome; also on account of your ungentlemanly, undignified, and unkingly behavior in bad company after the grand reception I obtained to be given to you in Naples on landing on the classic Italian shores.

Your Majesty is less firm on the throne of the Kamehameha in 1887 than in 1874, the year of your election. After having undeservedly offended and disgusted all the intelligent, honest, respectable, and wealthy men in Hawaii, such as the Honorable Mess. Charles R. Bishop, Wilder, Dowsett, McGrew, Dole, Hartwell, Davidson, and many others, who are the pillars of the country, you give to the world a most pitiful spectacle of unstability, incompetency, insincerity, ingratitude, mean submissiveness to your bosses, Gibson and Spreckels, and whimsical fondness for the association with low and disreputable men. What a wretched failure you are and what a sad disappointment for your friends and for those who had confidence in you! You are indisputably to-day the most miserable of mortals in the Polynesian islands, and the so-called savage king, Malietoa, of Samoan islands, is in a more favorable position to protect you, if he so desire, than you are to protect him. Malietoa has the courage of his opinions, and no bosses can control his action, bribe him, mislead or intimidate him—so he says in his official communication in the German language, and that he is an independent sovereign in his country, and that he is determined to remain, to be respected and obeyed as sovereign by the natives and foreigners in his dominions. Long live plucky Malietoa and down with the servile and cowards.

The $70,000 bribery from a Chinese firm for the passage of the bill before the Hawaiian Legislature of 1886 granting the license for manufacturing and selling opium in your Majesty's Kingdom, with which debauching, demoralizing, and poisoning Chinese, native Hawaiians of both sexes, and South Sea Islanders, is an open secret in the United States and unfavorably commented upon; also the reward of $5,000 offered publicly in Honolulu for King Kalakaua's head from the Chinese who gave the $70,000 bribery and were cheated out of the opium license, is known in *urbe et orbe*, and the verdict of public opinion is, that this is the natural consequence of the rule of a government headed by a veteran criminal like W. M. Gibson, who is an anomaly in Hawaii just as much as if his two prototypes, the boss, W. M. Tweed, or Brigham Young were Secretary of State in the United States.

The $2,000,000 loan from Messrs. Skinner, Mathieson, and Hoffnung, bankers, in London, is considered to be used for filling a vacuum in the Hawaiian treasury, deriving from the embezzlement of heavy sums of money since May, 1882, viz., the inauguration of

the Mormon, crime and monopoly form of Government, and not for the improvement of the country, such as roads, docks, telegraph, nor for preparing the Hawaiian Islands to be in a proper condition for receiving their share of benefit in harmony with their commanding geographical position in the Pacific, from the opening of the Panama and Nicaragua canals. Squandering the tax-payers' money, seems to be the prevailing idea nowadays in Hawaii, with some little tint of embezzlement.

The true amount of the defalcations and *deficit* in the Hawaiian treasury is not correctly known at present, but it will be startling and promising for a financial smash-up, with some surprising disclosures. In view of this terrible state of things, a vigilance committee composed of honest citizens, presided over by the honorable and fearless Sanford Dole, should without delay demand to investigate the finances of the nation, and, above all, to watch that no guilty man may escape, be he Gibson or any other or others.

It must be very disagreeable and mortifying for the fair sex to live under the present régime in Hawaii, and more especially if the ladies have to travel in the United States and in other foreign countries, where it appears to be well spread the information that Mormonism rules supreme in Hawaii. It would just be equally damaging to their fair reputation as if they were coming from Salt Lake City, the headquarters of Mormonism and polygamy. The feelings and conscience of the feminine sex in Hawaii must rebel on account of the precarious social position created for them by the incongruous state of affairs since May, 1882, in the Hawaiian Islands. Mormonism is a moral and social leprosy.

King Malietoa, of the Samoan Islands, would certainly not have insulted so grossly the women of his kingdom by appointing a Mormon (Gibson) for his master and supreme ruler of the country.

The Government of the Sandwich Islands, since May, 1882, to the present day, is a rare combination of an immoral, political, financial, and criminal chaos, and Mormon Gibson and Jew Spreckels are the scourges of the land.

The Forty-ninth Congress adjourned without taking a decided step on the Hawaiian treaty, but I had several conversations with all the members of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, and they all, *pro bono publico*, are for the abrogation, on account of the abnormal state of governmental affairs in Hawaii, which is very unsatisfactory to all, and yet, with a new departure, every one can be placated and the treaty saved. I know well what I write now.

The missionary, Reverend Mr. Carter, the Hawaiian minister in Washington, can no more do any good in favor of the reciprocity treaty. His words will not be believed any longer, for the reason that he (Carter) told a downright falsehood before the Committee on Ways and Means. When asked by Mr. Searls, Jr., the Treasury agent, who was sent to the Hawaiian Islands to investigate the working of the treaty, and by the Honorable Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, chairman of the sub-committee, if he (Carter) was a director in C. Brewer & Co.'s firm, Carter answered negatively with the follow-

ing words, which I heard with my own ears very distinctly: "I COULD NOT HOLD MY OFFICIAL POSITION HERE IF I (CARTER) WAS A DIRECTOR IN C. BREWER & CO.'S FIRM IN HONOLULU." Too big and short-legged a fib for a missionary to tell before a committee of the United States Congress. By the members of said committee and members of both Houses of Congress, Reverend H. A. P. Carter is no longer believed to be a reliable man and loyal representative. Here I quote from an authentic report from Honolulu on file in the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives:

"C Brewer & Co.'s (Limited), large Hawaiian Islands sugar merchants and planters, general mercantile and commission agents.

"*List of Officers.*

"P. C. JONES, Jr. ..... President and Manager.
J. O. CARTER ..... Treasurer and Secretary.

"Directors:

"Honorable CHARLES R. BISHOP. Honorable H. A. P. CARTER."

This awkward subterfuge on the part of the Christian missionary, Carter, is adding evil to evil, contempt to contempt, in connection with the Mormon missionary, Gibson. What a rotten pandemonium must be the Government of Hawaii under the figure-head of Kalakaua, the king de jure, ex-convict Gibson, the king de facto, and the grocer boss, Spreckels, the dictator.

Many prominent Senators, Congressmen, journalists, and citizens, who are well posted on THE POSITION OF MEN AND AFFAIRS IN HAWAII, reason thus: The United States, a Christian, moral, and civilized nation, have a reciprocity treaty with Hawaii, which country was supposed to be on an equal footing with us. We are now informed with authenticity that the government affairs and morality there are in direct opposition to ours and to our former belief, and that a man (viz., Walter Murray Gibson, from Salt Lake City, Utah Territory) who in every Christian, moral, and civilized country, where justice is not a sham, would be deprived of his civil and political rights, and thrown in a dungeon for life, is at the head of the government since May, 1882, against the will and interests of the whole intelligent and reputable part of the population, native and foreign. Moreover, that this reciprocity treaty between two Christian nations is monopolized by three alien pagans, who are a Dutch grocer Jew (Spreckels), a wandering criminal Mormon (Gibson), a Chinese coolie Buddhist (Ah Fong)—a very funny trio. This is regress and not progress; this is a farce cleverly played on our credulity. Not to abrogate or tolerate to continue this treaty, which is detrimental to the American tax-payers, who do not get cheaper sugar, and to the good Hawaiian race which reaps no benefit from it, would be on our part a deplorable blunder; would be like trampling upon the good faith, morality, and interests of the great American people; and, what is worse, to uphold, to encourage, to applaud, and to glorify Mormonism, paganism, crime, and monopoly in Hawaii, which four curses we are trying to abolish in America.

This reciprocity treaty, in its actual phase, is a most monstrous monopoly in the hands of a few unscrupulous men, and why should I not tell the whole truth concerning this treaty, which can truthfully be styled THE SUM OF ALL INIQUITIES, perpetrated under an erroneous interpretation and false representation of an act of the United States Congress by a gang of *clever and honorable gentlemen* led by Mormon Gibson, Spreckels, and one Irvin, with the illicit use and abuse of the protection of the American flag. The unfortunate King Kalakaua is so much entangled in the Gibson-Spreckels web that he is forced to swim with them until the two rascals have no more use for him, then they will drop him and let him sink—*abyssus abyssum invocat.*

Your Majesty is in a friendly manner informed that the Hawaiian Minister in the capital of this great Republic of the United States (the missionary Carter) is unfriendly to you personally, to your race, and to the present monarchical régime in Hawaii, and he (Carter) is more willing and ready to obey the commands to prop and foster the interests of his absolute PADRONE, the boss, Claus Spreckels, than your commands and yours and your people's interests. Thus you can see that your Majesty is badly served and worse represented in Washington.

History, contrary to your ambition, will not record gloriously in golden letters the name of Kalakaua in its golden pages, but will state how a scion of a noble and historical dynasty, through evil influences, can degenerate.

The sooner your Majesty pays your debt to me the better will it be for you and for all concerned. By an early settlement you will not only save the further accumulation of interest, but also the heavy expenses of collection.

CELSO CÆSAR MORENO.

(To be continued.)

From performance of crew of U.S.S. Vandalia then in port. Refers to successful breach of promise suit by an adventuress against the aged ex-Premier Gibson, shortly after his overthrow by revolution. The jurors for the most part were afterward ashamed of "sticking [redacted] the old man" under the influence of political feeling. One of them, afterward very prominent in business here, left the islands and did not return for several years, and it was said his departure was due to menace of prosecution for false answers in court as to prejudice against defendant.

Received for filing April 26, 1915.

Daniel Logan,
Librarian.

PA GIBBY'S WOOIN'

817

—AND DE—

BREACH OB PROMISE SOOT

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De Breach ob Promise Soot.

White folks, gib attention, while I sing for you a ditty,
About de breach of promise case dat lectrified our city;
I mean no harm to dem concerned, especially de Widder,
And—golly!—now she's got de stamps, I grieve dat I'm a nigger!

(*Chorus, after each verse.*)

Cho.—Den it's oh!—dear!—harken to my thimble ringin',
Tiddle-de-ink-a-dink-a-dink,
I'm pickin' on de banjo a song dat Gib is often singin'—
A widder beats de devil, wen Reform has got de sway!

Of course, you know about de case much more den I kin sing you,
But, all de same, my dizzy rhyme a smile or two may bring you;
De plaintiff's got her soovin' salve—eight thousand and expenses—
To mend de heart-strings dat was broke by Gibsy's false pretenses!

De Primeer met his finity, and posed to captiwate'r,
He axed her for to warm his life, and share his beef and tater;
He sed he blessed de happy chance, dat to his side did send her,
And tole her, though his head was gray, his heart was green and tender!

He sed it was impossible for him to lib widout her,
Dat in de watches of de night, his thoughts was all about her;
She was his sun, his moon, and stars, his yum-yum of existence,
And oh! she must—indeed she must—engage widout resistance!

Ole Gibsy tried to pigeon-wing, and hide his cough wen courtin',
He tole her he was hale and strong, and awful fond of sportin'—
A ride of fifty miles or so to him was but a nerver,
And den he lanched out wid a speech, chuck full of lubbin' fervor!

He pictured out de orange grove, and home where he would take her,
And sed no human power on earth could force him to forsake her;
He coted Byron's Don Jooan, and slung some bits of Shakspeare,
And many drops of sodder soft he pored into his pet's ear.

De Widder sed her lub was won, he wooed so soft and cleber,
And vowed to be his own, own sweet, foreber, and foreber;
On dis he caught her in his arms, and squeezed her for a second,
Not dreamin' at how high a price dat squeeze would soon be reckoned?

Wid some of Lubin's smellment stuff, she shampooed Primy's cranium,
And on his pocket handkercher she pored some sweet jooranium;
De ole man danced a *pass de dux*, so high was he elated,
And all de Jim Crow walk-arounds by him was imitated.

He bought most all de books she had, at two and free fold prices,
Den coaxed her for to come to tea, and munch his cake wid ices;
And she—obligin', guileless chile!—took all de checks he gabe her,
But, strange to say, a gagement ring she would not take to sabe her?

Gib tole her of de high degree to which his rank would raise her,
And how de ristocratic nobs would crowd around and praise her;
De Queen, he sed, would be her ant, de King would be her brudder,
And he hisself, free times an hour, would kiss her for her mudder?

If folks had seed him frisk about, wen Floey had consented,
Dey would hab reckoned him de ghost of one dat died demented;
And wen she wrapped him in dat shawl, wid "Kiss good-night *dear* Murray!"
His face too lit up a saffron-green, and looked like mutton curry!

But—golly!—wen he reached his home, and tole about his racket,
His Loola went for Pa's gray scalp, jest like a yaller jacket;
Den her and Fred swooped down in rage to tear de doves asunder,
Resolbed de Widder should not crib ole Gibsy or de plunder?

De ole boy's visits stoppin' short, put Flo into a flurry,
She saw dat somethin' must be done, and dat too in a hurry;
She wrote, and wrote, and tole him how she feared de folks would jeer her,
And cooed to him to come again, but nary Gib came near her?

Wen Flo found out dat Walter's mind was forced to a revulsion,
And dat her image from his heart had suffered rough expulsion,
She did not hang or drown herself, or kill herself wid pizen,
But plans for costly sweet revenge, was in her bosom risin'?

De news got somehow spread around, and sot de gossips cacklin',
Each strivin' to outdo de rest at givin' Flo a hacklin';
Some sed she was a venturess, dat canvassed for a gudgeon,
While many sed it served Gib right, de rakish ole curmudgeon?

De much-lubbed Shepherd of de relm, de bulwark of de nation,
Was helpless as the new-born lambs upon his wool plantation;
De Widder on his one hand scowled, his Lula on de udder,
While close in front he saw dark signs dat made his ole frame shudder.

He tried to dodge his fianced wife, by makin' lame excuses,
Which drove de sweet confidin' Flo, to punish his abuses;
She wrote to him, in English plain, dat he must quickly own her,
Or rue de black despair in which her lub for him had thrown her?

Not answerin' her *billy dux*, she squared herself for lawin',
And sot a brace of lawyers down to legal papers drawin';
Not less den thousands twenty-five, she sed, could ease her feelin',
Or pay her for de wealf of lub, de ole man had been steelin'?

De Shepherd now was in a fix, from which he saw no turnin',
And lo! dem revelootion folks began their Re-form churnin';
Dey grabbed and cooped him up a while, den put him on de *Spreckels*,
Advisin' him to take a skip, and sabe his neck and shekels.

De Widder kindly let him go, for change, and udder causes,
But fust she filed her little bill, wid divers sundry clauses;
And wen her soot came 'fore de Jedge, and lawyers took to pickin',
She showed dat, wen it came to biz, she was no half-shelled chicken!

She made a mash upon de Court, and captured all the Jury,
She riled de counsel for defense, and lashed dem into fury;
She did not get de pile she craved, but quite enough for shoppin',
And now de art of sellin' books, I speckt she will be droppin'.

Poor Gibsy's in a hospital, or was at last reportin',
A prey to ills of flesh and mind, and sick of Widder courtin';
He'd only hugged and kissed her twice, and didn't muss no collars,
But, jest for dat, he had to pay a cool eight thousand dollars!

He talks of comin' back agin, to sabe de dear kanakers,
But fust he'd better sabe hisself, and stop dem taffy whackers;
His stock among de native folks, am down to freezin' Zero,
And all his sanitarian fakes won't raise de tumbled hero.

Widder now has got de stuff dat always makes the mare go,
And her and Sis can hab a time, where next de happy pair go!
Perhaps dey'll gib up canvassin', and husbandry engage in,
De latter payin' much de best, wen politics am ragin'.

Now, all you frisky grey-haired gents, what eber am your station,
Young women seldom care a snap for ole men's adoration;
Dey may consent to wear your name, if you hab lots of money,
But youth can neber gib to age lub's purest cream and honey.

HONOLULU, November 15th, 1887.

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Reserve

CORONATION

OF THEIR MAJESTIES

—THE—

King and Queen

—OF THE—

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

At Honolulu, Feb. 12th, 1883.



HONOLULU, H. I.

PRINTED AT THE ADVERTISER STEAM PRINTING HOUSE.

1883.

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CORONATION

OF THEIR MAJESTIES

The King and Queen of the Hawaiian Islands,

AT HONOLULU,

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12th, 1883.

IOLANI PALACE.

The word *Iolani* signifies "The ascent of Heaven." This is one of the many hyperbolical designations of persons and things peculiar to Polynesians as well as to Asiatics. Iolani Palace has been erected on the site of a smaller royal building built by Kamehameha III. The new Palace has already cost about $450,000, and when finished in all its details the amount will hardly fall short of half a million of dollars. In beauty and strength as an edifice, it appears well worth the money. There are not many sovereigns of Europe that are better housed than His Majesty King Kalakaua. Excepting the grand historical palaces of Europe, it has been asserted by many foreign visitors familiar with palatial residences abroad, that two-thirds of them are inferior to the home of the Hawaiian King. It cannot be said that this Palace is beyond the means of this little country. The cost has not added one iota to the rate of taxation in the realm, and has readily been found, although somewhat irregularly, in the ample resources of our prosperous State. The throne room of the Palace is a hall of fine proportions and chastely finished and embellished, with a dais and canopy, gold and crimson chairs of state and with gold and crimson seats for the Royal family and official personages. The noble hall, when enlivened by the circumstances of an audience, when Royalty is in position, when uniformed officers and foreign representatives are in their places, or when a uniformed embassy is to be presented, there is to be witnessed a scene of brilliant, courtly, and official order which may not be surpassed elsewhere. Now this is in Polynesia, and takes place, it may be said, among the grandchildren of the barbarians who slew Captain Cook; and yet there is not the slightest trace of the barbaric or the semi-civilized in the order and state of Iolani Palace. The whole course of courtly proceedings evinces thorough culture and a careful study and knowledge of courtly etiquette combined with taste and judgment. The educated stranger who is permitted to look on or take a part is loud in laudation of the carefully systematized order which prevails, and, when such an observant and well-informed stranger sits down to partake of a banquet in Iolani Palace with the King and Queen as host and hostess, with the Royal family, Nobles and Representatives as guests, he is profoundly impressed with the courtly dignity, perfect self-possession, and courteous

elegance and order which prevail. He is impressed with every indication of high cultivation and refinement which characterizes the social order of Iolani Palace.

We may glance at the domestic arrangements of the Royal Home. The chambers, antechambers and offices for Royal use are most tastefully and elegantly provided. The telephone, connecting chamber to chamber and hall to hall, provides means for the instantaneous transmission of messages to all parts of the structure. The kitchen equipment and service are of a superior order, with a skilled *chef* and a large corps of uniformed and well-disciplined attendants.

King Kalakaua and his Royal Consort are thus enabled to keep house in as courtly a style, and as comfortable a way as any monarch or magnate upon the face of the earth.

THE CORONATION BUILDINGS.

Immediately in front of Iolani Palace the ceremony of the Coronation took place. The halls of the Palace, however spacious, could not have accommodated one-fourth of the people whom His Majesty desired to invite, and there was no church or other public building in the city which would have answered the purpose. Therefore it was resolved to construct temporary edifices especially designed for the ceremonial. The pavilion, where the Coronation took place, is a beautiful temple structure or kiosk, and was happily designed as the central and especial scene of the imposing ceremonies. The surrounding amphitheatre, as may be seen in the plan which accompanies this publication, was solidly built and well arranged for the accommodation of a vast multitude; not less than four thousand persons found convenient place on its well-arranged seats, and, it may be said, that there was not one bad seat or inconvenient place for observation of the whole ceremonial. The especial place of honor for spectators was the lower verandah or balcony of the Palace, where Ministers of the King, Nobles, Foreign representatives, and officials of the Kingdom were seated. The pavilion, where the crowning took place, was in the centre of a great semi-circle of expectant and well-dressed observers. The grand spectacle presented by the array of brilliant uniforms and exquisite dresses was indeed very impressive. His Majesty's Ministers, the Japanese Embassy, other Foreign representatives, the gallant Naval officers in port, and the rich and tasteful toilette of the Ladies presented an array of rich, courtly costume and style, which, although exceeded no doubt in extent elsewhere, could not be surpassed in quality.

All the preparations and decorations, and all the plans of a new and extraordinary ceremonial were attended with most favorable circumstances, and were in every particular of their execution a complete success.

THE REASON OF THE CORONATION.

Were there any sufficient reasons to give character and consideration to the Coronation, as something more than an empty ceremonial? The ceremony of the Coronation is new in the Kingdom, yet it is well known that a form of installation has been practiced in Hawaii since ancient times. The ceremony called *poni*, which may be translated as equivalent to an anointing, was practiced, we find, in early Hawaiian history, on the occasion of the induction of a high chief into office. The chief who succeeded to sovereign authority was invested with the feather cloak or royal mantle, equal in significance to the ermine and purple of other lands. As it was partly a religious ceremonial, human bones were presented as an offering, made by the candidate to his god, and cocoanut juice was poured upon his head, accompanied with a mele chant or invocation. The first Hawaiian chief, who was inducted into the royal office with a ceremonial in which were blended ancient and modern forms, was Kamehameha II. His Coronation is thus described by Sheldon Dibble, page 85. "The Coronation of Liholiho." "The second day after his arrival, the chiefs of his father (Kamehameha, The Conqueror) were assembled. The inhabitants of Kona were also collected to witness the Coronation of the new King and the transfer of the Kingdom to him by Kaahumanu (the Queen Dowager). When the multitude had been assembled, Liholiho came out of the temple or heiau, arrayed in red clothing and a feather cloak, with the hat sent from

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Great Britain on his head, attended on either side by the Chiefs bearing kahilis and spittoons. [NOTE.—To the European mind there will seem an incongruity in attaching importance to such an article as a spittoon, as an accompaniment of royalty. This is associated with ancient Hawaiian superstition. It was supposed that the anana or death-prayer was made effectual by obtaining some of the spittle of the party to be prayed against. Hence the guardian of the Chief's spittoon was the most confidential man about the ancient Courts, and equivalent to the modern Chamberlain.] Queen Kaahumanu thus addressed him: 'Behold the Chiefs and men of your father, and these your guns, and this your land, but you and I, if such be your pleasure, will share the realm together.' (The Queen Dowager was appointed Kuhina nui, or Prime Minister.) To this Liholiho assented, and he was constituted in due form the ruler of the Kingdom."

Kamehameha III, inspired by his Christian education, desired that his office of Sovereignty should be confirmed by a ceremony of Coronation in accordance with civilized and enlightened forms, and accompanied with the Christian symbols that have been associated with Royalty in European States. With this object in view, he, in connection with other business, dispatched the late Dr. Judd to Europe to procure a crown, which was ordered and manufactured by a jeweler of London. This crown was a simple cap of red velvet, with fillet and arches of gold. It was made very plainly, yet of pure material and suited to the poverty of those days. However, at that time, owing to the poverty of the country, though containing a much more numerous people than at present, its treasury could barely pay a few salaries. The King, notwithstanding that the crown was already procured by a Minister, heeded his Ministers' advice and deferred a costly, though desirable ceremonial, which was postponed until his death. Kamehameha IV expressed his intention of carrying out a form of Coronation, but the early death of a beloved son, the Prince of Hawaii, and his own untimely end, prevented, during his reign, any formal celebration of a Coronation. Kamehameha V took the matter in hand and expressed himself as determined that a ceremony, conformable to the practice of European Kingdoms, should confirm and symbolize his office of Sovereignty. With this object in view, he collected the published order of ceremonial in other Kingdoms, and a copy of the form and order of the Coronation of Queen Victoria of England, marked on the margin in his handwriting, and still preserved, indicated the parts he desired to be omitted or used. The revised form, as designed for his own Coronation, was placed in the hands of a young Prince, who now occupies the Hawaiian throne, for the purpose of translation into the Hawaiian language. Still the ceremony was delayed, because an exaggerated estimate of the cost induced prudent Ministers to defer the undertaking, and eventually death prevented the consummation of the desires of this monarch in respect to his Coronation.

The brief reign of Lunalilo commenced, it may be said, in invalidism affording no opportunity for the consideration of the crowning ceremony. But his successor, King Kalakaua, recalling to mind the feelings and wishes of his predecessors, and considering that, after a turbulent accession, how harmony and loyalty now prevailed in the land, deemed it proper that there should be an authorized ceremonial confirmatory of his accession, somewhat in accordance with the practice of Christian monarchical states. This view of the King was speedily appreciated by the loyal representatives of the people, and in the Legislative Assembly of 1880 the Coronation Act was passed by an almost unanimous vote. The King's travel around the world interfered with the original plans for the ceremonial, and it was after further action of the Assembly of 1882, which granted renewed supplies for defraying the expenses, that the ceremony of the coronation was actually taken in hand. It has been advised and promoted by a Ministry heartily and faithfully devoted to the preservation of Hawaiian independence. The sentiments of love and loyalty have sanctioned such solemn consecrations in all ages, and a spirit of love and loyalty in Hawaii at this day, not less than that of any other age and among any other people, sustains our chosen Sovereign, and crowns with gold and gems one who had already been crowned in loyal loving hearts.

CORONATION CEREMONY.

On Monday, 12th February, the imposing ceremony of the Coronation of their Majesties the King and Queen of the Hawaiian Islands took place at Iolani Palace.

The weather for the three previous days had been anything but favorable, it having rained incessantly during that time—more especially on Saturday night. The roof of the amphitheatre not proving impervious to the drenching rain, it was made so by an additional covering of corrugated iron, all of which was put on betwixt 4 a.m. and 6 a.m. on Monday. At break of day a change of weather occurred. The sun shone forth with its wonted brilliancy. The reeds were spread over the line of march, and by 9 o'clock the school children were marching towards the rendezvous. At the appointed hour the procession started, and entering the Palace gates, the schools and societies took up the respective positions assigned to them.

Hon. J. A. Cummins was the Grand Marshal of the day, assisted by Messrs. Charles Lucas, Clarence Macfarlane, John Colburn, Harry Whitney, and Captain Tripp.

The brilliant weather continued, and strange to say, the morning star was seen in the heavens at 8 a.m., shining cotemporaneously with the sun. The Hawaiians regard this as a happy omen. At 11 a.m. the sun was obscured by clouds, and remained so until the very moment of "Crowning" was being solemnized. Like a mechanical transformation scene to take place at an appointed minute, so did the sun burst forth as the clock struck twelve, and immediately after their Majesties had been crowned.

The several ushers appointed to conduct the schools, orders, and societies, also the general public to their seats, executed the duties alloted to them with politeness and discretion. Within the Amphitheatre the Members of the Legislature, Departmental Clerks, and District Judges, with their wives, were seated in Section 1. Next to them, in Sections 2, 3, 4, and 5, were the ladies and gentlemen residents of the Islands, besides many visitors from other lands. On the left of the entrance were seated the Delegates, Free Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Red Men, Foresters, members American Legion of Honor, Good Templars, Knights of Jerusalem, Poalu Association, Y. M. C. Association, Church of Latter Day Saints, and Honolulu Fire Department. The children attending the twenty schools in and about Honolulu, numbering about 1100, were seated in chairs on the broad space between the Pavilion and the Amphitheatre. Messrs. Wilcox, Robertson, Clarke, Smith, and Fernandez, on the right, and Messrs. Smithies, Stillman, Simenson, Unger and Arnold, on the left, acted as ushers in charge of the Amphitheatre seats, and Messrs. Kawainui, Poepoe, Natanela and Mahalona as ushers in charge of the seats on the platform for the school children. In addition to the 4,000 people that were comfortably seated within the Amphitheatre and on the platform, there were crowds of spectators extending to the Palace gates on either side, principally Hawaiians. There were no less than seven thousand spectators within the Palace grounds, who maintained throughout the whole ceremony an admirable quietude and order.

The Pavilion in which the Coronation ceremony was performed, is of octagonal shape with a domed roof. It is situated directly in front of the main entrance to Iolani Palace and about fifty feet from the stairway by which it is connected by a platform. This pavilion is about twenty-five feet in diameter. Each of the eight sides bears the name of the respective Kings of Hawaii with the years during which they reigned, from the time of Kamehameha I to the present day. Each name and duration of reign is encircled in laurel wreaths supported by two cross palm leaves and surmounted by a crown. Over the front entrance to the pavilion are the following words: FEBRUARY 12TH, 1883, the day on which His Majesty King Kalakaua was crowned. The ceiling is decorated with paintings in oil, and fresco work. The Hawaiian coat-of-arms are painted in the center on a white net work. This is without exception the finest specimen of this kind of work that has ever been produced in Honolulu.

On the outside of the pavilion, each of the eight uprights supporting the roof are ornamented with shields emblazoned on them, representing Russia, Netherlands, United States, Hawaii, Germany, Austria, Italy and Holland. On the bridge leading from the Palace to the pavilion, are two vases of modern papeiian style; on each vase are two monograms, gilded on blue ground. Under the monograms are depicted six dancing girls in different attitudes. The handles of the vases have the form of a "K." The pavilion is surrounded by a spacious amphiteatre for the accommodation of the spectators of the ceremony. It is capable of seating about 3000 people, and it was entirely filled. It is impervious to the rain, and so arranged that all were able to witness the ceremony equally well. The outer walls are adorned with the armorial bearings of Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Peru, Hawaii, Chile, Japan, China, Norway and Sweden. The floors were covered with red cloth, and the *tout ensemble* presented a very fine appearance.

The front of the Palace was also gaily and tastefully decorated, the colonnades being draped in scarlet and white. On each of the pillars was His Majesty's monogram alternately arranged in red and green. On either side of the main stairway, the Hawaiian coat of arms on a white ground as depicted.

In addition to the work of the foreign artists, Hawaiian skill had been liberally displayed in the artistic arrangement of evergreens. No efforts were spared to produce effect. The design of the pavilion and amphitheatre was entrusted to Messrs. Buchmann and Rupprecht, two artists who recently arrived in these Islands; these gentlemen executed the fresco painting and personally superintended the embellishing work generally. The wood work was entrusted to Mr. George Lucas, whose name is sufficient guarantee for its adaptability to the purpose for which it was intended.

Upon the Palace veranda on the left facing the pavilion entrance, were seated His Excellency Sugi Magoshichiro, His Imperial Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; Ishibashi Masakata, Secretary to the Japanese Legation; Michinori S. Nagasaki, Secretary of the Imperial Household; and K. B. Kakiwuchi, attache to H. I. J. M.'s Mission; His Excellency R. M. Daggett, Minister Resident of the United States; Major J. H. Wodehouse, British Commissioner and Consul-General; Mrs. and Miss Wodehouse; Mons. H. Feer, Commissioner of France; Madame Feer and the Misses Feer; Count De Louvieres, Chancelier of the French Legation; Countess De Louvieres; Senhor Canavarro, Commissioner of Portugal; Captain Henry Wilson, U. S. N.; Captain F. Pierson, C. B., U. S. N.; Commander F. Edwards, R, N.; Captain Chateauminois, F. N.; F. A. Schaefer, Esq., Consul for Italy and Dean of Consular Corps; J. C. Glade, Esq., Consul of the German Empire, Sweden and Norway; A. Unna, Esq., Consul for Denmark; John H. Paty, Esq., Consul for Netherlands and Belgium; D. A. McKinley, Esq., Consul for the United States; R. W. Laine, Esq., Consul for Mexico; Mrs. Laine; H. F. Glade, Consul for Austro-Hungary; Lieut. Commander D. C. Woodrow, Lieut. Jno. H. C. Coffin, Lieut. H. F. Fichholm, Master Jesse M. Roper, Paymaster W. W. Woodhull, Chief Engineer J. Q. A. Ziegler, Passed Asst. Surgeon A. C. Heffenger, of the U. S. S. Lackawanna. Lieut. Commander, A. H. Vail, Chief-Engineer, J. Butterworth, Surgeon Wm. N. Jones, P. A. Paymaster Reah Frazer, Master J. M. Bowyer, Master W. A. Rooney, First Lieutenant G. R. Benson, U. S. M. C., U. S. S. Wachusett. Lieutenant G. P. Henderson, Lieutenant G. H. Dare and Paymaster A. de Denne, H. B. M. ship Mutine. Officers: Daniel, Aubry, and Buisnel; Paymaster Olliver; Surgeons Joubin and Amiand, of the French war-ship Limier. J. W. Pfluger, Esq., Consul for Russia; Mrs. Pfluger; T. H. Davies, Esq., British Vice-Consul; Mrs. Davies; J. O. Carter, Esq., Japanese Commercial Agent; Mrs. Carter: Capt. Thos. Spencer, U. S. Consular Agent at Hilo; H. R. Macfarlane, Esq., Acting Consul for Denmark.

On the right, facing the Pavilion, were seated His Excellency W. M. Gibson, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his daughter, Mrs. F. H. Hayselden; His Excellency Jno. E. Bush, Minister of the Interior, and Mrs. Bush; His Excellency Simon K. Kaai, Minister of Finance; His Excellency Edward Preston, Attorney-General, and Mrs. Preston; Hon. Godfrey Rhodes, President of the Legislative Assembly, Noble, and Privy Councillor, and Mrs. Rhodes; Hon. Paul P. Kanoa, Governor of Kauai, and Noble; the wife of Hon. J. M. Kapena, Postmaster-General, Noble, and Privy Councillor, and Miss Kapena; Hon. J. Moanauli, Noble, and Privy Councillor, and Mrs. Moanauli; Hon. Noble J. P. Parker; Hon. Noble H. Kuhihelani, and Mrs. Kuhihelani; Hon. P. Kanoa, Noble, and Privy Councillor, and Mrs. Kanoa; Hon. H. A. Widemann, Noble, and Privy

Councillor, and Mrs. Widemann; Hon. D. L. Kinimaka, Privy Councillor; Hon. Wm. Buckle, Privy Councillor, and the Misses Buckle; Hon. W.P. Wood, Privy Councillor; Hon. W.J. Smith, Privy Councillor; the wife of the Hon. W.C. Parke, Marshal of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and Privy Councillor; Hon. B. H. Austin, Associate Justice Supreme Court, and Mrs. Austin; Hon. J. S. Walker, Auditor-General, and Mrs. Walker; Con. Noble C. R. Bishop; Hon. H. A. P. Carter and Miss Carter; H. W. Severance, Esq., Hawaiian Consul at San Francisco, and Miss Severance; Mons. Charles Michiels, Chancelier of the Hawaiian Legation of Belgium, and Miss Michiels; the wife of the Hon. J. U. Kawainui, Privy Councillor; Hon. W. L. Green, Privy Councillor, and Mrs. Green; Hon. Robert Stirling, Privy Councillor and Mrs. Stirling; Hon. S. N. Castle, Privy Councillor; the Bishop of Olba; Hon. Noble J. Kaae and Mrs. Kaae; Miss Cleghorn and Miss Annie Cleghorn, Captain Hayley and Mrs. Hayley, Col. J. H. Boyd, Major C. T. Gulick and Mrs. Gulick, Major Antone Rosa and Mrs. Rosa; Major E. W. Purvis.

A GUARD OF HONOR

formed in front of Iolani Palace by order of His Excellency J. O. Dominis, Governor of Oahu, at the hour of 10 a.m., at points assigned, the Band forming on the right in front of the line facing the Pavilion.

At the hour of 10.15 a.m. the King Street Gate of the Palace Grounds was thrown open to admit all those persons who had received invitations.

All those who had been invited to occupy seats on the lower verandah of the front entrance of Iolani Palace, were seated under the direction of His Majesty's Chamberlain.

Members of the Legislature, Officers of the Government, the Clergy of the several Churches, Schools, Institutions, and the public generally, invited to witness the ceremonies, had seats assigned to them in the Amphitheatre, by ushers acting under the authority of the Executive Committee.

At 11.15 a.m., Their Majesties entered the Hall: at 11.30 a.m., the Procession, headed by the Marshal of the Kingdom and the Honorable Marshal of the Household, moved to the Pavilion. At the appearance of His Majesty's Chamberlain at the front entrance of the Palace, the heralds proclaimed the approach of Their Majesties.

The following was the order of Procession to the Pavilion, arranged by His Majesty's Chamberlain:

Marshal of the Household, Hon. J. M. Kapena.
Marshal of the Kingdom, Hon. W. C. Parke.
Chaplain of the Household, Rev. A. Mackintosh.
The Honorable President of the Legislative Assembly, Hon. Godfrey Rhodes.
The Chancellor, Hon. A. Francis Judd, Chief Jus tice.
Princesses of the Blood and Consorts.
Bearer of the King's Jewels and Decorations.
Bearer of the Sceptre.
Bearer of the Sword of State, Col. Iaukea.
Bearer of the Crowns, Col. J. H. Boyd.
Bearer of the Robes.
Bearer of the Palaoa.
Bearer of the Puloulou.
Bearer of the Torch of Iwikauikaua.
Bearer of the Kahili of Pili.
The King's Chamberlain.
Their Majesties the King and Queen.
Bearers of Her Majesty's Train.

Ladies in Waiting to the Household, Mrs. Chas. H. Judd, Mrs. C. P. Iukea, Mrs. Colburn, Mrs. Lucy Pohaialii, Mrs. A. N. Tripp, and Mrs. Maria King.

In attendance on H. R. H. Princess Liliuokalani, were Mrs. Chas. B. Wilson, and Miss Sophia Sheldon.

In attendance on H. R. H. Princess Likelike, were Miss Clara and Miss Lizzie Coney.

The Choir then sung the following Anthem:

Almighty Father, hear! The Isles do wait on Thee.
That Thy hand shall lead our Chosen Chief and King.
Bless, O God! the purpose of his life and rule.
Let the Isles increase with souls and joy.
Send healing unto all the people of the King.
Let wealth and thrift come flowing from afar.
Let the nations rejoice in the freedom of the Isles.
And peace and good will forever bless the land.
And Thine the glory for all ages, evermore.
Amen.

Then the Marshal of the Household standing near the rail of the Pavilion, and facing the assembled people, declared in a loud voice the King's accession and right to the Hawaiian Throne, in the following words:

Princes, Nobles, Representatives, and People of Hawaii assembled—I here proclaim unto you that David Laamea, Kamanakapuu, Mahinulani, Naloiaehuokalani, Lumialani, Kalakaua, the King, Generalissimo, Ke Alii Kapu, Hoano, Ka wela, Ka moe, Ka Ikuhaipuhilaninuu, Wohi Kuakahili, Haku o ka Poni ana i Moi, Haku o ka Ohiako a me ka Palaoa Pae, Kukuiaikeawakea, Kama Alii Hanau o Ka Aina,
Grand Master of the Royal Order of Kamehameha 1st,
Grand Master of the Royal Order of Kalakaua,
Grand Master of the Royal Order of Kapiolani,
Grand Master of the Royal Order of The Crown of Hawaii,
Knight of the Order of Francis Joseph of Austria,
Knight of the Order of St. Lazarus and St. Maurice of Italy,
Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia,
Knight of the Order of Dannebrog of Denmark,
Knight of the Imperial Order of the Chrysanthemum of Japan,
Knight of the Order of the Crown of Siam,
Knight of the Order of St. Michael and St. George of England
Knight of the Order of Leopold of Belgium
Knight of the Order of Vasa of Sweden and Norway
Knight of the Order of the Conception of Portugal
Knight of the Order of Charles XII of Spain
Knight of the Order of the Lion of the Netherlands
Knight of the Order of Liberator of Venzuela and Bolivia; President of the Privy Council of State; the Son of the Alii Kapaakea, and the Alii Keohokalole, is the rightful occupant of the Hawaiian Throne, and Sovereign Chief of the Hawaiian Islands and their Dependencies, as heretofore claimed by his predecessors, chosen by the Nobles and Representatives of the Kingdom; and that you render unto His Majesty all fealty and loyal obedience under the laws of the Realm.

Princess Poomaikelani then advanced and presented to His Majesty a Puloulou and a Palaoa borne upon a cushion. Ke Kukuioiwikauikaua, and the Kahili of the King Pili, as symbols of ancient supreme Chieftaincy, which being accepted by His Majesty were placed beside the Throne and remained there throughout the remainder of the ceremony.

The Chancellor then advanced and, standing before the King, said:

SIRE—Is your Majesty willing to reaffirm your previous oath?

The King answered:

I am willing.

The King then left his Throne and, advancing towards the Chancellor, raised his right hand and said after the Chancellor:

I, DAVID KALAKAUA, King of the Hawaiian Islands, having, on the twelfth day of February, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution of the Kingdom, been duly elected by the Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Islands in the Legislature of the Kingdom assembled, to the Throne of this Kingdom;

And having on the fellowing day taken the Oath prescribed by Article 24 of the Constitution, do hereby of my own grace and motion solemnly reaffirm the same, and—

I do hereby solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God to maintain the Constitution of the Kingdom whole and inviolate, and to govern in conformity therewith.

The King then signed the Oath and, after the signing, returned to his Throne.

THE SWORD.

The Chancellor then advanced and placed the sword in the King's hands, saying:

Receive this Kingly Sword as the Ensign of Justice and Mercy.

The King received the Sword and placed it again in the hands of the Chancellor, who passed it to the Noble in charge of it, and he was ordered by the Chancellor to unsheath it, and he, then unsheathing the Sword, carried it naked during the rest of the solemnity.

THE ROYAL MANTLE.

Princess Kekaulike then advanced with the robe and placed it in the hands of the Chancellor, who then placed it on the King's shoulders, saying:

Receive this ancient Royal Mantle of your predecessors as the Ensign of Knowledge and Wisdom.

THE RING.

The Chancellor then put the Ring on the fourth finger of His Majesty's right hand, saying:

Receive this Ring, the Ensign of Kingly Dignity.

THE SCEPTRE.

The Chancellor then delivered the Scepter to the King, saying:

Receive the Royal Sceptre, the Ensign of Kingly Power and Justice.

THE CROWNING.

Prince Kawananakoa then advanced with the Crowns, the Choir singing the following Hymn:

Almighty Father! we do bring
Gold and gems for the King;
Pure gold for the true Chief,
The symbol of true Love.
Gems of the hidden mine,
Gleaming forth a glory;
The glory of the unfolding Isles,
That grow in wealth and peace—
That come to crown their King,
The heir of the farthest ages
Chosen by The Almighty Father!
To whom the honor and the glory.
Amen.

The Honorable President of the Legislative Assembly then took the King's Crown and raised it up before the people and placed it in the hands of the Chancellor, saying:

I present this Crown to the rightful King of these Islands, approved by Acts of the Legislative Assembly in the Legislature of the Kingdom assembled of the years 1880 and 1882.

The Chancellor then placed it in the King's hands, saying:

Receive this Crown of pure gold to adorn the high station wherein thou hast been placed.

The King then raised up the Crown and placed it upon his head.

The Chancellor then took the second Crown and placed it in the King's hands, who rose and placed it upon the Queen's head, who reverently bowed her head on receiving it, the King saying:

I place this Crown upon your head, to share the honors of my throne.

A prayer then followed, Their Majesties kneeling:

Almighty Father, who crownest thy faithful servants with mercy and loving kindness, look down upon these, thy Servants, KALAKAUA and KAPIOLANI, who now in lowly devotion bow their heads to Thy Divine Majesty; and as Thou dost this day set crowns of pure gold upon their heads, so enrich their royal hearts with Thy Heavenly Grace, and crown them with all princely virtues which may adorn the high stations wherein Thou hast placed them, and Thine the honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen,

Their Majesties then arose and resumed their places upon the throne. At the conclusion of the prayer, signals from the Palace towers announced the event, and a royal salvo of guns was fired from the battery and men-of-war in port.

The Choir then sang the following Anthem:

Cry out O Isles, with joy!
With loud sounding praise,
Unto the Almighty Father
Who gave union to the Isles:
Who gave them place on high
Among the mighty of the earth:
Who hath led our Chief and King
Along the paths of the world,
And led Him to a Throne
Set up by Thee, O God!
In the hearts of his People,
Cry out O Isles, with joy.
With loud sounding praise,
Unto Thee, Almighty Father!
For all ages, evermore. Amen.

The Coronation Ceremony being completed, the King and Queen, attended as before, retired to the Grand Hall, where the disrobing took place.

FORM OF PROCESSION LEAVING THE PAVILION.

Marshal of the Household.
Marshal of the Kingdom.
Chaplain of the Household.
The Honorable President of the Legislative Assembly.
The Chancellor of the Kingdom.
The Governess of Hawaii.
Princesses of the Blood and Consorts.
Bearer of the Palaoa.
Bearer of the Puloulou.
Bearer of the Torch of Iwikauikaua.
Bearer of the Kahili of Pili.
Bearer of the Jewels and Decorations.
Bearer of the Scepter.
Bearer of the Crowns.
The King's Chamberlain.
Bearer of the Sword of State.
Their Majesties, the King and Queen.
Bearer's of Her Majesty's train.
Kahili Bearers.
Ladies in Waiting.

The King then received the homage of the Chancellor, the Ministers, the Nobles, the Associate Justices, Privy Councillors, and Circuit Judges.

After which His Majesty received the Diplomatic Corps, the Naval Officers, and

Consular Corps; also, the Police Justices, the Members of the Legislative Assembly, and Members of the Bar.

The Choir comprised about seventy voices, and they were under the musical direction of Mr. Wray Taylor, organist of St. Andrew's Cathedral. They had all undergone a thorough training, and they performed their parts with credit to themselves and their preceptor. They labored under a slight disadvantage owing to the direction of the wind.

On the conclusion of the ceremonies, the band played Meyerbeer's celebrated "Coronation March," and as the people dispersed there was a general feeling of approbation expressed with the successful manner in which the whole proceedings had been conducted. Flags were displayed in every direction, and the harbor presented an ununusually gay appearance with four full-dressed men of war, and twenty-two merchantmen. The inter-island steamers and schooners also put forth all the bunting they possessed.

LONG LIVE THE KING!

THE REGALIA.

The sword of State placed in the King's hands as the ensign of Justice and Mercy, is an exact counterpart of that of England. It has a straight blade, of fine Damascus steel inlaid in gold with the Hawaiian coat of arms surmounted by the crown and bearing the motto of the realm. The hilt, guard and cord and tassels are of gold, the hilt and guard beautifully engraved, as are the gold mountings of the purple velvet sheath.

The Royal mantle is the one which was worn by the First Kamehameha, and is one of the most superb emblems of Royalty ever worn by King or Kaiser. It is a semi-circular cloak about four feet in length, covering an area of 25 square feet when spread out, and is made of the small golden-hued feathers of the *O-o*. These feathers, each about the size of one's little finger nail are fastened to a fine net-work of fibre made from the bark of the *Olona*, in such a manner that they overlay each other. There are at least 5000 of these feathers used in the cloak, and, as there are but two taken from each bird, which have to be snared in the dense woods, where they are by no means abundant, it will be seen that the first cost of the cloak is very great, and that the keeping of it in order an endless task. This mantle is only worn by the reigning Sovereign. There are shorter cloaks and capes worn by Alii's or chiefs, their length being regulated by the rank of the wearer.

The only material that approaches this unique mantle in gracefulness and dignity of drapery or folds is royal velvet; but even the richest velvet lacks the golden shimmer and gloss of the feather cloak of the King of Hawaii.

The Ring, the ensign of kingly dignity, is of Etruscan gold, massive—weighing nearly an ounce—and bears on its broad surface a shield in which is set a carnelian, engraved—*intaglio*—with the Hawaiian coat of arms. The seal is surmounted with the crown, and below is a ribbon bearing the legend *Ua mau ka ea o ka aina i ka pono*, with the star of the crown of Hawaii pendent. On each side of the shield are the two supporters, two Hawaiian chiefs, carved in full relief, bearing spears. Outside of each supporter is a solitaire diamond of one carat weight.

The Sceptre, the Ensign of Kingly Power and Justice, is of gold, about 2 feet 4 inches in length, divided by the design into three parts. The base and shaft are shaped as an Ionic column, bound around with the Roman fillet. The shaft of the column has the laurel leaf entwined about its polished surface, and the capital is finished with three rams' heads, symbols of strength. The central part, by which the sceptre is held, is covered with imperial velvet, and the third, or upper part of the shaft, is surmounted by a Globe on which is perched a dove with outstretched wings, the emblem of Peace.

The Crown is composed of a fillet or band of gold one inch in width, set, on each edge, with 192 small diamonds Midway in the fillet are set 20 opals, alternating with 8 emeralds and as many rubies, save at the back, where there are set in the place of the emeralds and rubies 6 *kukui* nut jewels of a deep reddish black, highly polished.

At the front and back, and on each side, the fillet is surmounted by a golden Maltese cross, in the arms of which are set forty-eight diamonds, each arm having three. In the center of the cross in front of the crown is a magnificent diamond of about six carats' weight, and on the sides others a little smaller. A splendid carbuncle glows in the center of the cross at the back. Between the crosses are short curved bars forming twelve points, from which spring taro

leaves in frosted gold, beautifully veined, and each one holding a diamond in its center. Between the points are set twelve other fine diamonds. Springing from the fillet, over the crimson velvet cap of maintenance, are eight bars of gold, whose surfaces are studded with half-round knobs, as in the crown of France. These eight bars diminish in width, and finally unite at the base of a globe of dark red enamel. These eight bars are emblematical of the union of the islands of the group under one rule. The globe that they uphold is banded horizontally with a circle of pearls, and another like band passes over the upper half of the globe. Surmounting the whole is a golden Maltese cross, in which is set four brilliant diamonds. The Queen's crown is precisely similar, except tha it is a trifle smaller. Each crown contains 521 diamonds, 54 pearls, 20 opals, 8 emeralds, 1 large carbuncle, and 6 *kukui* jewels.

The Puloulou, or "tabu stick," placed at the right of the Throne of the King, is made of a mahrwal tusk (the gift of Captain N. Tripp), seven feet two inches in length, tipped with gold and bearing a golden globe. Hanging from the globe is a plate of gold bearing the Hawaiian coat of arms, the colors in enamel, above which is the Hawaiian crown, and below a golden ribbon engraved with the national motto (in Hawaiian) "Righteousness is the life of the land." The whole emblem was made by Messrs. Wenner & Co. of this city, and is a beautiful piece of work. The "Puloulou" is the emblem of protection. In ancient times spears, from each of which were suspended a ball of *kapa*, were set up to indicate that the space thus enclosed was a refuge to which any one guilty of a crime might fly and be safe from unlawful punishment. Placed now at the right of the throne, and its effigy borne on the national coat of arms, it symbolizes the protection that the laws afford to all.

The Kahili of Pili is a very ancient emblem of royalty. The one now standing on the right of the Throne, with the Puloulou, is the same one that the Chief Pili brought back with him upon his recall to the Throne of Hawaii. Pili, King of Hawaii was of the 26th dynasty prior to the present King. Computing 22 years as the average length of the reign of each King, this would fix the date of his reign at about 572 years ago, or in the year 1311. His father, Laau, was deposed from his Throne, and a republic established. At the expiration of two years however, the republic collapsed, and Laau,—who had retired to some one of the islands to the south of this group—was sent for. His son Pili returned in his place and ascended the Throne again. The kahili now known as his, is made of white feathers, and is in a good state of preservation.

His Majesty wore the white uniform of the Guards, with a white helmet, and plume of white, red, and blue. He wore the Grand Cordon, Star and Collar of the Order of Kamehameha I.; the Star of the Imperial Order of the Chrysanthemum of Japan; the Star of the Order of St. Michael and St. George of England; the Star of the Order of the Conception of Portugal; and the Star of the Order of the Crown of Hawaii.

Her Majesty the Queen wore the Order of Kalakaua, and that of the Crown of Hawaii. Also a diadem and bracelets of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and amethysts.

The robe of the Queen was of rich cardinal velvet, heavily embroidered in an elaborate design of fern leaves in gold, with ermine border. The pattern was designed by Mr. C. Furneaux, and was finished in London. The gloves and slippers were embroidered in green. Her coronet and jewelry were of diamonds, and she carried a superb, hand-painted fan trimmed with lace.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Liliuokalani wore a Parisian toilette of gold brocade, the front part of white satin embroidered with gold, and a heavy crimson velvet train; the head-dress was a wreath of gold leaves and white feathers tipped with pearls: gold necklace with diamond cross, and diamond earrings.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Likelike wore a robe of brocaded white satin trimmed with pearls and feathers, long gloves, and scarlet satin slippers. Her daughter, the Princess Kaiulani (who preceded the procession), was dressed in a light blue corded silk trimmed with lace, pale blue ribbons in her hair.

The Princess Poomaikelani, the Queen's elder sister, wore a robe of rich cardinal velvet with a full court train. The underskirt was of a light heliotrope, embroidered with silk. The train was trimmed with gold lace. Her younger sister, the Princess Kekaulike, wore a dress of cardinal velvet, with a full court train embroidered with a vine pattern of gold. Both Princesses wore white satin slippers and long gloves.

Mrs. F. H. Hayselden, the daughter of His Excellency the Premier, wore a very rich heliotrope

silver brocade, low neck and Princess train trimmed with point d'Alencon lace, with an underskirt of corded heliotrope satin. Her hair was adorned with golden stars set with diamonds and rubies.

Mrs. Jno. E. Bush, the wife of His Excellency the Minister of the Interior—wore a cardinal velvet robe with a full Court train. The front was of light lavender silk trimmed with rich lace.

Mrs. Preston, the wife of His Excellency the Attorney-General, was attired in old gold satin, with black chantille overdress; high neck and long sleeves. Court train trimmed with flowers.

Mrs. J. H. Wodehouse, the wife of H.B.M.'s Commissioner and Consul-General, wore a rich black silk, trimmed with crape in elegant folds. The edge of the full court train trimmed with crape pouffs. The waist low in the neck. Panier of crape with bow at the back.

Madame Feer, the wife of the Commissioner of France, was attired in a low-necked train dress of cream-colored *croche* merveilleux satin apron, paniers and trimmings in Spanish lace; ornaments gold—head dress, white feather.

Mrs. R. W. Laine, wife of the Consul for Mexico, wore combination brocaded pink satin, white lace trimmings, with flowers; high neck and long sleeves.

Miss Michiels, sister of Mons. Chas. Michiels, Chancelier of the Hawaiian Legation of Belgium, wore white silk, trimmed with point lace and tea roses, square neck and short sleeves; Court train.

Miss Carter appeared in pink satin, white lace trimming, semi-low neck and short sleeves.

Mrs. J. M. Kapena, the wife of the Postmaster-General, wore an elegant pale-gold satin full-trained skirt trimmed with chantilly lace arranged in flat semi-rosettes. The edge of the skirt box pleated, and the front shirred with a scarf drapery of chantilly. The waist was cut low and trimmed with side tabes of the same lace.

Mrs. T. W. Everett, wife of the Sheriff of Maui, antique embroidered silk, with watteau, Court train. The petticoat of old gold satin shirred, trimmed with a cascade of Spanish lace; waist cut pompadour; train edged with ruches of brown silk lined with satin edged with lace.

Miss Wodehouse, cream colored moire short dress with trimmings of handsome antique lace. Silk gauze panier, and low necked slashed basque.

Miss Feer and Miss Ernestine Feer, ivory-colored nuns' veiling skirt, garnet-colored velvet bodices and paniers trimmed with Spanish lace; ornaments, sliver and pearls.

The Misses Cleghorn wore pongee silk, with appropriate trimmings.

Mrs. C. T. Gulick wore an ashes of roses moire antique, with black Spanish lace overdress; square neck, elbow sleeves; Princess' Court train; jewels, diamonds.

Mrs. Lilikalani—Holoku or French yoke robe of scarlet and shaded satin with Spanish lace trimmings; front shirred; full court train of satin, fan-shaped. Waist trimmed with sash-bow at back.

Miss Barnes. Governess to Princess Kaiulani, was dressed in white pina, satin basque, Spanish lace trimming, scarlet flowers and head-dress to correspond with trimmings.

Mrs. James Auld wore a navy blue satin with an ecru front, trimmed with real lace.

LADIES IN WAITING TO THE HOUSEHOLD.

Mrs. Colonel C. H. Judd, wife of His Majesty's Chamberlain, was dressed in black velvet, with full court train, trimmed with Brussels point lace, low neck and short sleeves, Sarah Bernhardt gloves.

Mrs. Colonel Curtis P. Iaukea wore a black silk velvet, white satin front, trimmed with real lace.

Mrs. Colburn wore a black brocaded moire, white satin front, trimmed with real lace.

Mrs. Lucy Pohaialii wore a black silk velvet-white satin front, trimmed with real lace.

Mrs. A. N. Tripp wore a blue satin train with ecru front, trimmed with real lace.

Mrs. Maria King wore a black brocaded velvet ecru front, trimmed with real lace.

LADIES IN WAITING TO H. R. H. LILIUOKALANI.

Mrs. C. B. Wilson, was dressed in light blue silk trimmed with canary-colored flowers, head-dress of flowers.

Miss Sophie Sheldon wore a canary colored *faille* gros-grain silk, with full Court train trimmed with cream-colored Spanish lace en panier. The body was low-necked, pointed waist, the front pleated.

LADIES IN WAITING TO H. R. H. LIKELIKE.

Miss Clara and Miss Lizzie Coney were dressed in rich white silk.

THE ceremony of the Coronation has been consummated with all the honor, with all the ceremonial detail, with the presence of such visitors as were invited, and with such an assembly of the people as was expected.

So great was the assembled multitude that not less than four thousand people filled every available seat, and nearly as large a number occupied the surrounding Palace grounds. All parties and all official ranks were represented in the great assembly, and this certainly indicates the full and cordial acceptance of this ceremony, and its recogniton as appropriate to our King and his sovereignty. This result must, indeed, be a great satisfaction to Mr. Gibson the Premier, who, as a representative of the people and a member of the Legislature from Lahaina, planned and organized it. On this occasion it is proper after the successful consummation of the ceremony, that some proceedings of the Legislative body which gave origin and sanction to it should now be recalled. The following is the Act of the Coronation which was voted by the Assembly of 1880:

AN ACT

TO PROVIDE FOR THE CORONATION OF THE KINGS OF HAWAII.

WHEREAS, it has been the custom from time immemorial to crown the Kings of Hawaii, and perpetuate the dignity of the Throne; and

Whereas, the Constitution fails to provide for such an Act, and it is advisable that such a Coronation be provided for by the laws of the Kingdom; therefore,

Be it Enacted by the King and the Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Islands, in the Legislature of the Kingdom assembled:

SECTION 1. That His Majesty the King, in Privy Council, shall ascertain and proclaim by public proclamation a time when he shall be crowned, and he, in Privy Council, may make such rules and regulations for such occasion as he shall deem proper, and all the expenses attending such event shall be paid for out of any moneys in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated in the Appropriation Bill, provided they shall not exceed the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars.

SECTION 2. This Act shall become a law from the date of its passage.

Approved this 9th day of August, A.D. 1880.

KALAKAUA R.

On the occasion of the consideration of this Act, Mr. Gibson spoke as follows:

"It has been stated by Hon. members that the ceremonial of crowning a King of Hawaii has never been performed, but that sovereigns of this country had been installed in the royal office by simply taking an oath to support the Constitution, even as His Majesty had done. And along with this statement it is contended that the preamble to the bill is incorrect, inasmuch as it declares that former Hawaiian Kings were "crowned." but this is a contention about the meaning of the word *poni*, in the Hawaiian version, which is rendered in the English version by the word "crowned." I will not say that any Hawaiian Kings have ever had a circlet of gold, with arching fillets, covering a cap of maintenance, and surmounted by symbols of the cross and orbs of dominion, ever placed upon their brows like regnant sovereigns of Christian Europe. But when Hawaiian aliis or chiefs were installed in the sovereign office they were endowed by a ceremonial accompanied with an anointment and the decoration of the maile, and this form of investiture, called *poni* in Hawaiian, we may translate into English by the word coronation.

And shall we, upholders of a monarchy with the example of enlightened monarchical Europe, attach no importance to such a ceremonial? Shall we not, rather—sustained by the declared opinions of men like Wyllie, Ricord, and Judd, that the monarchy was essential to the best welfare of the Hawaiian people, strengthen the Hawaiian throne by taking measures to provide for a crowning consummation?

But we are taunted with our littleness. The paucity of our population is mentioned with disdain. And ridicule seeks to abate the aspirations of our little State. But what say the powers of the earth? The salvos of their armaments in our ports recognize the full dignity of our Majesty—neither more nor less than what is accorded to the potentate of Russia, or the illustrious sovereign of England. Then shall we do less than provide for a full consecration of our sovereignty, so honored before the world?

It is said that we have a crown, and that its exhibition as a symbolic device should be sufficient. Yes, there is one, a gilt bit of art that surmounts the dais in this Hall, and there is another one laid away somewhere in the Interior Department, which has been used for parade, and carried in processions, and is a mere theatric property. But will you put a gilt ring upon the finger of the bride? Can the ceremonial of marriage be fully honored and consummated with an economic imitation of precious metals and precious stones? What heart, that recognizes the sacramental bond would so desecrate the solemn pledge of the union of two hearts! And must a people that cherish a throne, and honor a King, be content with less than a circlet of pure and refined gold, adorned and gemmed, as the insignia to be employed in the perfect installation and consecration of their Sovereign?

Behold Great Britain, that great and prudent power, how she has lavished treasure upon a crown, and procured gems at a great cost, among which is the famed Koh-i-nor of India, valued at hundreds of thousands of dollars. The famed jewel cost both blood and treasure, and was a spoil of war.

Hawaiians will develop national spirit more and more by the increase of reverence for the Throne. He did not regard the person of the incumbent, whether Prince or Princess, adult or minor—his purpose was to honor and strengthen the monarchy, as a paramount measure towards the maintenance of the independence of the State, and the preservation of the race.

During the previous session a bill of this kind was prepared, but he advised the withholding of its presentation in the Assembly, as being premature at that time. But now that we have provided for a royal palace that is to cost about a quarter of a million of dollars before it is finally finished and furnished, shall we haggle about a few more thousands to provide for the perfect and consecrating climax of the work?

You Hawaiians, in crowning your King, will raise up your nation before the eyes of the world. You will assert your patriotism—you will prove your national spirit—and you will make a solemn appeal to the great powers of the earth for the perpetual guarantee of your independence.

This is indeed a measure that should have originated with the Ministers of His Majesty; but as they are backward in this, as they have been in other measures for the welfare of the country, it becomes the duty of the Representatives of the people to take the initiative.

And this, furthermore, is a measure that rebukes the spirit of those who hope for the decline of this nation, and the final surrender of its autonomy."

STATE DINNER.

Their Majesties, the King and Queen gave a banquet at Iolani Palace on the evening of the 14th instant, at which were present: Princess Poomaikelani, Princess Kekaulike, Governor Dominis, Hon. A. S. Cleghorn, His Excellency W. M. Gibson, His Ex. John E. Bush, Mrs. Bush, His Excellency Ed. Preston, Mrs. Preston, His Excellency R. M. Daggett, Major J. H. Wodehouse, Mrs. Wodehouse, Monsieur Feer, Madame Feer, Senhor Canavarro, Judge Austin, Mrs. Austin, Hon. Godfrey Rhodes, Mrs. Rhodes, Hon. H. A. Widemann, Mrs. Widemann, Captain Wilson, U. S. N.; Captain Pearson, C. B. U. S. N.; Captain Edwards, R. N.; Captain Chateauminois, F. N; Hon. C. H. Judd and Mrs. Judd, Hon. J. M. Kapena, Mrs. Kapena, H. W. Severance, Esq., Marshal Parke and Mrs. Parke, Governor P. P. Kanoa. The band was in attendance and discoursed the usual excellent and appropriate music.

THE ILLUMINATION.

On Saturday night last, advantage was taken of the fine weather to carry out the illumination and display of fireworks that form an important feature in the Coronation festivities. The lights on Punchbowl first came in view about seven o'clock, and as the Palace was approached the glare of fire was noticeable in the heavens. Lanterns of many colors and designs were displayed around the residences of His Excellency the Premier, His Excellency the Attorney-General, Messrs. Bickerton, Smithies, and a few others, whose names our reporter failed to obtain. The fire engine houses were very handsomely illuminated, the palm being given to the Bell Tower on Union street, but the greatest attraction was the Palace. There were over 4500 lights displayed in various forms and designs in the Palace grounds. The Plough, Royal Star, soldiers presenting arms, the emblems of Faith, Hope, and Charity, Masonic and Odd Fellows emblems, arches, and many other designs "too numerous to mention" were

on exhibition. Rockets were fired from Punchbowl and also from the Palace grounds, and there were constantly on exhibition, Roman candles, sunflowers, wheels, palms, floral bombs, and several novelties, the whole forming the grandest pyrotechnical exhibition ever witnessed in Honolulu.

Four balloons were sent up, one of which took fire, two passed slowly out of sight, and the last one failed to arise beyond a very short distance.

The Band was in attendance and added greatly to the hilarity of the proceedings. In addition to the illuminations enumerated above, the Government buildings were decorated with green, red and blue lanterns, as also were the Station-house and Oahu Prison. The effect of the latter as seen from the water, is said to have been very grand.

The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. J. W. Pfluger, accomplished the arduous task entrusted to him in a masterly and energetic manner, and this gentleman deserves the thanks of the whole community.

THE CORONATION BALL.

The State Ball given at Iolani Palace on Tuesday evening of this week was an event that will be long and pleasantly remembered in connection with the Coronation festivities. The site of the Pavilion, in which the ceremony of Coronation was solemnized, was on Tuesday last, a scene of gaiety and enjoyment. The pavilion having been removed to the south-eastern corner of Iolani Palace, the whole space in front of the Palace from the verandah to the inner edge of amphitheatre was floored and covered with cloth, thereby constituting the most spacious and elegant ball-room ever seen in Honolulu. A pole erected in the centre of the floor, supported a covering of canvas, and this was stretched out to the roof of the amphitheatre and also to the balcony of the Palace. Entering the Palace grounds from the King street gate, carriages drew up on the town side of the entrance to the improvised ball room, the avenue being brilliantly illuminated. On alighting, the guests were received by members of His Majesty's, and His Excellency the Governor's staff, and the ladies were escorted to rooms on the first floor of the Palace, for the arrangement of their toilets. Every possible accommodation had been made for the enjoyment and comfort of the guests. Looking from the Palace stairway into the ball room, the artistic arrangement of flags, lamps and decorations, presented an extremely handsome and effective appearance. The brilliancy of the Palace vestibule caused the ball room to present rather a dull appearance, but this illusion was dispelled when once the floor proper was reached, the lights being so arranged that there was no glare, and at the same time sufficient glitter to display the beautiful and costly costumes of the ladies. The refreshment rooms were within the amphitheatre, as also was the spacious supper room, in which were six long tables capable of seating upwards of 500 people. Festoons of evergreens were gracefully hung around on all sides.

The following was the order of the procession from the Palace to the dancing pavilion :

His Majesty's Chamberlain.
Two Kahili Bearers.
Their Majesties the King and Queen.
His Excellency Governor Dominis and H. R. H. Princess Liliuokalani.
Honorable A. S. Cleghorn, and H. R. H. Princess Likelike.
H. R. H. Princess Kekaulike.
Prince David Kawananakoa.
Prince Kaliiahonui.
Prince Kalanianaole.
Mrs. C. H. Judd, Mrs. C. P. Iaukea and Mrs. Swan. Ladies in waiting on the Queen.
Mrs. C. B. Wilson and Miss Sophie Sheldon, in attendance on Princess Liliuokalani.
The Misses Coney, in attendance on Princess Likelike.
Colonels C. P. Iaukea, and J. H. Boyd of His Majesty's Staff.

The guests commenced to arrive shortly after half-past 8 o'clock, and they were received at the entrance to Pavilion by the members of the King's Staff and officers of the King's Guard. Before 9 o'clock, over 300 guests thronged the spacious and beautifully adorned ball room. The dancing was inaugurated shortly after that hour by the floor being taken for the ROYAL QUADRILLE, which was participated in by His Majesty and H. R. H. Princess Liliuokalani. Hon. A. S. Cleghorn and Her Majesty Queen Kapiolani.
His Ex. W. M. Gibson and H. R. H. Princess Likelike.
His Ex. J. E. Bush and H. R. H. Princess Kekaulike
His Ex. J. M. Kapena and Mrs. J. E. Bush.
Hon. Godfrey Rhodes and Mrs. B. H. Austin.
Colonel C. H. Judd and Mrs. Judd.
Captain Chateauminois and Mrs. Rhodes.
Captain Pearson and Mrs. Kapena.
Captain Edwards and Mrs. W. C. Parke.

Dancing then proceeded in the following order, to the excellent music of the Royal Hawaiian Band:

1. Valse ..... My Queen.
2. Lancers ..... Royal Hawaiian.
3. Valse ..... Coronation.
4. Quadrille ..... Keelikolani.
5. Polka ..... Leopoldine.
6. Valse ..... Thine Alone.
7. Lancers ..... Trial by Jury.
8. Valse ..... Morgenblatter.
9. Mazurka ..... Maile.
10. Quadrille ..... Parisian Life
11. Valse ..... A Thousand and One Nights.
12. Schottische ..... Lawe Leke.
13. Valse ..... Ball Pleasures.
14. Valse ..... Spring Flowers.

Whilst the Lancers were being danced, about 10 p.m., a few drops of rain were heard on the canvas covering, and before the situation was fully realised, a heavy shower came down which gradually leaked through the non-impervious canvas roof. On conclusion of the dance, refuge was sought on the spacious verandah of the Palace, and as the rain had apparently set in for the night, the Throne room was cleared and the band removed from the amphitheatre to the verandah. In a few minutes, everything was in order for proceeding with the programme, and the mazy measures of the dance were quickly resumed.

About midnight, His Majesty led the way to the amphitheatre where all the guests sat down to a rich and tastefully prepared supper. The tables were bountifully spread with all the good things that are obtainable. Supper over, dancing was resumed and kept up with spirit until three o'clock in the morning.

One of the noticeable features of the evening was the richness and variety of the costumes worn by the ladies, whilst amongst the sterner sex were to be seen uniforms of the American, British and French navies, of an English Hussar officer, a Belgian cavalry officer, the uniforms worn by His Excellency the Governor of Oahu and Staff, and that of the newly formed Volunteer corps. His Majesty and Suite were attired in his favorite uniform of a German officer, and His Majesty's Ministers in the new Hawaiian Court uniform. It was admitted by all present to have been the most brilliant gathering of the kind ever witnessed this Kingdom.

Amongst the guests invited, most of whom were present, were: His Excellency J. O. Dominis, Governor of Oahu and Maui; Hon. A. S. Cleghorn, Their Excellencies W. M. Gibson, J E. Bush, J. M. Kapena, and E. Preston; His Excellency R. M. Daggett, U. S. Minister Resident; Major J. H. Wodehouse, H. B. M.'s Commissioner and Consul-General, and Mrs. Wodehouse; Mons. H. Feer, Consul and Commissioner for France, and Madame Feer; Senhor A. de S. Canavarro, Consul and Commissioner for Portugal; Count de Louvieres, Chancelier of French Legation; CONSULS: D. A. McKinley, Esq., T. H. Davies, Esq., H. R. Macfarlane, Esq., and J. O. Carter, Esq., Captain Wilson, U. S. S. Lackawanna and officers, Captain Chateauminois, French Corvette Limier and officers; Commander Edwards, H. B. M. S. Mutine and officers Mr. and Mrs. C. Afong, and the Misses Afong, E. R. Adams and Miss Adams, Mr and Mrs. W. Auld, Judge B. H. Austin and Mrs. Austin, Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Brown, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Barnard and Miss Barnard, Miss L. Brickwood, the Misses Brown, Col. J. H. Boyd, Mr. and Mrs. R. F. Bickerton, W. Buckle and daughter, B. F. Bolles and Miss Bolles, Mr. and Mrs. C. O. Berger, Mr. and Mrs. J. Brown. Captain W. Babcock and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. Bailey, Miss Barnes, Lieuts. R. H. and J. T. Baker, Mr. and Mrs. C. Bertelmann, Dr. and Miss Brodie, Miss Burbank, Miss Bella Carter, G. Carter, Mrs. Coney, Mrs. J. O. Carter and daughter, the Misses Coney, G. P. Castle and wife, James B. Castle, Mrs. Alfred Castle, Miss Coffey, Miss Chamberlain, Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Colburn, the Misses Cleghorn, Miss Carrie Castle, Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Clarke and daughters, Mr. and Mrs. D. Dayton, Mrs. S. C. Damon, Frank W. Damon, Mrs. T. H. Davies, Samuel M. Damon, Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Ellis, J. S. Emerson, Captain and Mrs. A. Fuller, and Miss Gedge, G. D. Freeth and wife, Mr. and Mrs. C. Furneaux, Dr. and Mrs. Fitch, the Misses Feer, Mr. and Mrs. W. M. Giffard, Major and Mrs. C. T. Gulick, Captain and Mrs. W. Forsyth Grant, Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Hassinger and Miss Hassinger, Mr. and Mrs. E. R. Hendry, F. M. Hatch, Dr. and Mrs. Hagan, Mr. and Mrs. Hopper, jr., E. W. Holdsworth, Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Hayselden, Mr. and Mrs. Jas. Hayselden, Capt. and Mrs. Hayley, J. Hayley, J. F. Hackfeld, Colonel and Mrs. Curtis P. Iaukea, Miss Uinie, Mr. and Mrs. G. E. G. Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. G. Jordan, Miss Sarah King, Miss Minnie Kinney, J. A. Kennedy, Hon. P. P. Kanoa, Governor of Kauai, Mrs. and Miss Kellogg, Captain and Mrs. Luce, Miss Luce, G. H. Luce, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. S. J. Levey, Countess de Louvieres, Miss D. Lamb, Mr. and Mrs. Lewison, L. J. Levey, the Misses Ladd, Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Lawrence, Miss Rosy Makee, Hon. L. McCully, C. Macfarlane, R. A. Macfie, Jr., and Mrs. Macfie, J. M. and M. D. Monsarrat, Captain McIntyre

and niece, Katie Mossman, Mr. and Mrs. John M'Keague, Julian Monsarrat, Mrs. and Misses Perry, Hon. and Mrs. W. C. Parke and the Misses Parke, Mr. E. W. Perley, Major and Mrs. Antone Rosa, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Robertson, Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Robertson, Mr. and Mrs. Ross, P. H. W. Ross, A. W. Richardson and Miss Richardson, Dr. and Mrs. Rodgers, Hon. and Mrs. Godfrey Rhodes, J. W. Smith, Mr. G. W. Smith and Mrs. Smith, Hon. Robert Stirling and Mrs. Stirling, Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Smithies, Miss Smithies, Mr. Stillman, Mr. Swanzy, T. M. Starkey, J. Sproull, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Smith, Mr. Scarborough, Miss Sophia and John G. M. Sheldon, Captain and Mrs. Tripp, and Miss Widdifield, Dr. Trousseau, Mr., Mrs. and Miss Toler, Hon. H. A. Widemann, Mr. and Mrs. Widemann, and Miss Widemann, Mrs. J. K. Wilder, and Miss Wilder, Harry Whitney, Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Wilson, W. L. Wilcox, Masters H. and G. Wodehouse, Dr. Walters.

THE CORONATION FLEET.

THE U. S. S. Lackawanna, U. S. S. Wachusett, H. B. M. S. Mutine, and the corvette Limier, of the French marine, may be properly styled a Coronation Fleet, as they have been ordered by their several Governments to be in the harbor of Honolulu, so that their officers and armament might assist at and participate in honoring Their Majesties' Coronation. And we think that the several Powers could not have made a happier choice of officers to carry out a generous international courtesy and to honor a little state, than in the selection of such officers and gentlemen, as Captain Wilson, Commander Pearson, Commander Edwards, and Commander Chateau minois. The senior of these gentlemen, Captain Wilson, impresses all who have encountered him with his uniform courtesy and kindliness of manner. He is evidently a superior officer, a gallant and experienced man, endowed with a generous heart. The junior American Commander Pearson, is the embodiment of a *preux chevelier*, and his gallantry in a trying situation won from a great nation, jealous of conferring its honors, a mark of unusual distinction for an American officer. Long, we hope, that his handsome person may bear the decoration of the Royal English Order of the Bath. Commander Edwards has the impressive bearing of most courteous self-possession, and is a superior officer, and accomplished gentleman. The French Commander Chateauminois, now in early manhood, shows by his advancement in his profession, his ability as an officer. "*Il a unavenir*," he has a future, said one of his officers the other day, and this saying will be readily appreciated by any one observing the firm, vigorous manhood, intellectual activity, and high-toned courteous demeanor of this gallant young French commander. We are happy to state that His Majesty the King, not only desirous of recognizing the national courtesy shown to him and his people, but also desirous of marking the royal esteem for the courteous personal bearing of these officers, who have been charged with the carrying out of a national courtesy conferred on Monday, in person, on board the several vessels of the coronation fleet, the decoration of Commander of the Royal Order of Kalakaua upon these several Commanders.

His Majesty the King, accompanied by Hon. C. H. Judd, His Majesty's Chamberlain, and Cols. C. P. Iaukea and J. H. Boyd, on Monday last, visited all the vessels of war in port. The first vessel visited was the U. S. S. Lackawanna. His Majesty was received with a Royal salute of twenty-one guns. All the vessels of war at the same time manned yards, and they remained so until His Majesty had completed his visits. His Majesty was received on board the Lackawanna by His Excellency Rollin M. Daggett, United States Minister Resident, Captain Wilson, and all the officers, in full dress. Through His Excellency the American Minister, His Majesty the King presented Captain Wilson with the Decoration of Knight Commander of the Royal Order of Kalakaua. On leaving the Lackawanna, another Royal salute was fired.

His Majesty and suite, then visited the French war-vessel Limier, and they were received on board by Mons. Henri Feer, Commissioner and Consul-General for France, Captain Chateauminois and officers in full dress. His Majesty the King presented to Captain Chateauminois, through Mons. Henri Feer Consul and Commissioner for France, the decoration of Knight Commander of the Royal Order of Kalakaua. Whilst His Majesty remained on board, through the marines were put a series of exercises, and on his departure a royal salute was fired.

His Majesty and suite then went on board the U. S. S. Wachusett, and they were received by Captain Pearson and officers in full dress. On being escorted to the cabin His Majesty presented to Captain Pearson, through His Excellency R. M. Daggett U. S. Minister Resident, the decoration of Knight Commander of the Royal Order of Kalakaua; His Majesty then visited the Ward Room officers. His Majesty visited H. B. M.'s vessel of war Mutine, and was received on board by Commander Edwards and officers. His Majesty presented Captain Edwards with the decoration of Knight Commander of the Royal Order of Kalakaua. All the ships were handsomely dressed.

THE HOOKUPU.

In ancient times the Hawaiians paid to their Chiefs a certain portion of the products of the soil, in the same manner as tithes were paid in other countries. In addition to these there were donations—gifts made by the people to those whom they wished to honor—the custom being of late years to present these gifts on birthdays. On this, the occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty Kalakaua, these gifts were brought from near and far, and embraced cattle, hogs, poultry, dogs, and fish, cooked food in great variety, and all the material necessary to supply food for many hundreds.

On the 24th, the King, seated in the Amphitheatre, received the throng of Hawaiians who came to tender him their *aloha*, the larger number bringing with them their *hookupu*. The King was attended by a few friends only, and received his people without any of the pomp and ceremony attendant upon the other features of the Coronation. It was understood that the day was for Hawaiians only, and but few of any other nationality were present.

For many hours the people, men, women and children, approached their King, and, after saluting him, carried their gifts to where the attendants took charge of them. We were particularly struck with the grace displayed by the Hawaiian women as they sank upon one knee and kissed His Majesty's hand. Not all the training of the most polished Court of Europe could impart more elegance and ease to the entirely natural manner in which the Hawaiians proffered their homage to their King.

As each one retired they joined the group of lookers-on, who stood in the space behind the King, and watched the two graceful *hula* dancers, who were singing some of the ancient *meles*, accompanying themselves with the gourd-rattle and drum.

The Palace was thrown open to all native visitors, and as the people wandered through the halls and corridors they expressed their admiration at the beauty of the royal dwelling. Late in the afternoon the King retired to his private apartments, and the gates to the Palace grounds were closed.

THE REGATTA.

Notwithstanding the rain, which continued to fall during the whole of Thursday afternoon, the boat-races were witnessed by a large number of spectators. Many crowded the wharf and on board the bark D. C. Murray, and the Emerald, every available position that could command a view of the races, was occupied. Before the races began, a craft resembling a dry-goods box was launched from H. B. M. S. Mutine. Its crew was dressed in a very burlesque style, and used shovels for oars, and a mock sail of coffee-sacks was hoisted.

There were five entries for the yacht-race, which took place first, viz:—Restless, 7 tons; Kahihilani, 11¼ tons; Addie, 2½ tons; Healani, 9¾ tons; whaleboat, 1 ton. The Healani won, the time being 2 hours 53 minutes. The barge race between the Hanakeoki and the Koaheahe, of H. B. M. S. Mutine, was won by the latter; time. 29 minutes 17 seconds. The six-oared gig race between the Melia and Kapuaalla, of H. B. M. S. Mutine, after a foul, was won in the second trial by the Melia; time, 19 minutes 7 seconds. The canoe race between the Lapakahoe and Leleaonae was won by the latter; time, 23 minutes 46 seconds. The Koaheahe, which won the barge race, had one of her oars broken soon after starting.

THE LUAU AT THE PALACE.

This was announced to take place at 12 o'clock noon on Saturday the 24th inst. At that hour all the seats of the amphitheatre were filled, and there was a large assemblage of people on the floor beneath the great tent. The lower balcony of the Palace was filled with invited guests. There were tables arranged in lines covering the whole of the spacious dancing floor. It was roughly estimated that there was accom-

modation for about five hundred seats at one time. The tables were literally covered on every inch of their space with the appetizing constituents of a Hawaiian feast. Pork, fresh and salt, many varieties of fish prepared in various styles, crabs, meats of different kinds, the staple *poi* in abundance, salads, chicken, and shrimp and potatoes, and all the varieties of edible algæ so attractive to Hawaiian taste, roasted and bruised cocoanuts, choice pottages and Hawaiian condiments of novel variety, along with ice cream, soda water and other drinkables, making up an extremely varied and appetizing lunch, remarkable in the fact of being prepared for at least 5000 guests. About half-past twelve o'clock His Majesty led the way to the feast. There was not arranged any especial Royal table, as their Majesties, the King and Queen, took seats at different tables; His Majesty at one with Mrs. F. H. Hayselden and Mrs. J. E. Bush on either side. Her Royal Highness, the Princess Poomaikelani with His Exellency Minister Gibson as a *vis-a-vis*, Her Majesty, H. R. H. Princess Liliuokalani and Likelike, and His Excellency R. M. Daggett, Minister Resident of the United States and Senhor Canavarro, Consul and Commissioner of Portugal were seated at another table. A little later, on the arrival of Madame Feer, the wife of the French Commissioner, His Majesty arose and escorted her to the table. The festive boards were gradually released of their burthens as company after company sat down. The feasting went on until a late hour, and every one of the vast multitude had partaken of the bounties of the occasion. His Majesty's Chamberlain, Hon. C. H. Judd, and the Vice-Chamberlain, Major Purvis, were busily engaged in seeing to the order and arrangement of the vast assembly of convives. We have no list of guests, and we cannot enter into any enumeration, but must be content to say that all the members of the Royal Family were there, as also were His Majesty's Ministers and their families, including the little ones; Judge M'Cully, of the Supreme Court; the gallant Commanders of the men-of-war in port, with a large detail of officers to accompany them; the several Nobles of the Kingdom, with one or two exceptions, and their families; the Marshal of the Kingdom and his family; the Police Justice of Honolulu and wife; a large representation of the members of the Bar, also of the medical profession, merchants, business men and their families, were very largely represented. After the feasting was over and the preparations for the ancient songs and games were commenced, the assemblage of people greatly increased in number, and presented a most impressive scene. The lower balconies of the Palace on all sides were crowded with a throng of ladies and gentlemen, chiefly foreign visitors, who were the especial invited guests of the occasion. In the Coronation Pavilion were seated Her Majesty the Queen with members of the Royal family and Ministers. The seats of the vast amphitheatre in front of the Palace were densely crowded, and the whole spacious floor beneath the mammoth tent canopy was packed with people, almost all natives, seated on the floor and leaving only a small space for the native performers of the occasion. Prominent among these was our inimitable "Dandy Ioane," our Beau Brummel, or Beau Hickman, a singular ahd unique character, a hard working fellow in times past, with an industrious native wife, Anna, who reared a large family, and washed for many years for a living. This common Kanaka, a quondam stevedore, and, at times, the roust about in the dirt of the wharfs, has determined of his own notion to spend the earnings of himself and wife in getting himself up as a superlative exquisite swell. With tall plug hat tipped to a rakish angle, well dressed with a perfumed head of hair and a dress coat, commanding the best fitting skill of a Tregloan or a Roth; a satin vest of dandy cut, fancy colored pants fitting like tights, and terminating in patent leather boots. Our dandy thus equipped, supports the inevitable appendage of the snobbish swell of every land, an eyeglass, which is appended for the inspection of every object, and enables our dandy to ape the impudent, staggering stare of supercilious inspection, as well as any first-class stunning snob on Regent-street, the Boulevards, or Broadway. But our dandy is an artist, and the hands that can pack the coal or handle the sugar bags can handle most deftly the common jewsharp, which is equal to the Jewsharp of David, that moved the heart of a king. So has he moved with the tremulous, vibrating tongue of his harp the sympathies and dollars of Royalty. Dandy Ioane was in his glory on this occasion; he was floor-manager, and the master of the situation. He marshalled the performing girls in their short skirts and *hula* buskins, and accompanied their gyrations with his tremulous-toned instrument. The programme of the songs "Hula Kui" and "Meleinoa," and other native performances were very interesting and

varied—commencing about 4 o'clock, and continuing with scarcely any intermission, except on the occasion of the performance of the band, until half-past 11 o'clock, when the gates were closed by order of His Majesty. The foreign visitors present were loud in unqualified praise of this testivity. It was said that no theater of Europe or America, no place of amusement, no *plaza de toros* could have presented such a scene. Every feature of it was most impressive, the finery of the gay uniforms of King and Court, of naval officers, and the array of handsome ladies with their tasteful *toilettes*, the vast multitude thronging all around, not less than four thousand under cover and another four or five thousand crowding around and pressing in upon the outskirts of the covered *enciente*, and with such a multitude there rose up occasionally a roar or sound most impressive to any ear. At times there was a slight disturbance; one or two became a little unruly; there was a movement, some noise, a stir, and clamor among the multitude. A few persons unaccustomed to Hawaiian scenes apprehended some possibilities of disturbance, but soon they were surprised and relieved to see a small band of constables with a few soldiers, volunteers not amounting to fifty persons, representing law and order, and yet with persuasion and but little force, they were able to quell the disturbance, and tranquilize the vast concourse of people. Several foreign gentleman expressed emphatically their admiration at the character of the people, their ready obedience to authority, and the remarkable order maintained among such a multitude. There may have been one or wo drunkards, and it is reasonable to suppose, there might have been scores amongst such a multitude, but the writer of these notes, as a faithful reporter, will say that after a careful saunter around among the throngs of people in the Palace grounds, and after taking observation of the vast arena where the performance took place, among the seats of the amphitheatre, he did not see one intoxicated person or any one in a semi-intoxicated state, or in any condition calculated to disturb the peace of the remarkable festivity. We cannot judge of the merits of the several performances, but they were unique and interesting in the highest degree, and the like, with all the same associations, will probably never be seen again. The *luau* was a success in every sense as a great and satisfactory festivity. For once, everybody seemed to be pleased. Our glorious band was more than usually fine in its playing. Its brilliant and tender rendering of choice music filled the air of a lovely night, that as was all that a lover of pleasure going forth to enjoy, and that an anxious host, aiming to please, could desire. We trust that King Kalukaua was satified with the day's and evening's entertainment. We feel assured that every one of his guests on the occasion, without a single exception, were well pleased, and went home thanking the Royal hospitality that devised and prepared the Coronation *luau*.

THE CORONATION RACES.

On Monday afternoon the races in honor of the Coronation of His Majesty the King came off at Kapiolani Park. Owing to the postponements made necessary by the heavy rains, and the consequent bad condition of the track, the actual occurrence of the event was not announced until yes erday morning, and the attendance was, therefore, quite slim. The day was very fine, and the stands looked gay with flags. The band played many favorite airs between the events, and everything passed off very pleasantly. His Majesty arrived soon after 1 p.m., and took his seat in the Royal Stand.

Soon after, the first race for the Coronation Cup, $150, was called by Captain J. H. Brown, and the two horses got off well together. From the first it was evident that Heustace's Teazer was beaten, Mr. Cummings' Taiehu winning the first heat in 4.40¼, and the second in 3.35.

The 2d race for the Kalakaua and Kapiolani Purse of $150 for which there was two entries was won by Kamanao's Poni Moi, in 2.04 and 2.12½.

The 3d race between gentlemen riders was won by Captain Edwards of the Mutine in 2.47.

The 4th race, the Foreign Visitor's Purse of $100, 1 mile dash was cleverly won by Poni Moi in 1.58½.

For the public Purse of $50, 1 mile dash, there were ten entries. The race and purse was won by master Rafael Duchalsky, he leading the pot of horses under the string in 2.14½. This was a very pretty race, and the winner was loudly cheered.

After this, the last event on the programme, a number of gentleman riders ran a half-mile race, and so close was the contest between Captain Edwards and Mr. John Haley, that they had to run a second and third time before the race was decided in favor of Mr. Haley in 1.07. The spectators thoroughly enjoyed the day's sports, amongst which was an *impromptu* exhibition by a trio of grotesque "darkies," who made much sport.

Everybody regretted that a larger notice could not have been given of the occurrence of the races, as many who would have been present were not aware of the event until too late.

UNVEILING OF THE STATUE

— OF —

KAMEHAMEHA I.

THE Statue of Kamehameha I. was unveiled on Wednesday, the 14th February, by His Majesty King Kalakaua. The time appointed for the ceremony was 12 o'clock, midday, but long before that hour the grounds in front of Aliiolani Hale were well filled with anxious spectators. The military, under the command of Major Leleo, were drawn up on either side of the statue, the band being stationed near the main entrance to the Government House. A platform was erected on the eastern side of the statue for the accommodation of His Majesty, and all who were connected with the ceremony. It was occupied by His Majesty, His Excellency J. O. Dominis, Governor of Oahu and Maui; His Excellency W. M. Gibson, Premier and Chairman of the Commemorative Monument Committee; His Excellency, Simon K. Kaai, Hon. A. S. Cleghorn, Hon. J. M. Kapena, members of the Commemorative Monument Committee, His Excellency E. Preston, Attorney-General; His Excellency J. E. Bush, Minister of the Interior; Hon. Godfrey Rhodes, Chairman of the Legislative Assembly and Hon. P. P. Kanoa; His Excellency Rollin M. Daggett, United States Minister Resident; Major J. H. Wodehouse, H. B. M.'s Commissioner and Consul-General; Mons. H. Feer, French Commissioner and Consul-General; Count de Louvieres, Chancelier of the French Legation; Hon. C. R. Bishop, Chancellor of the Royal Order of Kamehameha I; F. A. Schaefer, Dean of the Consular Corps; Hon. H. A. Widemann, Stephen Spencer, Esquire, J. C. Glade, Esquire, Marshal Parke. Captain Thomas Spencer, Hon. R. M. Stirling, members of the Order; Rev. S. C. Damon, Colonel Curtis P. Iaukea, Colonel J. H. Boyd, Hon. H. Kuihelani, Capt. Pearson, C.B. of the U.S.S. Wachusett, Capt. Chateauminois of the Limier, Commander Edwards, H.B.M.S. Mutine, and officers from the above-named vessels. His Majesty was attired in the Hawaiian Military uniform and wore the decoration of Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Kamehameha I., as also did Hon. C. R. Bishop, His Ex. Jno. O. Dominis and Hon. A. S. Cleghorn; the Order of Knight Commander was worn by Hon. H. Widemann, F. A. Schaefer, Esq., Hon. P. Kanoa, Stephen Spencer, Esq., Hon. Robert Stirling, and Hon. W. C. Parke. That of Knight Companion by Hon. J. M. Kapena, Capt. T. Spencer and J. C. Glade, Esq.

In front of the Statue, seats were placed for members of the Legislative Assembly, and the majority of the members of that body were in attendance. During the morning heavy rains had fallen; but about one hour before the unveiling took place, the clouds cleared away and the weather remained fine throughout the ceremony. The Statue was veiled in a royal standard and a Hawaiian flag. Immediately after the clock struck twelve His Excellency W. M. Gibson arose and addressed His Majesty, the Hon. Representatives and the assemblage as follows:

Your Majesty, Nobles, and Gentlemen: The Legislature of 1878 by resolution affirmed that a monument, commemorative of the Discovery of these Islands, should be erected, and appointed a committee to take charge of the work, and voted a sum of money—a sum of ten thousand dollars—for its execution. The occasion when this vote was passed was the centennial of the Discovery. The committee quickly concluded that the most appropriate memorial of this event would be a statue of Kamehameha I., whose career dates from the period of the Discovery. A statue was procured, shipped, and shipwrecked on the way, but with the sum recovered by way of insurance a replica has been procured, which has safely arrived, and is now on its pedestal. The committee are now ready to present this memorial Statue to the Hawaiian people through Your Majesty. As Chairman of the Committee, it is now my pleasing duty to declare the Statue ready for presentation, and invite Your Majesty to unveil it.

The Hon. J. M. Kapena interpreted the introductory remarks of His Excellency the Premier, after which His Majesty proceeded to unveil the Statue. Simultaneously as the Statue was exposed to the public view, a Royal salute was fired from the Battery, the Band struck up Hawaii Ponoi, and the assemblage cheered most enthusiastically.

His Excellency the Premier then addressed to the assembled crowd a stirring speech in the Hawaiian language, which was received with repeated bursts of applause, after which he spoke as follows in English: Kamehameha was the reputed son of Keoua, but it is well known that his real father was Kahekili, who was in those days the King of West Maui and of Oahu and Molokai, and whose name means "Thunder." However appropriate the name may have been to the father, who can gainsay the fact that here in his son, whose effigy is here before us, we had a veritable "Son of thunder." It was a saying of Kotzebue, the Russian commander, with many other commanders of distinction who came in contact with him, was greatly struck with the character and deportment of the Hawaiian hero—a saying which we find in Kotzebue's narrative of his visit to these Isles, when expressing his admiration of the King, that "Kamehameha ought to have a statue erected to his memory." The prophetic saying of Kotzebue is accomplished this day. This hero must ever be the most striking figure in the history of these Islands. He was a hero of the type which elevates a nation. It was not by mere force and conquering capacity that he became the creator of a nation out of the rude and warring tribes. He elevated them from that condition into national life. How pre-eminent he stands above his barbarous surroundings! It is not merely courage—animal courage—which distinguished him. In this he was eminent; but he was eminent also in his moderation, in his self-denial, in his pure regard for the welfare of his people as a thing above all personal desires and claims. What a marvel was his conquest and organization of these Islands! He showed in his career all those characteristics which are developed by education, by the influence of tradition and by history. But no! It was from the darkness of his age and surroundings without education, without the guide and spur of tradition and the history of great predecessors and their works that this hero came forth panoplied with force, skill, and high capacity. Cæsars and Alexanders have done great deeds, but what had they not of backing in traditions and education. Here was a man as isolated from the civilized world as if his sphere of life had been cast in the moon, who came forward and fulfils the character of eminent men who started with so many advantages. Kamehameha was not wonder-stricken or abashed by the new beings and their vessels and implements of destruction. The encounter of Kamehameha with Cook was, no doubt, a determining influence in the future career of the conqueror. Piianaia says that the Hero appreciated the English commander as a friend, and was adverse to the hostilities that ended in the death of Cook. He lamented the death of the white commander. Though bold, skillful, and successful as a warrior, Kamehameha loved peace better than war, and the good of his country more than many victories. He fought to secure peace and to suppress turbulence. His wars did not originate in a personal ambition and a love of conquest. He was drawn into them, one after another, by the force of circumstances. When we read of Asiatic and Polynesian and Indian heroes who have been

great conquerors, we find that the spirit of conquest held possession of them as a mania; that they never relaxed the slaughter of their fellowmen so long as there was an opposing force to be overthrown and destroyed. But in the Hawaiian conqueror we behold a ready disposition to become a peacemaker. There is a traditional saying, originating in his times, that the pre-eminent result of his victories was "that old men and women, and children were safe reposing in the highway." This traditional saying, which has never been disputed, is illustrated in one of the tablets which adorn the pedestal of the statue. Such a condition of affairs had never before been known in Hawaii so far as we know from the records which has come down to us. His conduct as a ruler and an organizer of the Kingdom must command our highest respect. In this respect he resembles Egbert of England who united its seven kingdoms. Before his time, the will of the chiefs and certain religious or superstitious fanaticisms had filled the place of law. That only was a crime which annoyed or injured the great man or his favorites. But Kamehameha the conqueror imposed upon himself and chiefs, laws suppressing violence and wrong calculated to restrain the powerful, and to benefit the common people. In spite of his eminent prestige and absolute prowess and genius, he did not make his own word the sole foundation of these new laws. He had the wisdom to select superior men as his councillors, and the good sense to carry himself in accordance with the general tenor of their advice. And more than this; it is handed down to us by the tradition of his own people that he gave force to his laws by uniformly obeying them himself. He said to Vancouver that he should be the last person who ought to violate the established regulations of the country he governed. His power of self-restraint was indeed one of his marked characteristics. He qualified himself for being the conqueror of others by a thorough self-conquest. All that we know of him betokens this. His calm and dignified behavior on board Cook's ship—his prompt acquiesence in the will of Kalaniopuu, when ordered to retire to his own estate and devote himself to the care of the war-god Kekukuilimoku—the terms in which he related to Kotzebue the injurious conduct of certain Russian subjects, and the alarm which their threats (made in the name of the Russian Emperor) had caused amongst his people. These, and a score of other instances, may be cited to show the self-control which this hero had acquired. From hence came that deference to the opinion of his men of experience, which was no doubt one of the surest foundations of his power. Of the strong, sound sense which characterized his rule we have many instances. When he visited his dominions, and went abroad with his retainers, he saw how they eat up the land, and then, unlike other chiefs, he set himself to correct this. He ordered the cultivation of fields so as to provide beforehand for his own subsistence and that of the chiefs and people who accompanied him. He planned the organization and preservation of the country for his posterity. When the sandalwood, which formed at that time such a source of riches to the country, was being gathered, he commanded that the young saplings be preserved. His officers said, "You are old and must soon die, and we know not whose will be the sandalwood hereafter." He indignantly replied, "Have I not sons? To them belongs the young sandalwood." Had his successors been as wise as he, this source of wealth might have been preserved in our forests to this day. Again, another instance of his attention to the future. It was always a great matter of interest to Hawaiians to possess the beautiful feather cloaks. When the birds were caught for the sake of the coveted feathers he would not allow them to be killed. He insisted that they should be set free in order that their feathers might grow again, and be there for those who should come after him. His people recognized this wisdom and moderation, and gave him their highest reverence. And again, we must notice how Kamehameha—this so-called barbarous chief—was quick to appreciate and to seek to acquire for himself and his people the skill of the white men in the mechanical arts, and especially in ship-building, from the moment that it came under his notice. How quickly sprung up within him, as with Peter of Russia, to acquire ships, and to learn the art of constructing them. He goes himself, and sends his young men to Vancouver to learn. He takes the shipwright's tools in his own hands, and assists and encourages his young men in their work. Again, behold him when in the position of Cæsar when he desired to invade Britain—when he, too, wishes to invade another island, and has no war vessels. He goes with his own men into the forests; he accompanies and directs them as a master-workman, and builds and launches a fleet. Or again, when he stands on

the bluff at Kohala as represented in one of these tablets, where he organizes and trains them, teaching them to form rapidly into effective line of battle from a previous condition of apparent wreck. His character as a man in the domestic relations, is most pleasingly set forth by Vancouver in his account of the reconciliation of Kamehameha and Kaahumanu: of his loving artifices to bring it about and his happy feelings at the reunion. This princess was much beloved by the great hero. She had become estranged from him by certain misrepresentations. His great heart grieved for the estrangement and absence of his love. The pain and sorrows of the fierce warrior because of the alienation of his beloved chiefess is exceedingly interesting as presented to us by the narrative given by the British Commander Vancouver, and further confirmed by accounts given by Debrel and obtained from various native chronicles. At that time Vancouver was with his ship of war off the coast of Hawaii near the conqueror's abode. Kamehameha had communicated his griefs and regrets to the British commander. The warrior King made that gallant officer his especial confident in consequence of the fact that the estranged princess was expected to visit the English ship of war in company of a suit of attendance. The great chief, who had tens of thousands of warriors under his command, and who had lately passed through terrible ordeals, wherein his wondrous personal prowess had decided the fate of battles, was now sighing and anxious about a pretty royal maiden. He discussed plans for reconciliation with his foreign friend, and it was agreed that he, the mighty hurler of the fateful war speer, would now make hieroglyphic marks on two chips of wood; the one representing a promise of success and the other the reverse. It was arranged that when the Princess was on board, during her visit to the warship, the gallant commander would venture upon references to her warrior spouse, and, if the remarks and suggestions were not received with a repulse but with certain evidence of an inclination to reconciliation, the commander should then hastily dispatch to the shore a messenger bearing the marked chip of promise, and he, Kamehameha, would then come off in his canoe apparently to pay a casual visit to the commander of the vessel, without any other design or even the knowledge that the Princess was on board the ship. As he approached he hailed the commander to know if any one was on board and, being informed that the princess was there, he ordered his canoe to turn shorewards, but Vancouver, acting his part in concert, to consummate the little, innocent stratagem, called loudly and earnestly to his warrior friend, beseeching him to come on board. Kamehameha, with great apparent reluctance, came alongside of and boarded the ship-of-war; and when Vancouver led him into his cabin, the Chief affected surprise at the presence of the princess, but the gallant Commander instantly led her forward and she was quickly clasped in the strong arms of the great hero. The British Commander dwells with interests upon the tender and touching reconciliation of the mighty warrior ~~king~~ with the beloved woman of his heart. His magnanimity is shown in this instance. Kahahawai a powerful chieftain had fought him determinedly. He was defeated, and he with some followers, were brought into the presence of the conqueror. The vanquished chief said: "Here we are, and if you command us to lift up our heads, we lift them up. If you say bow down in the dust, then we bow down. And if you say, die, we die." Kamehameha bade his fallen foes return in peace to their homes. In no particular, however, is the sagacious character of the hero of Polynesia more markedly displayed than in his relations with white men, and in his advice to his successors and followers to maintain forever friendly relations with the new comers. He who had tens of thousands of trained warriors at his command, and saw the white man only as a chance stranger, yet he understood and appreciated the power of the foreign race. He would not oppose them in vain like savage Indian and Asiastic chiefs. His prudence and self-command were conspicuously shown in the case of a foreign commander who had, in revenge for an injury done him, enticed alongside of his vessel and wantonly destroyed a hundred and twenty natives of Maui. When a small vessel, which also belonged to this man, had been seized by some of his people, and the crew, with two exceptions, massacred, he took compassionate care of the escaped men, and ordered that the vessel itself should be hauled up on the beach and protected by awnings until its owner should come to fetch it away. Every characteristic of this Hawaiian hero indicates a man of pre-eminent courage, of prudent forecast, of correct judgment and humane spirit, and presents in fine the eminent character of one who was an honor to the whole human race. It is his character and acts that

give significance and consequence to this Hawaiian State at this day. But for Kamehameha the Hawaiian Islands might now be sharing the condition of the dependent islands of this ocean. Had the Maories of New Zealand possessed such a hero and statesman they would have avoided the treaty of Waitangi and preserved their independence to this day. This hero so impressed the Powers of Europe, that we find the Monarch of England writing to him a letter, styling him, "His Majesty the King of the Sandwich Islands," accompanied by the present of a vessel, and assuring him that he would cause his commanders to respect the Hawaiian flag wherever they might meet with it. By him was laid the foundation of the national structure to which Kalakaua gives the finish. The first Monarch laid the foundation in the obscurity of a rude time, with his spear and strong arm. The seventh Monarch, who has just been crowned perfects the national structure with all the enlightened and scientific appliances of our age. May the race of the great hero be preserved. May Hawaiians be roused to a devotion to the nationality founded by the Conqueror. His last words in dying were—"move in my good way." Yes; Great Chief—we will swear here—every true Hawaiian, and every friend of Hawaii to preserve forever the independence of the nation thou didst establish by thy prowess and wisdom! (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Hon. J. M. Kapena then delivered an address in the Hawaiian language, of which we failed to obtain a translation.

After the ceremony was concluded, His Majesty withdrew, having an engagement which prevented his partaking of the lunch provided by the committee. This lunch was spread in the jury room, and over 300 guests partook of it, including all the gentlemen who sat on the platform, the members of the Legislative Assembly and the general public. The purveyors, Hart Bros., deserve a meed of praise for the bountiful repast they set forth and also for the excellent manner in which it was served up. During the lunch, His Excellency Rollin M. Daggett, United States Minister Resident, proposed that the company drink to the "Memory of the great Hawaiian Chief," whose Statue had just been unveiled. The toast was drank by all present. Hon. J. M. Kapena then proposed the Health of His Majesty the King, which was received with vociferous cheering.

As an instance of the great hold that this statue has taken on the Hawaiian people, it is noteworthy that large numbers assembled in and around the Government grounds hours before the ceremony, and also that they remained around the statue throughout the day, expressing their delight and thorough appreciation of the great undertaking that had been accomplished by the Committee.

ODE

ON THE FIRST COMMEMORATION DAY OF KAMEHAMEHA THE GREAT.

By the Venerable Archdeacon George Mason, M.A. of the Anglican Church, June 11, 1872.

Well may we rescue from Oblivion's grave,
The honor'd memory of him—who gave
Our nation life—and won himself a name,
Worthy of record on the scroll of fame.

What though unskill'd in arts of modern war,
Unknown to him the mines of classic lore,
His only learning *meles* wildly sung,
By old *Kahunas*, in our native tongue.

Enough he knew to guide his fortune still,
And forc'd submission to his iron will;
His prowess bade our Island warfare cease,
And e'en through bloodshed rear'ed the Throne of Peace.

Victorious, urion, crown with fav'ring smiles,
This Second Egbert of our sunny Isles,
And our new Banner to the winds unfurl'd,
Claimed recognition from the elder world.

Long may it wave, may children's children see,
Its bright folds flutter o'er a people free:
GOD save our King! With thankful hearts we pray,
On this, the GREAT KAMEHAMEHA'S festal day!

Coronation of Their Majesties, the King and Queen of the Hawaiian Islands, at Honolulu, Feb. 12th, 1883. Honolulu, Advertiser Steam Printing House, 1883.

A variant edition with the exact same title-page as the preceding one but only 16 pages was also issued. As the text is the same as pages 4 to 24 of the microfilmed edition, the variant has not been included on the film.

W. D. Alexander.

KING KALAKAUA'S

TOUR ROUND THE WORLD.

A SKETCH.

— OF —

INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL,

With a Map of the Hawaiian Islands.

PREPARED AND PUBLISHED

— BY THE —

P. C. ADVERTISER CO.,

No 29 Merchant Street,

Honolulu, H. I.

October 1881.

Jos. E. Wiseman, Advertising Agent, No. 27 Merchant Street.
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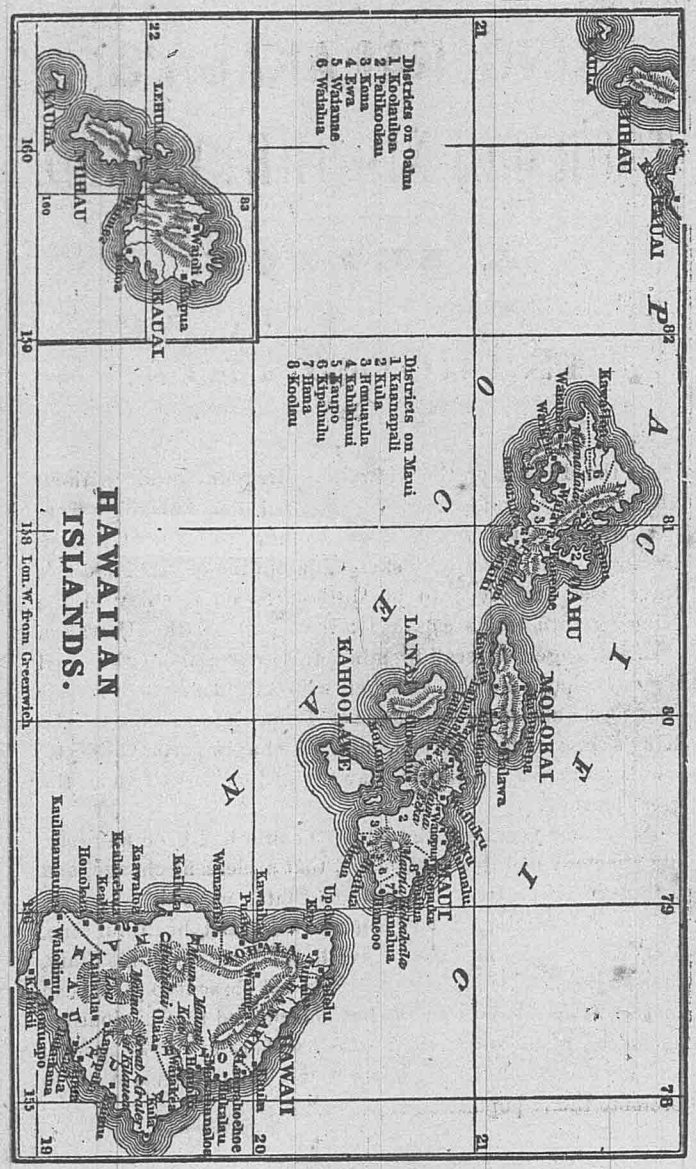


KING KALAKAUA'S TOUR ROUND THE WORLD.

A SKETCH.

INTRODUCTION.

As the People of the Hawaiian Kingdom await with an affectionately loyal interest the return of their Sovereign from his tour round the world, it was to meet the expectation of the hour, that this slight sketch, or outline of His Majesty's travel was prepared; to be distributed on the day of the King's return to his capital, so that not only the Hawaiian resident, eager to recall to mind, the particulars of the royal journey, but also the stranger who might happen in our midst, should have in compact form, information of the King's movements abroad, and of the important objects, which animated a patriotic Hawaiian Chief to undertake the great journey.

About one year ago, the King's health had been unfavorably affected; and it was manifest, that a pleasant change, and complete relief from the cares of State, were necessary to restore His Majesty to his wonted vigor and healthful tone. But, King KALAKAUA, more alive to the interests of his State, than to the care of his person, would not consent to go abroad merely as an invalid tourist; but determined that his journey should be made subservient to the welfare of his Kingdom; and he undertook the arduous tour chiefly with a view to promote the re-population of his realm.

King KALAKAUA is the first and only Monarch who has made the tour of the world; and his journey was undertaken for the greatest and noblest purpose, that could animate a King. Looking to ancient times, we find a King of Ithaca who undertook an expedition to settle a point of honor, that affected his neighbor; or an Alexander who marched through Asia to leave a track of desolation behind; and in modern times, we see an adventuring Charles of Sweden, while madly seeking to destroy his neighbors, meet with his own destruction; or a Shah of Persia, traveling to squander barbaric wealth, and to display barbaric tastes; or an Emperor of Brazil, an enlightened and humane man; but who goes abroad to attend scientific congresses and gratify his taste for scientific lore; whereas our Hawaiian King,—our enlightened and humane Pacific Monarch, goes abroad solely for the purpose of benefitting his Kingdom, to promote the welfare of his people; and to make good the noble motto, and device, proclaimed at his accession,—"HOOULU LAHUI!"—INCREASE THE NATION!

HIS MAJESTY, KING KALAKAUA,

Whose Kingdom comprises the Hawaiian Archipelago; also Palmyra, Cornwallis, and other islands of the central Pacific, ascended the Throne, February 12th, 1874, and is the seventh Hawaiian monarch, since Kamehameha the Conqueror organized the Kingdom. His Majesty was born November 16, 1836, and is now in the forty-fifth year of his age and in the eighth of his reign. His Majesty received an excellent scholastic education in the Royal School, superintended by Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Cooke of the American Mission, in company with the late Kings Kamehameha IV. and V., King Lunalilo, Her Majesty Queen Dowager Emma, and other Princes and Princesses of the Kingdom. On leaving school, the young

Prince DAVID KALAKAUA was trained in military exercises. He received a commission as lieutenant of the King's Guard in 1852, was promoted Captain and Major on the accession of Kamehameha IV., and became Colonel and Chief of Staff, under Kamehameha V. His Majesty also filled the positions of Military Secretary and Lord Chamberlain, during the reigns of Kamehameha IV. and V. He was also member of the Privy Council of State, and hereditary Noble, or Alii of the House of Nobles. He ascended the Hawaiian Throne on the demise of King Lunalilo, in 1874; His Majesty speaks the English language with perfect purity, and has the style and manner of a highly cultivated gentleman. His Majesty is a very dilligent student, and has studiously perused the works of many modern thinkers of great eminence; and as his tastes are decidedly military, His Majesty has a collection of military works, remarkable for variety and extent.

His Majesty, by invitation of the American Government, visited the United States in 1875. The Reciprocity Treaty of mutual advantage to the two countries was the result of the royal visit.

KING KALAKAUA'S BOAST.

O'er land and sea I've made my way
To farthest Ind, and great Cathay;
Reached Afric's shores, and Europe's strand;
And met the mighty of every land.
And as I stood by each sovereign's side,
Who ruled his realm with a royal pride,
I felt how small my sway,—and weak:—
My throne based on a mere volcanic peak,—
Where millions do these Kings obey,
Some thousands only own my sway.
And yet I feel that I may boast,
Some good within my sea-bound coast,
Richer than any of my grander peers.
That I within my realm need have no fears:—
May mingle with my people without dread;
No danger fear for my unguarded head,
And boast a treasure, sent me from above
That I have indeed, my people's love.

FAREWELL TO THE KING IN HIS CAPITAL.

A deep feeling of anxiety and interest pervaded the community on the eve of the departure of the King, and all classes and races strove to outvie each other in their expressions of good-will and affection, in bidding adieu to His Majesty. The loyal expression of the most intelligent foreign sentiment was manifested at the state dinner on Friday 13th Jan.; and on Sunday, the 16th the day was made memorable by an outpouring of affectionate adieux from His Majesty's native people. At the Catholic Cathedral High Mass was celebrated. The church was thronged with high officials, diplomatic attaches, and private citizens from every walk in life. The good Sisters of the Sacred Heart, preceded by their pupils, joined in this *bon voyage* to the King. The choir, reenforced for the occasion, rendered the selected music with tenderness and power. Monseigneur Bishop Louis Maigret with all the Fathers and Brothers of the order were present. After the sermon, the King with his escort and the Fathers, passed into the court-yard under an elevated alcove, when the following address was read to His Majesty by the Hon. Godfrey Rhodes:

To His Majesty the King:

SIRE:—We, your loyal and faithful subjects, are members of the Holy Catholic Church established in your Kingdom. And we, inspired by the uniform teachings of our Holy Religion, are imbued with a spirit of steadfast loyalty to your Majesty's person; as being appointed by Divine decree to the Sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands; and when we receive assurances from your Majesty's lips of a contemplated purpose of travel in distant countries, even to the most distant, and to make a circuit of the Globe, we, in the spirit of faithful subjects, accept your Royal purpose, and are ready to unite in prayers to Almighty God to speed you on your way, and to pre-

serve you in health 'till you return to your people. At the same time, prompted by our love to your Royal person, we feel constrained to say that your Majesty's departure at this time on so long a journey awakens our deep anxieties. We would be glad to have better assurances that your Majesty's safety and dignity abroad are fully provided for; and that the peace of the Kingdom will be fully assured during the absence of the King.

GOD SAVE YOUR MAJESTY.

Some words of warm adieu were uttered by native speakers. Enthusiasm, affection, and loyalty stirred the vast multitude, and plainly moved the heart of the King. Over one thousand people were present at the Cathedral.

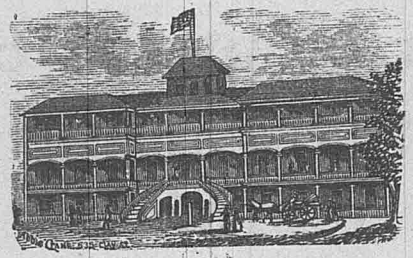
AT KAWAIAHAO.

The old Stone Mission Church, a large audience assembled in the evening. The church was crowded to it's utmost capacity, and a warm and sympathetic feeling pervaded this mass of people, assembled to invoke the blessing of Almighty God in behalf of their King, about to take a long and perhaps a perilous journey. Their Majesties the King and Queen were present, also H. R. H. the Princess Liliuokalani, and other members of the Royal family.

The Rev. H. H. Parker opened the service of the evening with prayer, and after a melodious chant by a sweet-toned choir, His Majesty rose in his seat, and speaking of his intended departure, gave utterance to gracious words of hope and affection to his people; and he commended his royal sister, the Princess Liliuokalani to their generous and loyal care and support, to enable her to carry on satisfactorily the Government of the Kingdom during his absence. The words of His Majesty were received with warm and tender expressions of aloha and adieu.

At the conclusion of the King's remarks, the Hon. Noble Kapena rose to reply—

"We have heard our King tell us this evening about his intended visit abroad. He spoke to you from the same place six years ago, when he went before to visit America. It is true the King goes but for the good of his people, to make



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Hawaiian Commercial Company, Maui,
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Grove Ranch, Maui,
Makee Sugar Company, Kauai,
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San Francisco and Honolulu Packets.

the country richer by getting more capital and people to come this way. See the result of his visit to America—before he went natives were receiving but 25 cents per day, now see what they get, $2.50 and $3.00 per day. This is the King's work. New houses, ships, railroads, and every new enterprise are largely due to the King's visit abroad. But all this wealth is of no use if, there is to be only one *kauna*, a mere handful of us left. So the King this time takes with him a Commissioner to enquire into and bring other people of brown skins here to re-people these isles. The King himself would be only so in name if he had no people to rule. The King will not rest until his hope of re-peopling these isles has been fulfilled. Let no one have any little feeling of jealousy about the King's going. Let no one be envious. The King goes to see how the great nations of the earth govern and rule their people, and it is well. It does not do to always remain in the dark. The great nations now look with respect on this little Kingdom and will have still more, when they see our King traveling among them for information to benefit his people, Let us all pray every day for the King's health, and safe return to his people."

MIDNIGHT SERENADES.

And the feelings of the people were not stayed from their expression, even after churches had closed, and the hours for slumber came; for, all night the Palace grounds were vocal with song and mele. At midnight and afterwards a band of Hawaiian chorus singers made the calm, clear moonlight vocal with tender and touching chant. Some of these choruses have a very sweet and plaintive melody; and during this lovely midnight hour, the soft summer air of the walks and umbrageous foliage of Iolani Palace, was tremulous with the tender songs of Hawaiians bidding farewell to their King.

THE KING AT SEA, ON THE "CITY OF SYDNEY."

His Majesty had a pleasant and interesting trip per "City of Sydney." The company on board was highly scientific. Professor Proctor discoursed to the King and other fellow passengers upon "Star depths," which have systems "inhabited by beings of greater importance than any that can be developed around our sun;" (of which beings we would like to

get an inkling, as to size and capacity) and he gave ample assurances, that many remarkable planetary conjunctions of this ill omened year, cannot have any appreciable terrestrial influence; which was consoling to islanders on board, satisfying their minds that they would find their fast anchored Archipelago on their return just where they left it. And there was another scientist on board, Professor W. L. Carpenter, who enlightened the royal party and other fellow travellers, with his views and experiences in relation to sea depths and temperatures of the ocean; in which he explained the laws affecting Gulf streams and ocean currents, and all the natural phenomena of our quasi aqueous globe. He presented highly interesting illustrations of the infusorial life, which he collected from the ooze of the ocean's bed at depths of three, four and five miles, when he sailed with our friend Sir Wyville Thompson on board the Challenger. He had some of our globigerinæ to show, those infinitesimal crustaceæ which a pin point may cover, and are hardly visible to the naked eye; yet reveal to the microscope a shelly buckler upon which may be counted over eight hundred bosses each covered with a multitude of figures and corrugations. After one scientist had shown His Majesty remote suns so many hundreds of million miles farther away from us than our own sun, and so many thousands of millions of miles bigger than our own globe, it was well that there was another scientist to bring the King back to the earth, and mentally plunging with him into the depths, could there reveal the infinitely small, and bring the royal mind to a fine point.

To relieve this heavy strain of science, a vocalist on board (G. Darrell, Esq.,) contributed some strains of song of love and war for the entertainment of his fellow passengers. And then comes the genial, social, and capable Captain Dearborn, to add an inspiring word, and a cheering assurance, to make the King and all his cabin happy.

It is stated by all on board during the trip, that the voyage in respect to weather, and all other circumstances

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was an exceedingly pleasant one. The King enjoyed himself in his usual cheerful and dignified way, and seems to have won only golden opinions from all his fellow travelers.

On the morning of Thursday the 20th January, the City of Sydney steamed away from Honolulu with the royal party; and on the afternoon of Saturday the 29th, she steamed into the harbor within the Golden Gate. And now we will quote from the chroniclers of San Francisco and Sacramento, other particulars attending the King's tour round the world.

THE KING IN SAN FRANCISCO.

His Majesty was right royally received by the citizens of San Francisco. The ladies of the Palace Hotel determined to tender to the monarch a reception in the parlors of the hotel, ere he departed upon his tedious ocean voyage to the Flowery Kingdom. Gigantic efforts were put forth by the ladies, and everything done that could add one *iota* to the perfection of detail or brilliancy of the whole fete. Last evening the auspicious event transpired, and a grander reception it has seldom, if ever, been allotted to a San Franciscan to witness. The ladies of the Invitation and Reception Committees may rest satisfied with their well earned laurels. The arrangements were simply perfect; the lists of guests was taken from the *creme de la creme* of our society, and the judgment of the delighted guests was a unanimous verdict of praise. The most wonderful circumstance in connection with last evening's affair was the astonishing rapidity with which the whole had been elaborated since the inception, scarce one short week ago, and adds one more to the honors of the Committees.

The cards of invitation were engraved in script, on a heavy card, four by five and a quarter inches, and read as follows :

The Ladies of the Palace Hotel
request the pleasure of your company
Monday Evening, February Seventh,
at eight o'clock,
To Meet His Majesty, King Kalakaua.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE :

Mrs. F. G. Newlands,	Mrs. J. S. Hager,
Mrs. Howard Coit,	Mrs. H. Schmiedell,
Mrs. A. G. Kinsey,	Mrs. W. H. L. Barnes,
Mrs. Mark Severance,	Mrs. J. Lucsain.

"The reception will long be rememberd by the fortunate guests, who were permitted to witness this one of the grandest social events in the history of the city."

KING KALAKAUA ENTERTAINED AT THE PACIFIC YACHT CLUB HOUSE.

Although His Majesty, King Kalakaua did not come here in his official capacity, he has received attentions from our citizens as numerous as on his previous visit six years ago.

The distinguished visitors have no cause to complain of the hospitality of their friends in this city, as the latter apparently vie with one another in their attentions to the King and his suite. The fact that His Majesty is travelling incognito has been taken advantage of by some of his friends to give entertainments which they believe will be of special interest to him, when formality, due to a King, but which can be waived in the person of a Prince, does not interfere with the pleasures of their guests, Such an affair took place yesterday afternoon, when Commodore R. S. Floyd, of the Pacific Yacht Club, gave an informal entertainment in honor of His Majesty. Commodore Floyd is one of those gentlemen who has enjoyed several years of warm personal friendship with

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King Kalakaua, and yesterday he invited the latter to a sail on the bay and a dinner at the Club House, near Saucelito.

Capt. Menzies took occasion to express the honor the members of the Club felt in entertaining such a distinguished guest, and proposed the toast of His Majesty, King Kalakaua. The King responded briefly, returning thanks to Commodore Floyd and the members of the Pacific Yacht Club for the elegant entertainment and for their action in electing him a member of the Club which he considered a great honor, and would always remember the whole affair as one of the most pleasant incidents of his visit to San Francisco. He also expressed the hope that on his return next August that he would again have the pleasure of meeting the members of the Club on such an occasion, with the additional attraction of the presence of the ladies. His remarks were warmly applauded, and at their conclusion rousing cheers were given.

THE CHINESE CONSUL-GENERAL'S DINNER TO KING KALAKAUA.

The Chinese Consul-General entertained King Kalakaua with a dinner at the Hang Fer Low restaurant, the Delmonico of Chinatown, last evening. In a Celestial way it was a very swell affair. All the nobs of Chinatown were there in their best bibs and tuckers. The company outside of the state table included the President and Secretary of each of the nine Chinese Benevolent Associations of the city and all of the rich wholesale merchants, to the number of sixty. They wore an extraordinary costume for the occasion, being dressed in mandarin rank, with buttons and other insignia to denote their standing. The buttons are worn in their caps, the color denoting the rank of their blue-blood wearers. The majority wore the crystal button, a few the red, the latter indicating the bluest of the blue bloods. The restaurant, which is orientally gorgeous in its appointments, was splendidly decorated for the occasion, and its usual display of gas

jets being supplemented with an abundance of large varicolored lanterns of paper and bamboo, gave it a brilliant aspect viewed from the street or the surrounding houses. The royal table was spread in the small room of the restaurant, which was specially dressed for the occasion.

THE GUESTS.

On the wall at the foot of the table, facing the Consul General, who presided, were festooned the American, Chinese and Hawaiian flags. Around the regal board were gathered the King, the Consul, the principal members of the Consulate, the traveling companions of the King, and such of our citizens as were invited. On the landing they were drawn up in a line, and the Chinese, after making a concerted salaam and shaking each his own hand, after their sociable custom, were brought forward and each in turn was presented to the King, shaking his hand and passing to each member of the party. This little reception, in which the Chinese shewed an easy, polished politeness, over, the festal party was seated. The persons named above were seated at the State table, the others in the adjoining room about little square tables, each accommodating five guests, the outer side of the table being left unoccupied, in order that its hanging of rich crimson satin with gold embroidery might be shown to advantage. The feasting done, Colonel Bee arose, and on behalf of the Consul-General proposed the health of the King, saying that the entertainment had been devised from a desire to show him some of the inner life of the Chinese, and to wish him a prosperous and pleasant journey. They desire that the three flags entwined on the wall should represent the three countries which the Pacific ocean divided, yet brought close together, joined in amity for all time; that they might go hand in hand, prosperous in all the arts and sciences, civilization, and everything that makes nations and people great.

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VISIT TO SACRAMENTO.

King Kalakaua in the Capital City of California—He visits the Legislature and takes in several other sights—The Governor chaperons him about the city.

Quite a large crowd had collected at the depot to see this genuine, living representative of modern monarchy, who proved to be a rather portly and generally fine-looking man of middle age, dressed in plain citizen's garb, and sporting a pretty fair set of side-whiskers. His countenance bore a genial expression, and the impression that one could get from a brief glance at the royal gentleman would be a favorable one.

TAKING IN THE TOWN.

The royal party was accompanied from San Francisco by Hon. Claus Spreckels. Carriages were in waiting for them, to which they were promptly conducted and driven rapidly to the Capitol, where an informal visit was paid to His Excellency Governor Perkins, and a brief time was spent in pleasant conversation. Apartments had been secured for the party at the Arcade Hotel, to which they repaired at the conclusion of their visit to the Governor, the Governor accompanying them, the latter having accepted an invitation from His Majesty to dine with him. An elegant dinner was partaken of, after which the King expressed a desire to visit a theater, and it was accordingly arranged that the party should drop in at the Capital varieties, the only place of amusement now open in this city, where three private boxes were placed at their disposal. During the evening several calls were made upon prominent citizens, His Majesty retiring a little before midnight.

To-day the party again visited the State Capitol, and spent

considerable time on the floor of each House, in the proceedings of which they seemed to take much interest.

King Kalakaua is traveling incognito, his trip having no official significance, and being merely for the purpose of observation and pleasure. For this reason he is addressed as Prince by his traveling companions.

His Majesty returned to San Francisco the following day.

OTHER ENTERTAINMENTS OF THE KING IN SAN FRANCISCO.

THE FRENCH BALL.—Platt's Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity on Saturday evening last, where the Ligue Nationale Francaise gave a reception in honor of the new French Consul, M. Vauvert de Mean and Madame Mean. His Majesty, King Kalakaua, accompanied by Colonel Judd and Major Macfarlaine of his staff were present. In the first Lancers, His Majesty danced with Madame Planet, wife of the French Chancellor, and subsequently waltzed with Mrs. Dr. Julius Rosenstin. Later in the evening he escorted the latter lady to supper.

The King evidently enjoyed the affair, as he participated in most of the dances after supper.

His Majesty was entertained at dinner by Claus Spreckels, Esq.; a very grand banquet, prepared in the highest style of Parisian art, and the most prominent men of the city were invited to join the King.

Another delightful entertainment in honor of the King, a soiree musicale gotten up by our Consul Mr. Severance at the Palace Hotel. This is reported as an exquisite affair of lyrical entertainment, and was attended by the elite of the city.

Thus every day, and it may be said every hour of King Kalakaua's stay in San Francisco has been filled up with a

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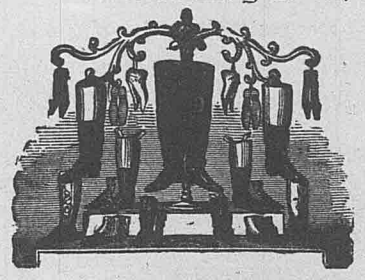

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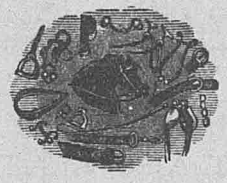

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81 FORT ST., HONOLULU.

grand ovation of festivities. And we feel assured that no potentate of Europe, nor eminent great man of America's own soil, could have received greater and more honorable attention; and as the San Francisco *Call* says this is accorded to King Kalakaua, because as a worthy Chief, he has won the love of a loyal people.

THE KING'S POPULARITY ABROAD.

"King Kalakaua has been entertained right royally by our social lions since his re entry into San Francisco society, and can hardly feel otherwise than pleased at the marks of esteem that he is everywhere receiving. That His Majesty had a right to expect an ovation, his previous visit assured him, still he must have been unprepared for the very generous outpouring of hospitality that has greeted him. This lionizing is not so much the outcome of a desire to honor the rank of the royal visitor, as an admiration of him who has done so much in one short reign towards the social and political advancement of his people; a people whom he found, on coming into his heritage, to be very far down in the scale of nations. That the ruler of the Sandwich Islands is to-day feted the world over, is an all-sufficient argument as to the success of his earnest efforts; hence these tokens of respect."

On the 8th inst., His Majesty and suite went on board the steamship Oceanic, accompanied by a host of enthusiastic friends, and sailed for Japan and various ports of Asia.

VOYAGE ON THE OCEANIC.

Among the incidents of the journey of His Majesty, when at sea on board the *Oceanic*, and sailing across the meridian of Honolulu but a few degrees to the northward of this Archipelago; conversation of the Royal party and travelling

friends, turned upon the home feeling that sprung up in Hawaiian hearts, yearning for their own loved shores, when thus passing them by, as it were. And His Majesty touched with reminiscences of his Kingdom, his people and his Queen, especially the latter, gave such a tender expression to his home and domestic feelings, that a little poetic inspiration, there and then present, shaped the faithful, royal emotion into the following lines. They were a waft of emotion from the King on the high sea, not only to His Queen, but also to all His people.

SONNET.

KALAKAUA TO KAPIOLANI.

(*The Island King to His Queen.*)

WRITTEN ON BOARD THE OCEANIC, FEB. 16, 1881.

On the meredian of Honolulu. In lat. 38° ; lon. 157°, 30'.

1

To catch a glimpse of yonder shore,
My eager eyes I strain,
And pray that I was there—once more!
Let me not pray in vain!

2

The surf it's silvery crests display,
On that far shore I love,
When back, I make my homeward way,
No more I'll care to rove.

3

Dear waiting one, I think of thee,
The maile round thy neck!
O, tell me, wild and angry sea,
How long you'll hold me back?

4

Since, then I cannot meet you now,
Divided by the main,
Let me tell you fondly how,
I hope we'll meet again.

5

A love like thine, so leal and true,
My devious way will guard;
And when the rounded world I view,
Thy love is my reward.

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VISIT TO JAPAN.

ARRIVAL AT YOKOHAMA.

As the *Oceanic* steamed into Yokohama harbor very early on the morning of the 4th March, the eager lookout from the decks of the steamer could count forty-two men-of-war and large steamers at anchor in the bay. The Hawaiian flag had been run up to the main and had floated in the morning breeze but a few moments, when a brilliant display of bunting arched each giant ship-of-war and steamer, from the water's edge to the main truck, and from main truck to water's edge, with the flag of Hawaii flying at the main of *every one*. At the same time the shrill boatswains whistles piped lively over the waters, as the nimble tars coursed up riging and, swarming out on the yards of their several ships, manned them in splendid style, and hurrahed, not only three times three, but all the time whilst our steamer was passing in review, and ships and shore joined with guns in a royal roar of welcome.

Hardly had the *Oceanic* anchored, when hundreds of sampans, or native canoes, and small craft of all kinds, came thronging around the broad sides of the great steamer, and the people on board this mosquito fleet were making a clamor that drowned the shrieks of the steamer's whistle, when a shot was heard, a puff of smoke was observed to float away from a distant battery, a steam launch put off, and by magic, as it were, the clamor outside the *Oceanic* had ceased, and the swarming sampans had pulled and paddled out of sight. The approaching launch bore a forked white flag with a red ball in the centre and an Imperial crown on top. This was the Imperial launch with the Admiral on board. The royal standard of Hawaii was now run up to the main. Again a

grand salvo pealed forth from every war-ship, and chief answered chief right royally in Yokohama bay.

Admiral Nakamura of the Royal Japanese Navy, came on board, and communicating with the gentlemen of His Majesty's suite, conveyed to them His Imperial Majesty's wish that his royal brother of Hawaii would be the guest of the Sovereign of Japan during all of his stay on Japanese soil.

His Majesty consented to waive his incognito and become the guest of the Emperor of Japan, as King of the Hawaiian Islands.

Eight state boats or barges, followed the steam launch, and bore the King and suite with baggage and attendants to the Imperial summer seat Noge Yama.

As the royal party landed and proceeded on their way, they were greeted on all sides with enthusiastic demonstrations of welcome. At every crossing they past, along two miles of route, the Japanese and the Hawaiian flags were suspended from lofty poles on either side, that leaned over almost touching trucks, so that the Imperial white banner and the cross and bars of Hawaii, blended their folds together over the heads of the passing cortege.

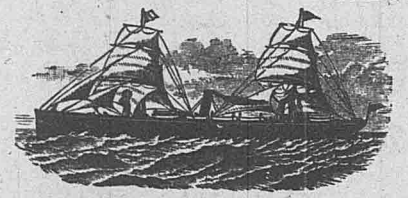
SUMMER PALACE OF NOGEYAMA.

After a ceremonious reception at the grand entrance of the Palace, His Majesty was escorted to magnificent chambers and parlor, used as Imperial apartments, that were superbly tapestried, with ebony and gold furniture, with most elaborate arabesques, with palatial chandeliers, with doors of enamel and gold; and the burnished gold and glossy lacquered and enameled surfaces reflected the surprise and delight of our royal party.

His Majesty's suite were also provided with apartments in the Palace.

Prince Higashi-Fushimi-no-Miya, waited on our travellers.

THE STR. IWALANI,



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He pointed out the marvels of the Imperial summer seat, and as the royal party expressed their unqualified delight; they were assured that this was but the threshold of the Imperial palatial glories.

The royal party after spending the night at Nogeyama, the Imperial summer seat, left Yokohama the following day at 11 o'clock A. M., by express train for Tokio, distant 18 miles, and on arrival were received by four Imperial Princes, who accompanied His Majesty and suite to the Palace. His Imperial Japanese Majesty met King Kalakaua in the ante hall of the Palace, and welcomed him to Japan with marked cordiality. The King was then conducted to the saloon of the Empress, where he was received with distinguished courtesy and amicable attention. After a few hours repose, His Majesty the King, was informed by an Imperial Prince of His Imperial Majesty's approach, to return the visit of the King of Hawaii in his apartments.

PALACE OF ENRIOKWAN.

Our Hawaiian royal party were highly impressed with the admirable order of the Imperial Palace at Tokio. The magnificent park grounds seemed to be swarming with attendants, and all dressed in European fashion, of good style and quality of garments. An admirable system of service seemed to regulate the government of the palace. Everybody and everything scrupulously clean, and all work and service carried on without any noise or confusion.

On the morning after arrival at Tokio the Hawaiian visitors were surprised to find that a fall of snow, had occured during the night, to the depth of 4 inches, and had covered the Palace Park with a complete mantle of white. Soon they observed some laborers with pieces of matting about 6 feet long, and with pieces of bamboo at each end, a simple contrivance for removing rubbish, and in a few hours, not a speck of snow was to be seen in the park.

This beautiful palace is shaped like a letter H, with a cen-

tral line of edifice, and two wings of about the same length. The Imperial walls are black, and black and gold in glossy enamel appear everywhere, as the expression of Japanese Imperial taste. The walls of the palace chambers are not papered, but draped or tapestried with exquisite patterns of muslin and silk. Superb ebony and gold wardrobes and beaufets, adorn the spacious chambers and parlors. English fire-grates, with polished marble or steel mantels are in all the apartments. Numerous French and Swiss clocks of beautiful and elaborate designs, afford ample opportunity to note the flight of time in this palace of delights.

One thing of beauty especially attracted the attention of our royal tourists, was the regal Camelia, so superb and perfect in its choosen home. In all parts of the palace upon etageres and stately beaufets, they beheld lofty lacquered vases, in which were camelias, as large as saucers, cream tinted and waxen white, like marvellous productions of the most consummate art. This royal flower ought to attain all its perfection of beauty in Hawaii nei, and we hope that one of the results of His Majesty's visit to Japan, will be the cultivation of the camelia ; so that should a Japanese Emperor, or Imperial Prince come this way, they will be pleased to be greeted by the queenly flower of their own home. Also a wonderful variety of miniature plants in vases the size of a teacup ; and a great taste, and elegance of horticulture, were everywhere observed.

In one chamber, the King and suite found four perfect billiard tables of the latest patterns set apart for their use. In another apartment a grand piano of the finest tone. Pictures, objects of virtu, bric a brac, and curios of the rarest quality in great profusion. And the physical comforts of the travellers were admirably provided for. Fanciful dishes, yet of excellent taste, were in profusion on the dining table ; and in their private rooms, each one of the party found costly lacquered trays loaded with a variety of bonbons, which they supposed could not be found outside of Paris. All the table service used was of solid gold or silver ware.

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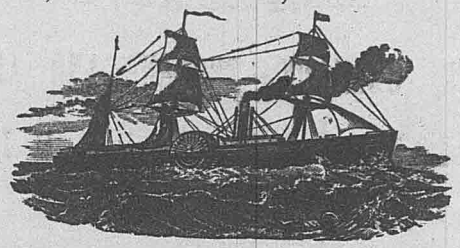

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SHINTOMIZA THEATRE.

On the day following their arrival, the royal party were escorted to the Imperial Theatre, Shintomiza. Twenty-eight carriages were required to take the train of Imperial Princes and Princesses, and high dignitaries, who formed the escort of His Majesty the King. One thousand globe shaped lanterns were displayed in front of and around the theatre; and each one had the Imperial Japanese flag, and the Royal Hawaiian standard painted on them. Every walk, and every tree in the spacious theatre garden was hung with illuminated globes, every corridor and lobby was lined with them; and the interior of the theatre was in a blaze of light.. It was estimated that over 3000 of these brilliant illuminated lanterns decorated the great theatre, and were an especial display, marvellous even to Japanese eyes, in honor of King Kalakaua's visit.

The centre of the dress circle, an Imperial reservation, capable of seating 50 persons, was fitted up and decorated most superbly. The programme in English and Japanese printed on white satin with gold fringe, the Japanese Imperial and the royal Hawaiian flags *interwoven* in colors. The Imperial and Royal Standards decorating the centre of the circle; and also the front of the stage. Elaborate lacquered tables were placed before the royal party, and loaded with sweetmeats, and cordials and cigars; all the gentlemen smoking, and indulging in a pose of ease and sans facon, not permitted at the Palace. His Majesty was in evening full dress, and decorated with the star of the order of Kalakaua. The Princes present each wore a single star of decoration.

The impression produced by this audience of wealthy Japanese, was that a high order of intelligence pervaded the company. A large number of spectacles and eyeglasses were observed, on what appeared to be very, studious faces. All

well dressed, and no vulgar, or clamorous applauding or hissing.

The make up and personal appearance of the Princesses there present, called forth some enthusiastic remarks from the travellers. They are described as having very fair, pearly and transparent complexions, with high arched eyebrows, a great sweetness and beauty of expression, and dressed very tastefully in soft, yet brilliant silks; and with a dazzling sparkle of brilliants around their beautiful necks, and in the lobes of their shell tinted ears.

On the stage, our travellers saw fairies floating through the air like butterflies, and a terrific giant fighting with about fifty warriors; and His Majesty was delighted with the oddity and marvelous variety of the performance.

During His Majesty's stay in Kioto he ordered to be presented in his name; and as a souvenir of the royal Hawaiian visit to the Japanese Capital, a drop curtain for the great Shintomiza Theatre. In the month of July subsequent to His Majesty's visit, the curtain was finished and presented to manager Morita by Hawaiian Consul Robert Irwin Esq. in behalf of His Majesty.

The curtain is of crimson Japanese velvet. The Hawaiian Royal Coat of Arms is embroidered in gold in the centre, and distributed on each side of this in white silk embroidery is the inscription, 'Presented to the Shintomiza Theatre by Kalakaua the First, King of Hawaii, in the second month of the year 2541 (Japanese era).' The curtain was manufactured by Nishimaru & Co., of Kiyoto, and is, the handsomest thing of the kind that has ever been used in a Japanese Theatre.

What an advertisement of the little Kindom, in that great empire, is this drop curtain? The multitudes of Kioto assemble in this great theatre that seats 5000 people,—not only to look upon exhibitions of Japanese mimic art; but also to listen at times to Christian teachers; and as they gaze during

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the periods of intermission upon the name, and blazonry of King Kalakaua and his kingdom, what feelings of interest and curiosity must be evoked; and what prestige for little Hawaii, thus promoted by the intelligent courtesy of her thoughtful and patriotic chief abroad!

STATE DINNER AT AKASAKA PALACE.

A succeeding day, His Imperial Majesty of Japan, entertained His Hawaiian Majesty at a grand state dinner, for which 238 covers were laid. On this occasion all the Imperial Princes and Princesses, of the court were present.

The bill of fare was printed on white satin, with fringe of gold, and with the Hawaiian coat of arms at top wrought with gold thread.

The table service gold and silver. The spoons and ladles of gold, and other articles of the service had the Imperial Japanese and Hawaiian flags graven upon them, *with the Hawaiian crown on top.*

When some rare and costly Veuve Clicquot, a present from the Emperor of Russia, was uncorked, the health of His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands was proposed by His Imperial Japanese standing. The band struck up at the time the Hawaiian anthem, and the toast was received with the most distinguished honors by the illustrious company present. His Majesty did not respond by proposing His Imperial Majesty's health, as some present expected; because His Majesty bearing in mind that the Emperor would lunch with him on the morrow, thought that then would be the proper occasion to return the compliment. His Majesty's appreciation of a correct etiquette was fully recognized.

In the centre of the great banquetting table was a fountain all gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, with Japanese designs of dragons and fantastic figures of gods and goddesses, but it was not playing. His Imperial Majesty in the course of conversation with the King, expressed regret that the fountain had recently met with an accident in its hydraulic works,

it was an intricate piece of machinery and was out of order, and he was sorry to say, would not sport its diversified jets as usual. His Majesty quickly responded that the High Powers of heaven had been pouring out such a superabundance of water of late (recent heavy rains) to bless and fructify His Imperial Majesty's domains, that the little gods and goddesses of the fountain felt, no doubt, that it would be impious to add their little spout at this time. His Imperial Majesty laughed heartily at the conceit, and the remark and the mirth went the round of the assembled dignitaries.

His Majesty the King accepted an invitation to visit the First Christian Church of Yokohama on their anniversary, the tenth of March, to which the people of his Kingdom had so liberally contributed, many years ago.

On the afternoon of March 12th, His Majesty the King was received in grand audience by His Majesty the Emperor, at the Private Palace; the Imperial Princes and Princesses in attendance. It was the occasion of the presentation to the Emperor of the portrait of His Majesty the King, and of Her Majesty Queen Kapiolani.

His Majesty the King was presented with two Japanese armors of ancient style, made of the best steel; visors and all polished; very curious, and of largest size. His Majesty the King received a multitude of presents from various quarters.

When the King and his suite visited the Enriokwan Mansion, in a grand park, in Tokio, the grounds were illuminated by over 4,000 Japanese globe lanterns; and the King and suite were robed in very rich Japanese court costumes, provided expressly for this occasion.

On the 14th of March the King was presented with the grand cross of the Imperial Japanese order of Kris-anthemum, by the hands of His Imperial Majesty of Japan; and on the 15th the Emperor lunched with the King, and was decorated by His Majesty of Hawaii with the Grand Cross of Kamehameha.

We have only glanced at many interesting and important

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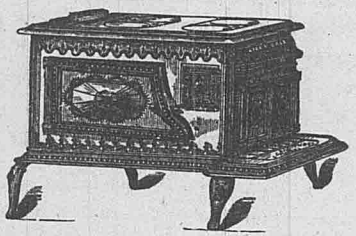

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HONOLULU, H. I.

incidents during the King's sojourn of ten days, given in addition to those we clip from Yokohama foreign journals, whilst a guest of the Emperor of Japan at Tokio; and many we must pass by for the present. Some incidents attending the King's departure from Hawaii; the loyal ovation of Kohalans; and especially the incident of the bearing of the King on the shoulders of his people, through the surf by torchlight, were discussed in the grand banqueting hall of the Palace of Akasaka; and the ADVERTISER, of Honolulu, that had been thoughtfully transmitted to, and carefully read by, gentlemen of the Imperial household, was quoted as authority in speaking of the story. His Imperial Majesty was much gratified to be informed of this demonstration of enthusiastic loyalty to his royal guest, when at home.

THE KING VISITS A MISSIONARY MOTHER.

His Majesty was invited to a grand festivity at Yokohama, where many European as well as Japanese high officials had assembled to meet King Kalakaua; but His Majesty awakened much surprise, and a feeling of increased respect for Christian Missionary workers, in the minds of the Japanese, by deferring his attendance at the great festivity, and by calling upon old lady Gulick, the Missionary mother residing in Yokohama, whilst the assembled distinguished guests awaited His Majesty's presence.

VISIT TO KOBE.

King Kalakaua sailed from Yokohama, the 16th March on board the steamship Tokio Maru. His Majesty was accompanied on the journey by the Princes and Daimios, who had been commanded by the Emperor to attend upon the King as especial escort, during every hour of his stay in Japan. The courtesy and royal attention shown to the King in Japan, recals the spirit of princely courtesy of the noblest days of the

mediœval chivalry of Christendom. Hawaii is placed under deep obligation to Japan.

The royal party arrived at Kobe on the 18th March—and were received by the Governor of the City with ceremonious attention. His Majesty rested a short while at the Governor's residence; and during his short stay visited a grand and ancient palace, and one of the extensive temples of Japan. The palace of Kobe is surrounded by a wall 12 feet high and 3 feet wide at the top. In the great audience Hall is a throne of large dimension and singular structure. In the center of the Hall is a raised square of dais, of gold and vermillion lacquer. This is covered with a canopy of heavy embroidered silk of the richest quality. In the centre of the dais is a throne chair, of brilliant gold and vermillion lacquer; and the roof of this stately hall is supported by 12 lofty smooth columns, or resplendent shafts with surfaces of polished gold. On each side of the dais, are suspended picture of the Emperor and the Empress of Japan. All the doors of the palace are frames covered with pictured tapestry, and are moved in grooves or slides. The royal party noticed a beautiful miniature lake in the palace grounds, enclosed by box bush shrubbery. A narrow causeway, shaded with the rarest shrubbery leads to a rock in the centre of the pellucid lake. This rock is overgrown with mosses and creepers, and has a delightful cool grotto recess; and in this sweet spot, whose sacred privacy is only invaded by the lake carp, or the Japanese thrush, their Imperial Majesties of Niphon come to cool their sacred persons during the summer solstice.

At the Buddhist temple, a grand and gloomy structure, two dozen priests robed in vari colored silks and gold, received the King and suite. The royal party were conducted into the presence of the collossal images of Buddha; the Badiva or Sacred Parent of the ancient Asiatic world. Our travellers were allowed to gaze a short while but not to enter the recesses where the god and the symbolic dragon were placed.

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In one of these recesses, or consecrated niches, they saw placed behind Buddha, a large painting representing a "lamb in the lap of the Son of Buddha." After a time wandering through the halls of the great temple, the high priest conducted His Majesty to a tasteful chamber, where refreshments were served in rare and unique style. Prominent upon a beautiful lacquered table was a large fish about 2 feet long, and showing all the natural bright colors, gold, ebony and scarlet of one of the most beautiful of the sclerodermes (the parrot fish that sports in Hawaiian waters). And yet the fish was well cooked, and these colors were the tints of wholesome condiments applied by the artist of Buddha's *cuisine*, after the culinary process was accomplished. A marvelous fish and birds and flowers of confectionery astonished the eyes of the travellers from the far Pacific islands,—and were presented to His Majesty to be forwarded to his island home. The high priest said that no one had sat at this table before except the Emperor or Mikado. His Majesty was seated upon a beautiful chair made of polished tortoise shell. The old high priest explained before eating, that this was the table of sacrifice of the Mikado; a sort of alter of thank offering. And a tray of small red papers, incense powder, and small fruits were placed before His Majesty, and a small portion of each were burned in an urn or censer; and after this form of Buddhist grace, the party fell too, and partook of a marvelous and most appretizing entertainment.

After leaving the temple His Majesty visited severals schools; one where little girls were taught embroidery; and some schools of boys; and the King was delighted with the bright appearance and cheerfulness of the little students of the several institutions.

Afterwards His Majesty and suite partook of tiffin, or lunch with His Excellency the Governor of Kobe.

The royal party on leaving Kobe proceeded by rail to Osaka distant 24 miles, and made a run at stage coach speed in 4 hours.

Here the same ceremonies were repeated by the Governor of the city, as at Kobe. A grand dinner was prepared; which however the royal party had to decline. From Osaka the royal party proceeded to Kioto; and thence to the beautiful city of Nangasaki.

At this point, the four princes, who had escorted the King; and who had waited on His Majesty during every hour of his stay in Japan, now took affectionate congee of their royal guest; who embarked March 22d on the Tokio Maru, that had been despatched expressly to wait on His Majesty, and transport the royal party to Shanghai.

ARRIVAL IN CHINA.

AT SHANGHAI.

His Majesty and suite arrived off the bar of the Shanghai roadstead on the 25th March and were takee thence by tug to the city, and were escorted by Mr. Jansen to the Astor Hotel. After a rest on the following day, His Majesty was waited upon by the Taotai, or chief magistrate of the city, and other Chinese dignitaries, and foreign representatives. The party took rides on the rigshaw, or one wheeled Chinese express at the rate of 10 cash, or one cent a mile. Witnessed a review, and were well entertained during a short stay at Shanghai.

On the 27th March the royal party embarked on the Pautah, one of the China Merchants Steamer Line; the King having been informed by the President of the Company, that by telegram from His Excellency Li Hung Chang the Viceroy residing at Tientsin, this vessel was placed at the disposal of His Majesty. The royal party steamed over the Yellow Sea, and arrived at the bar of the Bund, on the morning of 29th March.

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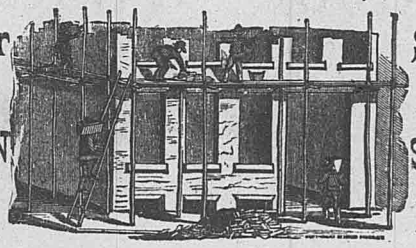

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AT TIENTSIN—VISITS THE VICEROY.

On the following day all the foreign representatives in the city waited on His Majesty on board the Pautah. On the 31st His Majesty and suite called upon the Viceroy Li Hang the Prime Minister and actual Ruler of China.

This distinguished official of the great Empire speaks little or no English, therefore His Majesty needed the assistance of an interpreter during a lengthy and highly interesting conversation. His Majesty with his thoughts ever patriotically occupied with the interests of his country, discussed on this occasion the great need of his little Kingdom, owing to the disproportion of sexes, of more women accompanying the emigration to his realm. The enlightened Viceroy expressed a high appreciation of His Majesty's patriotic anxiety in order to promote the increase and better social order of his island Kingdom, and said that should any farther emigration of the people of the Empire for the Sandwich Islands take place, he would favor all in his power, provided some provision was made by His Majesty's Government to assist female emigration.

The following day the 1st of April, the Viceroy waited upon His Majesty on board the Pautah. His Excellency and suite were conveyed in a splendid steam launch. They arrived on board punctual to appointment at noon, and remained several hours on board.

After the departure of the Viceroy, in the evening of the same day; the royal party went ashore, to partake of a grand Chinese dinner and soiree, given by the Viceroy in honor of His Majesty in the spacious building of the China Merchants Steamship Co. At 6.30 the arrival of the Viceroy was announced. A few minutes afterwards, as His Majesty and suite entered, three guns were fired. (The royal salute of China.) The feast was a marvel of Chinese ingenuity and luxury, and there was present on the occasion a splendid display of official Chinese dress, and of foreign uniforms, but no ladies. As the King noticed the absence of the gentler sex, His Majesty was informed by a distinguished mandarin that official etiquette forbade the presence of ladies on such an occasion; and in vindication of Chinese custom he said that Chinese ladies, who had no assemblies or Church meetings for mutual display and encounter, which Western civillization favored, but had to stay at home with their families, generally loved and spoke well of their neighboring sisters; and the worthy

mandarin wished to know if the ladies of His Majesty's capital were all animated by this excellent and amiable spirit. His Majesty's reply is not reported, but it was no doubt dictated by that wisdom and discretion requisite to meet the possible irony and insidious character of the enquiry.

RETURN TO SHANGHAI.

On the 2d April His Majesty and suite re-embarked on board the Pautah, and steaming back over the Yellow Sea, returned to Shanghai on the 6th April.

On the 9th April, His Majesty and suite left Shanghai per steamer, and arrived in Hongkong on the 12th April.

AT HONGKONG.

His Majesty King Kalakaua arrived on the 12th April. It was arranged that a banquet should be given in honor of His Majesty at Government House on Monday next. Immediately after the banquet His Majesty will hold a public reception, at which the Members of Council, Heads of Departments, Naval and Military Officers, Foreign Consuls, and the leading residents of the Colony, both ladies and gentlemen, will be introduced to His Majesty.

BANQUET AND RECEPTION.

His Excellency the Governor and Lady Hennessy gave a grand banquet in honor of His Majesty the King of Hawaii, after which a reception was held by His Majesty, which was numerously attended, about three hundred persons being present. Dancing commenced about half-past ten, His Majesty leading off Lady Hennessy, and was kept up till past midnight, to the strains of the Band of the 27th Inniskillings. The assemblage was a brilliant one and proved a great success, the gathering being truly cosmopolitan and representative.

VISIT TO KOWLOONG.

Yesterday morning, Mr. C. P. Chater, Deputy District Grand Master of the Freemasons of Hongkong, entertained His Majesty the King of Hawaii, and suite, His Excellency the Governor, and a large number of the residents at tiffin in his spacious bungalow at Kowloong, His Majesty King Kalakaua and suite and His Excellency Sir John Pope Hennessy, attended by his Private Secretary, Dr. Eitel, arrived about half-past one o'clock, and were received at the garden steps

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by the hospitable host, who conducted them to the entrance of the banqueting room, where they were received with a ringing cheer by the assembled guests. About one hundred and forty guests sat down to an elegant and most bountiful repast. In the centre of the room were ranged Mr. Chater's numerous and handsome trophies of the turf, which presented a really magnificent *coup d'œil*. The distinguished guests having been seated in order of precedence, the tiffin proceeded. At its close Mr. Chater rose and in a few well chosen and apposiie sentence proposed the health of His Majesty the King of Hawaii. The toast was received with great enthusiasm, the company drinking it in bumpers and giving three ringing cheers for their illustrious visitor. The King replied in a short but felicitous speech, in the course of which he said that though his kingdom had no commercial treaty with the Colony of Hongkong he should be glad to enter into one of friendship with it, and (referring to Mr. Chater's collection of racing cups) would feel pleasure in forwarding a cup to be contested for at the next annual races, and he had no doubt his friends in Hongkong would return the compliment and send one to Honolulu. A long continued outburst of applause followed this sally. His Majesty concluded by gracefully proposing the health of Her Majesty the Queen. The toast was received with fervent acclamation.

KING KALAKAUA IN SIAM.

His Majesty and suite took passage from Hongkong to Bangkok. Passing over an uneventful voyage, they arrived at the bar of the Menan, the great river of Siam, on the morning of the 26th April. On entering the river, the steam yacht of the King of Siam was seen approaching, and shortly afterwards a twelve-oared boat carrying the flag of the White Elephant came alongside, carrying an officer of His Majesty's household, conmissioned to tender to King Kalakaua the hospitalitles of his brother of Siam. The invitation was accompanied by expressions of regret on the part of His Majesty that he had not received sufficiently early notice of the arrival of his royal visitor to allow of his meeting him in person at the river bar. Another boat accompanied that of the Envoy, carrying His Siamese Majesty's Aide-de-Camp, DISSAWORKA-MARU. Salutations were exchanged, and the whole party proceeded on board the yacht, which is described as "a beautiful boat," and made in her the voyage up the Menam

to Bangkok, a distance of about twenty miles. The manner in which this yacht was found and fitted seems to have excited the admiration of all the party. Under an awning, so tasteful in its character as to attract attention even among so many novelties, cool drinks and delicious liquors had been provided in profusion, with the wellcome accompaniment of the choicest Manila and Siamese cheroots.

ARRIVAL IN BANGKOK.

Bangkok, as our party steamed through it under these luxurious circumstances proved highly interesting. Many of its peculiarities which attracted their notice are common to other river-side cities of Eastern Asia, but Bangkok has a quaint character of its own, which makes it worthy of a more prolonged visit, than our travellers could pay. The river divides the city, and on either side, built out on slender piles into the stream itself, stores of every description line the shores, whilst the river itself is alive with boats and canoes. The curiously designed pagodas, the temples with their tile-lined fronts, brilliant with gilding and silvering, burnished so that they reflect the rays of a truly tropical sun with a dazzle which obliges the eye to turn elsewhere, the green and trim gardens full of the brightest flowers, made a picture which none of the party will soon forget.

It was half-past six before the voyage up the river came to an end. A splendid large boat manned by 24 oarsmen took the royal party ashore, and from the landing they were conveyed in sedan chairs to the Palace of one of the Princes; a regiment of infantay lining the way, and several royal vessels and men-of-war lying in the river, and firing salutes, Here His Hawaiian Majesty was received in truly royal style. By a splendid marble staircase flanked by rows of polished granite columns, His Majesty entered an antechamber, some eighty feet in length, with floors in mosaic of marble, and furniture of ebony. Statues, vases, and other products of the highest order of Western art, and paintings by European masters lined the apartment, whilst damasks, hanging richly embroidered in gold, served to conceal the multitude of guards and servants who were in attendance.

The following day at 2 p. m. had been fixed for the reception of King KALAKAUA by his royal brother of Siam. Accompanied by his suite and by Prince DISSAWORKUMARU, His Majesty was conveyed to the Palace. This building is described as a masterpiece of architecture; built of highly polished marble, the inner walls inlaid with precious stones, the floors a mosaic of colored marbles. The King of Sjam is a

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man of about 27 years of age, with a firm resolute face, no beard, a keen eye and massive forehead. He was dressed for the occasion in a tunic of gold brocade, with the silk garment, worn by all Siamese of rank, wound round his legs, leaving, as is their custom, a little bare at the back of the knee. He was decorated with a multitude of insignia of various orders, and his sword belt glittered with diamonds, rubies and sapphires. His Siamese Majesty was attended by His Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chow Phya Bhanuwongse, and forty other high officers of state.

His Siamese Majesty greeted the Hawaiian King and, through his interpreter, asked after his health and expressed his regret that, through shortness of notice, he was not better prepared for His Majesty's reception. King Kalakaua was conducted to a seat, but Siamese etiquette bade all others remain standing. After a short conversation His Siamese Majesty retired with a ceremonious farewell.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 28th, the arrival of a troop of cavalry announced the approach of His Siamese Majesty to return the visit of King Kalakaua. He came in a carriage, which to the eyes of his guests appeared to be all of gold, drawn by four horses. His Majesty and two Ministers who were in attendance on him, alighted and were received at the threshold of the palace by King Kalakaua. Congratulations were exchanged and as on the occasion of their former meeting only the two monarchs were seated

In true Oriental style the royal host did not allow his guest to depart without presents suitable to his rank. In the evening a State dinner was given at the palace, and at eleven the following morning a regretful leave was taken of Bangkok, its fairy-like palaces and temples, its hospitable monarch, and the kindly men of rank who had vied with their sovereign in his endeavor to make the stay of their visitors from the lonely Isles of the Pacific as delightful as a dream. A superb barge manned by 24 oarsmen, was ready to receive the royal traveller, and after a pull of 15 minutes landed the King and suite on the steamer Bangkok. The royal Hawaiian standard was hoisted at the main; the troops on shore fired a salute; and the multitudes of hospitable Siamese gave prolonged, and rousing cheers, as the royal travelling party steamed away down the Menam.

THE KING IN SINGAPORE.

His Majesty, accompanied by his suite and Mr. Herwig, the Hawaiian Consul, landed about a quarter past 10 A. M. at Johnston's Pier, and then walked down to the Hotel de

l'Europe where the King is staying. A large crowd of natives and Europeans witnessed His Majesty's landing and manifested a lively and respectful curiosity. Johnston's Pier was most tastefully decorated with palms and evergreen plants, and the large number of flags, with the Hawaiian national flag on a large pole, added greatly to the general effect.

On Saturday H. E. the Governor Sir Frederick .A. Weld drove down to town with his four-in-hand, in full uniform, and returned the call of H. M. the King of the Hawaiian Islands. Afterwards His Majesty and suite drove with His Ex. to the reservoir, with which His Majesty expressed himself highly pleased. Yesterday afternoon His Majesty held a reception at Government House, when many officials and other gentlemen and ladies were presented. In the evening His Excellency and Lady Weld gave a large official dinner in honor of His Majesty, at which Admiral Aslambegoff and Prince Torlonia were also present.

RECEPTION BY THE SULTAN OF JOHORE.

During the stay at Singapore, His Majesty received some distinguished royal courtesy at the hands of the Sultan, or Maharajah of Johore, whose palace is distant forty miles from Singapore. His Majesty the King having accepted an invitation to visit His Highness the Maharajah, the steam launch of the Prince was despatched to Singapore, and on the morning of 10th May conveyed the royal traveller to the palace of Istana. Our travellers were astonished and delighted with the fine architecture and royal appointments of the palace. Sultan Abubakr and his courtiers have marked Hawaiian types of features, and the Malay Prince was recognized as presenting a striking likeness to the late Hawaiian Prince Leleiohoku. The ladies of the Court of Istana are spoken of in terms of enthusiastic eulogy.

Costly furniture and bricabac adorn this noble palace, the hospitality of which was extended so royally to our King, that we are placed under deep obligation by the Malay Sultan, as we have been by a Japanese Emperor, a Siamese King, and a Chinese Viceroy.

After a stay of seven days in Singapore, His Majesty King KALAKAUA took his departure for Calcutta *en route* to Europe the 12th May by the B. I. S. N. Co.'s steamer *Mecca*, Captain Thomson.

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IN EGYPT.

After a rapid trip across the Indian Peninsular His Majesty arrived at Suez on the morning of Monday, June 20th and found a special train, provided by the hospitality of the Khedive, ready to convey him to Cairo. After spending a few days there and visiting the Pyramids and other objects of interest, His Majesty went forward to Alexandria where he was received with much state by the Khedive. On the night of Friday, June 26th, a grand State Ball was given in honor of the King at the vice-regal palace. It was attended by the Abyssinian Ambassador, the Consular corps and the leading residents, Egyptian and foreign, of Cairo and Alexandria. On the following morning the Khedive's barge, with the Hawaiian Royal Standard flying, took His Majesty on board the steamer "Asia" bound for Naples and the Egyptian flagship "Mahomed Ali" fire a royal salute as the King embarked. During his stay at Cairo, His Majesty visited the Grand Orient of Egypt when the degree of Hon. Grand Master of the Grand Orient was conferred upon him. On this occasion His Majesty delivered a lengthy address on some of the mysteries of the craft and of the great Pyramid which has been published at length in the P. C. ADVERTISER of August 13th.

THROUGH ITALY.

On landing at Naples His Majesty was received by the Prefect of that city, the military Commandant, and the Admiral of the station; and on the following day July 1st, had an interview with King Humberto at the royal country seat at Capo di Monte. Proceeding the next day to Rome, His Majesty was on the Sunday received by His Holiness the Pope who received the King very kindly and asked many questions about the Hawaiian Kingdom and people. The evening and the early part of the following day were spent in visiting some of the chief points of interest in the Eternal city.

IN ENGLAND.

Attracted by a great Volunteer Review which was to be held on the following Saturday at Windsor. His Majesty left Rome on the 4th and made a rapid journey direct to London, where he arrived on the evening of the 6th. Here apartments had been prepared for the King and his suite at Claridge's Hotel at the cost of Her Majesty the Queen, and one of the royal Carriages and the royal box at the Italian

Opera House were also placed at His Majesty's disposal. His Majesty's stay in London was prolonged until a late hour on the 24th and was one continual round of receptions, visiting and sight seeing. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales would appear to have devoted himself to the task of rendering the King's visit to England one of the most pleasant memories of his future life. On Saturday July 9th the King visited the grand Volunteer Review in Windsor Park travelling there and back in a carriage and four. The troops to the number of 55,000, were reviewed in the presence of the Queen. On the Monday following His Majesty lunched with the Earl and Countess Granville, meeting there the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Lord Kimberly, Sir Charles W. Dilke, and many other distinguished guests, and then proceeded to Windsor to be presented to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. The King was presented by Earl Granville and was received in a more than usually gracious manner by Her Majesty who gave him her hand, and making him be seated near her chatted pleasantly with him on several topics.

On July 13th His Majesty was present at a garden party at Fulham, the residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and at a conversazione given by Earl and Countess Spencer at the South Kensington Museum. On the 4th the King was at a garden party at Marlborough House given by the Prince and Princess of Wales to the Queen. A most distinguished company was present on this occasion, including the Crown Prince and Princess of Germany with the Princess Victoria, Sophia and Margaret of Prussia, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, Prince and Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, the Princess Louise (Marchioness of Lorne), the Duke of Cambridge, Princess Mary Adelaide (Duchess of Teck) and the Duke of Teck. The list of the other invited guests, comprising the entire diplomatic body and their ladies, all prominent members of the aristocracy, the army, the navy, bar, church, etc., filled four columns of small print in the *Morning Post*. The evening was spent by His Majesty at the House of Commons, and the next evening he was present at a grand ball given at Hyde Park Barracks by the officers of the 2nd Life Guards. On Saturday the King was the guest of the Lord Mayor at a dinner party given to the Prince of Wales, on which occasion he replied very happily when his health was proposed.

Sunday July 7 was spent at Normanhurst Court, the seat of Sir Thomas Brassey. On the following Tuesday, Lady Alfred Paget gave a ball in His Majesty's honor. Wednesday evening was devoted to the Anniversary Banquet at the

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A Splendid Assortment of Carriages on Hand to Let and Sell.—The firm has Imported a Fine Selection of Buggy and Saddle Horses, and call the attention of the public to their Handsome Stock—Several Fine Animals are on their way now from California and the East. Buggies, Phaetons and Carriages of the most Improved Pattern, now on Hand and on their way from Eastern Manufactories. Also, a Carry-All and Waggonnette for Picnics, Excursionists, Sight-Seeing Parties, etc., around the Island.

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N. B.—Those Boarding their Horses will not be Charged extra for Doctoring or Shoeing. Horses Broken to Saddle or Harness. Patronage Solicited.

J. H. BRUNS, Jr.,

HAWAIIAN

FURNITURE MANUFACTORY

Corner of King and Bethel Streets, Honolulu, H. I.

I AM MANUFACTURING

ALL KINDS of FURNITURE,

— INCLUDING —

Office Tables, Desks, and Stands,

In Great Varieties, to Suit Customers.

Special Attention Paid to Orders, and all WORK GUARANTEED.

I Solicit the Patronage of the People from the Other Islands, to Inspect my Work and Prices before calling elsewhere.

NEW HARNESS SHOP,

C. HAMMER, Proprietor,

No. 96 King St., and No. 91 Fort St., Corner Fort and Hotel Sts., Honolulu, H. I.

Harness Manufacturer in all its Various Branches.

Excellent Workmanship Done by Thoroughly Competent Mechanics.

Harness and Saddles, Whips, Bridles, &c. FOR SALE.

All Orders attended to with careful attention.

MY MOTTO IS: SMALL PROFITS & READY CASH.

Trinity House, at which the Prince of Wales presided, when the toast of His Majesty's health was enthusiastically responded to. The remainder of the week was devoted to sight-seeing and receiving and paying visits. On Sunday, July 24, after taking leave of the Prince and Princess of Wales (the Court was absent at Osborne) His Majesty left London for the Continent. Before his departure he received from the Queen the decoration of Honorary Member of the First Class of Knights Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

AT BRUSSELS.

His Majesty was received and feted by Count de Carmart d'Hamale Consul General for this Kingdom in Belgium. Wednesday and part of Thursday were occupied by sight-seeing. On the afternoon of the latter day His Majesty King Leopold II who had been detained at the National fetes at Liege paid a state visit to the King which was returned the same day. The two monarchs engaged in an interesting and very cordial conversation and parted mutually delighted with one another.

IN GERMANY.

His Majesty travelled direct from Brussels to Berlin by rail, with only a break of three hours at Cologne, and arrived at the capital of Germany at a late hour on the 30th. During his six days stay in Berlin the King was "lionized over the capital; before his hotel and at all points visited by him large crowds continually assembled to see and greet the foreign sovereign; great military spectacles were arranged for him; and interviews took place with all the Royal Princes then at Berlin." The Crown Prince was in London where His Majesty had already met and received much attention from him. The Emperor of Germany was absent at Gastein. Among the sights of Berlin, the military displays got up especially for His Majesty's gratification seem to have most particulary attrcted the notice of the King being perfect of their kind and being the performances of troops believed to be the best disciplined in the world. On Wednesday August 2d, the King dined at Potsdam with Prince Charles when there were also present the Prince and Princess William, Prince Frederick Charles, the "Red Prince" and celebrated cavalry leader, and the Prince and Princess of Meiningen, the Crown Prince's son-in-law and daughter. The same evening His Majesty left for Essen to visit the cannon and machine foundries of Herr Krupp.

On the 4th His Majesty left Berlin and arrived

AT VIENNA

on the evening of the following day and was officially received by Field Marshal Baron von Tiller representing the Emperor, and was conducted to apartments at the Imperial Hotel which had just previously been occupied by the King of Denmark. The Emperor of Austria was absent travelling in Bavaria but at his request the Archduke Albrecht went expressly to Vienna to have an interview with the King. His Majesty remained four days in Vienna where he was scrupuluously entertained and visited all the chief objects of interest in that delightful city and its envirous and from thence returned to Paris.

AT PARIS.

His Majesty's arrival was unannounced and therefore private. There being at the time no Hawaiian Consul in Paris, Count Carmart d'Hamale went especially from Brussels to attend upon His Majesty. The President was absent from the capital but M. Barthelemy de St. Hilaire, Minister of Foreign Affairs, waited upon the King and welcomed him in the name of the French Government. The President's aide de camp also called on behalf of M. Grevy, to express the hope that a future meeting might be arranged. His Majesty remained at Paris until Aug. 15th, engaged in receiving innumerable visits and in sight-seeing. He was present at the International Electrical Exhibition and was greatly interested in what he saw there. Whilst at Paris he received an autograph letter from the King of the Belgians, accompanying the Grand Cross and Ribbon of the Order of Leopold.

The following is but a short summary of His Majesty's subsequent movements before returning to England. August 17th, arrival at the Escurial, 7 a. m.., and inspection of this ancient palace of Spanish Royalty; at 11, arrival at Madrid, at Hotel de la Paix; calls by State Officials, at 8 p. m., departure for Portogal; at frontier, reception by guards of honor. August 19th, 6 a. m., at Lisbon, State reception at depot by 2nd Infantry regiment as guards of honor, military band playing Hawaiian anthem, in four royal carriages with fore-riders and escort of a squadron of cavalry, to Hotel Braganza, 3 p. m., meeting with King Louis of Portugal and return visit at half-past 4. When His Majesty was invested with the Grand Cross of the Conception and in return conferred the Order of Kamehameha on King Louis. August 20th, visit to royal country seat at Cintra, at 6 p. m., dinner with the King. August 21st, visit to Don Ferdinand, the King's father. August 22, at 2 p. m., farewell visit to the King, to

a bull fight, departure for Spain at 6 p. m., with escorts of officials and cavalry. August 24, arrival at Madrid, at 6 a. m.; call by Secretary of Foreign Affairs as representative of the King, absent travelling in Galicia; visits to picture gallery and Retiro Park, in evening to theatre. August 25, visit to military barracks, Royal Castle stables, at 5 p. m., departure for France. August 27, arrival at Paris, 6 a. m., to Continental hotel. August 28, visits to Hotel des Invalides and Napoleon's tomb, private dinner in evening and to concert. August 29th, visit to Louvre and Art Museum, evening to opera, calls by the Prince of Orange, Prince Alexander of the Netherlands. August 30th, visit to the great Nickel works of Count Hankar; reception of farewell visits. From Paris forwarded to Charles I of Roumania on his assumption of the title of King the Grand Cross of the Order of Kamehameha. Departure for London and arrive there at 6 a. m. on Aug. 31st. Sept. 1st. Visit to St. Paul's and the tombs of Wellington and Nelson. Sept. 2nd. To the Tower of London. Presentation to His Majesty by the Swedish Charge d'Affairs of the insignia of the Holy Cross of Vasa. Sept. 3d. Visit to the Blenheim Gun and Small Arms Works. Sunday, Sept. 4th. His Majesty attended service at St. Paul's. Sept. 5th. Visit to Woolwich Arsenal, where the manufacture of wheels by machinery and the making of heavy shells were exhibited to His Majesty. The reserve equipment of harness for 10,000 horses was greatly admired by the King. Sept. 6tth. Farewell visit to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales at Malborough House. Departure for Scotland by the night express. Sept. 7th. Received at Glasgow by Councillor W. Renny Watson; visit to the leading shipbuilding yards of the Clyde; entertained at dinner by the Lord Provost and Baillies. Sept. 8th. Visit to Loch Lomond and trip on the Clyde from Arrochas to Glasgow. Sept. 9th. Departure for Edinburgh. Warm reception there by the Lord Provost and Municipal Officers. Visit to Mr. R. A. Scott Macfie at Dreghorn Castle. Sept 10th. Planting Commemoration trees at Dreghorn. Drive to Edinburgh by way of Hunter's Tryst Avenue and Corniston, and the Borestone at Morningside. Drive to Sampson's Ribs, Arthur's Seat and Holyrood ; thence to the Freemason's Hall to attend special meeting of Grand Conclave of Scotland of the order of the Red Cross of Constantine called to confer on His Majesty the rank of Knight Grand Cross of the Order; entertained at luncheon by Dr. Bishop; departure from Edinburg for Rufford Park, the seat of Sir Thomas Hesketh, where His Majesty remained until Monday morning. Sept.

12th. Arrived at Liverpool; reception by the Mayor and other officials; visits to St. George's Hall, the docks and other places of interest; trip on the Mersey; State dinner to His Majesty at the Town Hall. Sept. 13th. Embarkation on the Steamer Celtic for New York.

IN AMERICA.

Sept. 23rd, The King landed from the Celtic; His Majesty sent a letter expressing sympathy to Mrs. Garfield and despatched Mr. E. H. Allen, His Majesty's Consul at New York, to Washington, to represent him at the funeral of the late President. The following day was spent in private at Coney Island. His Majesty made a call upon President Arthur and subsequently proceeded to the Hampton Institute, Virginia, to pay a visit to General Armstrong and observe his work there. He was at Cincinnati on October 3rd and passed Omaha on the 7th by the overland train bound for San Francisco, where he would arrive on the 11th. It is expected that he would sail for Honolulu in the Pacific Mail Steamer Australia and that he will arrive here at an early hour on Monday, Oct. 31st;

HIS LOYAL PEOPLE EXPECTING HIM.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

HIS MAJESTY'S SUITE.

Wm. N. Armstrong, Commissioner of Immigration.

Charles H. Judd, Lord Chamberlain.

George W. Macfarlane, Aide de Camp.

Herr Rob't Von Oehlhaffen, Personal Attendant.

THE

Shepherd Saint of Lanai.

Rich "Primacy" Revelations,

GATHERED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES AND

Produced in Historical Form

FOR THE FIRST TIME

IN THE "SATURDAY PRESS,"

Dec. 24, 1881 to Jan. 21, 1882.

HONOLULU, H. I.
THOS. G. THRUM, PUBLISHER.
1882.

THE SHEPHERD SAINT OF LANAI.

Priest of Melchisedec and Chief President of the Isles of the Sea.

RICH "PRIMACY" REVELATIONS.

Facts for the People.

We present to our readers some rare documents which will have hereafter, a historical value. Although nearly twenty years have passed since the events occurred which occasioned their composition there still lives in our midst the chief organizer and promoter of a scheme, which undoubtedly had for its object, the transfer to and settlement in, these Islands of the people known as "Mormons" or "Latter Day Saints;" a movement which would have resulted, if successful, in handing over the entire group to these peculiar, industrious and well-organized people. Why this movement failed has never been authoritatively recorded; only certain general facts and conclusions are known. That the native Hawaiians joined in considerable numbers is well known and is not surprising. That they abandoned the organization is also well known. That many of them charged the leaders of the church with deception is also well known. But the interior history of the movement, its inception in Utah, the deliberations of the Mormon leaders on the subject, the connection of Mr. Gibson as the pioneer and "inspirator" of the plans proposed and adopted, the rise, growth and decline of the scheme in this kingdom are not well known. They can be known, if the "Chief President" chose to reveal himself as he threatened to do in the *Nuhou*. It is to be regretted that the pen which could produce the fiery jargon of the "Prison of Weltevreden" persists in remaining idle on this subject. It is evident, that the wild romance drawn out in those pages of impossible incident could not be repeated here, where they would be acted before unfriendly eye-witnesses.

Every man owes something to history, and it is possible that the historical conscience may yet work in the leader of this pioneer movement of the "Latter Day Saints."

The documents which we publish give the first really authentic account of the interior life, the true "inwardness" of Mormonism in these Islands. The *Chief President* "of the order of Melchisedec"

has more than once denounced as false the accusations against himself as being a Mormon, as will be seen by reading extracts from the *Nuhou*. He has suggested a benignant community of converts on Lanai, a sweet communism of kindred souls, an altogether lovely band of red, and [one] white-skinned brotherhood, but has peremptorily and fiercely denied every mercenary motive, or even the contributions of money from the kanakas.

The documents which we publish make it quite evident that the *Chief President*, "of the order of Melchisedec" was not idiotic on the subject of "spondulix;" and however desirous he was that the Hawaiians should kneel before the Lanai Zion, he did not fail to keep the contribution box in a state of perspiration. As the venerable but sagacious negro preacher observed of the deacon's hat, as it passed up and down the aisles, "breddren, dat ar hat am de head and de tail ob de whole business."

The price of the certificates of "Archbishops" seemed to be as well regulated as the price of salt mackerel. As the *Chief President* wrote to Kou, "take good care of the money received into your hands:" "call upon the brethren to contribute to the Feast!" "Go to Honolulu and get the money of the Church in your hands!" The people responded. "Zion" on Lanai was flush. Goats were offered *ad libitum*; whether as members of the Church or otherwise, we do not know. One admirer and convert contributed a "jackass." Unlettered as he was, he evidently supposed that the Chief President would in the fulness of time, (when accumulations were sufficient,) mount the humble jackass and ride into the tropical "Zion." In the letter to the Churches he goes it blind. There is no end of gush in the manifesto. "The Prophet Brigham Young, is to become as the King of Kings." "This is a time when the gentiles of America shall be swept from the face of the earth as has been foretold in the prophecies of Joseph Smith." The last census returns of the United States, show fifty million strong.

The Chief President was surely the victim of misplaced confidence. "Prepare now your offerings for this work," is his epistle. In his holiest rhapsodies either in or out of the Church he cannot forget newspaper contracts or the contribution box.

"I am a child of the ocean and of God. I am not a stranger." "My heart is with the red-skinned Children of Abraham." "Like Moses shall I lead you on." It is now evident that "Hawaiian Primacy" is an old affair. It brought its being into bounds, when "Zion" was erected. But has "Zion" been discontinued? Has it gone into liquidation? It is said that fifty thousand sheep ruminate over the foundation walls of the Temple. Where is the money which the confiding kanakas gave? The Chief President asked them to confide in him. They did so. What did he who held the office of High Priest of Melchisedec do with it?

The Chief President meant "business," when he took a contract

to put up Zion on Lanai. It will be noticed that he is after the brethren of Honolulu with a sharp stick. He sometimes forgets himself, casts aside the garments of holiness and fiercly dances about with the shellalah of cupidity in his hand.

"Such men as BRIGHAM YOUNG AND HEBER C. KIMBALL GAVE ALL THEY HAD TWO OR THREE TIMES OVER to help build up the Church in Missouri and Illinois, and now they are the RICHEST MEN IN THE CHURCH." In a moment of forgetfulness "Zion," and the "order of Melchisedec," and the "Moses business," are squelched, and the whole affair put on the basis of a financial speculation. If the reward of Brigham Young and Kimball had been that of righteousness, it would have been just but not interesting. The Chief President put the Prophet Brigham "on the make," and calls the leaders of the faithful to stake their pile. This is not exactly piety. It has the strong flavor of a speculation, in which the poor kanaka furnishes the capital, the Chief President contributing the brains. "Becoming the richest men in the church" is a seductive way of stimulating the brethren. We notice, however, that this same incentive is not offered to the poor kanaka. Of course all could not become the richest men in the church. "My heart is with the red-skinned Children of Abraham," but where was his hand? And where were their pockets? The list of contributions show that the Chief President refused to build up "Zion" on any "tick" basis. The Church needed a vessel: "If it takes $600 or $700 to buy a good vessel! do you take half, and sell or mortgage part of your property, or your sister-in-law's?

The demands made by the Chief President for turkeys, jackasses and money were becoming too monotonous, it is fair to surmise, and the more sagacious of the Archbishops began to regard Zion, at Palawai as a scoop. We should be glad to see the letters written to the Chief by the discontented brethren. It is evident from these letters that the self-sacrificing spirit of devotion to the Hawaiian people is not a recent spurt. It commenced in the era of certificates, fowls, jackasses, money and "Zion." Nor did it die with the dissolution of the church at Palawai. It has survived the attacks of time. Even now, as the Chief President sits down in captivity by the ruins of the Honolulu Babylon and weeps and remembers his Palawai Zion, he cannot, and does not forget that he was appointed by Brigham young, and the prophecy of Joe Smith to become the leader of the Hawaiian people.

The same indomitable spirit of love for the people which urged him then to "rake in the pot," still keeps him on the glorious career of pity and abiding love for the red-skinned sons of Abraham.

"Put your hint into distinct shape," cried out the defiant editor of the *Nuhou*.

Here they are, broad and distinct as his own language can make them. He refused to put himself on the witness stand then. We put him on the witness stand now. Our indictment is in his own

language, his own handwriting, over his own signature. We have in the letter written from Washington to the New York *Times* his ostensible motive for moving out with the Mormons. We have in his letters, his real motive. The motives for his Lanai scheme were for political purposes only, in 1873, he is pleased to say.

These letters, however, show a very different motive. It was a "combination" of labor and skill, without one dollar of capital," he said in 1873. "Go to Honolulu and get the money in your hands," he says in 1862. We shall leave him to reconcile his own statements.

These documents show the character of a man who has long been pushing himself to the front in public matters; of one who has tried to rise, not by lifting himself above others, but by pulling them down.

In the fullest charity we do not assail his motives. He may, surely, be what he has claimed to be, a veritable "Moses" for the red-skinned children of Abraham." We judge of men only by what they say and do. In the documents which we publish, those which purport to be signed by him were signed by him.

The other documents regarding financial relations will speak for themselves. The reader may make his own inferences. We are informed that a large number of letters and papers, of a character similar to these published were, by accident, destroyed by fire. Is it possible that the Chief President, in defiantly challenging his accusers in the *Nuhou*, confidently believed that this fire had licked up the whole, or that he who held them in trust had destroyed them at the command of the Chief President of the Islands of the Sea! It is possible that the information contained in these papers may lead to further investigation, and in the end a complete history of the Palawai experiment will be recorded.

[Extract from *Nuhou*, April 22, 1873—Walter Murray Gibson, Editor.]

"When our shepherd had established himself merely as a squatter upon the island of Lanai, and in the valley of Palawai, in December 1861, he had gathered around a company of native people, who designed *to form, under his direction, an industrial organization. He proposed to establish a joint stock farm, a combination of la or and skill without one dollar of capital*, and as New Year's day of 1862 approached he desired to begin the year with some planting operation."

[Extract from *Nuhou* April 18, 1873—Walter Murray Gibson, editor.]

"Our temporary connection with the Mormon Community for a *political object*, of which we shall give a history at our convenience is well known, and was never denied. *We came here to carry out a scheme of emigration*; and in this connection met assemblies of Mormon natives at Wailuku, and other points, and had various relations with them, which were satisfactorily filled on our part. We condescend to say so much in answer to certain questions; but we do not intend for one moment to place ourselves on the witness'

stand to suit your humor or convenience. You hint and insinuate, but cannot make a single charge and prove it."

[The above was written in reply to H. M. Whitney's charges in the *Gazette*.]

[From same editorial.]

"Put your hints into distinct shape, and prove all your assertions; because, if you do not, we will hold you to a stern account."

[From the same paper of April 18, 1873—being the Washington correspondence of the N. Y. *Times* of Feb. 25, 1858, and copied editorially.]

"A pioneer vessel is now being fitted out to bear a Mormon vanguard to Oceanica. Capt. Gibson gives as his chief reason for taking the interest he does in Mormon emigration to Papua, or other great unoccupied island of the Pacific or Indian ocean, that such an event, the settlement of great islands * * * by a race speaking our language and possessing all the arts of our civilization, must be productive of beneficial results to the civilized world."

We herewith present a number of the letters and accounts above referred to.

[Translation.]

THE CHOSEN OFFICE.

To all men to whom this letter may come:

This certifies that Kailihune, is a member of the *Church of Jesus Christ* of the *Latter Day Saints*, and is beloved and a true convert; and by this it is certified that he has been chosen to the high office of *Arch Bishop* of the church in the *Hawaiian Islands* and has authority to teach the *Gospel of Jesus Christ*, and to perform all the duties of the office to which he has been chosen.

Therefore I give our brother in love and truth this *Certificate of Election* to each one in his several callings; and that you may offer your prayers with righteousness and gladness in the Kingdom of Christ.

Written and sealed at Wailuku, Island of Maui, of the Hawaiian Islands, October 10, 1862, in behalf of the church.

WALTER M. GIBSON, Chief President.

[SEAL]

J. W. H. Kou, Secretary.

There are other certificates similar to the above issued to different persons. Each certificate is signed,

"WALTER M. GIBSON,

"Peresidena Nui (Chief President).

And by "Enoch H. Kawailepolepo, or J. W. H. Kou, Secretary."

[On the back of certificate to Lilia dated Wailuku, Maui, October 10, 1861, is written in pencil as follows]:

[Translation.]

Lilia affirms that she lived here in the mauka part of Honolulu at the time when W. M. Gibson came here, and at that time she had a kuleana, a yard, and Gibson told her she had better sell the kuleana

for money and give it to him for the Church. For that reason that kuleana was disposed of by sale for $125, and the money was all given to Gibson through the hands of Eddy. It is Eddy himself who saw this.

[Translation.]

PALAWAI, LANAI, August 17, 1863.

To J. W. H. Kou, "President of the Twelve."

LOVE TO YOU: I have ordered Kianu, the first fellow counselor of the Arch Bishop, to go to Honolulu and get the money of the Church in your hands. He takes with him a certificate for L. Kaka. Kaka should come at the time of the Assembly to be confirmed.

We are living very comfortably at Palawai now. Deborah and Charlie are well. They are contented and do not wish to return to Honolulu. It is best for them to stay here in Zion.

I hereby command Kapo to forward to this place whatever he may have together with his statement. It is best to sell the bags in Honolulu; because the girls make a great many bags here at Lanai. Perhaps Dr. Judd will sell the bags. I do not speak of the news here on Lanai, because Kianu can communicate it by word of mouth. We both send love to Kapo, Kanamu and Kapika. I am your loving brother. WALTER M. GIBSON.

[Translation.]

PALAWAI, LANAI, September 4, 1863.

To President Kou:

LOVE TO YOU: I wish you to send me the lease of Pohano for the kuleana here on Lanai. But first take it to the Polynesian Printing Office and have it stamped, and when that is done I will pay the one dollar ($1). Then send it to me. Here is another thing; take good care of the money received into your hand, the money in the hands of the Bishops let them care for, and bring it with them to the Assembly.

Communicate my order that every one of the Bishops come, not one is to stay away, let them bring with them their certificates. Let the new Bishop of Waianae come also. This is my wish, and it should be carried out. With respect,

[NAME] WALTER M. GIBSON, Chief President.

Call upon the brethren to contribute for the Feast of the Assembly. My wish is that it should be a great and a good feast.

W. M. G.

[Translation.]

PALAWAI, LANAI, August 27, 1863.

To President J. W. H. Kou.

LOVE TO YOU: I have received the money at the hand of Keanu, agreeable to your letter. If there is any money remaining, collect it, and bring it with you at the Assembly which is approaching. "I commanded you to go to Kauai, to Keanu, do not go now, stop," do

the duties on your Island. Stir up the converts to build the Temple; the means to accomplish which end is money.

The people to come up to this Assembly should be the faithful ones and the willing. The weak in faith, let them stay away. Bring food (ai) with you, but there is enough meat here, sheep, goats. Bring along with you the children from seven to fifteen years old and upwards; and if the parents stay away, send the children here to Lanai; this is my earnest wish. If the converts arrive from Kauai, then take one vessel and sail to Manele. This is my command. With love also,

(Signed) WALTER M. GIBSON,
Chief President (Peresidena Nui).

PALAWAI, ISLAND OF LANAI, November 1, 1861.

DEAR BROTHER: We are now living comfortably on the Hawaiian Zion. I am going to apply to the Government for land for the church. Haalelea is evidently disposed to cheat the church. Lilia is with us, and we are commencing a house for her. She wants to rent her house in Honolulu. Do you see about it, and let me know if you think it can be rented; and for how much. Brother Ingraham is with us, and has been zealously helping the church in carpentering work here. Fuller has proven himself mean and parsimonious. It is not right to cut a man off for meanness; but if other good brethren, want to preserve a good spirit, they ought not to associate with a mean, poor spirited man. I have found a better spirit in every other branch of the church, than at Honolulu. You do nothing but talk and grumble in Honolulu. I am speaking of the church. There is some of the spirit of Salt Lake, on Lanai, Maui, and Hawaii. I will do all the good I can for the Saints on the Hawaiian Islands with the little money they have contributed; and then I will sail for the Malay Islands. The church needs a little vessel very much. Brother Eddy has been telling me about a sloop that is building in Honolulu, which would be just the thing we want. There are about 150 turkeys, and 300 chickens now ready to take to market from this place. There is a considerable lot of freight on Maui and Molokai, on account of the church. I want you to see the builder of the sloop, and offer him $400 for her complete. Make the offer in your own name; and let me know what he will do. Now is the time to do something, to buy land, and get a little vessel to do the business of the church. Those who do not help when they can will loose what they hold on to so closely, and will never find a welcome among the faithful, and self-sacrificing Saints of Zion. Such men as Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball, gave all they had two or three times over to help build up the church in Missouri and Illinois; and now they are the richest men in the church. We have now enough money to pay for the land, that is to make up the $500 first promised; but we have nothing to buy tools with; and grain; and above all to buy a little vessel to carry our produce. Our boats on Lanai are all broken.

There is only one now in use; and I won't venture in it; nor leave the island till we get a new boat. I like Lanai better than any other place; and will do all I can to establish the church here.

May the Lord our God give those who have some means, the spirit to employ it for the good of His church. They will have blessing and prosperity by so doing; but will come to poverty and contempt by pursuing the selfish policy of Fuller and others I could name.

Your brother in the Gospel, W. M. GIBSON.

Direct to Enoch at Lahaina for me.

PALAWAI, ISLAND OF LANAI, November 16, 1861.

Dear Brother Wing: This will be handed to you by brother Kailihune, the Bishop of this place, who is one of our best saints. I have commissioned him to go to Honolulu; and, along with you, to buy a good whale boat for the use of the church. All our boats are mere wrecks; and I do not consider it safe for any white man, unless he can swim like a Kanaka, to go in one again. I have heard that good boats have been selling at Honolulu for $30 and even less. I hope it is so. I know that a new boat usually costs about $100; but we are too poor to give that price. I want you to do the very best you can for the church; and spend a day or two in looking around. I hope you can get a good boat for less than $50. I send you $65 in cash. You take charge of it; and do not part with a cent; unless you are sure that all is right about the boat. Kailihune will sail the boat to Lanai; so it must be well provided with oars and sail.

We want very much two or three water kegs; and Talulah wants a churn. We could make plenty of butter; if we had a churn. I want you to buy some rice seed. I see that Dr. Holstein advertises in the *Polynesian* to sell some. You will find out by calling on Mr. Joseph Carter, who is, I think, at Whitney's book store. Buy one or two dollars worth.

I wrote to you before about a small sloop, which brother Eddy said could be bought for $300 or $400. He said it would be a good bargain at $400. Now, if you think it is a good bargain at that price, all complete; and the man will sell; do you buy it; and tell the man, if he will come here he will get the rest of his money; or I will deposit it at Lahaina, with Mr. Bartow, the Custom House officer, for him. This would take all, and more money, than belongs to the church, which I am saving up for land, but we have plenty of sheep, goats, and turkeys to sell; and we could soon get the money back. The best thing for the church now, would be to get a small vessel. We could make money if we had one. Buy the sloop, if you can; buy it in your name; as you are a citizen or subject of this country; and you could raise the Hawaiian flag. If you do buy a small vessel, come down here yourself with her; and I will have some good things to tell you, which I do not wish to write in a letter. Be sure and come, if you can; and if you can conveniently, bring Kaipo with you. Now, dear brother, be up and stirring; this is a time when the

good work can be rolled on rapidly. A little money well spent now will soon make the church rich and flourishing. The branch at Wailuku gave awhile ago 47 bundles of poi; and brother Raymond now sends me word, that the brethren of Wailuku have given kalo patches and poi enough to make about 300 bundles. We need it all here; and much more. We have plenty of meat and milk; but nothing for bread. The Wailuku and Kula brethren have also given about 200 acres of land to the church, which they are now ploughing up, and going to sow in wheat; plant in corn; and some of it in rice. This looks like work; and a good spirit; something like the spirit of Salt Lake. Those who come into this Gospel work; and are free with what they have, to roll it on, will be prospered more in the end, than those who are grumbling about every dollar that goes out of their hands, and wonder what becomes of it. God loves a cheerful giver.

Get the boat, a good boat, as cheap as you can, and with what money you have left; and also if brother Brown sent the $20 he promised, from Kauai; then buy the following articles: Some white muslin for native dresses, about $10 worth, two water kegs, a churn, and some rice seed.

Again I repeat, buy the sloop instead of the boat; if it can be got. The boat we need; but it will not bring in any money; whereas the sloop would make money right away. I could get $500 worth of stuff immediately to send to market; and sell for the benefit of the church; if we had a vessel of our own. Do what you can; if it takes $600 or $700 to buy a good vessel; do you take half, and sell or mortgage part of your property; or your sister-in-law's. You could get the money back; and more too in a month. I have about $300 of church money; and I will put all that in a small vessel. I wish I was at Honolulu; but I cannot come now. You must think for me; and send Kailihune back with a boat, or a sloop, or a schooner. If the latter, then come yourself; and bring us two or three barrels of poi. We are all very healthy; and in good spirits. Talulah sends aloha to Kaipo, Pahana, Rebecca and to all the church. Aloha to brothers Poole and Kou, and Kianu. I am faithfully your brother in the Gospel, W. M. GIBSON, President.

Don't spend money for anything but boat or sloop, and muslin and shoes. [The following was written on the envelope.] I forgot about tea and sugar—about $1 worth of each; and $1 or $2 of good crackers. Invite brother Kailihune to stay at your house.

PALAWAI, LANAI, December 16, 1861.

C. Wing, Bishop C. J. C. L. D. S., Honolulu.

DEAR BROTHER: Your letter, and the money which I sent for the purchase of a boat, was duly brought to hand by brother Kailihune. We need a large boat; or a small sloop very much. The church at

Wailuku has given to the church on Lanai, enough of kalo land now full of kalo, to make about 300 bundles of poi. We have received about 100 bundles; but our best boat went under, the last trip; and we are now in a great pilikia to get our grub. The Saints of Wailuku show an excellent spirit. Besides, about 40 kalo patches, which they have given; they have also contributed horses, cattle, sheep, tobacco, fowls, mats; and considerable money. Brother George Raymond, Bishop of Wailuku; and brother Pake, Bishop of Kula, send me lists of contributions every week. I would be glad to hear from the church of Honolulu, in continuing to roll on the work, on these islands. You, as Bishop, must stir them up, about helping the centre stake on Lanai. Sister Kaipio promised to go round Oahu to collect contributions from the sisters; if she has not done so, I want her to go round, and accomplish the work she promised. I received a letter from brother Brown, who tells me that 56 have been added to the church since Conference; these added to 74 baptised whilst brother Cummings was on Kaui, will make 130 new members on that island within four months. The mission I sent to Hawaii, have recently baptised 20 at Waipio and about 30 in Kohala and Hilo. These are all new converts. We have baptised six on this island, lately. One is brother Kahalekai; who was a member of the last Parliament at Honolulu; and represented Lanai. The church is steadily increasing. You will see in the Hoku o ka Pakipika of Nov. 28, a translation of brother Joseph Smith's prophecy about the war in America. I want 100 more copies of the Palapala Koho; or certificates to be printed. I want you to ask the church to contribute the amount to pay for them. Perhaps they will print them at the *Polynesian* office for the same they charged at first, $3. At any rate, get them if they cost $5. Now I don't want you to furnish this money. I did not think about them when you had money in your hands; or I would have ordered them then. A great many are sending for their papers from Hawaii and Kauai. Have them printed as soon as you can; and bring them with you to our little Conference, during Christmas week; or send them by a faithful hand. I write to brother Kou about this; and also about a flag. You must attend to the business; and receive the money. We are all in excellent health. I never had better; and feel a good spirit. May God bless you; and all the saints at Honolulu. Your brother in the Gospel,

W. M. Gibson.

We all send aloha to sister Kaipo, brother Pool and others—I send a copy of certificate.

Address to the Saints.—[No date given, but evidently written in 1861 or 1862. There is internal evidence that a copy of this address was sent to the twelve apostles.]

[Translation]

To all the Saints of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints on the Island of Oahu:

Fellow believers greeting and great love to you: I, Walter Murray Gibson, your elder brother and leader, the one appointed to be Chief Priest, and preacher also, to you on the Islands of the Great Ocean by the hands of the Prophet of God in Zion, in accordance with the direction of the Spirit of God, and the office of High Priest of Melchisedec, do now send unto you a few words regarding our works and services.

I am rejoiced at being informed by the brethren, Enoch and Kou, that your love to the Church of God has waxed strong. Your good works and several gifts are indeed like those of the Saints in the days that are past, even the Pentecost. You have in humility obtained the gifts of the Holy Spirit, as in the days of Peter and of Paul. Pray without doubting, and be steadfast and strong, and thus you shall obtain the blessings, the power, the gifts of healing and of other tongues, the spirit of prophecy, and all the gifts of the Spirit that you may walk uprightly before God and men. Now is the time when God can work great things with his strong hand. This is the time when the gentiles of America shall be swept from the face of the earth, as has been foretold in the prophecies of the Prophet, Joseph Smith. As for Zion, her time has come to be set free, and the Prophet, Brigham Young, is to become as the King of Kings. He and his followers are to be the saviours of the world until the second coming of Christ. The Temple of Jehovah is a new and glorious thing, and his High Priests shall doubtless abide when it is established. Its glory far exceeds that of Solomon's temple. You, the (red-skinned) children of Abraham have attained the joy of preparing to found the New Jerusalem.

Your joy and your faith will help you, O ye fellow believers of Hawaii, in building the glorious temple of God in these Islands of the sea. Prepare now your offerings for this work. And at the end you shall obtain high places and the office of very High Priest. And you shall also obtain all the blessings of Zion through the great things which you have before obtained. And visions shall be granted to you as to the Angels of God, and you shall obtain the glory of our elder brother, Jesus Christ. And you shall doubtless become the saviours of your (red-skinned) brothers and sisters in these Islands of the sea, and you shall doubtless become numerous among the ransomed, as has been said by the Prophets, ascend up unto Mount Zion. These things are in the teachings of the Spirit of God. The Everlasting God is now speaking to the hearts of His Children through their being chosen and through the Priesthood of His Son, Jesus Christ, as in the days old.

He is the God of this time and also of the time when he spoke

unto Moses out of the branches of the burning bush, and from the midst of thunderings on Mount Sinai. Like as when he called to the little child, Samuel, to listen to his voice, so is it now.

Therefore, now, O ye Rulers of the House of Israel, on Oahu, give heed if ye wish to live and do not act with hesitation. Stand upright then and be strong, and publish the Gospel of the Latter Day (Saints) in all parts of your Island, the Priesthood of Jesus Christ and the power of life and of death. Do you not wish to save your race? Do you not wish your brothers in Hawaii to be rescued from death? Then stand up and call loudly to them that they may be thoroughly confirmed in Christ Jesus, because of their repentence for their sins, and after that they shall enter the waters of baptism; and when they have received this they shall be richly endowed with the gifts and the power of the Holy Spirit. I am well assured of the truth of these things, and that God has the power to work great things for you by those who hold the offices of Priests of Jesus Christ, if you are strong. And he will build for you a strong kingdom in the Islands of the Sea. Make ready for your salvation and all those with you and perform the will of the Lord. Be of one mind. Trust your safe keeping one to another with all who are joined with you; confide in your Chief President, and lie in the Prophet, and he again in Jesus Christ; and let us all labor together in the desire of Jesus Christ.

Our beloved brother *J. W. H. Kou* who is the President of the Twelve (Presidena Umikumamalua) in the church, and in our love and confidence, he it is who shall with his own lips tell you many new things from me. I am now preparing to go and see you face to face, (and so forth.) I am desirous to prolong the separation of the brother that he may depart and see his family. I ever remember you in my prayers and shall ever do so. My heart is with the red-skinned children of Abraham.

I am a child of the ocean and of God. It was his servant, the Prophet, who chose me to abide with you constantly. I am not a stranger. I am preparing to erect a new pillar for the church, then we, the Saints in Hawaii, shall be united in one, one beautiful branch; and the estrangement and opposition of our enemies shall not be long. But as for us, we shall be separated, because God at all times tries his saints, as he did the Children of Israel in the wilderness; as he also did your saints in America, who were driven out from Ohio, Missouri and Nauvoo. But at the present time they are prosperous and independent in Utah, which now is called Deseret.

And so will it be that you, Oh ye Saints of Hawaii, shall attain blessedness and strength when the Lord shall lead you out with Holiness into the peaceful place he has chosen for you.

Like Moses shall I lead you: Like Joshua shall I fight for you; and like Jesus, if God wills it, I will die for you.

Listen to the words of our brother *J. W. H. Kou*; he has obtained a good report and is an apostle of the church and of God. I am soon

to go unto you to tell you again of my love to you and to the Spirit of God which is one.

Now may the Eternal God preserve you and may all the blessings of the God of Israel rest upon you and your first brothers in the Priesthood, and in the covenant of Abraham and the Gospel of the Latter Day (Saints.) I am,

(Signed,) WALTER MURRAY GIBSON,

Chief President of the Islands of the Sea and of the Hawaiian Islands, for the Church of the Latter Day (Saints.)

STATEMENTS OF CONTRIBUTORS.

[Translation]

I, Kaawa, have given to W. M. Gibson, 2 goats, 6 turkeys, 2 fowls, 1 plate, $3 50 in cash. I have given half a dollar for a certificate; this has been given to buy the land Palawai, Lanai. KAAWA.

I, Kaniniu, the widow of Kailihune, deceased, we two give to W. M. Gibson 800 goats, 2 horses, 3 turkeys, $50 in cash, $5 for the certificate as elected Bishop. *$1.00 for my own certificate. All of these things have been given to buy the land of Palawai, Lanai.

her
KANINIU, +
mark

* ($100 in original.)

I, Huleia, have given to W. M. Gibson, 1 donkey, 2 fowls, half a dollar for the certificate; these are given to buy Palawai, Lanai.

his
HULEIA, +
mark

It is Solomona who has given to Haalelea $180 to buy the land Palawai, Lanai; the receipt I have put into the hands of W. M. Gibson. SOLOMONA.

Witness, J. W. PUOANUI.

I, J. W. Puoanui, have given to W. M. Gibson 1 horse, 13 turkeys, for the purpose of purchasing the land of Palawai, Lanai; $2 in cash. J. W. PUOANUI.

I, Solomona, have given to W. M. Gibson, 15 goats, 5 dozen turkeys, 4 dozen fowls, 2 wool blankets (hulu hulu), I jackass, 1 dozen plates, 1 dozen forks, 1 dozen knives, 1 sheep; for the certificates, $2; my wife has given one dollar; these things are given to buy Palawai, Lanai; 2 wooden chairs. H. K. SOLOMONA.

I, Makakehau, have given to W. M. Gibson $5 in cash, * $1.00 for my certificate, 25 paiai sent to Lanai; these things are to buy the land of Palawai, Lanai. MAKAKEHAU.

* ($100 in original.)

I, Apiki, of Maui, have given to W. M. Gibson, 60 sheep, 20 paiai, $12 in cash, given to buy the land Palawi, Lanai.

his
APIKI, +
mark

I, Uhinian, have given to W. M. Gibson, 20 sheep, 20 goats, 2 dozen turkeys, 1 dozen fowls, 50 (cents) for my certificate; these are given to buy the land Palawai, Lanai.

his
UHINIAU, +
mark

I, Kaaaku, have given to W. M. Gibson, 5 fowls, 10 turkeys, $5 in cash, given to buy the land Palawai, Lanai. KAAAKU.

I Kaliii, have given to W. M. Gibson, 1 dozen turkeys, 6 fowls, $5 50 in cash; these things are given to purchase Palawai, Lanai.

KALILI.

[Translation]

HONOLULU, OAHU, June 22d, 1862.

To J. W. H. KOU,—

President of the Twelve and of the Saints of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints for the Church of the Island of Oahu. To the Branch Church of Honolulu with all the Branches on the whole Island:

LOVE TO YOU AND MAY GOD BLESS YOU. AMEN: I hereby lay before you the report of my second tour among you, together with my Apostolic mission to the Church of this Island, in accordance with the instructions of the Chief President (Peresidena Kickie) of the Islands of the Sea and of the Hawaiian Islands, begining on the 7th of June and ending on the 21st of June, regarding the receipts and expenditures, the balance in hand, etc.

From the Branch Church of Honolulu.

June 7.—Makue, w.,	$2 00
Namanea, k,	25
Kalima, k, reported before,	25
June 15—Kaakou, k,	25
	$2 75

From the Branch of Waimanalo.

June 15—Kaaea, w	50
Hoopii, w	50
Kahele, w	25
Naiwielua, w	25
Wahinemaikai, w	25
	$4 50

From the Branch of Kualoa.

June 16—Manoha, w	1 00
Manolo, k	1 00
	$6 50

Kaululena, w, one horse...

From the Branch of Kaalaea.

June 11—Poe, one horse	

Branch of Laie.

June 19—Pres't J W H Kou	1 00
Kalimakuhi	50
Laihaka, w	50
Pepelii, k	50
Hupenu, k	50
Lusia Kalau, w	25
Kupihea, k	25
Kunahihi, k	12½
Naaialohua, k	25
Kaauwaeaina, k	12½
	$10 50

From the Branch of Waiahea.

June 21—Keoni Kawaikumuole	12½
Kaaiahulu, w	12½
Kaolelo, k	12½
	$10 87

June 9—Expended for shoes	2 00
Expended for postage	12½
Balance on hand	*$8 87½
No Receipts paid in but not placed in the hands of the Apostle and the Bishops.	
From page 2	$8 87½

*Errors are retained.

June 19—Kauki of Waimanalo, (paid 24th June)	50
June 21—Kaoeoe of Waialua	50
Mokulau	50
	$10 25*

Property of all kinds two horses.

This amount is what has been received by me, and has been reported, given on this Island for the good of the Church; but the property of the Church prepared for buying has not been entered here. That is left for the report of the Bishops under the President of the Twelve to the Chief President. And I am hopeful that the Saints will maintain the strength of the Church in helping to lay the foundations of the Church in blessedness, that we may be united in its Holy Kingdom forever and ever, Amen. Your Fellow Servant in the Holy Gospel.

ENOCH H. KAWAILEPOLEPO.

[Translation.]

List of names of the Converts on the Island of Kauai, April 7, 1863, with the money they have contributed to buy Palawai.

District 1.

Brona Papa, Koloa, k	$2 00	Auka w	37
Kaula k	50	Kauwa k, April 8	50
			$3 37

From Hanamaulu District 2, April 8.

Huapipi k	$1 50	Pika k	25
Kaleo k	25	Kalua k	2 50
Kauhelelau k	50	Mele w	1 00
Kealoha k	25	Puaapoupou w	25
Kawelo k	50	Lea w	37
Polohikau w	50	Wahapaa k	37
Kahalepaio k	50	Kamehaiku w	50
Hokikai k	25	Hana w	25
Kahuakaimi k	25	Kaui k	12½
Keaumiki k	25	Kahoeu w	12½
Hanakaua w	37		$10 75

District 3, April 12.

Kekauahelela k	$1 50	Kanohuku w	25
Leihulu w	50	Lulea w, April 22	50
Niho w	25		$3 00

District 4, Waimea, April 22.

Pilipo k	$1 00	Kaina k	50
Maikai w	1 25	Kaonohiuli k	$1 00
Kuawiliwili k	1 50	Kamoku, w,	1 00
Keoni k	1 50	Kaumelieli k	50
Kaholoau k	50		
Kaleiopuu k	25		$9 00

District 5, Kekaha, April 24.

Komo k	$2 00	Kalio, w	25
Mahoe w	1 50	Nahaleaila w	25
Napoanu k	1 50	Pipili, w.,	50
Naiokolo w	1 00	Leonui k	1 00
Ana Kuahua w	2 50	Nahaleuli k	50
Kahuakai k	1 00	Baulo k	2 00
Pohaku w	25	Oio w	1 00
Lilia Pauahi w	25		
			$15 50

District 6, Hanapepe, April 28.

Nepai Kekuahauli k	$2 50	Kaulaloa k	1 00
Kaohimauna k	2 50	Kailipau w	50
Kaahiki, w.,	50	Keano w	50
Nawahinehula k	25	Kamauleule k	25
Kaanoaloha k	1 00	Kaaipuaa w	25
Kane, k.,	25	Kauli, k.,	25
Hakau, k.,	25	Kaikioewa, k.,	1 00
Kahalepili k	1 25	Keonaona, w.,	25
Nehemia k	1 50	Puuhaaluolu, k.,	25
Kiekie w	1 00	Uha, w.,	50
Kapuni 2, k	1 25	Kahimalani, k.,	25
Mahoe w	25	Nakaiewalu, w.,	25
Olioli k	25	Hanopaka, w	50
Kaiaku k	25	Puniai, k.,	50
Kailiuli k	50	Elia Puaa, k.,	1 00
Kamanukele w	25		
Kahalewai k	25		
			$21 50

Hanapepe, (continued) May 8.

Naliiokeaupuni, w.,	50	Konohia, k.,	1 00
Kahaulelio, k.,	25	Kanaau, w.,	50
Kaikaeka, w.,	25	Mu, k.,	1 00
Pea, k.,	1 00	Kiaaina, k.,	1 50
Mamaele, w.,	50	Kapuni 1, k., May 18, 1863,	1 00
Kulia, w.,	25		
Makaole, k	1 00		
			$8 75

Dist. 7, Kalalau, May 18, 1863.

Mokuahakea k	$1 00	Kauhi w	75
Namanu k	1 00	Nahuawai w	1 00
Kaohenui w	50	Papohaku k	1 00
Manuia k	50	D. Puhipaka k	1 50
Kahalekai w	1 00	Puahiki k	2 00
Kahaiki w	25	Opulua k	1 00
Solomona k	25	Kalio w	50
Kaili k	25	Waipoo w	25
Hakumano w	25	Poo w	25
Hano w	50		
Piapa w	50		
			$14 25

District of Haena, May 23.

Pukoula k	$1 50	Kahaino w	50
Opumomona w	1 00	Malule k	1 00
Gege Geoger k	1 00	Kaia k	50
Pohaku w	50	Kauka k	50
Kupulupulu k	2 00	Hale k	1 50
Keahiahi k	2 00	Mahuiki k, May 25, 1863	1 50
Kiekie w	50		
			$14 00

District of Lumahai.

Kamakahi k	$2 00	Kekuanui w	25
Okena k	3 00	Kalawaia w	25
Leanuenue k	4 00	Kihei k	1 00
Kaipo Haalou w	3 00	Hapakuea k	1 50
Hoomanawanui k	1 00	Kauanui k	1 00
Kalaauhina k	50	Kailianu k	1 00
Pekuela k	50	Kaolelo w	1 00
Neau k	25	Kanealii k	50
Kapika w	25	Iosua k	1 50
Kamalolo w	25	Kaupehe w	1 00
Kanoho w	25	Makakoi w	50
Kalalike w	1 50	Kekoo k	1 00
Kealohanui w	1 00	Kawaa k	50
Kainalu w	50		
			$29 00

District of Hanalei, May 28.

Kalalakoa k	$2 50	Keonipoe, k	1 00
Apaiki k	2 00	Naohe, w	50
Puupoa, k	3 00	Kailianu, k	1 00
Aukai, k	1 00	Lolou, k	50
Kekoa, k	50		
			$12 00

District of Hounokekaba, June 11, 1863.

Wahahulu, k	$2 50	Ikua, w	50
Kalua, k	1 50	Kukahi, k	1 00
Oliva, k	1 50	Maukoli, w	50
Nui, w.,	50	Kamaunapuhi, w	25
Palapala, w	50	Kanaloa, k	1 00
Mauoha, k	1 00	Kaapuwai, k	1 25
Nailieha, k	50		
Mailou, k	1 50		
			$14 00

District of Wailua, June 15, 1863.

Kalua 2 k	$1 50	Keliimakapo k	1 00
Leiuakaui	1 00	Kepuu w	1 00
Moelua w	50	Papai w	50
Keauwiki k	1 50	Mukaka k	1 50
Pelekane k	1 00	Manukele w	50
Keliikaawale w	50	Puukohola k	50
Keawemakua k	2 00		
Puakalua w	1 50		
			$14 50

June 24th, 1863.

These are the ones who gave to me their property to obtain money to purchase Palawai at the command of W. M. Gibson.

From Haena.

Kekamakahi, 1 ox k.....	$7 50	Holi k, 1 horse.....	6 25
Okena k, 1 horse.....	5 50	Keahiahi k, 1 horse.....	4 50
Kaipo w, 1 horse.....	5 75	Kupulupulu k, 1 hog.....	3 50
Puahiki k, 1 ox.....	8 50	Pukoula k, 1 deed (to land.)	
Namanu k, 1 hog.....	7 50		$53 25
Puupoa k, 1 horse.....	4 25		

From Hanamaulu, July 8, 1863.

Kalua Maoloha k, 4 horses	$32 00	Kauhalelau k, 1 horse.....	4 50
" 1 ox.....	10 00	Huepipi k, 1 horse.....	3 25
" 6 goats.....	3 00	Pika k, 1 horse.....	7 25
" 1 house.....	15 00	Pelekane k, deed to land...	
Kawelo k, 2 horses.....	8 50		$90 00
Heana k, 1 horse.....	6 50		

July 18, 1863.

From Kekaha, 4 Pawehe* 4 mats	$12 00	From Haena, 1 bundle Olonat.....	5 00
From Kekaha, 3 bundles Tobacco	9 00	From Kalalau, 1 bundle Olona.....	5 00
From Lumahai, 1 bag Arrowroot.....	6 00	From Lumahai, 10 mats...	2 25
			$39 25

August 12, 1863.

Those who took Mormon books at Lumahai:

Kaehuwawae k.....	$1 00	Hale k.....	1 00
Hapakuea k.....	1 00	Mahuiki k.....	1 00
Kaaukai k.....	1 00	Keonipoe k.....	1 00
Okena k.....	1 00	Kaluna k.....	1 00
Puupoa k.....	1 00	Aumanana, w.....	1 00
Kekuahelela k.....	1 00	Aukao, k.....	1 00
Akela w.....	1 00		$13 00

August 23, 1863.

Those who took the certificates (palapala koho), a means of raising money:

		Mele, w.....	1 00
Kaipo Haalou, w. Kahunamoku,.....	$1 00	Kamehaiku, w.....	1 00
Kauanui, w.....	1 00	Polohikau, w.....	1 00
Opumomona, w.....	1 00	Auakuahua, w.....	1 00
Kuala, w.....	1 00	Naiokolo, w.....	1 00
Mai, w.....	1 00	Mahoe, w.....	1 00
Kalio, w.....	1 00	Kaahiki, w.....	1 00
Kaalaeahina, w.....	1 00	Kamanukele, w.....	1 00
Nahuawai, w.....	1 00	Kapalauhulu, w.....	1 00

*A choice kind of mat made on Niihau. †A strong fibre for making twine for nets.

August 27.

The men who paid money:

Keahiahi k.....	$1 00	Kapakae k.....	1 00
Pukoula k.....	1 00	Kamakahi k.....	1 00
Kapulupulu k.....	1 00	Kihei k.....	50
Hale k.....	50	Kaluna k.....	50
Mahuiki k.....	50	Puupoa k.....	1 00
Okena k.....	1 00	Apaiki k.....	1 00
Holi k.....	1 00	Kalaike w.....	1 00
			$29 00

August, —, 1863.

Certificates for Palapala kohono.

Kalalakoa k.....	$1 00	Kelohanui w.....	1 00
Naehu k.....	1 00	Mu w.....	1 00
Kaohipu w.....	1 00	Kaulaloa w.....	1 00
Kalua Maoloha w.....	1 00	Hakau w.....	1 00
Kawelo w.....	1 00	Kahalewai w.....	50
Huepipi w.....	1 00	Konohia w.....	50
Pika w.....	50	Kaiahauna w.....	50
Paka w.....	50	Kapuni w.....	50
Nahale w.....	50	Kaholoau w.....	1 00
Hukikai w.....	50	Puniai w.....	1 00
Kaaialani w.....	50	Kaonohiauli w.....	1 00
Kaleo w.....	50	Geogi w.....	50
Kahalekula w.....	1 00	Kaleiopuu w.....	50
Pupulénui w	1 00	Kaheana w.....	1 00
Kawahapoka w.....	1 00	Kanealuahine w.....	50
Paahana w.....	1 00	Iosia w.....	50
			$25 00

September 4, 1863.

The people who took Mormon books at Hanapepe:

Hakau k.....	$1 00		
Kiaaina k.....	1 00		
Puhaalulu k.....	1 00		
Kelohanui k.....	1 00		
Mu k.....	1 00		
Makole k.....	1 00		
Kuohu k.....	1 00		
Kapuni k.....	1 00		

September 8. 1863, from Waimea.

Kaonohiuli k.....	1 00		
Lupa k.....	1 00		
Niheu w.....	1 00		
Kaina w.....	1 00		
Kaleiopuu w.....	1 00		
Pilipo w.....	1 00		

September 12, 1863.

Those who took books at Kekaha.

Wahahulu k.....	1 00		
Pono w.....	1 00		
Popae w.....	1 00		
Kapo w.....	1 00		
Kalua w.....	1 00		
Mailou w.....	1 00		
Kukahi w.....	1 00		
Kiapa w.....	1 00		
Kamahine w.....	1 00		
Naiokolo w.....	1 00		
Paulo w.....	1 00		
Napoanu w.....	1 00		
Nailieha w.....	1 00		
Ana Kauhua w.....	1 00		
			$28 00

These are the people who have given again of their property, from Lumahui.

Hapakue k, 1 horse	3 50	Kahanaho w, 4 fowls	1 00
Kanealii k, 1 horse	4 50	Kihei w, 1 taro patch	6 50
Napahi k, 1 horse	3 50	Kekoo w, 1 horse	4 50
Kekuanui w, 1 hog	5 00		
			$28 50

[Translation.]

The sum total of the money from the beginning is $475 37.

The letter "W" and "K" to the names mean (w) female, (k) male, as in the original.

The money collected on Hawaii, by K. H. Kaleohano, which was brought at the command of W. M. Gibson, and put into the hand of W. M. Gibson, for the purpose of buying Palawai, Lanai.

F'm Waipio, Feb. 1, 1862..	$220 00	Oct. 6, 1862, Namauu	5 00
" " May 20, " ..	112 75	" 6, 1863, Namauu	3 50
" Koamano, O't. 6, " ..	330 00	Oct. 6, 1862, Kaloa	120 00
" Kohala and Waipio, Fed. 24, 1863	446 00	Hooliliamanu	18 00
		Kalua & Alohiakea	19 00
	$1,108 75		*$311 62
[Signed.] KALEOHANO.		[Signed.] KALEOHANO.	
Oct. 6, 1862, J. Keawe gave to W. M. Gibson	$10 00	May 26, 1863, J. Keawe	136 62

[Translation.]

June 3, 1862—Keapu, the one who took it to Gibson	$127 75	Oct. 4, 1863—Kaipo Wing took it to Gibson	21 75
Sept. 29, 1862—Chs Wing, H. B. Eddy took it to Gibson	50 75	Oct. 10, 1863—Kaholo took it to Gibson	4 63
Dec. 1862—Moroni took it to Gibson	192 00	Oct. 4, 1863—Collections taken up at a feast on Lanai for the land Palawai	59 00
April 18, 1863—J. W. H. Kou took it to Gibson	72 00	Nov. 2, 1864—Gibson came here to Honolulu, the brethren gave him cash	10 00
April 18, 1863—Moroni took it to Gibson	150 75	E. H. Kawailepolepo	15 00
June 15, 1863—J. W. Napela took it to Gibson	38 00	Shoes for Kalula, and a door lock	3 00
June 5, 1863—Oahalau, Lei, Maile, Kaula, Akakai	20 75	21 Books of Mormon	21 00
Aug. 20, 1863—J. Keanu, took it to Gibson	86 43	Mar. 19, 1864—48 Bundles of charcoal brought by J. W. H. Kou	16 00
Oct. 4, 1863—J. W. H. Kou took it to Gibson	175 75	Turkeys of church members of Lanai sold by Wing	35 00
Oct. 4, 1863—Wahinemaikai took it to Gibson	27 50	11 bundles of onions	11 00
Oct 4. 1863—G. Koeao took it to Gibson	32 50	Dec. 25, 1863—Makue	5 00
Oct. 4, 1863—Kapo took it to Gibson	35 75		$1211 56

I, J. W. Kou hereby certify to this list of names, and that the money above stated was given to W. M. Gibson for the purpose of buying the land of Palawai, Lanai.

J. W. H. KOU.

*[There is a mistake in addition here. Translator.]

[Translation.]

To the Church of Jesus Christ, of the Latter Day Saints, on the Island of Oahu, of the Hawaiian Islands.

I SEND YOU MY LOVE, AND MAY GOD BLESS YOU, AMEN: In my tour among the Branches of the Church, in my office as "Apostle of the Church" I lay before you this day the full report of my works among the Branches of the Church, aided by some of the Deacons (Luna) and by my "Fellow Apostle" during the 25th, 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st of May 1862.

For the Branch in Honolulu.

May 25—Kauki w	$ 50	Kamaka k	50
Kananui w	25	Lalou k	12½
Kapita w	12½	Kalawaia k	25
Malaea w	25	Kaakau k	25
Kaholo w	12½	Malaki k	12½
Makulau w	12½	Kapo w	25
Naili w	25	Waiwaiole w	12½
Keanu k	1 00	J. W. H. Kou for the c'h.	2 00
Naili w	1 00	Kapule	12½
Nauwele k	25	Kaauwaeaina	25
Kahaiole k	12½	Kahina	25
Nahina k	25		$8 50

From the Branch at Wiamanalo.

May 28—Kimo Keoni k	$ 50	Haaluea k	50
More — k	25	Haupii w	12½
Naiwielua k	25	Waialoha w	12½
Kauki k	50	Kepaa k	25
Kalulikana k	12½	Kauku w	12½
Kaaea w	25		$3 25
Kalawaia k	25		

From the Branch at Kaalea.

May 29—Kaaumuanua w	50	Pulu k	50
Kuapalahalaha k	50	Lilipi w	25
Nakahili k	50		$2 50
Keaiohanui w	25		

From the branch at Kualoa.

May 30—Manuha w	$ 25	" "	Kaululena w		25
" " Nainoieha k	50	" "	Kauhiaahu w		25
" " Hapeni k	25	" "	Kuaula w		12½
" " Wahinemaka k	25	" "	Kaahanui w		12½
" " Kawaihui k	25	" "	Opunui w		12½
" " Muolo k	50	" "	Maulill w		12½
" " Ululani k	25	" "	Hookano w		25
" " Kanalua k	25	" "	Hoolulu k		25
" " Paalole w	25				$4 75
" " Keaiai w	25				

From the Branch at Laie.

May 30—Luisa Kalau.....	$1 00
	$1 00

Other property received from other Branches on this Island, 1862.

May 25—Kipala of Honolulu, 1 piece.
March 2—Nakahili of Laie, 1 piece of land.
Naiwieha of Kualoa, by the hand of the Pres. 12.
May 30—Pepehi of Kualoa, 1 horse.
Kupihea of Laie 1 mare.
Kalimakuhi of Laie, 1 horse.
Laihaka, w. of Laie, 1 horse.
May 31—Kolikoli k of Waialua, 1 horse.

Summary of the receipts from the branches on the Island of Oahu.

May 25—From Honolulu by cash.....	$8 50
May 28—From Waimanalo by cash.....	3 25
May 29—From Kaalaea by cash.....	2 50
May 30—From Kualoa by cash.....	4 75
From Laie by cash.....	1 00
	$20 00

Receipts in Property.

May 30—From Kualoa 1 horse.
May 30—From Laie 3 horses.
May 31—From Waialua 1 horse.
Total 5 horses.

May 25—From Honolulu 1 piece of land.
March 2—From Kualoa 2 pieces of land.
Total 3 pieces of land.

This is the whole sum of all I have collected on this Island for the good of the Church; but I have not yet finished my work among you. And may God bless you. Amen.

ENOCH H. KAMAILEPOLEPO.

(Copy of Memorandum Book) showing account of moneys of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints.

Money received for land on Lanai, 1861.

May 22.....$	1 50
May 26—Balance handed over.....	8 50
May 26.....	1 00
June 2.....	3 25
June 9.....	9 75
June 18.....	1 00
June 23.....	5 50
June 30.....	2 50
July 14.....	50
July 21.....	2 00
July 28.....	1 00
Sept 1.....	10 37½
Sept 15.....	1 12½
Sept 16.....	2 75
Sunday, Sept. 29, delivered into the hands of brother Eddy.....	50 75
October 6—Ditto above.....	1 00
Jan. 27, 1862, received.....	50
Jan. 31.....	25
Feb. 9.....	1 00
March 9.....	6 25
March 9.....	62½
March 9.....	1 00

Money received for the poor, delivered into the hands of Bro. Eddy.

May 26.....	1 00
June 2.....	1 00

Money Expended.

Nov. 18—For window glass	87½
" 23—1 piece of cotton	6 00
1 pair of shoes.....	1 50
8 papers of tea.....	1 00
9 pounds of sugar.....	1 00
19 pounds bread.....	2 00
Nov. 27—For rope.....	3 50
For nails.....	12½
Nov. 29—For rope.....	1 00
Dec. 4—Rope.....	2 00
	$19 00
Paid for permit for passage from coast.....	50
Freight and passage.....	75
Rice for seed.....	50
To Bro. Eddy.....	1 50
For Scythe.....	2 50
For Sickle.....	50
1 bottle of gin.....	2 00
For vinegar.....	12½
Handed to Kailihune.....	1 25

Ezra Benson, Z. Snow, two of the twelve, with Joseph F. Smith, Almy Smith and William W. Cluff, high priests, arrived here from Salt Lake, 1864, and visited Lanai for the purpose of having the land made over to the church, for whom it had been procured, but this Mr. Gibson declined to do, maintaining that as it was in his name he should hold on to it. He was then excommunicated from the church by a majority vote of the native members, on account of his departure from the rules of the church by the appointing of apostles and their offiicers, for which he had no authority. The flighty notions of Gibson, who was only an appointed missionary, were not those of the mormon church established in these Islands, the members of which have ever been law-abiding, with no thought toward the peopling of the Islands, the establishment of Zion, or of securing political supremacy here.

The few but significant facts which we have now given to the world, do not furnish all of the highly colored pigments with which to paint the picturesque character of the Oceanic Moses. The sequel of his career in these Islands may possibly correspond with the beginning of that career in countries more highly favored with his youthful and untamed activities. It makes us mindful of the positive assertion of the poet regarding a certain kind of vase, that if it were crushed the perfume that had filled it would remain with the broken fragments. Whatever adverse circumstances may have occurred, the same insatiable desire to become a "Moses" to some people in the great tranquil sea has fused and burned in the morning, noon, and now in the evening of life.

The printed report of the House of Representatives, (U. S. A.,) No. 307, (34th Congress, 1st Session, 1856,) is an extraordinary document. It covers three hundred and fourteen pages of printed matter relating solely to difficulties between Walter M. Gibson and the Dutch Government. As it would be impossible to make even extracts from it here, we shall briefly note some of the salient points, leaving those who are curious to the perusal of the material gathered together in those pages.

The extracts which we make will be made in every instance from the testimony of those *favorable* to Gibson. In May, 1851, Gibson bought the revenue cutter *Flirt*, and attempted to sell her to General Carrera of Guatemala. "He was compelled to abandon the attempt," says the Committee on Foreign Affairs, "because the vigilance of the United States authorities prevented it." It will be seen that here is the first authentic record of the man's public character. Gibson then loaded the *Flirt* with ice and sailed southward. At Porto Praya his vessel was searched; at Pernambuco his ice was reduced to one or two tons, which he sold. Being the owner of the vessel he took command as captain, and sailed away towards the East Indies and after various adventures reached the Palembang River. While on the coast of Sumatra, he stated that his object in desiring to go to Singapore was to "make inquiry after the estate of a collateral relative who had died there some eighteen years before, which had descended to him." Adjoining the Dutch territory of Palembang was the territory Djambi, governed by a native prince, the Sultan

of Djambi. The Dutch claimed that this territory was subject to their authority. The mate of the *Flirt*, one Graham, in attempting to take a letter from Gibson to the Sultan of Djambi, was arrested, the letter was taken from him, and Gibson also was arrested. The following is the letter :

"LETTER TO THE SULTAN OF DJAMBI."

"*A Trusty Word.*"

"This letter accompanied by many salutations and ceremonies from me, Lord Captain Walter, residing in America, to whom the Lord of all hosts grant that he may appear in the presence of the Lord Sultan, who reigns over the Empire of Djambi. I further faithfully and sincerely make known to you that my first officer, with three of his followers, will appear before you, Sultan, as I wish to form a great friendship with you, Sultan. I am now able to assist you, Sultan, with everything you may desire, as the American Government has no want of powder, bullets, guns, muskets, and lelahs, (or long-metal, native guns with small orifices.) I can assist to make it good to all Malays, because I do not like all the Dutchmen, of which you, Sultan, can give the assurance to all Malays, and you will be able to make one with me. I also wish to know the way from Djambi to Palembang, and in what time this distance can be made. I can assist to make everything fine, and I wish that the Malays may be ruled as in former times. In one month I can be at the mouth of the Djambi River. With this, my first officer, you can agree, Sultan, what is best, as the American Government has no want of steamers and war-ships—of both there are many ; and you, Sultan, need not trouble yourself on this head. The whole of the upper countries of Djambi and that of Palembang I will bring in good order, and, if possible, get rid of all the Dutchmen excepting some. Within a few days I will come, and can then take possession of this Empire. I send many greetings to you, Sultan, and to all your officers.

WALTER BIN GIBSON,
WALTER ANAK (son of) GIBSON, { Seal. }

Commandante Schooner American Flirt,
Kommandante Skoonyer prang (of war) Merikan Flirt."

At Palembang, 4th of February, 1852.

JOHN PARKER,
Sworn Translator."

The charge made by the Dutch was that Gibson was engaged in stirring up treason in their dominions. This Gibson denied. After three separate trials by the inferior courts, in which Gibson was acquitted, he was arrested by the highest criminal court of the Dutch territory, tried, convicted and sentenced to stand half-an-hour under the gallows, to imprisonment for twelve years, and then to banishment. Two weeks after the sentence, Gibson escaped, returned to the United States and requested the Government to demand indemnity of the Dutch Government. Mr. W. L. Marcy, then Secretary of State, took the matter up with energy. Mr. August Belmont, American Minister at the Hague, demanded an indemnity of $100,000. This was refused by the Dutch Government on the ground that the arrest and conviction of Gibson was justifiable. A Congressional Committee from whose report we have obtained the facts already set forth strongly urged the demand for indemnity. Mr. Gibson demanded in a letter to the Secretary of State, dated Nov. 11th, 1854, "that the Government of the United States resort to the only means remaining for enforcing just demands."

Mr. Marcy wrote to Mr. Belmont instructing him to press the matter "temperately but resolutely upon the Dutch Government." Mr. Belmont did press the matter closely and sharply. The Dutch Government informed Mr. Belmont that if Gibson entered the Hague he would be arrested and sent back to Java. Mr. Belmont replied that if that were done "the most deplorable consequences might follow." That is to say that the United States would have declared war against Holland. In the meantime a thorough investigation was made of the whole subject, and all of the material was gathered and printed in these documents. On the part of Gibson there is his vigorous denial of having written a treasonable letter. He says that his first mate, Mr. Graham, wished to visit the interior of Sumatra, "and with a view to insure his safety and to facilitate his movements, I ordered my Secretary, Kiagoos Lanang, to write some lines as a kind of passport, to be addressed to the Sultan of Jambee, or other prince, to the north of Sumatra, stating my friendly regards, the skill and good character of the bearer, the value his services might be to the native powers, and other remarks of a similar import, without dictating a single hostile word against the Dutch in that region. I could not, at this time, hold any conversation in the Malay language. I merely knew the names of a few articles of common use. I did not then know a single character of the Arabic script, in which this letter to the Sultan of Jambee was written, and so had great difficulty, by signs and a few words to intimate my desire to the writer." Gibson's secretary, for this purpose, was a Malay, who happened to be employed in the government police. He wrote the letter and Gibson signed it, but he says that not knowing the Malay language he did not know what he was signing, and he denied ever having signed the letter which was termed in the proceedings the "treasonable letter." The Government of Netherlands India, on the other hand, insisted that Gibson knowingly and willfully wrote this singular letter, intending to stir up the Djambi to *revolt*. Much testimony was submitted by it. The Government of the United States, however, was disposed to think that Gibson had been harshly treated, and the correspondence shows "teeth" at every point. On the 9th of September, 1854, Mr. Belmont hinted to the Dutch Government that ulterior measures would be resorted to in order to redress Gibson's wrongs. Finally the Dutch Government placed in the hands of Mr. Marcy a copy of a letter written by Gibson to the governor of the Netherlands India, which is as follows :

CAPTAIN GIBSON TO THE GOVERNOR OF NETHERLANDS INDIA :

"May it please Your Excellency, I once more take the liberty of addressing you in relation to my case; and I now desire to do so without any feeling of attempt at defence; but rather to throw myself wholly upon your Excellency's clemency and that of your government. I am, at the moment, at liberty, but expecting incarceration at any time. I must say, that I feel this state of uncertainty to be a severe punishment. I know, and avow most respectfully, that I have allowed my fancy and my vanity to get the better of my judgment. Much of the time, during my stay within the jurisdiction of the Netherlands Indian Government, I remember to have indulged in bravadoes that I would become a potentate in the East; and this to Europeans and natives, who I cannot suppose to have attached any importance to what I said, than as a vain-glorious boast; but I must ever add in extenuation that this was after a plentiful indulgence in wine.

I have been too often led away in life by some high colored romantic idea; but, as I said at the commencement, I write not for defence on the occasion, but to avow that I committed grave errors in a too free way of speaking with natives; and ultimately allowing my mate to depart into the interior, and in signing a letter addressed to a native chief, in the Malay character, without sufficiently exam ining, or endeavoring to know, its inflammatory contents. I acknowledge the serious fault of sending a communication of whatever nature to such a personage, and allowing the mate of my vessel to leave to penetrate into the interior, without acquainting the authorities. I cannot remember more particulars than I have already given in previous statements; and I now crave your excellency's consideration of all the facts, and then dispose of me as your leniency shall dictate. I make no defence, but only pray for a speedy judgment; hoping that there will be found a sufficiency of extenuating circumstances to mitigate the sentence I may strictly deserve. I remain, your excellency's most obedient servant,

WALTER M. GIBSON.

Batavia, February 25th, 1852."

MARCY'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT.

This letter should have been transmitted with other papers to Congress. But it was found to be missing. It was regarded by the Dutch Government as a strong evidence to justify their action. When the loss of this letter was discovered, the Secretary of State wrote the following letter:

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:—After the publication of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Minister of the United States to the Netherlands, in the case of Walter M. Gibson, called for by a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 27th of July last, it was discovered that an important paper embraced in that resolution had not been transmitted. The paper referred to was the alleged copy of a letter from Walter M. Gibson to the Governor of Netherlands India, dated the 25th of February, 1852.

I deem it proper to send to you one which I believe to be a duplicate of that which was received at the department from our Minister at the Hague, with an explanation of the reasons why it did not accompany my report to you of the 16th ultimo. It is the common practice in the department to allow those having claims against foreign Governments for losses of property or personal injuries, under its management, to have access to the papers on file in regard to their respective claims. The ordinary course was pursued in regard to Mr. Gibson. During the pending of the negotiations of his case, down to the time copies were made for Congress, he frequently applied for permission to examine the documents relating to it, and it was always granted to him. Mr. Belmont's despatch of the 5th of March, and the papers which accompanied it, were in his possession out of the department for some time. He returned, as was supposed, all that had been intrusted to him. It is not known or believed that any of the papers in Mr. Gibson's care have been in the hands or under the inspection of any person but Mr. Gibson, and those employed in the department. One of the documents which accompanied that despatch was Mr. Van Hall's note of February 25th, 1854, in which he states that a copy of Mr. Gibson's letter to the Governor of the Netherlands India (the missing letter), was attached; and there is no doubt it accompanied the copy of that note sent to this department by Mr. Belmont.

After the papers were returned, Mr. Belmont's dispatch was not found among them ; but as Mr. Gibson was in Europe and could not be called on to account for it, application was made to Mr. Belment for a duplicate which was obtained from him.

Finding the copy of the letter of Mr. Gibson to the Dutch governor had been omitted in the documents published by the House of Representatives, all the papers in Mr. Gibson's case have been since carefully examined, but this letter is not found in the files of the department. It is quite certain that it had become detached from the other papers before the copies were made for the purpose of answering that call. Mr. Gibson has been questioned in relation to this paper, and states that it was not among the correspondence placed in his hands for examination, and cannot account for its disappearance, but expresses the confident opinion that he returned to the department all the papers he took from it. That it was among the papers received from Mr. Belmont is certain, for it is distinctly recollected by several persons belonging to the department. It was regarded as an important paper and much relied on by the government of Holland in resisting Mr. Gibson's claim for indemnity. The substance of it, as will be seen upon examination, is contained in the note of Mr. Van Hall to Mr. Belmont, of February 25, 1854, in the printed correspondence. It is also remarked on in Mr. Van Hall's note to Mr. Belmont of the 29th of June, and in our Minister's reply to that note of the 4th of July.

I have received a communication from Mr. Gevers, the Minister of the King of Holland to this government, accompanied by the

letter which the Dutch Government alleges was written by Mr. Gibson to the governor of the Netherlands, India. I read carefully, more than once, the copy of that letter which was transmitted by Mr. Belmont, and do not doubt that the one which accompanies Mr. Gever's note to me is a duplicate of that which was on file in the department, but cannot now be found. The copy furnished by the Minister of the King of the Netherlands, and his note to me in relation to it, accompany this communication. All which is respectfully submitted.

W. L. MARCY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, Jan. 19, 1855.

Gibson seems to have had a lively perception of his own gifts. In another paper written to the Governor-General of the Netherlands India, he says: "While my poetic imagination might lead me into many excesses or extravagancies not approved of by the matter of fact opinions of the world, yet still I am not of a nature to plot treasonable designs much less to execute them."

After the Secretary of State discovered that his papers had been tampered with, he dropped the matter of Gibson's indemnity. It will be noticed that he does not charge Gibson with taking the letter, but he sets forth the circumstances, in detail, and then leaves each one to make his own inferences. The Secretary evidently made up his mind on the subject. Mr. Belmont ceased to press the matter at the Hague, or threaten the Dutch with war, the House of Representatives cooled off, and the whole affair "went on the table." It seems to have been fortunate for both the Dutch and American Governments that this letter was discovered.

We may also congratulate ourselves on having a historical character with us. On the word of this man the United States finally used towards Holland that peculiar language which precedes a declaration of war. If this letter had not been discovered, it is more than possible that war would have been declared, treasure squandered, blood spilt, and an irreparable damage amounting to millions would have followed. If it had so happened and after such a war this letter had been produced, showing that the Dutch were not far wrong, what would have been the feelings of contempt for the man, who would have permitted life to be wasted, knowing all the time that there was evidence given by himself, which would have, if disclosed, prevented such a terrible catastrophe. Gibson is entitled to the benefit of every reasonable doubt. It will be asked, however, what motive an interpreter hired to make up a simple letter to a high personage from an unobtrusive traveller, could possibly have to make it a letter involving revolution and treason. In the dispatch of Van Hall, Dutch Minister of Foreign Relations, to Mr. Belmont, is a remark which smacks of "Hawaiian Primacy." Van Hall is discussing Gibson's act in Java, tells the American Government that it should make allowance for the staments of one who "exhausted in means, suffered himself to be betrayed into the commission of a crime almost akin to madness—the consequence, no doubt, of the high-colored, romantic idea, which made him dream of the power of a potentate in the East."

In 1852 it was Primacy in Java. In 1882 it is "Primacy in Hawaii," but always Primacy in the Pacific; thirty years of "Eternal grind" at Primacy.

This review of Gibson's experiences at the East does not intrude on private affairs. These facts have been published to the world, and are, as we have said, a part of the foreign history of the American Republic.

We will now turn over a few pages and notice the arrival in Honolulu of Captain Walter M. Gibson who, according to the *P. C. Advertiser* of July 4th, 1861, came here to remain a few weeks and travel about the Islands. The same paper of October 17th, same year, says that the sketch of the "traveler" which appeared, with several slips from San Francisco papers, had been placed in the editor's hands at his (Gibson's) instance by his "man Friday," Mr. H. B. Eddy, who accompanied him, and who, with Mr. C. O. Cummings, afterwards was duped by him as was declared in a statement sworn to by these gentlemen before Judge Allen. He came with a literary reputation, and delivered a number of lectures. Neither he nor Eddy made it known that they were Mormons at the time, but shortly after, they came to the surface as leaders of that denomination.

Of the clippings from California papers concerning Mr. Gibson, which were republished here at that time, we will make extracts from only one account published in the *Evening Bulletin* under the heading,

"A MODERN KNIGHT ERRANT IN TOWN."

"Walter M. Gibson is almost as noticeable a specimen of the genuine roving Yankee as ever turned up; yet he was not born in America at all, and he has no New England blood in him.

"He was born on the Bay of Biscay, was raised in rebellious South Carolina, kept an 'old field school' at 15, married at 17, and was a widower with three children at 21, at which same ripe age he was master of the first iron steamship ever built in the United States. In 1843, he planned an expedition to California, and bought a schooner for the purpose, but the project fell through. * * * But though the California expedition failed, some California ventures did not, and of course the Captain went to Washington. For a while he was Consul General for Guatemala, San Salvador and Costa Rica, and in 1849 and 1850, we hear of him so-journing at Mango de Clava, Santa Anna's residence, and with a Russian envoy and a convoy of soldiers, visiting every state in Mexico, and rumaging in the subterranean ruins of Xochychalco. * * Next we hear of him as the guest of General Robles at Vera Cruz, and then master of the late U. S. revenue cutter *Flirt*, in the harbor of New York, with an armament on board for the service of General Carrera of Guatemala. Uncle Sam had a suspicion that the *Flirt* had Cuba in her saucy eye, and sends a marshal on board. But as the marshal is something of a hindrance, he is cheerfully helped over the side in a fishing boat, and

the *Flirt*, having already landed again her suspicious armament, puts to sea, distancing handsomely a steamer that gives chase. The *Flirt* visits Block Island, but shows her heels when a revenue cutter from Newport heaves in sight. * * The *Flirt* had not been many days at sea when Captain Gibson discovered that the sailing master and a passenger are plotting to treat him, in mid-ocean, as the U. S. marshal had been treated in New York harbor. He makes the conspirators prisoners in the cabin, and before a loaded pistol, accepts their apologies and pardons them. This little matter had been nearly forgotten, when, after a three day's tarry at the Cape de Verde Islands, on signalizing the two pardoned friends to come on board, * * two government boats full of marines escort the absentees to the vessel, and propose to arrest the Captain on a charge of piracy. The Captain refuses to be arrested, but in his own gig goes on shore, is surrounded by a platoon of ragged soldiers, who conduct him to the Government House, where his lately pardoned sailing master and passenger confront him with their charges. The Captain luckily spoke Portuguese with fluency. He made his statement, presented his papers, and on the whispered suggestion that in the rear of the cabin is a fine article of *cordon bleu*, the court adjourns to the cabin of the *Flirt*, and with mutual apologies for the trouble they have given each other, the authorities go on shore, and the *Flirt* on her cruise.

"The *Flirt* with terror found as she got out to sea again that somebody had smashed her chronometer and other nautical instruments, wherefore she must grope her way * * and at last reaches the coast of Brazil. There had been mutiny on board, meanwhile, and some blood spilled on the decks, and an attempt was made by the Brazilian authorities to arrest the Captain. No American being in port, the Captain finds refuge in the house of the British Consul. * * The boy who was left on board with the marines in charge of the *Flirt*, seeing the dim smoke of a steamer to seaward ran up at a venture, the United States ensign, Union down. The infuriated marines cut it down the next instant; but it had floated aloft long enough to arrest the attention of Captain Drake of the British sloop-of-war *Conflict*, which was running down the coast looking for slavers. Captain Drake brought the matter to a speedy issue, and the *Flirt* and her owner went on their rambling way. All the troubles of the Captain with Brazilians, Portuguese and afterwards with the Dutch, grew out of their simple inability to comprehend how and why a man should be in so fine a vessel with no cargo on board. Before the *Flirt* had ended her long cruise, she had twisted in and out among the least visited of the Polynesian groups, giving her commander opportunity to explore many islands, to organize some independent Malay States, and get an experience of the Prison of the Weltevreden.

"Returning at last to America, President Pierce sent him as a diplomatic agent to Europe; he was attache of the American Legation

under Mr. Mason. * * Back again he wrote a book * * Failed to be appointed, though the South Carolina delegation in Congress urged it strongly, as Special Envoy to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with the Malay States. The *Malays* are the Captain's hobby, which he has been riding hard these three years.

"While drifting through the great National Circumlocation office, the Captain proposed to Dr. Bernishel, the Utah delegate, a plan for removing the Mormons from Utah to some great unoccupied island of Oceanica. The project was not unfavorably considered for a while; but Mr. Buchanan's army, and Peace Commissioners at their heels, suddenly put another aspect on the Mormon question, and the scheme was dropped. But the Malay question still lives, and the Captain chasing it down with a little party of friends—and his only daughter is one of the company—cross the Continent, run the gauntlet of the Dacotahs, pausing to recruit at Brigham Young's head-quarters and are in town (S. F.) just now, on their way to the site, wherever it may be, of the new and yet unfounded colony."

Here we have in a nutshell the history of the subject of our sketch up to the time of his arrival among us. His subsequent actions have been detailed (by his own facile pen) in the first part of this article, and we ask people to draw their own conclusions from the facts here presented. His connection with recent events is still fresh in the minds of the public, and it is unnecessary to repeat that with which all are familiar. We ask those who have been acquainted with Mr. Gibson's record for the past twenty years, and those who read it now for the first time in our columns, if he is a proper person to be admitted to the councils of the nation. We ask those who have read the sworn statements of the scores of confiding natives who were victimized by the Saint of the Lanai Zion, if his protestations of *aloha* for the Hawaiians are genuine, or if, as he admits of his relations with the Mormons, it is a means to personal ends—a cloak worn for political advancement. We ask if one with such a past is a fit candidate for a patent of nobility; and if, as conductor of a newspaper—the most powerful lever for right or wrong—he merits the patronage of the public. The last chapter of his biography reads like the first; it is the same old story from beginning to end. "Hawaiian primacy" is only a later offshoot from an old and deep-seated chronic complaint contracted during his sojourn in the Islands of Malaysia and developed into a somewhat definite (?) idea during his leisure moments in his apartments at Weltevreden. His hasty departure from the latter place may have disconcerted his plans for the time, but he still mounts his pet hobby occasionally, and walks him out before the public to exhibit his prominent ribs and scrawny limbs. Captain Gibson's Malaysian experience is reviewed in such a charming vein by

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE,

The eminent American author, who was for a time United States

Consul at Liverpool, that we can not refrain from reproducing it—or portions of it, here.

It is a twice-told tale, but like all that fell from his pen, which was as the enchanted wand of a magician, it will bear re-telling.

When Hawthorne was presiding at the Consulate in Liverpool, to him came the lame the halt and the blind; at his feet they cast their burdens of sorrow, and importuned him day by day. An ordinary man would have considered any compensation inadequate to the wear and tear of such an office, but Hawthorne, who was an earnest student of human nature, who dissected the minds of people as a surgeon dissects the bodies, who had an almost morbid love of analysis, found ample entertainments in the inspection and classification of those who sought to excite his sympathy and obtain his aid. His English note-books attest the sincerity of his heart and the wisdom of his judgment.

He was sometimes led astray, but not often, and his Consular experience proves how in serving his country, a country which has been very tarday in the appreciation of his genius, he has done a greater service to literature and the world. His testimony is always tempered by kindness and if his judgment is at times uncertain, because of conflicting evidence, it ever leans to the side of mercy. We cannot conceive of Nathaniel Hawthorne making a wilful mis-statement or rendering a harsh or hasty verdict.

It was long years ago when "a gentleman of refined manners, handsome figure and remarkably intelligent aspect" entered the Consulate at Liverpool. He was in distress. He unburdened himself to Hawthorne. How these two gentlemen ever get into conversation at all is a question, for Hawthorne was singularly reticent, even when among friends, and he says of his visitor: "Like many men of adventurous cast, he had so quiet a deportment, and such an apparent disinclination to general sociability, that you would have fancied him moving always along some peaceful and secluded walk of life."

We can imagine Mr. Hawthorne and "the gentleman of refined manners," sitting face to face, silent and abashed, until the absurdity of the situation struck them so forcibly that they both burst into laughter. Nothing breaks the ice so completely as a hearty laugh. Then the mysterious personage divulged the romantic story of his life.

Hawthorne continues: "When his dignified reserve was overcome, he had the faculty of narrating these adventures with wonderful eloquence, working up his descriptive sketches with intuitive perception of the picturesque points so that the whole was thrown forward with a positively illusive effect, like matters of your own visual experience. In fact, they were so admirably done that I could never more than half believe them, because the genuine affairr of life are not apt to transact themselves so artistically."

The ice having entirely thawed in the fervor of the stranger's eloquence, he continued his revelation with the pertinacity of the ancient mariner; "literally from his first hour, he had been tossed upon the surges of a most varied and tumultuous existence, having been born at sea, of American parentage, but on board of a Spanish vessel, and spending many of the subsequent years in voyages, travels and outlandish incidents and vicissitudes, which, me thought, had hardly been paralleled since the days of Gulliver or De Foe." We can imagine the Consul catching his breath and turning uneasily in his chair as the eye of the narrator is fixed upon him, an eye, that in his thirst for the unknown, has plunged into the very heart of forbidden mysteries and rent the veil beyond which the dauntless heroes of Jules Verne alone are suffered to explore. "Many of his scenes were laid in the East, and among those seldom visited Archipelagoes of the Indian Ocean, so that there was an Oriental fragrance breathing through his talk and an odor of the Spice Islands still lingering in his garments." The spell was beginning to work; the Consul, dazzled by glittering generalities, no longer struggled but listened passively to the beguiling murmur of the Oriental story-teller: "He had much to say of the delightful qualities of the Malay pirates, who, indeed, carry on a predatory warfare against the ships of all civilized nations, and cut every Christian throat among their prisoners; but they are a gentle natured people, of primitive innocence and integrity."

'Tis the voice of the charmer, charming never so wisely and it continues to ravish the Consular ear:

"But his best story was about a race of men, (if men they were,) who seemed so fully to realize Swift's wicked fable of the Yahoos, that my friend was much exercised with psychological speculations whether or no they had any souls. They dwelt in the wilds of Ceylon, like other savage beasts, hairy, and spotted with tufts of fur, filthy, shameless, weaponless, (though warlike in their individual bent,) toolless, houseless, languageless, except for a few gutturral sounds, hideously dissonant, whereby they held some rudest kind of communication among themselves. They lacked both memory and foresight, and were wholly destitute of government, social institutions or law or rulership of any description, except the immediate tyranny of the strongest; radically untamable, moreover, save that the people of the country managed to subject a few of the less ferocious and stupid ones, to outdoor servitude among their other cattle. They were beastly in almost all their attributes, and that to such a degree that the observer, losing sight of any link betwixt them and manhood could generally witness their brutalities without greater horror than those of some disagreeable quadruped in a menagerie. And yet, at times, comprising what were the lowest general traits in his own race, with what was highest in these abominable monsters, he found a ghastly similitude that half compelled him to recognize them as human brethren."

It is just possible that the discovery of the missing link, to which we respectfully call the attention of Mr. Darwin, staggered the listener. At any rate he seems to be shaking off the spell and adds in his reminiscences:

"I had accepted his Oriental fantasies, not as matters of indubitable credence, but as allowable specimens of an imaginative traveller's vivid coloring and rich embroidery on the coarse texture and dull neutral tints of truth."

The traveller's tale was not yet ended; perhaps he lighted a weed before resuming; perhaps the Consul ordered up brandy and water and listened with renewed interest to fresh developments. They continue:

"After these Gulliverian researches, my agreeable acquaintance had fallen under the ban of the Dutch Government, and had suffered (this, at least, being matter of fact) nearly two years' imprisonment with confiscation of a large amount of property, for which Mr. Belmont, our Minister at the Hague, had just made peremptory demand of re-imbursement and damages."

But the climax was still to come. Having exhausted the resources of the Orient "his vivid coloring and rich embroidery" were to enliven the dull texture of the fabric of Occidental life. Behold!

"Since arriving in England on his way to the United States, he had been providentially led to inquire into the circumstances of his birth on shipboard, and had discovered that not himself alone, but another baby, had come into the world during the same voyage of the prolific vessel, and that there were almost irrefragable reasons for believing that these two children had been assigned to the wrong mothers. Many reminiscences of his early days confirmed him in the idea that his nominal parents were aware of the exchange. The family to which he felt authorized to attribute his lineage was that of a nobleman, in the picture gallery of whose country seat (whence, if I mistake not, our adventurous friend had just returned) he had discovered a portrait bearing a striking resemblance to himself. As soon as he should have reported the outrageous action of the Dutch Government to President Pierce and the Secretary of State, and recovered the confiscated property, he proposed to return to England and establish his claim to the nobleman's title and estate."

The secret of his birth gave a new impetus to English comic opera, languishing since the days of Gay. It has done good service in that very popular craft *Her Majesty's Ship Pinafore*. But the courteous Hawthorne was compelled to draw a line somewhere and he drew it here, concluding this extraordinary interview in a delicious state of uncertainty. Can it be that he was unable to cope with the fascinating vagaries of this wonderful adventurer?

He says: "The English romance was among the latest communications that he intrusted to my private ear; and as soon as I heard the first chapter,—so wonderfully akin to what I might have wrought

out of my own head, not unpracticed in such figments, I began to repent having made myself responsible for the future nobleman's passage homeward in the next Collins steamer. Nevertheless, should his English rent roll fall a little behind hand, his Dutch claim for a hundred thousand dollars was certainly in the hands of our government, and might at least be valuable to the extent of thirty pounds, which I had engaged to pay on his behalf. But I have reason to fear that his Dutch riches turned out to be Dutch gilt or fairy gold, and his English country seat a mere castle in the air,—which I exceedingly regret, for he was a most delightful companion and a very gentlemanly man."

When we next hear of the old man of the sea, for his youth was far spent, he is a MORMON SHEPHERD ON LANAI. The dissembling Buttercup who mixed those babies up was either not to be found, or the sea-born child of misfortune had abandoned his dreams of noble birth. He had become plain Walter Murray Gibson who stated in his official organ the *Nuhou*, April 18th, 1873, "Our temporary connexion with the Mormon Community for a political object, of which we shall give a history at our convenience, is well-known and has never been denied."

We regret the inconvenience which prevents Mr. Gibson from giving the promised history and would be glad to learn from Mr. Gibson the complexion of the politics, and the size of the object which persuaded him to first shepherd the Mormon flock and then abandon it. Another "Oriental fantasy" perchance nipped in the bud by the frost of common sense.

Again his "intuitive perception of the picturesque" serves him a good turn. We have elsewhere quoted from a Mormon document extant the following but it is so pretty that we quote again. "My heart is with the red-skinned children of Abraham. I am a child of the ocean and of God. It was his servant, the prophet, who chose me to abide with you constantly. * * * * Like Moses shall I lead you; like Joshua shall I fight for you; and like Jesus, if God wills it, I will die for you. (Signed) WALTER MURRAY GIBSON,

Chief President of the Islands of the sea, and of the Hawaiian Islands, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints."

That this shepherd did not go about in flowing garments with a book in his hand, leading his flock in green pastures and beside still waters, is apparent from the rumor which got abroad and was severely commented on by the American press, to the effect that the Mormons of Lanai were chained to the plough like human-cattle. Gibson replied in print. Human beings *were* harnessed to the plough and it happened in this wise. The Mormon flock on Lanai had resolved to break ground on New Year's day. There was but one plough-share in the possession of the community. It had for sometime been used as an anchor; when it was fished out of the sea and set in a frame by the good Shepherd, it was discovered that

there was no harness within reach and that the horses on the island were unbroken to the plough. Could the first day of the New Year be allowed to pass without turning a sod? By no means! Ropes were twisted, collars were made and the Shepherd himself laying hold of the improvised harness began to pull lustily. His flock inspired by the example, fell into line and with shout and laughter and merry jest, the good work was begun. It was a scene that would have parted the lips of Virgil in song; a tableau of Druidical simplicity and beauty; a new *Bucolic*, whose melodious echoes go ringing down the groves of change.

Who will deny that there is Oriental fragrance in this sort of thing? Once more the Gibsonian garments exude odors of the spice islands. One can see with half an eye the laughing innocents skipping nimbly before the plough; and when fatigued, if indeed one may grow weary of this pastoral sport, when overcome with joy they gathered beneath the umbrageous groves of those Elysian fields, perchance their Shepherd drew from his breast pocket the pandean pipes and tooted plaintively to his ecstatic flock! For is he not one who impresses the listener as "moving always along some peaceful and secluded walk of life?" And has he not himself pictured the perennial beauty of the vales of his paradise? We quote from the *Nuhou*, April 8th, 1873.

OUR RUN TO LANAI.

"Loving eyes had watched for us and we found fat Lanai horses, ready to bear us in the cool grey of the morning up the hills into the mountain valley of Palawai. It was lovely as when it first won our hearts. Round, ten miles round, level, green and smiling. The terraced and shrub-adorned hills set back like a throne for a heavenly majesty, and a canopy of clouds softened the glory which the God of Day shed in dawning splendors over the scene, of flowered vale and green-wooded ravines and hills. But we had not much time to dwell on scenery." Then followed early breakfast, delicious juicy hot chops, cut from a fat wether, hung up in the mountain air for three days. A fifteen mile gallop with a "faithful Shepherdess," who, however, seems not to have captured the eyes of the Shepherd for he was enabled to make this tempting catalogue of the natural resources of his island home. "We noticed by the way that the grass was very fine, plenty of 'crab-grass,' or *kukaepuaa* and *kukuelio* also *manienie* or Bermuda grass in streaks and patches. Spanish clover and alfalfa, New Bakhara clover, herd's grass, orchard grass, dandelion, lamb's quarter, pursley, sour sorrel, wild turnips and lettuce, wild mints, so fragrant under the horses' hoofs, *elimas*, nasturtiums, morning glories, *popolas*, wild strawberries, daisies, verbenas, poppies, jasmines, and hundreds more of grasses and plants either sparkling with blossom or nodding with seed, throughout the radiant hill and lovely vales. * * After so long an absence, the Shepherd had a kindly greeting from the people of the isle, his only society of the

past." Then the natives took up the thread of the story and cried with loud voice saying *Auwe aloha ino!* "Oh don't we feel glad to see you, and why have you left us? Why has the father left his children? We listened to your voice in the long days that are past and when you told us of our nakedness and unskilfulness, we heeded and we have plenty to-day. Oh come back to Lanai, to the poor land that loves you."

"And we were there to listen," continues the Shepherd, "to the dying moans of our oldest friend, old *Kahuina* whohad said he would die content if he could see the Shepherd once more, and he saw him and the dying old eyes were comforted and the Shepherd's heart was full to overflowing; but the Shepherd hastened on the eve of the second day from his old happy home." He heard a voice which he attributed to the *devil* in the office of the *Nuhou* and which was as persistent as the daughter of the horse-leech, crying "give, give!" Can it be that he found the beauty of Lanai insupportable? Can it be that the gushing torrents of that island of the Islands of the blest no longer soothed his ear? or did the blue waves creaming at the base of its cloud-crowned cliffs, warn him of dangers that beset him elsewhere in this every-day world of ours? He left his island and the handful of the elect who abode there though he must have known that thousands of the less-favored waited breathless without, claiming for admittance, like Peris at the gate of Eden, howling!

Why did he leave? He loved wool; he has recorded the fact thus: "We love wool, that needs only a pair of dollar and a quarter shears to make it marketable; we like it better than sugar. Wool is peace and sugar is worry and war too. Wool is white as innocence but sugar is stained with blood. The true man raises lambs, the acceptable sacrifice, but his murderous brother raises Cain."

In that green sea-garden, the lost *Avilion* found again the isle of raptures unspeakable, the Eden of peace and plenty, whose flowering sod is snowed with spotless fleeces, and where, as the gentle Shepherd passes with his lute upon his arm and his heart upon his sleeve, the little lambs are taught to syllable his name. There, in a song before parting, he gravely put the question to his woolly flock. Let him tell what followed:

"They gave me a short look with their soft sheep's eyes and seemed to say, Shepherd the town is making thee grey and yet thou lovest it. We give thee our lambs and our fleeces; but thy new flock will fleece thee if it can. Return oh inconstant to the sheep of thy other pasture who will not heed thy voice as we did, and leave us to our grass,—*ba-a-a!*"

It was evident that there was something rotten in camp. At this juncture the Shepherd for a time, ceased masquerading; he hung his harp upon the willows that shadow the Leathean waters of Lanai; he scattered his pandean pipes in the winds that visit not too roughly the aromatic vales of that devoted isle. He dashed his crook upon

the velvet sod and ran up the black flag of defiance. He seemed to have acquired some of "the delightful qualities of the Malay pirates who indeed carry on a predatory warfare," for, donning the slouch hat, the half-mask, the dark cloak and the stilletto, he issued the following pronunciamento:

LA GUERRA AL CUCHILLO!

"Our Shepherd is a man of peace, and although he does banter official people and try to make them appear ridiculous, according to fair opposition newspaper warfare, yet he is a respecter of private character and of private life and will never, unprovoked, disturb its peace; but if he is assailed in a way that touches his name and those who are dear to him then he is for war, having had some taste of war from his youth up, and will not shrink from any gage of battle that is imposed on him. But let the enemy beware and be *sure* of his ground of attack for our Shepherd in such a case will not ask or give quarter, but will wage war to the knife and from the point to the hilt. La Guerra al Cuchillo."—*Nuhou*, April 15th, 1873.

Like the storm cloud he descended from the battlements of Lanai, his nostrils breathing fire and smoke, the very earth quaking beneath his indignant tread. His ears were deafened with the loud laughter of the kingdom; for blood-curdling melodrama is ever laughable and the contrasted portraits of the Latter Day Saints as depicted by himself were too much for the risibilities of the Gentiles. Gibson the Shepherd, in the midst of his flocks and herds, feeding among the lilies of Lanai, or capering in the ballet of *Ceres* before the rustic plough; and Gibson in war-paint, trundling down the slopes of his sheep ranch like a little tin god on wheels! Gibson, the pastoral, the æsthetic Gibson, sporting with the faithful shepherdess; and Gibson with lance in rest, shaking his gory locks and nodding his warlike plume! Gibson the anointed, the child of the Ocean and of God—descending from a cloud upon Lanai, like Moses, bearing in one hand the tablets of the law and in the other the apostolic benediction; and Gibson perched upon the fence; for it had already come to this, like a gamy bantam flapping his tiny wings and crowing "La Guerra al Cuchillo!" It is these companion pictures, wreathed in rosemary and rue, in battle-smoke and blood-stained blades, that must hang forever in the halls of Hawaiian national history.

APPROACHING DISSOLUTION.

The burden and the heart of the day oppressed him. He was abont to abandon the Mormon scheme, embraced for a "pclitical object" which is still a mystery; the serpent of discord had entered his paradise; his Mormon flock was butting like so many battering rams; yet his case was not without parallel and this was a supreme consolation in his hour of martyrdom; he could look back on the recall of the angels, contemplating the fall of Lucifer, star of the morning, and the eternal doom visited upon the unfaithful children of

light. The Philistines were upon him, his apostles stood forth in battle array with ingratitude perched upon their banners; even the holiest of them smote him, hip and thigh. He rose to explain, but he rose from covert the other side of the fence; alone, seated on the ruins of a community, with which he was temporarily connected for a political object, the history of which will be given at his convenience; his heart bowed, his spirit broken—for the iron had entered his soul, plumed his bedraggled feathers by the margin of the unvisited pools of Lanai. Their pellucid depths were turned to gall; they no longer sparkled in the sunlight of the eternal summer of the isles, for the waters of Marah were bitter and the Saints had departed with their "baggage checked for Troy." Alone among the crumbling columns of the *Nuhou* on the 22d April, 1873, he sang his swan-song in these minor keys, short metre: "He, the Shepherd, simply proposed that each emigrant should deposit with him thirty-five dollars for his passage, which was done with the knowledge and consent of the Hawaiian Consul. Thirty-two were selected out of over five hundred people, who were ready to accompany the Shepherd. He received one thousand, one hundred and ten dollars for passage money, but might have collected fifteen thousand dollars (sic). With this one thousand one hundred and ten dollars, he paid the passage of thirty-two people to Honolulu, and when he arrived there, boarded them three days at the Sailor's Home, and then shipped them to Lanai. * * * * When the Shepherd and his company arrived at Lanai, he was disheartened at the appearance of the Island; a continued drought, much worse than he had been prepared to expect, made his usual green valleys look brown and uninviting to the farmer entering a new country. However, he encouraged as he best could, but the drought continued and the people who had been demoralized in Honolulu by the talk of idlers, who do nothing but talk, began to go away, and some, as they met with sympathizers ready to suggest evil, thought they would try to make the Shepherd pay for the loss of time; he was tired and worried and harried, and finally after spending over two thousand dollars in return passages and in law expenses, he saw the last of his 'immigration ring.'"

A change of scene is balm to the wounded spirit; it is better than physic; it can

> "Minister to a mind diseased;
> Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
> Rase out the written troubles of the brain,
> And with some sweet, oblivious antidote
> Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff
> Which weighs upon the heart."

GIBSON, THE EX-SHEPHERD, WENT TO NEW YORK;

Still thirsting for notoriety, which is the sop thrown to those who unworthily seek fame. We find him the willing prey of the ubiquitous reporter The *New York Sun* sheds this light upon the esteem in which Gibson was held after the Mormon episode. "When he (Gib-

son) arrived in the Sandwich Islands, a good many Latter-Day Saints were established there. Their settlement was on Lanai; an Island thirty miles long and eight miles wide. It is described by all who have seen it (sic) as the loveliest scene upon the face of the earth; combining the sublimity of mountains with the richness of tropical vegetation and the beauty of an ocean whose waves break in almost constant peace upon its enchanted shores; the soil of the Island is rich, almost beyond conception. Of its productions an idea may be formed from the fact that during the present season, one hundred dollars per acre has been paid for the crop of raw sugar-cane. The Mormon occupants of this Island have however all gone, whether through the arrangement of Captain Gibson or not. We believe the Mormon leaders unanimously attribute to him the fact that their people no longer have a foothold in the dominion of Kamehmeha, or int deed, we believe, anywhere in the whole Pacific. On this accoun- they have naturally become somewhat hostile to Captain Gibson, and in passing through Salt Lake City the other day, he did not deem it prudent to make himself known to any of his old acquaintances. * * Captain Gibson visits this country, not only to see his relatives once again, but also as an agent of the Sandwich Islands. * * * * He proposes to sail for Singapore, with a view of there engaging laborers to emigrate to the Sandwich Islands at the Government expense. All that is necessary, as he assures us, to render his adopted country as rich in wine as in sugar and wool, is a sufficient supply of laborers to develop its incomparable resources.

We beg leave to quote a paragraph from the *New York Times* of a similar date, if we mistake not, in which Mr. Gibson *assures* the reporter that "the (Hawaiian) Government no longer desires or encourages the introduction of coolie or bonded laborers. The emigrant must be free to choose his employer, and his occupation when he sets foot in the dominion of the enlightened King Kamehameha."

The apparent contradiction in these two statements, we are prepared either to attribute to the dazed condition of the respective scribes who recorded them or accept as "allowable specimens of an imaginative traveler's vivid coloring and rich embroidery on the coarse texture and dull neutral tints of truth."

That the Oriental fragrance was breathing through his talk is evident; that he was working up his descriptive sketches with wonderful eloquence, is also evident. The ancient mariner had resumed business at the old stand and was ready to dispose of Spice Island odors in lots to suit. That he had passed through magnificent bankruptcy was nothing; that he had not succeeded in terrifying the Dutch, was nothing. That the English nobility had ignored his claim, was nothing; that as the Lord's anointed he had fallen into disgrace was nothing; the glamor, the burning eloquence, the seductive descriptive faculty, were unimpaired. The odor above mentioned

yet clothed him as with a garment, and the Oriental fragrance continued to breathe through his irrepressible talk.

"You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will,
But the scent of the roses will cling around it still."

Twanging one of the several strings of his bow, he strikes a new key, possibly for a political object, whose unwritten history is also awaiting his convenience.

Through the medium of the *New York Times* he says: "The Sandwich Islands have an American assimilation through American instrumentalities. * * * * Contrast the rich soils, the flowers, fruits and sugars of Hawaii, Oahu, Maui, Kauai and Lanai with the brown, treeless, voiceless, desolate sage-brush plains of Nevada, Colorado, Dakota, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming. What if the sage-brush hides gold and silver; a sugar field in the Islands is worth many gold mines. The cane is sure to grow and fill your boilers with the best of juice, and make the best of sugar in the world. For your toil and pains in the mines, you get, at best, many a time, nothing but a 'color' and a promise and a jaded worn-out body."

To return to our muttons; contrast the wool that needs only a pair of dollar and a quarter shears to make it marketable; the wool that is peace; the wool that is white as innocence; the wool of the lambs that are the acceptable sacrifice. Compare the wool that he loves better than sugar with that saccharine commodity; the sugar that is worry and war too; the sugar that is stained with blood; the sugar that is sent to market by the murderous brother who raises Cain!

Alas for the voiceless wastes of Nevada and Colorado and Dakota, etc., etc.

ALAS! AND ALAS!

For the treeless plains and for them that toil among the sage-brush, getting at best many a time but a "color" and a promise and a jaded, worn-out body. Why will they slave yonder, devoured by a thirst for gold when it is so easy for them to slake it with the syrups of Lanai. Possibly Mr. Gibson had had enough of white labor; it begins to look as if a "color" if he can get it, or even a "promise" will satisfy him now. At any rate the reporter is given to understand that "the colored men are incited by the colored King of the Sandwich Islands to go and work where it is summer and autumn all the year round, with winter left out, for fine wages; or to earn for themselves a clear profit of one hundred dollars upon every acre of sugar-cane they will plant. The colored man, tired of vagabondage and bureaux will find bunches of delicious bananas always at hand; the banana and orange will line his fences; he can drink his coffee under the shade of his own coffee-tree by his door; he will smoke his own weed better than ever grew in Virginia; and what is more, he will vote his own tax upon all this abundance."

This earthly paradise awaited the freedmen then—its pearly gates have stood wide open ever since, and yet Lanai, the gem of the sea, the one entire and perfect chrysolite, "unmasks its beauty to the moon in solemn and solitary state."

Mr. Gibson brought of the five hundred souls who sought to enter his community but two and thirty. Did Mr. Gibson fear that this handful would exhaust the resources of his island? When Mr. Gibson returned to Lanai, he was disheartened at the appearance of the valley, devastated by a continued drought, "much *worse* than he had been prepared to expect." Will Mr. Gibson kindly state what degree of drought he was expecting at Lanai? There is light and shade in every picture, but the shadow of a possible drought seems not to enter into his last effort in word painting. We unhesitatingly pronounce it his *chef d'œuere*. Here we have *Uncle Tom* renewing his youth among the coffee groves beside his door; *Sambo* swinging upon the gate that hangs under the orange trees lining the fences; and *Josephus Orangeblossom* plucking the delicious banana, always at hand, the while he makes love to *Dinah* as she rolls the unrivaled cigar of Lanai! Once more the bowers of the ex-Shepherd's isle are musical, this time with a chorus of jubilee singers. The pathetic *cluck* of the banjo is heard in the old cabin home; the pale stars look over the hill-tops and see the happy darkies "walking for the cake," and the very sea is hushed when the *Georgian Minstrels*, having figured up their bank accounts and voted their own taxes on all this abundance, gather among the multitudinous *flora* and burden the air with the refrains, "Swing Low Sweet Chariot," "In the morning by the Bright Light" and "There'll be Razors a Flyin' in the Air." This was the revised edition of Gibson's Utopia, but like all the other projects of that great mind, it came to nought.

Possibly the gentleman may

COMFORT HIS DECLINING YEARS

With historical research. That he is eminently qualified for this light and pleasing labor, is evidenced by his interviews in New York, the results of which are thus furnished by the press of that city.

"The Sandwich Islands were the abode of tattooed or painted cannibals when the Declaration of Independence was made—when Jackson was President the islanders worshipped hideous blocks and the human-devouring fire-goddess of their burning mountain. But before Jackson had closed his administration, they had of their own accord, in consequence of foreign commercial intercourse and the intelligence of their chief Kamehameha, destroyed their gods and temples, broken their kapus, and were awakened heathen without a religion. Then the missionaries came and translated the bible for them and taught them letters. Still they wore only *kapa* cloth round their loins and knew nothing of and cared less for shirts and pantaloons. The first American missionaries were received at Waikiki

by a naked princess fresh from her bath. * * * This was a near relative of the now accomplished, pious and lovely Queen Emma. The son of the battered, breechless father sits in the halls of legislation, dressed with Parisian foppery and votes himself lunches, lavender and stationery after true American Congressional fashion. The daughter of the stark-naked promenading princess of the last generation now receives European diplomats in grand toilette and with the grace of an Empress Eugene."

Here ends one version of the drama of his life—a drama which is singularly varied and eventful. In some of its phases it is surprisingly picturesque. If the vicissitudes of the hero are at times tinged with melancholy, it is only because this is necessary to the artistic effect of the whole, without which he will have lived and loved and suffered in vain.

CONCLUSION.

It is now proper, in conclusion, that we disclose our reasons for publishing this interesting correspondence of Walter M. Gibson regarding his connection with the Mormons, as well as some documents which throw light upon his transactions in Netherlands' India. Mr. Gibson is a public man. He is a member of the Legislature (until his successor is chosen). He is also the editor of a newspaper, etc., which has been active in criticising men and measures. As a Legislator he has not hesitated to fiercely attack the motives of men, and those who have the administration of public affairs in their hands know too well the vindictive energy with which he has pursued them. He has been especially forcible in investigating financial accounts, and the session of the last Legislature was protracted in order that he might have time to detect irregularities in the public accounts. He has assumed a lofty position. Casting stones as he has, he was and is bound to see that he does not live in a glass house. Moreover, he has assumed the championship of the Hawaiian race, and in doing so he has not hesitated to belittle the work of those who have done much if not all that has been done for the Hawaiian people. We have therefore the right, and it it is a duty as well, to put forward such facts regarding his public life as shall enable people to justly estimate his character. In addition to what we have already published, we will refer to several recent acts of his public life, which will bring down to the latest date the material for his public biography. In the Legislatureof 1878 he obtained an appropriation of $1,500 for the publication of "Sanitary Instruction for the Hawaiian People." He thereupon wrote a small treatise on the subject, and drew in one sum the amount of $1,500 in payment for it. We are willing to leave it to any competent judge whether one-fourth of that amount would not have secured a treatise equally valuable from any good medical practitioner in this city. No details of expenses were ever, we are informed, rendered to the government. In 1880, while still a Legislator, he secured a contract to supply the lepers on Molokai with sheep. It is well known that the Hawaiians do not like sheep meat. He not only forced this meat upon them, but got his pay in *advance*, before a sheep was delivered. If he can point to another instance of this kind,

we should like to know it. Of the newspaper contract wherein he obtained $3,000 in return for pledging his loyalty, our readers are well acquainted and we will not enlarge on the matter further. A Legislator who covers himself with the paint of public devotion, and tricks himself out in the fine feathers of consecration to national interests, must expect to be dealt with severely, if he is caught descending from his high estate. He must expect to put the same cup to his own lips which he forces to the lips of others. Few men, indeed, can boast of spotless lives, and every man should hold in his hands the mantle of charity. But if one cast away the tender mercies, and take the sword, he must expect to perish by it also. For months the *Elele*, Mr. Gibson's newspaper, has been stirring up the natives to discontent with the whites. Some of the *Elele* articles we have published, and they exhibit a rancour, a distrust of the foreigner which has never before appeared in native literature. The general idea conveyed has been, and is, that the foreigners are not well disposed towards the natives, and that the natives ought to keep the political control in their hands. These statements are often supplemented by suggestions that Mr. Gibson is the true friend of the Hawaiian. In this we see an attempt to place the natives in antagonism with the foreigners. From the beginning till now the natives have been content to live side by side with the foreigner, trusting in all important matters to his superior skill, education and energy. The Kamehamehas and the high chiefs made constant acknowledgment of this. They made no attempt to run a dividing line between the two races. The opinions of Mr. Gibson, as expressed in the *Advertiser* and the *Elele*, go far to prove that he is attempting to put the races in antagonism; to create a suspicion against the foreigner: to stir them up to do that which without intending it, may be vastly injurious to foreign interests. No one for a moment doubts that if the Hawaiians had been left to themselves, "Consular Jurisdiction" would have existed here, and the independence of the kingdom would have been sadly impaired. That some of the natives should feel restless at the natural domination of the whites in energy, skill, and education, is not surprising. That a white should aggravate this feeling and seek to disturb the harmony which has hitherto existed between the races, is a matter to be regretted. Mr. Gibson has placed himself out of sympathy with those who have some right to call themselves the real friends of the natives. He is doing no idle work, but that which leads, though he may not see it, to serious consequences. He may not be striving for disturbance or revolution, but we believe the result of his work will be that.

The foreigners are few as compared with the natives, but they have felt in the years gone by a perfect security for life and property. Though in a minority in politteal strength, they have felt no uneasiness, and have not cast about for protection. But events that have happened within the last two years admonish them that their security may be in jeopardy; that the natives may vote away the money of the foreigner, and may, indeed, ruin him; that an antagonism of races may put his life in danger. We believe that Mr. Gibson's efforts are towards changing the old order and substituting a new and dangerous order of things. Men are beginning to ask, what comesnext? If the natives are about to assume under the leadership of Mr. Gibson, or any one else, the political control of this kingdom, the foreigners here, under the pressure of necessity, must look about for protection, wherever it may be obtained. There are more ways than one by which it may be got. But they prefer the old order of things, and will cry out and secure this protection only when forced to it.

In this foreigners of all races are in unison. We know that many men here are apprehensive of the future. The sky is not bright, and the clouds hang low. The Reciprocity treaty is in extreme danger. The government is weak, simply because in a medley of races, with our political institutions, it cannot be strong. Mr. Gibson's teachings, we believe, are tending to a crisis in our affairs, and we are compelled to put him before the community as he is and has been. We know that those who are in favor of annexation are opposed to us in this matter. They believe that our calling a halt in Mr. Gibson's career, will postpone a crisis which they desire. They believe that an antagonism of races, a claim to political control by the natives, will force annexation. They believe that the sooner disturbances arise the more quickly will the foreigners cry for that or any other outside interference, which will guarantee safety to life and property. But this we do not desire. We believe in the independence of these islands. At the same time we clearly see that if those who pay only a small amount of the taxes are to control and dispose of the money of those who pay the largest taxes, there will be a cry for foreign protection. We know of more than one conservative American, who has hitherto rejected the idea of American interference, but who now, under the constant strain of agitation by the native press, and the possible conflict it may bring on, turns towards the United States as a solution of the problem here. When men are disposed to favor the alienation of this kingdom, through fear of bad government, it is time for us to look at the situation seriously. The independence of this kingdom is dear to those whites who know no other fatherland, but that loyalty will give way to a more vigorous sentiment for political and financial safety, if the situation requires it. The man who urges the natives to a course which alarms theforeigners, is not the friend of the natives. Since the creation of this nation there has been no such scene in the Legislative council, as in that of 1878, when Mr. Gibson in angry debate, pointed to a crowd of excited Hawaiians behind the bar, and then shaking his fist at the whitemen in the Legislature yelled: "If you want disorder you can have it!" Then and there, men loyal to the crown and the land, believed that the law of the mob was coming at the hands of Mr. Gibson, and these, knowing the man they had to deal with, were prepared for any emergency. These are unpleasant scenes. The record of the man who has done these things, who has chosen this career, ought to be before all men, and we have put it before them. There ought to be and should be harmony here. That Mr. Gibson's teachings do not tend towards it, we fully believe, and so have written.

TRUTH vs. FALSEHOOD.

From the "Saturday Press," Feb. 11, 1882.

Little or no effort has been made by Mr. W. M. Gibson to reply to our thorough *expose* of his public record from 1852 to the present time, where we have plainly indicated his character as one in which the public could have no confidence. He evidently believes by his sweeping charge that "it is a lie" the people are going to be satisfied that such an assertion is truth; and in his campaign document, referring to the Lanai statement of J. W. H. Kou, says "it is utterly false," etc, and farther, "let the parties who dig up this dead, lying story, publish their statement over their own names." It is possible that Mr. Gibson in making this barefaced denial thinks that no one can gainsay his "nay," and that proof of transactions twenty years ago is in the grave with the many unfortunately duped individuals, but we possess original documents of the would-be gentleman himself in question, corroborative of the statements of his appointed Apostles and Elders who, though dead, yet speaketh. If some unfortunates died sixteen and twenty years since with a stain on their character, it is no honor to Mr. Gibson to state such, if a fact, after their faithful services to him, but it is done in the hope of breaking down our evidence, which, without further corroboration, stands unshaken; but for the benfit of those who may possibly be inclined to believe the brazen charge of falsehood against us, we give herewith a sworn statement of Mr. Charles Wing, where we will let the matter rest for the public's decision:

I have carefully read all the articles that have appeared in the SATURDAY PRESS under the heading "The Shepherd Saint of Lanai," referring to Mr. W. M. Gibson, and from my intimate knowledge of the matters there referred to in connection with his reputed effort to establish a Mormon Zion at Palawai, Lanai, and his subsequent excommunication from the church, as therein shown, I declare to be true, so help me God!

Honolulu, February 7th, 1882.

CHARLES WING.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, }
Island of Oahu. } ss.

On this 8th day of February, A. D. 1882, personally appeared before me Charles Wing, to me known, and made oath that the foregoing affidavit by him subscribed is true.

[SEAL]

J. M. MONSARRAT,
Notary Public.

APPENDIX.

GIBSON AND THE MORMONS.

EDITOR SATURDAY PRESS.—Permit me to offer a few items of correction to the voluminous article which is being published in the "*Saturday Press*," bearing the caption "The Shepherd Saint of Lanai," that the truth may be vindicated and that all wied projects and ærial ambition may collapse where they belong.

We do not deny the fact, that MR. Gibson was a member of the Church commonly called "Mormons," at the time he came as a missionary to these Islands in 1862; but we wish the public to understand that, although he was connected with the Church of Latter-Day Saints, he possessed no right or authority from said Church to commence such a scheme as he sought to carry out on Lanai: hence the Church should not be subject to any disrepute in the minds of the public through his acts, in his departure from all rule and discipline in the Church. No sooner was his acts known by the authorities of the Church in Utah, than a deputation was sent from there to investigate the matter, and their prompt action in excommunicating him from the Church, is conclusive evidence that the transfer to, and settlement in, these Islands of the people known as "Mormons," or "Latter-Day Saints" was never projected by the leaders of said Church; hence there could not have been any danger "in handng over the entire group to these peculiar, industrio us and well organized people."

You say "the documents which we publish give the first really authentic account of the interior life, the true 'inwardness' of Mormonism in these Islands." Such is not the case, but they show, no doubt, "the true inwardness" of Gibsonism. The deception and dishonesty developed and brought to light on Lanai can bear no more relationship, prejudicially, to Mormonism, than the same acts, if committed by a member of any other denomination, would have upon that denomination of which he was a member.

There is an unpleasant remembrance of the whole Lanai matter that still remains in the minds of those who were the sufferers, so I am frequently told, and that is this: before this case was barred by the statutes of limitation, the Attorney-General was applied to for redress of grievances, but he staved the matter off in consequence of high prejudices which he entertained towards the Mormons and his favor towards the man who had been severed from said Church. A more recent effort was made to bring the case up when his successor came into office, but quite a number of the most important witnesses had died; hence discouragement brought on another failure.

There is a day of reckoning, when the crookedness of Lanai matters will bemore completely brought to light than you have been able to do, although all must confess you have made a remarkable effort to accomplish it.

I remain, most respectfully,

H. H. CLUFF.

January 10th 1882.

[We cheerfully give place to the above, and trust that it will quiet the misapprehensions of any one in regard to the matter we have published. Gibsonism and not Mormonism is what we have been dealing with.—ED.]

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THE SECOND INTERREGNUM.

A COMPLETE RESUME OF EVENTS FROM THE DEATH TO THE BURIAL OF HIS LATE MAJESTY LUNALILO.

THOS. G. THRUM, *Publisher.* | *Honolulu, H. I., March 3d, 1874.* | BLACK & AULD, *Printers.*

The death of LUNALILO occurred on the evening of February 3d, 1874. This was an event that, while it had for weeks been almost daily expected to occur, had not been provided for by the appointment of a Successor to the Throne. Two candidates for the Crown at once placed themselves in the field—Prince David Kalakaua, and the Queen Dowager Emma, Relict of Kamehameha IV. The Legislature, elected Feb. 2d, was summoned in Extra Session to elect a King on the 12th.

The object of this paper is to give a consecutive account (derived from the publications of the day) of the events that occurred during the interregnum of nine days that followed the death of the King and up to his burial, including an account of the riot and all the "campaign documents" issued from the press,—many of the latter which appeared in the native language only, having been translated expressly for this issue—the whole being issued in a compact form for preservation as matter of history, and for convenience in mailing abroad.

From Nuhou Hawaii Extra,

Feb. 11th, 1874.

PRINCE KALAKAUA.



This High Chief who is recognized by the Hawaiian People as the Heir to the Throne of this Kingdom, is in the early prime of life, being born Nov. 16th, 1836. He is by birth a Honoluluan, having been born at the foot of Punchbowl Hill. His father was the High Chief Kahamokalaninui, (Kapaakea) and his mother the High Chiefess Keohokalole. When our Prince was a little child, he along with his elder brother Kaliokalani, and the two Princes Liholiho and Lot Kamehameha, afterwards Kamehameha IV. and V., were the only four especial privileged children of the highest Hawaiian chief blood who were permitted to sit on the knees of the celebrated Chiefess Hoapiliwahine, a favorite wife of Kamehameha the Conqueror.

EDUCATION.

The Young Chief Kalakaua received an excellent education at the Royal School in company with Liholiho, Lot Kamehameha, Lunalilo and other young Chiefs and Chiefesses; and in his conversation and deportment, all who meet him readily recognize the culture of a gentleman. In addition to scholastic education and accomplishment the Prince has super-added by his own assiduous study, whilst engaged in the fulfillment of various public duties, an extensive knowledge of international law and other acquirements all calculated to qualify him to exercise the Sovereign function in behalf of his native country.

Travel.

The mind of this Hawaiian Chief has had an opportunity to be expanded and liberalized by travel, as he in company with Prince Lot Kamehameha (afterwards Kamehameha V.) Prince Lunalilo, the Chief Haalelea and Major Spalding paid a visit to California during the year 1860. His reminiscences of travel, and his knowledge of the people and manners abroad, exhibit an aptitude for very close observation.

His Marriage.

On the 19th of December, 1863, Prince Kalakaua was united in marriage to the beautiful and amiable young Chiefess Kapiolani, daughter of the Hawaiian Chief Keawe, and his wife Kalaninuiiamamao. This lady was named for the celebrated Chiefess Kapiolani, mentioned by Jarvis in his Hawaiian History as the first one who broke the idolatrous taboos. The wife of our Chosen Chief is a Lady in the best prime of womanhood. She is one of the finest types of pure Hawaiian features, and is a Chiefess of most agreeable countenance and presence, and we hope to see her fill a place for which she is well suited by personal appearance and amiable character as

Queen of the Hawaiian Is.

There are other ladies who are entitled by birth to claim pretensions to this distinguished position as candidates for the Throne, who are the accomplished and illustrious High Chiefess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, and the High Chiefess Ruth Keelikolani, both of whom have waived all their pretensions in behalf of the subject of our sketch.

King Kalakaua.

Prince David Kalakaua, who was chosen on the 12th inst., almost unanimously by the Legislative Assembly to be King, was born in this city on the 16th of November, 1836, and is therefore in his thirty-eighth year. He is the eldest son of the late C. Kapaakea and Keohekalole, who were connected with various branches of the high chiefs, descended from the ancient sovereigns. They left two sons, David and William, and two daughters, Hon. Mrs. Governor Dominis, and Hon. Mrs. A. S. Cleghorn. The two eldest children, David and Lydia, received their education at the Royal School, under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, and were there at the same time that the late sovereigns Kamehameha

IV., Kamehameha V. and Lunalilo attended. Prince David and his brother and sisters enjoyed every advantage which the best schools in this city could afford for obtaining a good education; and how well they improved these advantages, those who knew them best, can attest. They are all as conversant with the English as with their own tongue.

During the past few years Prince David has held a position as clerk in the Interior Department, and has also been secretary of the Privy Council under both of the last Kings. He has, therefore, had an opportunito to observe and become familiar with the workings of government, as he has with all connected with it. Whatever may have been his former political sentiments, as expressed in Legislative debates, the events of the last two years and particularly of the past few weeks, will serve to show him, as it must every one else, the necessity of adopting a liberal and conservative, yet firm policy, which will tend to unite as much as possible all conflicting interests in the kingdom. Never before has a ruler in Hawaii needed so greatly the aid of prudent and wise councilors in his administration, possessing the respect and confidence of the whole people, with the loyal support of his native and foreign subjects. On the sagacity of his choice much of the success of his reign will depend, in inspiring confidence at home and abroad, and in removing whatever causes may tend to create weakness in the administration of the government, or want of harmony among the various classes composing our small population. A misstep now may launch our frail ship of state on a sea of turmoil, while prudence and caution just at this time may secure the independence of Hawaii for many years to come.

King Kalakaua was married some years since to Kapiolani, widow of B. Namakeha, who was brother of Naea the father of Queen Emma. She is also neice of Keliahonui, one of the chiefs of Kauai, and was named after Kapiolani, the famous chiefess of Hawaii who broke the Pele Kapu as described by Bingham, p. 255, and who was one of the earliest converts to Christianity. The lady who has thus become elevated to the position of Queen is not only connected with high rank but is in private life, a most estimable woman, who has been, for several years, an unostentatious and exemplary member of St. Andrew's Church of this city. In his marriage relations, the example of our new Sovereign will commend itself to all who deplore the growing tendency of Hawaiians to set them aside, and will doubtless have a good effect on the people of this Kingdom.—*Gazette, Feb.* 18.

The Inauguration.

It had been the purpose of His Majesty, after his election, to have the inauguration ceremony performed, as has been the custom, in the Stone Church, and in the most public manner possible. But owing to the unexpected disturbances which took place on the election day, and the strong advice of his counselors, that the oath of office should be taken as soon as possible, so as to remove all causes that prevented the restoration of quiet, He waived his wishes and appointed 11½ A. M., of Friday, as the hour.

Kinau Hale, where the ceremony was performed, is near by the Palace, and the most convenient place obtainable. At the above hour, the Cabinet and other officers of the late King, the foreign diplomatic and consular representatives, the officers of the three war ships in port, the Nobles and Representatives, together with native and foreign citizens, to the number of two or three hundred, assembled there. A few minutes before 12 M., the King appeared on the verandah, and addressed the audience as follows:

NOBLES AND REPRESENTATIVES:—You have been called to assemble at this time with the representatives of foreign governments to witness My assuming the sacred trust of the Constitution. I am sorry that, on account of the present disturbance, I cannot, as I had designed, give My people a new Constitution, as a blessing to them, and to establish the independence of Our Kingdom, and the Throne of Hawaii nei; but this is a time of commotion, and My one great object is to strengthen the foundation of My power as Guardian of the people. I am conscious that it is a high responsibility, and one that demands great caution in the possessor, but at this time, as the disturbance is not over, and as I see the consequences of the riot upon the Representatives in My presence, I ask that you will aid Me in assuming this sacred trust.

His Honor Judge Hartwell, Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom, then administered in Hawaiian and English the following oath, His Majesty repeating it, sentence by sentence, after Justice Hartwell, and both resting their hands on the Holy Bible, held by H. R. H. Prince Leleiohoku:

"I, KALAKAUA, solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, to maintain the Constitution of the Kingdom whole and inviolate, and to govern in conformity therewith."

Rev. H. H. Parker was then called on by His Majesty to invoke the divine blessing, and offered a fervent prayer very appropriate to the occasion.

The audience then gave three cheers for their Sovereign, which the crowd in the streets took up and repeated, while the guns on Punchbowl battery boomed for the first royal salute to King Kalakaua and his royal standard, which was responded to by H. B. M.'s ship *Tenedos* and the U. S. ship *Tuscarora* in the harbor.

The diplomatic and consular representatives and other officers, as well as the people present approached and congratulated His Majesty, after which the audience dispersed.—*Gazette, Feb.* 18.

[From the Nuhou Hawaii, Feb. 17th.]

The Accession of King Kalakaua to the Throne of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

On Thursday, the 12th of February, 1874, the Nobles and Representatives of this Kingdom being convened in Legislative Assembly, elected the Prince Kalakaua to be King of the Hawaiian Islands. The electoral college was composed of forty-five votes, and the King elect received thirty-nine,—six being cast for the opposing candidate, Her Majesty Queen Dowager Emma Kaleleonalani. This overwhelming majority fully indicates the popularity of His Majesty among the Hawaiian people; and this fact is more especially shown by the vote of Representatives of the people, 28 in number, who, as it is well understood, voted with only one exception for His Majesty.

Recognition by Foreign Representatives.

On the day following the election of the King, the Representatives of the leading treaty powers, the United States, Great Britain and France, recognized the legal accession of His Majesty to the Throne; and the Royal Standard at Iolani Palace was saluted by salvos from the British and American batteries in port, and from the guns on Punchbowl.

The Installation.

Of His Majesty took place on the same day at the Kalama Mansion, adjoining Iolani Palace. The oath to support the Constitution of the Kingdom was administered by Judge Hartwell, in the presence of all the Foreign Representatives, prominent members of the Government, and of many influential citizens. This was immediately followed by

The Proclamation

Of His Majesty's accession, which was read by the Governor of Oahu in English, and by one of his aides in Hawaiian, at the Court House and other points in the city. The announcement of the full establishment of King Kalakaua upon the Throne, was received with general satisfaction by all the respectable and influential people of Honolulu with hardly an exception. All the well to do and industrious natives, as well as the wealthy and influential foreigners, seemed to rejoice in the accession of the King.

On Saturday, the 14th instant,

The Prorogation

Of the Legislative Assembly took place. His Majesty, accompanied by H. R. H. Prince Leleiohoku, arrived in the Legislative Hall at noon. His Majesty's personal appearance and firm and self possessed bearing impressed all observers with the feeling that he was worthy of his position. The array of Government officials, of foreign representatives, and of naval officers in resplendent uniforms, was very imposing,—perhaps our domestic portion a little too much so, considering the smallness and the present condition of our little state, and also in view of the bruised and bandaged Representatives of the people there assembled, who might not have suffered as they did on a preceding day, had we only had a little *real* force, instead of all this parade. His Majesty read his speech to the Assembly in a firm, clear voice; and as he passed out of the hall three cheers for His Majesty were proposed, which were responded to with a will. Rousing cheers also greeted His Majesty on leaving the building, and it was evident that those who opposed the election of the King were but a small and worthless faction of this city and vicinity. This became all the more apparent on the occasion of a

Torch-Light Procession

On Saturday night last, to celebrate His Majesty's accession. It was one of the finest night parades we have seen in this town. Berger with his fine Band made the calm, night air sweet and joyous with exhilarating music, and the long line of fire, undulating along the avenues of the town, made deeper and richer the surrounding darkness. Lanterns were swung out, the loyal hotel lit up its tower, and with peace and quiet in every nook and corner, contrary to the timid supposition of some and the *wish* of others, the city everywhere accepted gladly the welcome fact that

Kalakaua was King!

The Proclamations.

Immediately after the inauguration of His Majesty, at Kinau Hale, His Ex. Governor Dominis, accompanied by Major Boyd, Col. Judd and Col. Allen, and escorted by the Hawaiian Cavalry, proclaimed Kalakaua as King of the Hawaiian Islands. This proclamation was read at the Court House, and at different points of the city.

"In the name of the Constitution, I proclaim Kalakaua, King of the Hawaiian Islands. It is the pleasure of His Majesty that His late Majesty's Ministers of State discharge their several duties until further advised. It is the sincere desire of His Majesty that his people maintain peace.

"GOD SAVE THE KING!"

On Monday another proclamation, announcing the selection of His Royal Highness, Prince Leleiohoku to be the heir apparent and successor to the Throne was read by the Governor at the various points where that of Friday was proclaimed. Both these documents, as well as one from the Secretary of the Legislative Assembly, and one from His Majesty fixing the rank of his successor, will be found in their appropriate column.—*Gazette, Feb.* 18.

Proclamation.

To all to whom these presents shall come; Greeting:

KNOW YE, That the Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Islands has, on the 12th Day of February, A. D. 1874, elected HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS DAVID KALAKAUA, KING of the Hawaiian Islands.

By order of the Legislative Assembly,

R. H. STANLEY,
Secretary of the Legislative Assembly.

Honolulu, Feb. 12th, 1874.

[From the P. C. Advertiser, Jan. 31.]

In the presence of an impending public emergency, it becomes necessary not only to cogitate within ourseives as to the proper plans to pursue in the near future, but it is the part of wisdom to take such preliminary steps in advance as may indicate the course marked out. Public exigencies by their gravity override what might under other circumstances be rightly deemed considerations of delicacy or nice perceptions of propriety.

We deem the situation of the country today to be one of such emergency that, in the absence of any regularly appointed and proclaimed successor to the Throne, the well understood will of the people in this important regard, should be clearly and emphatically made known through the public press. The first choice of the Hawaiian people for a successor to His present Majesty (whom God preserve) is unquestionably the High Chief David Kalakaua. His claims are in every respect paramount to those of any other personage that can be named. Any attempt to thwart the well-known will of the people in this matter, is to be profoundly deprecated, for the sake of the peace and future prosperity of the country.

Kalakaua is King.

We who were the first to place his name before the nation as a candidate for the Throne, seize also the first opportunity to proclaim him, through the winged messengers of the public press, as King of the Hawaiian Islands, and to prognosticate for him a long, a useful and a happy reign.

We have as yet no intimation of who will constitute the immediate Constitutional advisers of the King—he has intimated his intention to retain those now in office for the present—but we deem it only proper to say at this time, that the experience of the past, the exigencies of the present and the necessities of the future, all indicate that he should have a Cabinet which shall possess in the qualifications of its members not only respectability and private worth, but above all and more urgently needed than all else, the qualities of strength and executive ability. —*Advertiser, Feb.* 14, 1874.

[From P. C. Advertiser Extra, Feb. 4th.]

DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

It becomes our sorrowful duty to announce the death of His Majesty Lunalilo, the King of these Hawaiian Islands. His Majesty expired at his town residence of Haimoeipo, adjoining Iolani Palace, at precisely ten minutes before nine o'clock last evening.

There were present in the bed-chamber the attending Physicians, the Hon. Mrs. Bishop, His Highness C. Kanaina, the King's Father; Her Ex. R. Keelikolani, His Ex. Robert Stirling, Minister of Finance, and the Hon. Mrs. Naea.

The announcement of the death of the King, though it will be received by the nation with sentiments of profound sorrow, was not unexpected. Ever since his arrival from Hawaii on the 18th ultimo, His Majesty had been gradually sinking under the ravages of a pulmonary disease. All that the highest medical skill could do was in vain.

The late King was born on the 31st of January, 1835, and had consequently entered his fortieth year four days ago. He ascended the Throne January 8th, 1873.

The body of His late Majesty will lie in state in Iolani Palace to-day, between the hours of 10 A. M. and 2 P. M.

Thus, for the second time, within a period of fourteen months, is the Throne left without an occupant, for His late Majesty, like his predecessor Kamehameha V., failed to nominate or proclaim a successor.

Under the Constitution, the duty devolves upon the Cabinet of the late King, immediately to call a "meeting of the Legislative Assembly, who shall elect by ballot some native Alii of the Kingdom as successor to the Throne."

There is no question, and there can be none, as to the high chief who will be called to the Throne by the will of the nation expressed through the votes of its Legislators. Peaceably, Constitutionally, and by almost unanimous consent,

KALAKAUA

Will be the next King of the Hawaiian Islands.

[From the Hawaiian Gazette, Feb. 4.]

The Popular Wish.

There are times when it devolves on the Press to act promptly, and, as the herald of the People, to utter no uncertain sounds. Such is the present crisis. The days of the young and noble King Lunalilo are numbered, and he sleeps with the Kings of Hawaii. As he named no successor, the Throne has again become vacant, and Hawaii is once more in a state of interregnum, awaiting the accession of its Constitutional ruler. Worthy Nobles survive the departed King, and the Constitution provides that from their number one must be chosen by the Legislative Assembly, as successor to the Throne. Among them all, there is no one to whom the people look with more unanimity than to Col. David Kalakaua, who promises to be a just King, a kind Father and faithful Protector of the People. Excepting a younger brother of his, he is the only male Alii living, qualified for the office, or likely to fulfill the expectations of the people.

Therefore, while entertaining the highest regard for each of the surviving Nobles, we heartily respond to what is unquestionably the unanimous wish of the people, and nominate Prince David Kalakaua for the exalted position of King of the Hawaiian Islands, and recommend the Legislative Assembly to choose him as the successor of Lunalilo. We also appeal to the Nobles to act on this occasion as worthy descendants of the Hawaiian Aliis, and to waive in his favor, and for the sake of harmony, whatever claims they may have. Only one can be chosen, and all things considered, is it not the wiser course to avoid, if possible, an excited contest, and choose him for King who now is so prominent? And we counsel the People, from Niihau to Kau, to maintain peace and quiet, and show to the world, as they have done before, that Hawaiians are capable of self-government, whenever a new Sovereign must be chosen. Therefore let all unite on Prince David as successor to the vacant Throne of Hawaii. Let us forget all differences, and consider only on what may tend to promote the peace and welfare of our fatherland HAWAII NEI.

[From the Nuhou Hawaii, Feb. 4:]

"Le roi est Mort, Vive le Roi."

"The King is dead, Long live the King," was the outcry of the French Herald at the death of a Sovereign, and is the sentiment of all monarchies. The Sovereign authority must never die, and the royal standard must never be hauled down, because any political organization without a recognized head must speedily resolve itself into a mob; and if distinct legal provision has not established a Chief Executive, the patriotic and loyal sentiment of a Free People readily indicate a Choice, who becomes at once virtually the Leader of a Nation. The Hawaiian People have just lost a leader, and at the same time immediately recognize a Successor. If hope has been dying with Lunalilo, it has sprung up anew with Kalakaua. The eternal principle asserts itself this day, and despairing Hawaiians once more look up for political hope in a Chief. Once more they rally to a royal standard bearer; once more they stand ready to shout for a true Prince; once more they rush to the field to follow a general with a still abiding hope, that the battle of life will not ever go against them, and all the more hopeful because they have chosen one whose name is the "Day of Battle," and in their hearts they say now, and with voices are ready to cry,

Long live King Kalakaua.

[From the P. C. Advertiser, Feb. 7.]

The mass-meeting held at Kawaiahao Church on Wednesday last, an account of which appears in another column, was one of those harmonious, well ordered public assemblages which cause surprise and commendation among visitors coming from abroad. It does indeed strike a stranger, fresh from the old civilized centres of Europe or America, as something remarkable that Hawaiians, but yesterday associated in their minds with nursery tales of South-sea barbarities and Captain Cook, should be able to conduct a public meeting at which are considered topics of such serious import as a vacant Throne, and the near prospect of an election of a King, in such a calm, business-like way as was that of Wednesday last. It is true, there was but one candidate named for the Throne, and all in the great audience were so evidently his partisans that there was neither room nor occasion for dispute. There was, indeed, one or two voices raised in favor of extra-constitutional action, but the rash and thoughtless idea met with no encouragement, and the unequivocal declaration by a Representative elect, for and on behalf of Kalakaua that the Prince stood firmly for the Constitution and the Laws, and counseled obedience to those now in authority, had the effect to at once and effectually crush the aspirations of such would-be agitators. The declaration was very timely, and coming from such a source it cannot but prove reassuring to the nation, now for the second time in a little over a year, passing through an important political crisis. Kalakaua could scarcely have given utterance to a sentiment more calculated to awaken the respect and confidence of the conservative and thinking men of the nation, and at the same time to assure his popularity with the people at large, than when he caused the declaration to be made in his name that he will consent to no violation of the Constitution and Laws, even when suggested ostensibly in his own interest.

[Resolutions Passed.]

WHEREAS, His Majesty Lunalilo died on the third of February, 1874, without having nominated or proclaimed a successor to the Throne; therefore

Resolved, That we, the people of Honolulu, District of Kona, Island of Oahu, in mass-meeting assembled at Kawaiahao, Februry 4th, 1874, do hereby declare Prince David Kalakaua our choice for the succession to the Throne of these Hawaiian Islands.

Resolved, That we hereby instruct our Representatives in the coming Legislature to cast their votes for King, for Prince David Kalakaua, and for no one else.

From the P. C. Advertiser Extra, Feb. 7.]

There can be no doubt by the expression of the immense assembly at Kawaiahao Church on the 4th inst., that the feelings of the people are for the High Chief Kalakaua; and we but echo the opinion of the people and endorse it. We assume that if it had been the wish and intention of the late

King that any particular person should succeed, he would have made the nomination. The question is set at rest by the explicit declarations of the Ministers.

Kalakaua has the strongest claims to the votes and confidence of the People. The Throne of the Kamehamehas is vacant, and a new King is to be chosen,—not of the House of Kamehameha. The High Chief Kalakaua is presented by the people of this city as their choice. He is the eldest male representative of a Princely Hawaiian Family, which is undoubtedly next to the House of Kamehameha, and is entitled to the highest consideration in this country.

God Protect Hawaii! Long Live the High Chief Kalakaua!

DEATH OF THE KING.

Lunalilo, the people's choice, the liberal minded, amiable and generous-hearted King of Hawaii is no more. After a lingering illness of some four months, during which he was visibly declining from day to day under the ravages of pulmonary disease, the King expired without pain at ten minutes before nine o'clock on the evening of February 3d.

There were present in the bed-chamber the attending Physicians, the Hon. Mrs. Bishop, His Highness C. Kanaina, the King's Father; Her Ex. R. Keelikolani, His Ex. Robert Stirling, Minister of Finance, and the Hon. Mrs. Naea.

Although the demise of the King had been hourly anticipated for days, its announcement on Wednesday morning was received with profound sorrow by the whole community, while the native subjects of the deceased high chief, following their ancient custom, gave vent to their feelings in loud wailings that, echoing through the still air of early daylight, had a peculiarly mournful effect.

Thus, for the second time, within a period of fourteen months, is the Throne left without an occupant, for His late Majesty, like his predecessor Kamehameha V., failed to nominate or proclaim a successor.

Under the Constitution, the duty devolves upon the Cabinet of the late King, immediately to call a "meeting of the Legislative Assembly, who shall elect by ballot some native Alii of the Kingdom as successor to the Throne." Accordingly, on the death of the King, the members of the Cabinet were immediately called together, when the following Order in Council was drawn up and promulgated:

"His Majesty Lunalilo having deceased at His private residence in Honolulu on Tuesday, February 3d, 1874, at 8:50 P. M., a Cabinet Council was immediately held at Iolani Palace, at which all the members were present, and after considering the provisions of the Constitution of the Kingdom in such case made and provided, it was

"ORDERED, that a meeting of the Legislative Assembly be holden at the Court House, in Honolulu on Thursday, which will be the twelfth day of February, A. D. 1874, at 12 o'clock noon; and of this order all members of the Legislative Assembly will take notice, and govern themselves accordingly.

"CHAS. R. BISHOP, Minister of Foreign Affairs,
"EDWIN O. HALL, Minister of Interior,
"ROBERT S RLING, Minister of Finance,
"A. FRANCIS JUDD, Attorney General.

"Iolani Palace, February 3d, 1874."

The news of the King's death flew over the town like a flash of electricity, and by 10 o'clock many hundreds of people had collected in the grounds of Haimoeipo, the King's private town residence where the body lay. At 1 o'clock, preparations having been completed in the Palace near by, the body was placed on a bier and conveyed thither, to be laid in state on the ensuing day. The crowd of silent and decorous spectators opened to the right and left, while the solemn procession of government officials and the staff of the late King, with the shrouded bier in the midst, slowly passed along. The moon shone with unclouded brightness, and the deep stillness was broken only by the sound of the measured steps of the procession. It was a scene for the poet or the painter.

At 8 o'clock on Wednesday morning, minute guns were fired from the battery on Punchbowl, and also from H. B. M.'s S. *Tenedos* and U. S. S. *Tuscarora*, while the flags were displayed at half-mast from the various government and consular flag-staffs and the shipping in port.

Notice having been given that the remains of the late King would lie in state between the hours of 10 A. M. and 2 P. M., at the former hour and throughout the entire prescribed time, the population of the city and its environs poured in a steady stream through the gate of Iolani Palace, into and through the East Room, to gaze for the last time upon the features of their beloved Sovereign. Many, both foreigners and natives, shed tears of genuine grief, (while the dismal wail resounded from the crowd without) as they looked upon the manly form now still and cold in death of him who but a few short months ago was so full of buoyant hope and promise for his country.

"So vanishes our state, so pass our days;
So life but opens now, and now decays!"

In front of the Palace, on either side of the entrance, were drawn up the Honolulu Rifles, as a guard of honor. Within the audience room, surrounding the bier, were the Cabinet Ministers of the late King, the Judges of the Supreme Court, members of the Privy Council, and the high chiefs. The scene was an impressive one, as, hour after hour, the crowd continued to slowly pass from the hall of the old Palace through the room where four Kings of Hawaii—three Kamehamehas and now Lunalilo—have been successively laid in state.

The late King was of the highest lineage of the native chiefs of these islands. Kaleimamahu and Kaheiheimalie were his maternal grandparents. The first was a half-brother of Kamehameha the Great, by the same father, the celebrated chieftain Keoua. Kaheiheimalie, his grandmother, was own sister to Kaahumanu, who as Premier, held the principal authority of the kingdom after the death of Liholiho and during the minority of Kamehameha III. Kekauluohi, the late King's mother, was thus of the highest rank among the hereditary chiefs. Originally one of the queens of Liholiho, (or Kamehameha II.) after his death she was married to Charles Kanaina, a commoner, and from this union was born His late Majesty, Lunalilo. In 1839, she was selected by Kamehameha III. as his Kuhina Nui, or Premier, an officer recognized under the old system of Hawaiian Government as second only in authority to the king, and without whose signature even no act of the king was legal. This important position in the government Kekauluohi continued to hold until her death in 1845, being known as Kaahumanu III., when she was succeeded by the late John Young, uncle to the Dowager Queen Emma.

The late King was educated at the Royal School, established by the American Mission in 1839, and conducted by Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Cooke. Here, in company with the late Kamehameha IV. and Kamehameha V. and other scions of the chiefs, numbering in all some fifteen, he became well versed in the common branches of an English education. He was always noted as a bright scholar, and early developed a taste for literature and poetry. Of a peculiarly amiable and genial disposition, he was affable and polite to all, and was particularly endeared to his countrymen, by whom he was designated as "*ke alii lokomaikai*,"—the kind chief—in marked contrast to the stern and sometimes cruel treatment they were accustomed to receive at the hands of their chiefs. That Lunalilo, as a private individual, before his accession, had faults, is well known, which it is as useless to deny as to dwell upon. But

"Be to his faults a little blind
And to his virtues very kind."

It is also true that he was practically ignored by the two previous administrations, and, as he often complained after arriving at manhood, he was never afforded an opportunity to become acquainted with public affairs, or to prove whether he possessed any adaptation for business. Thus inexperienced, but with noble and liberal instincts and high aspirations for the welfare and improvement of his people, he was suddenly and unexpectedly called to the Throne a little more than one year ago, by the death of Kamehameha V. and the undivided choice of the nation. So brief has been his reign, and under such peculiar circumstances, that it is hardly a fair subject for criticism, and we can only speculate upon what he might have accomplished had not He, who doeth all things well, thus early closed the mortal career of Hawaii's much loved LUNALILO.—*P. C. Advertiser, Feb. 7th.*

Our Late King.

William Charles Lunalilo, whose death we briefly announced in our last issue, was descended from the highest of the Royal line of Hawaiian Chiefs. His mother was Kekauluohi, known also as Kaahumanu III., Kuhina Nui under Kamehameha III., and was married to Charles Kanaina, from which marriage two sons were born, Davida and William. The former died when quite young, William, soon after his mother's death, when about eight years of age, was placed in the Royal School, kept by Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, where he received a liberal English education, and as he possessed naturally a quick mind, he became one of the best scholars in the school. For English classical literature he had great fondness, and his familiarity with the English poets was remarkable. It was this taste that led him to indulge in writing poetry, some of which was well composed. On one occasion, twelve years ago, he called on us in our editorial sanctum and sat down at our table. In the course of the conversation, we suggested that he become a competitor for the prize which had been offered for the best Hawaiian version of "God Save the King." He took a pen and in fifteen or twenty minutes handed us his verses, which we enclosed in an envelop and passed with ten or twelve others to the judges, who awarded it the prize, and this is known now as the Hawaiian National Hymn "God Save the King." We instance this to illustrate the extraordinary mental qualities with which he was endowed.

When Kamehameha V. suddenly died in December, 1872, without appointing a successor, it was apparent to all that the principal reason for the omission was the very reason why Prince William should be the successor, because he outranked all the remaining nobles. Had he been in favor with the King, he would unquestionably have received the appointment. He at once decided to be a candidate for King, and was encouraged by the firm advice of his friends, who saw that his claims could not rightfully be ignored. When advised by some to issue his proclamation, declaring himself King, he answered that he intended to act strictly according to the Constitution, and had perfect confidence in the people. It was at this time that he was urged to abandon the use of intoxicating drinks, and pledged his word and honor to do so, which he kept during the interregnum, until after his election as King, when he was pressed by some who, when the records of the Eternal Throne

are disclosed, may find the charge written there against their names. God and himself only knew how he struggled against this failing. Never was there among the Hawaiians a more genial, loving, confiding spirit than that possessed by Lunalilo. Those who knew him best will testify to his warm friendship.

In politics, his views were democratic,—too much so, perhaps, for a King. He was on the side of the people in every question that came up, and his sympathies were with them. This was really the secret of the popular love for him, which showed itself in the wonderful outburst of popular enthusiasm at the election which took place January 1, 1873, when he received nearly every vote throughout the group. Never was such a scene witnessed in any part of the world, as when the whole Hawaiian people, with scarcely a dissenting voice, called him to be their King. When asked if he would have a carriage provided to take him to and from the Legislative Assembly, he answered, "No, I am one of the people, I will walk as they do." And all remember how he walked from the Legislative Hall to the Palace, after his election, with uncovered head, amid the wildest shouts of an enthusiastic and admiring people. These little incidents show what he was better than anything else.

Of his short reign we shall have little to say. It commenced well, by the selection of men to be his constitutional advisers, who possessed character, and gave his government reputation at home and abroad. His great desire was to do something for the advancement of the nation, and he listened eagerly and cautiously to what advice was given. But before any measure could be matured and carried out the destroying angel came and marked him as his own, and the best human skill proved powerless to save. For six long months he patiently bore the sickness which had attacked him, gradually wasting in flesh and strength, till his spirit fled to its Maker, on the evening of February 3d.

During his last illness he suffered but little pain, as usual with consumptives. Some days before his death, it became evident that he could not live long, but he rallied so frequently that the symptoms were quite deceptive. About half-past eight o'clock, on the evening of the third, he looked up and said to his attendants, in Hawaiian, "I am now dying," then turned his head, closed his eyes, as if going to sleep, and calmly expired. Such was the death of King Lunalilo. There were around his bed, at the time, his father Charles Kanaina, Queen Emma, Mrs Bishop, the Governess of Hawaii, Minister Stirling, Mrs. Naea, and Drs. Trousseau and Oliver his physicians, and several attendants.

The late King left a will, which was made June 7, 1871. It leaves his personal property to his father absolutely; his real estate to his father for life, and failing heirs of his body, after the decease of his father, the real estate is devised to three trustees, to be appointed by the Judges of the Supreme Court, who are to sell it, and of the avails the sum of $25,000 is to be expended in building an "Infirmary for poor, aged and infirm people of Hawaiian birth or extraction." A codicil was executed by His Majesty on the 31st of January, 1874, by which he leaves to Queen Emma his Marine Residence at Waikiki, upon his father's decease. It also directs that the excess of the avails of his real estate, over the sum of $25,000, shall constitute a fund for the support of the benevolent object mentioned in the Will; and further that his remains be entombed in the Kawaiahao Church Yard. The estate may amount to $100,000.

During the night of his death, the corpse was transferred to the Palace, where it was laid out in State, dressed in the clothes which the deceased King wore on the day he took the oath at Kawaiahao Church. At ten o'clock Wednesday the Palace gates were opened to the public, and from that hour till quarter past two P. M., a continuous procession passed through the Palace. Not less than eight to ten thousand persons viewed the remains of the King, and it was affecting to hear the piteous wailing of the natives, many of whom spent hours in reciting *kanikaus* in memory of the deceased. After the public had all passed through the Palace, the military companies, including the Rifles, Artillery, Cavalry, with the Band, marched in and took a last look at their Commander-in-chief. There were present on this occasion all of the high officers of the Government and most of the Chiefs and Nobles.

On Wednesday, about midnight, the remains of the King were placed in a lead coffin, dressed as it appeared during the day. His aged father, Kanaina, stood by to witness the proceedings, and when the body was raised from the royal feather robe on which it had rested while in state, he ordered that the body should be wrapped in the robe before being deposited in the coffin, saying, "He is the last of our family, it belongs to him." The natives who stood by turned pale at this command, for it was the large feather robe of Kekauluohi, which descended from her royal ancestors. Only one like it now remains, that which is spread over the throne on the opening of Parliament, and which is valued at over twenty thousand dollars. It is no exaggeration to state that one hundred thousand dollars could not reproduce a feather robe one fathom square, like that wrapped around the body of Lunalilo. There let it lie with him who was the last of a royal family.

"The pride of heraldry, the pomp of power,
All that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour—
The path of glory leads but to the grave."

—*Gazette*, Feb. 11.

Meeting of the Privy Council.

At a special meeting of the Privy Council of State, convened for the purpose of expressing a feeling of condolence on the occasion of the demise of His late Majesty Lunalilo, February 6th, 1874. Present:—

His Ex. C. R. Bishop, presiding. His Ex. R. Stirling, His Ex. E. O. Hall, His Ex. A. F. Judd, His Highness C. Kanaina, His Ex. Governor of Oahu, His Ex. Governor of Maui, His Ex. Governor of Kauai, S. N. Castle, J. M. Smith, H. A. Kahanu, G. Rhodes, J. M. Kapena, S. P. Kalama, J. W. Makalena, J. Moanauli, C. C. Harris, H. M. Whitney, D. Kalakaua and A. S. Cleghorn.

Prayer was offered by His Excellency E. O. Hall.

His Ex. C. R. Bishop then addressed the Council as follows:

Gentlemen of the Privy Council:—Only a little over a year ago, an informal meeting of the members of the Privy Council was held in this room for the purpose of suitably expressing their regard for the memory of His late Majesty Kamehameha V.

Again, the Hawaiian people mourn the untimely death of their King. Lunalilo has been gathered with his ancestors, without leaving an heir, or an appointed successor to the Throne of Hawaii; and we who were honored with his confidence as members of his Cabinet, have invited you to assemble here for the purpose of unitedly expressing in some degree, our respect for the deceased, and our sympathy with the living.

His Excellency then submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published:

Resolved, That the Privy Councilors here assembled, are deeply impressed by this new affliction which has fallen upon the Hawaiian Nation in the death of its chosen and beloved King Lunalilo, who scarce thirteen months ago, came to the Throne, in the prime of manhood, full of hope for a long, happy and prosperous reign.

Resolved, That the great popularity of the deceased with all classes of his subjects, and the strong attachment for him manifested by those who were most intimately associated with him, testify of his admirable and noble qualities as a man, and of his kindness as a Ruler.

Resolved, That while we humbly bow to the will of our Heavenly Father, and have perfect faith in His wisdom, our hearts are filled with grief by the heavy bereavements so frequently experienced by this nation, and now renewed by the demise of our late Sovereign.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the entire nation, in this great loss; and that we offer our special condolence to our fellow Councilor His Highness Charles Kanaina, the aged father of our late King.

Resolved, That the foregoing resolutions be entered upon the records of the Privy Council; published in the newspapers of this city, and a copy delivered to His Highness Charles Kanaina.

D. KALAKAUA, *Sec'y Privy Council.*

Meeting of the Bar.

At a meeting of the members of the Judiciary Department, held at the Court room of the Court House on Friday, the 6th of February, A. D. 1874, called to order by Mr. J. Montgomery, Mr. Justice Hartwell was chosen Chairman, Mr. W. R. Seal, Secretary.

The following resolutions were then presented by Mr. John Montgomery, the senior member of the Bar:

WHEREAS, It has pleased Almighty God to remove from this life our beloved Sovereign Lunalilo, while in the prime of manhood and having but commenced a reign which gave promise of being long and useful.

Resolved, That while we humbly bow to the will of God, we are deeply impressed with a sense of our great loss and feel that an inscrutable Providence has deprived this nation of a kind Father and a good King.

Resolved, That the manner of His election to the throne of Hawaii has shown us that He was strongly entrenched in the hearts of His people; and the Legislative measures proposed by Him towards giving the people a larger share of the work of Government have shown that this people were dear to him.

Resolved, That his amiability of character, and his unostentatious career, while occupying the Throne of this Kingdom, deserve grateful remembrance.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathise with His aged and venerable father H. H. Charles Kanaina on his great loss.

Resolved, That we request the Court to order these resolutions to be entered upon the records, and that a copy be transmitted to H. H. Chas. Kanaina and to the press for publication.

On motion of Mr. R. H. Stanley, a Committee of three was appointed by the Chair, consisting of Messrs. Stanley, Montgomery, and Keawehunahala, to present to His Highness Charles Kanaina an engrossed translation of these resolutions.

The Attorney General said that he could hardly find words in which to fitly express his feelings, for in the death of His Majesty Lunalilo, he had lost not only his Sovereign but a personal friend, who had honored him with his confidence which had continued until his death. The reign of the young, the noble Lunalilo was short, short in which to develope any great plans for the public good; but what he had done for the public health, towards the policy of retrenchment and a careful administration of Government deserved that he should be forever embalmed in the grateful recollection of every Hawaiian. His amiability of character, his deference to the opinions of others, and his consideration for their feelings, had endeared him forever to all who knew him personally.

Mr. Justice Widemann then being called to the chair, Mr. Justice Hartwell made the following remarks:

We have met here as members of the Department of the Judiciary to express our sorrow at the King's demise, to pay a tribute of respect to his memory, and to offer our condolence to the venerable father who survives.

It is hardly one year since we came together here on a similar occasion. The halls of justice are again draped in black, and the nation again mourns the loss of its Chief Executive. Such events remind us that death is no respecter of persons. He knocks at the Palace doors, and the royal inmate obeys his summons as promptly as the humblest subject, and I doubt not, as gladly.

If there is ever a time to flatter, it is not now. William Charles Lunalilo has gone beyond heed of our praise or blame. He has died, as all must die, alone. In the presence of death, naming over earthly titles and rank, adds nothing, but rather detracts from its solemn dignity. Probably no one more than the departed monarch would have disliked the thought of untruthful or exaggerated eulogy. It is pleasant, however, to speak of the manly and generous instinct of Lunalilo and of his sincere desire to govern the country on the broad principles of justice, not in his own selfish interest, but for the common good. We all know the high resolves with which he entered upon his duties one year ago. How hard he struggled against human weakness, none but his God can know. But we can all bear witness to the fact that during his reign, he has neither done nor countenanced the slightest infraction of the Constitu-

tional guarantees assumed by him. None can point to an act of his which showed disregard of the rights of his people. I think we all have felt that in his hands Constitutional liberty was safe. This is a good deal to say of any Sovereign. But it is saying the simple truth of Lunalilo.

Perhaps as members of this Department, we are the first to appreciate such a quality in the Chief of the Nation, as we should be the first to detect its absence.

During the interregnum, preceding his election, some advised him to seize upon the royal office as his birth-right. It was said to him, that this would meet popular approval. But he rejected the suggestion, and submitted his claims to the Legislative vote, and while showing a hearty desire to approve any needed Constitutional amendment, with the free concurrence of his chosen advisers, he took the oath of office to support the established law of the land. We all remember the impressive occasion of the inauguration. We can all testify to the faithful performance of the trust.

Lunalilo seemed to me to be very thoughtful of the feelings of others, and to be generous and confiding, almost to a fault. In this regard, he shared the distinctive characteristics of Hawaiians. He was fond of books, and had long desired to improve himself by foreign travel. To the informal invitation of a distinguished American officer to pay a visit to the United States, he replied, "it has been the dream of my life."

He was averse to useless parade, from the time of his election when he walked with uncovered head from the Court House to his residence, until he gave to his father an expression of his final wishes.

In my own official and personal relations with the late King, he was kind and considerate, evincing a desire to do only what he believed to be for the best interest of the people.

Short as his reign was, the memory of King Lunalilo and of his amiable qualities will long be preserved in the hearts of the people.

Mr. L. McCully desired that a formal expression of the heartfelt feeling of approval of this meeting of Mr. Justice Hartwell's address be shown and that the same be printed together with proceedings of this meeting.

Seconded by Mr. J. Montgomery, and carried unanimously.

Mr. S. B. Dole then addressed the meeting, and moved that it be

RESOLVED; That the members of the Bar do wear mourning for 30 days, and that the Court Rooms be draped.

Seconded by Mr. Stanley, and carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned.

WALTER R. SEAL, Secretary.

[Written for the P. C. Advertiser.]

Lunalilo.

Lunalilo! short lived King,
How soon for thee, a dirge we sing!
Scarcely has Earth, which seemed so bright,
When viewed in thy great fortune's light
Once round its orbit winged its flight,
Ere thou, in manhood prime and might
Art summoned by stern death to yield
All that which was thy lot to wield—
Thy throne, thy sceptre and thy life—
All vanquished in the cruel strife.
Thy gentle spirit now has fled,
Thy body cold, lies with the dead,
And all the hopes once fixed on thee
Are blighted everlastingly.
How kind thou wert! few indeed know
Thy ready sympathy with woe;—
Thy pity for the deep-distressed
E'en when thou, too, hadst great unrest.
Thy memory and gentleness
The widow and the orphan bless,
They mourn with tender heartfelt grief
That thou their high and loving chief
Art gone forever from their sight,
And pray the Father of all Light,
To purify from earthly stain
Thy soul returned to Him again.
'Twas passing strange, a mournful sight,
Leaving behind Heaven's noonday light,
To enter through thy palace gate
And see thee on thy bed of state.
Thy noble, manly frame so worn,
By sickness, though with patience borne,
That scarcely could thy people trace
The features of that well-known face.
Thy sunken cheek and closed eye
Caused many a loud and bitter cry,
Many a heart was filled with woe
Which found not vent in outward show.
Oh Hawaii! bright and free,
Who does not love to dwell in thee?
Who grieves not o'er that vacant throne,
That gray haired chief now left alone,
And will not raise a prayer to heaven
That all thy faults may be forgiven,
And that its choicest gifts be shed
Upon thy future ruler's head.

A. M.

To the Hawaiian Nation.

SALUTATIONS TO YOU:—Whereas His Majesty LUNALILO departed this life at the hour of nine o'clock last night; and by his death the Throne of Hawaii is left vacant, and the nation is without a head or a guide. In this juncture it is proper that we should seek for a Sovereign and Leader, and in doing so, follow the course prescribed by Article 22d of the Constitution. My earnest desire is for the perpetuity of the Crown and the permanent independence of the government and people of Hawaii, on the basis of the equity, liberty, prosperity, progress and protection of the whole people.

It will be remembered that at the time of the election of the late lamented Sovereign, I put forward my own claims to the Throne of our beloved country, on Constitutional grounds; and it is upon those grounds only that I now prefer my claims, and call upon you to listen to my call, and request you to instruct your Representatives to consider, and weigh well, and to regard your choice to elect me, the eldest member of a family high in rank in the country.

Therefore, I, *David Ekamaekamaeānaia Naloiaehu Kalakaua*, cheerfully call upon you, and respectfully ask you to grant me your support.

D. KALAKAUA.

Iolani Palace, Feb. 4, 1874.

Queen Emma's Proclamation.

To the Hawaiian People:

WHEREAS, His late lamented Majesty LUNALILO died on the 3d of February, 1874, without having publicly proclaimed a Successor to the Throne; and whereas,

His late Majesty did before his final sickness declare his wish and intention that the undersigned should be his Successor on the Throne of the Hawaiian Islands, and enjoined upon me not to decline the same under any circumstances; and whereas,

Many of the Hawaiian people have since the death of His Majesty urged me to place myself in nomination at the ensuing session of the Legislature;

Therefore, in view of the foregoing considerations and my duty to the people and to the memory of the late King, I do hereby announce and declare that I am a Candidate for the Throne of these Hawaiian Islands, and I request my beloved people throughout the group, to assemble peaceably and orderly in their districts, and to give formal expression to their views on this important subject, and to instruct their Representatives in the coming session of the Legislature.

God Protect Hawaii!

EMMA KALELEONALANI.

Honolulu, Feb. 5, 1874.

[From the Nuhou Extra, Feb. 6, 1874.]

Some unwise friends have prompted Her Majesty to issue a slovenly literary production, an address to the Hawaiian people which reflects little credit upon Her Majesty's Secretary, and indicates rather imperfect qualifications for the inditing of a state paper.

This illustrious lady is hereby placed before the Hawaiian people as a "Candidate for the vacant Throne,"—presenting as one of the bases of her pretensions the wish of a feeble and invalid King,—of a King who himself came to the Throne in despite of the nomination of a failing King in behalf of a Chiefess. King Lunalilo sustained by the will of a free people, was enabled to disregard the wish of a Sovereign, and now He who came to the throne by popular choice is said to have nominated a successor (although there is no proof whatever of this) who cannot be said to represent the popular will.

Thus the pretensions of Her Majesty, as based upon the desire of a moribund chief, ought to have no more weight this day than they have had in days past. And in respect to the pretensions that are based upon popular will, what evidence is there of any such support that will compare for one moment with the multitudinous and enthusiastic acclaim that has already hailed the High Chief Kalakaua as the rightful successor to the Throne!

He is recognized as the eldest male representative of the ruling high chiefs of these islands, and in the absence of any written law, he would now be hailed as Sovereign in accordance with the unwritten feudal law of the land.

Is the Hawaiian Crown to be the gift of a sick man, who could not well know his own mind, or the gift of a free people to a champion to battle for their independence?

Friends of Queen Emma, keep her good name out of the mire of a political contest. If she has to regret a loss of peace and consideration in consequence, it will be your work.

Let Her Majesty be content to be hailed as a Queen of Benevolence and Mercy, among her people and not as Queen of a small political party. The Hawaiian people will love her as a Benefactress and hate her as a politician.

[From the Hawaii Ponoi Extra, Feb. 7.]

At a meeting of the Privy Council called yesterday to pass appropriate resolutions on the death of His Majesty King Lunalilo,—the Ministry by the Honorable Charles R. Bishop, made the following announcement, which we think it advisable to give to the People immediately.

His Excellency said that though the late King was repeatedly urged in the month of September to nominate a Successor to the Throne, he had nominated no one whatever, and that he never had expressed to himself, in his official capacity or otherwise any intention to nominate any person; and speaking for his colleagues (all of whom were present), he was authorized to say that no nomination had been made to them collectively or to either of them individually,—and further, that although repeated efforts were made to induce him to nominate a Successor subsequent to his return to Honolulu, he never expressed any intention to appoint any one, though the Hon. Chas. R. Bishop frequently told him that he would immediately call the Nobles on the expression of any wish to nominate a Successor.

This seems to us a complete answer to the manifesto signed by Emma Kaleleonalani.

There can be no doubt by the expression of the immense assembly at Kawaiahao Church on the 4th inst., that the feelings of the People are for the High Chief Kalakaua; and we but echo the opinion of the People and endorse it. We assume that if it had been the wish and intention of the late King that any particular person should succeed, he would have made the nomination. This question is set at rest by the explicit declaration of the Ministers.

Kalakaua has the strongest claims to the votes and confidence of the People. The Throne of the Kamehamehas is vacant, and a new King is to be chosen,—not of the House of Kamehameha. The High Chief Kalakaua is presented by the people of this city as their choice. He is the eldest male representative of a Princely Hawaiian family, which is undoubtedly next to the House of Kamehameha, and is entitled to the highest consideration in this country.

God Protect Hawaii! Long Live the High Chief Kalakaua!

To the Public.

A printed circular was issued on Friday morning last, purporting to give an account of certain proceedings in the Privy Council on the previous day, in the course of which a member of His late Majesty's Cabinet had made the announcement that notwithstanding repeated efforts to induce him, the King made no nomination of a Successor, to his Ministers either collectively or individually; whereupon the author of the circular assumes this to be a complete answer to the manifesto issued by Her Majesty Queen Emma.

Under these circumstances the Queen deems it not only proper but necessary to repeat, that on more than one occasion, not only to her but to several others who were in attendance upon him, the late King declared his earnest wish and desire that she should succeed him upon the Throne; and that he moreover cautioned and counselled her not to decline said nomination. And Her Majesty farther states that she was informed by the late King that his Ministers had more than once endeavored to influence him in favor of another well-known person as the Successor; that owing to these repeated efforts, and feeling that his Ministers and the Nobles were opposed to his only choice, he was unfortunately debarred from making known his intentions in time and in a suitable form. And moreover, it is proper that Her Majesty should state the fact that previous to the King's death she was interviewed by persons high in authority, who requested that she herself should endeavor to influence the King in favor of another person.

Thus the truth will appear that the King did not publicly make the nomination which he desired,—not because of any want of thought upon the subject, or from an unwillingness to make any nomination whatever,—but because there was an absence of any real confidence or sympathy between himself and his chosen advisers. Had there been the slightest indication that *their* favorite would be accepted, there would have been no difficulty or doubt in interpreting the King's wishes.

From the foregoing statement of facts, which is strictly true, it will appear that whatever may be the result of a contested succession, the Queen can in no wise be held responsible.

Honolulu, Feb. 9, 1874.

To the Public.

The lineage of Her Majesty Emma Kaleleonalani, a chiefess of the highest blood, is as follows:

Keliimaikai, who was an own brother of Kamehameha I. was the father of Kaonaeha who was the mother of Fanny Young Kekelaokalani, and this last was the mother of Emma Kaleleonalani. The Queen is therefore the nearest living connection of Kamehameha I., the conquerer of these Islands, and thus Her rights to the Throne are superior to those of any other person, both legally and by descent.

The Queen is known from one end of the Islands to the other as an eminently kind and benevolent lady. In proof of this we have that noble Institution the Queen's Hospital, established to preserve the life of the nation through the generous labors of Herself and Her Royal Husband.

The Queen is a person of wealth, and possesses extensive lands; the real and personal estate of His late Majesty Lunalilo has been bequeathed to Her in reversion after the death of H. H. Chas. Kanaina. The nation is desirous of seeing the government debt discharged, and the Queen if made our Sovereign would be the person to contribute to that discharge by living on her own private income, and dispensing with any allowance from the Treasury.

The signs of the heavens (na lani) are propitious, and foretell Her becoming the Sovereign and Mother of the nation, for these are her names: Kalanimalokuloku, Umihulumakaokalani, Kaleleonalani, Lelemaolioli, Lelehauoli, Lelehoola.

God Save the Queen!

The unwise friends of Queen Emma have again published a very foolish paper.

They again talk about Her Majesty being the heiress of King Lunalilo. But there is no proof of this; and it will never be accepted as a fact in the history of these islands.

They say she built the Queen's Hospital. But this is not true. It was built with the money of the people—native and foreign. Her Majesty's name is given to it, because it was built during the reign of her husband.

They speak of Queen Emma's benevolence to her servants, and to many children whom she educates, which is true and is true of all chiefs, but it must be remembered that she receives six thousand dollars a year from the representatives of the people which enables her to perform her good deeds.

It is said that we want to ignore Her Majesty's desire for the Throne, but we do not, as we are now satisfied that she has been planning for a long time to gain the position.

There is something said in the paper we refer to by way of denial that Her Majesty has any intention to marry a foreigner, which we deem as not at all proper for our consideration, and it is most lamentable to observe any such discussion in a paper put forth in behalf of Her Majesty.

There is reference made to an alledged scurrillous statement in respect to petticoat government which is responded to by saying, that the above garment is better than a pair of pants, with boots inside for the purpose of kicking the people about. What silly partizan of the Queen can have concocted such stuff, and who has printed such precious rigmarole?

This paper furthermore accuses the Ministers of undue interference in respect to a choice of Sovereign; but there is not the slightest evidence adduced in proof of this statement except it might be said that they have stated as truthful men, who knew the late King's mind, that there is no proof whatever within their knowledge, that Lunalilo chose Queen Emma to be his successor.

It will be incomprehensible to sensible men, that the friends of Queen Emma should use such arguments and issue such documents. We would be inclined to suppose it was the work of some silly native partizan, were we not assured that it is issued from the press of Iolani College, which is under the control of Bishop Willis. Can it be possible that he is lending his countenance to political partizanship, and to *such* partizanship? Is his religious mission to be converted into a political propagandism, in order to gain a governmental control, and an ecclesiastical supremacy? Such partizanship whether active or sympathetic must be disastrous to the cause of true religion and whatever the political result will engender an antagonism in these islands most injurious to the cause of Christianity.—*Nuhou Extra, Feb.* 10.

King or Queen?

Since our last issue, a second candidate for the throne has been announced in the person of Her Majesty Queen Dowager Emma, widow of Kamehameha IV., whose manifesto, published in another column of to-day's paper, has had the effect which might naturally be expected, of creating a zealous party, inspired with loyal sympathy for her, and of adding additional excitement to the coming election. For her personal charms and for her many worthy deeds and charities, we in common with all our fellow citizens entertain the highest admiration. Hawaiians mention her name only with affectionate reverence at home; while abroad the fame of her tour through America and Europe is still fresh. Many in foreign lands know the name and admire the virtues of Queen Emma of Hawaii. Here is a wide-world fame, which no new royal honors can add to; and her name will always be one of the brightest jewels in the diadem of Hawaii. But while admiring her for her personal good qualities, in common with all who know her, we cannot consent to be a party to bring her into political strife, or endorse her nomination as a candidate to the throne, so long as there remains a Prince of at least equal rank qualified for the position, and for whom the people are so unanimous. That she would have been the first choice of the late King, had he made a nomination, there can be little doubt; but his failure to publicly nominate her as his successor, leaves her without paramount claims to the throne.

In the absence of a constitutional appointment of a successor, and assuming that neither of the candidates possesses any pre-emptive claims by birth over the other, there are several reasons why the Prince should be preferred:

1—He has been nominated unanimously by mass-meetings, not only in this city, but in various districts on this and the other islands of the group, clearly indicating the popular preference for Sovereign.

2—His election will result in providing a Prince to succeed him, even should he leave no children, and thus prevent the recurrence of these dangerous interregnums, which are so demoralizing to the people, and which ought to be guarded against.

3—A King will be more acceptable and undoubtedly be able to give more satisfaction to his people in the administration of the Government than a Queen could possibly give.

For these reasons, and for others which might be given, we doubt not that the Legislative Assembly, which convenes to-morrow, will decide that Prince Kalakaua is the people's choice, and as such should be the successor on the throne. We know and confidently assert that, in the event of his election, he will call around him as advisers the most experienced men to be found in the land; that he will maintain the Constitution and execute the laws of the Kingdom, and that he will seek to uphold the high character for impartial justice, and political and religious liberty which the Hawaiian nation now enjoys. And we assure all that, in conducting his Government, he will be guided by his councilors, in his endeavors to maintain the liberal principles which have been developed during the past thirty years. In short, that he will aim to establish liberty, equality and fraternity among all classes of his subjects, and seek the prosperity of the Kingdom.—*Gazette, February* 11.

To the Hawaiian Nation.

I, Emma Kaleleonalani, the daughter of Kekelaokalani, the daughter of Kaoanaeha, the daughter of Kelimaikai, the own brother of Kamehameha I.:

Whereas, it has pleased Almighty God to remove from this life His lamented Majesty Lunalilo, whereby the line of the Kamehamehas has become extinct, leaving myself the proper heir to the Government; and whereas—

1. I am the true heir to the Throne, by appointment of His late Majesty Lunalilo, as is personally known to the Chief C. Kanaina, the late King's father; to the King's Chamberlain, and to the Hon. S. K. Kaai, the Representative for North Kona, Hawaii. Listen, all ye people, to the voice of your beloved King!

2. If I am chosen as your Sovereign, I will proceed to carry out the policy of our King Lunalilo, in restoring the desirable portions of the Constitution of Kamehameha III., and abolishing the objectionable features of that of Kamehameha V., and on this foundation secure the perpetuity of Hawaiian independence.

3. I will sanction the reduction of my own annual allowance, and also the reduction of the salaries of Government officers, with a view to the paying off of the national indebtedness.

4. It will be my earnest desire to appoint principally native Hawaiians to many of the Government positions. And my request to you my people is, that you strive for knowledge, and live orderly and correct lives.

5. I earnestly desire that my people should labor with me for the preservation, the increase, and the health of the nation.

6. I sincerely declare that I have no desire to allow my religious opinions to influence my governmental policy. I wish that the religious sect to which I belong may be on the same footing with others in the Kingdom.

My beloved people, from Hawaii to Niihau!

Listen to the voice of your Parent; have confidence in me, O my children! Give instructions to your Representatives, that they may with one accord give their support to the Right.

And may the only true God give thee increase, O Hawaii.

NOBLES:

Be not suspicious of this my voice. I have been a mother to the people for these fourteen years. Give me your countenance in thus presenting myself before you. I am the only proper one to take the Crown of Hawaii nei.

Nobles and Representatives: With you is the election; it is with the King of Kings to create Royalty.

The prayer of my heart is

God Save Hawaii Nei!

Mass Meeting at Kawaiahao.

In response to a published call, some thousands of the residents of Honolulu, both natives and foreigners, assembled at Kawaiahao Church at 3 P. M. on Wednesday last, the 4th inst. The body of the Church and the galleries as well, were crowded with a decorous and expectant audience. The Hon. J. M. Kapena was called to the Chair, and Mr. P. Naone chosen Vice-President, and Mr. J. Smith, Secretary.

On taking the Chair, Judge Kapena briefly stated the main object of the meeting to be to obtain an expression of the sympathy and condolence of the people with His Highness Chas. Kanaina, the father of His late Majesty, on the sad bereavement which has fallen upon him, and upon the nation at large. On motion a Committee of five was chosen by the Chair to draft resolutions in accordance with this object, as follows: Messrs. R. H. Stanley, W. L. Moehonua, Rev. G. W. Pilipo, Hon. C. C. Harris and J. U. Kawainui. The Committee reported the following resolutions, which were adopted, *nem. con:*

WHEREAS, we the people of Honolulu, in common with this whole nation, are in sorrow and affliction through the dispensation of Providence in removing from us His Majesty LUNALILO the King, who died at 50 minutes past 3 o'clock on the evening of February 3d instant; therefore:

Resolved, That we the people of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, do hereby respectfully tender our most sincere condolence to His Highness Charles Kanaina, father of His late Majesty, on the death of our beloved King, and that we sorrow and grieve with him.

Resolved, That this Committee be instructed to deliver a copy of these resolutions to His Highness, and furnish the same to the newspapers of this city for publication.

(Signed by the members of the Committee.)

Mr. A. Kalauli offered two resolutions, nominating the high Chief David Kalakaua for successor to the Throne, and instructing the Representatives of this district in the Legislature to vote for him. While these resolutions were uner consideration, Major W. L. Moehonua spoke as follows:

"I am authorized to say on behalf of the Chief (Kalakaua) that he desires whatever is done shall be strictly in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the laws.

"Our Chief stands upon this platform of the Constitution and the laws; and he trusts the nation will pay all proper respect to those who are now in authority. I hope that the approval of the people will be unanimous when the Legislature shall have met and made known its decision in the matter."

After the resolutions had been fully debated, they were put to vote, separately, and carried by acclamation, as follows:

WHEREAS, His Majesty LUNALILO died on the 3d of February 1874, without having nominated or proiaimed a successor to the Throne; therefore:

Resolved, That we, the people of Honolulu, district of Kona, Island of Oahu, in mass-meeting assembled at Kawaiahao, February 4, 1874, do hereby declare Prince DAVID KALAKAUA our choice for the succession to the Throne of these Hawaiian Islands.

Resolved That we hereby instruct our Representatives in the coming Legislature to cast their votes for King, for Prince DAVID KALAKAUA, and for no one else.

There being no further business before the meeting it was therefore adjourned.

W. J. SMITH, Secretary.

—*Advertiser, Feb. 7.*

Col. Kalakaua's Proclamation.

TO THE PEOPLE:—The President of the public meeting held at Kawaiahao on Wednesday, the 4th of February, 1874, has communicated to me the unanimous sentiment of that meeting as expressed in the Resolutions adopted, in which you have declared your wish that I should be chosen as King of our beloved country at the session of the Legislative Assembly called to meet on the 12th of this present month.

I sincerely thank you citizens, (na makaainana) for the expression of your confidence in naming me as the Successor to the Throne; and, knowing myself to be in sympathy with you, I shall study to carry out your wishes.

His late Majesty died without nominating or proclaiming a Successor to the Throne, and it therefore devolves upon the Legislative Assembly, under the Constitution, to elect a Sovereign.

I accept your nomination of myself to this high and responsible position of Guardian of the Government, with the earnest hope that that Government may be conducted wisely, and so as to secure and perpetuate our national independence and the preservation and prosperity of our race.

God Preserve Hawaii!

KALAKAUA.

Honolulu, Feb. 6, 1874.

Another Mass Meeting.

The people to the number of about two thousand, assembled at the residence of Queen Emma on Monday forenoon last. Mr. W. S. Pahukula called the audience to order, and read a printed paper, which approved the manifesto isssued by Queen Emma on Thursday last.

Her Majesty then came forward, and at her request Mr. Pahukula read a letter from His Highness Charles Kanaina and the King's Chamberlain, stating that the late King had, while at Kailua, expressed his intention to name Queen Emma as his successor, but being unable to obtain the approval of his Cabinet, who were not there, he returned to Honolulu with the intention to name her here, but died without carrying it out.

After the reading of this letter, the Queen addressed the audience as follows: "I am much gratified with the unanimity which you have shown in supporting my claim to the vacant Throne. Love to you all."

Mr. Pahukula then stepped forward and said Her Majesty would make some more remarks. The audience cheered heartily and shouted, "Let us vote for her, to be our Queen."

The Queen then came forward the second time and said: "If your wish shall be carried out by the Legislature on the day of election, and I am chosen to be your Queen, I will select natives to fill the offices, with the exception of those which natives cannot fill. In those offices I will place foreigners."

It was proposed that an election should be held, which after some discussion, was fixed for Tuesday, when those who choose to vote for the Queen can do so.

Speeches were made by several speakers, after which Rev. G. W. Pilipo gave the audience some advice and closed with prayer.

—*Advertiser, Feb. 7.*

]From the Hawaiian Gazette, Feb. 11th.]

To the Hawaiian Gazette:

It is evidently the purpose in certain quarters to draw the members of His late Majesty's Cabinet into a discussion, and to make it appear as though they had assumed a partisan attitude regarding the succession to the Throne. Such action is unwarranted by facts. You will oblige my colleagues and myself by publishing the following record of the verbal statement made by me in the Privy Council on the 6th inst., which was not, when made, intended to be made public; nor was it intended to be an answer to anything that had been published.

"His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs made the following statement:

"It is quite probable that various reports regarding the appointment of a successor by the late King will be spread abroad. I think it quite proper that you, gentlemen, who occupy a responsible position, should know just what was done about that important matter by the members of His Majesty's Cabinet. In September last, on more than one occasion, I urged upon His Majesty the great importance and desirableness of appointing his successor. My colleagues also advised strongly the same way. Again, after his late return from Kailua, the Minister of the Interior and myself, the Attorney General also being present, advised him with every argument that we could command, and appealed to him to make an appointment. I stated to him repeatedly, that whenever he desired to name his successor, it would be the duty of his Ministers to summon the Nobles without delay; and that I would make it my special business to attend to it. I now say for myself, and am also authorized to say on behalf of my colleagues, that His Majesty never said to me, or to either of them, that he was ready to make an appointment and wished to have the Nobles summoned; nor did he ever name to me or to either of them, any person whom he wished to appoint. His right to make an appointment and the method were clearly explained to him, and perfectly understood by him; and he knew that when he was ready to make an appointment, the Nobles would be called and the name submitted to them."

Several of the Councillors having stated that it seemed to them desirable that this statement on the part of the Ministers should be publicly known, Mr. Bishop added:

"I have no objection, and my colleagues seem to have none, that what I have said to you should be repeated publicly. The members of the Cabinet are perfectly aware, that it is their duty in their official capacity, to treat all candidates for the Sovereignty with impartiality; and they will do so.

"In justice to ourselves and all concerned, I thought it proper to make this statement to you, so that you might know the truth. We (the Ministers) do not pretend to know what the King may have said to others, but we speak for ourselves only."

In the advice to His Majesty to appoint a successor, no conditions were included; and when the subject was last referred to by his Ministers he was assured by two of them, that whenever he should signify his readiness to make an appointment, no time would be lost in calling the Nobles together, without any reference to whom he might appoint. CHAS. R. BISHOP.

Foreign Office, Honolulu, Feb. 9, 1874.

[From the P. C. Advertiser, Feb. 7th.]

FOR A PEOPLE whose political education was so recent and so limited as that of the Hawaiians, the ordeal of a popular election for a King—a proposition involving something like a contradiction in terms—was not a socially healthy one. Political excitements, without some vital and necessary end in view, and for the general good, are to be deprecated, especially among a people circumstanced like ours. The *plebiscitum* of last year, while it passed off quietly and amicably owing to an enthusiastic unanimity of sentiment among the populace, has become, it is now acknowledged, a precedent that we were much better without.

There is now apparently a prospect of something like a contest in the approaching extra session of the Legislature, on the question of a successor to the Throne. A second candidate has been placed before the country, in the person of Her Majesty Queen Emma, the widow of King Kamehameha IV. The Queen is a woman—in the highest sense of the word—whom all have learned to honor and esteem for noble qualities and noble deeds. And while we heartily concede all this, together with that consideration and chivalric forbearance which is due her sex, we must express our profound regret that her partisans have chosen to add to the existing complication of affairs by placing her name in opposition to that of the high chief Kalakaua. We assume it as quite certain that a large majority of the members of the Assembly will be found to have been instructed by their constituencies to vote for the chief whose candidacy was so emphatically endorsed at the public meeting of Wednesday last.

Fellow Countrymen!

Let us remember that the eyes of other nations are upon as, and be careful what we do.

The United States, Great Britain and France did not acknowledge our independence until after we had a Constitution and written laws, and when they believed that we would be governed by those laws and maintain a civilized government. Other nations have made treaties with our rulers, because they too had faith in us as a law abiding people. Only a little over a year ago, when, for the first time, our Legislature was called to elect a King, we showed by our self-control that we were worthy of the respect and confidence of the great nations of the earth. To-day we will confirm that good opinion.

In observance of law and order, there is peace, safety and strength. HAWAIIAN.

Honolulu, Feb. 12th, 1874.

Nobles and Representatives:

As Legislators, speaking for the nation, a grave and important duty devolves upon you to-day, to choose a Sovereign for these Hawaiian Islands.

Remembering the express desire of Lunalilo, our late lamented King, that the Queen should succeed him on the Throne, therefore, with one accord, deposit your votes for Emma Kaleleonalani.

The people, for whose benefit she has labored, expect you to choose her for their Sovereign.

The best interests of our whole country, the permanency of our independence, and the preservation of our race, will be secured by her election.

Therefore, Nobles and Representatives of the people, be firm, be true to the hopes of Hawaii nei, and make Emma Kaleleonalani the Sovereign of these Islands!

Feb. 12th. THE PEOPLE.

The Riot.

Compiled from the Gazette's and Advertiser's Accounts.

When the announcement was made by the President of the Assembly on Thursday (at a few minutes before 3 P. M.) that Prince David Kalakaua was elected King of the Hawaiian Islands, several attempts were made in the audience to cheer, but they were promptly suppressed by the Police. Some cheering was heard from the crowd outside, but it was mingled with yells and cries of rage from the mob assembled.

Orators, mostly of the "*sanscullotes*" class, were busy here and there, exciting the passions of their hearers against the Representatives, for having, as they declared, voted against the wishes of the people in making Kalakaua King. No outbreak occurred till the Committee which had been appointed to notify the King of his election attempted to leave the building and enter the carriage waiting to convey them to the Palace. The crowd surrounded the carriage and laid hands on the members of the committee, who attempted to defend themselves, as best they could without weapons, and one or two of whom were badly wounded before they effected entrance into the building to which they retreated. The carriage was almost instantly demolished, the spokes and other pieces serving as weapons to arm the rioters, who now began to be warmed up for further destruction. In the rush at this moment, a foreigner, named John Foley, who endeavored to rescue Major Moehonua (against whom the mob appeared to be particularly spiteful) was struck by some one in the crowd, whereupon he squared himself and struck right and left, but only for a moment. A blow with a stick from behind felled him to the ground and he was jumped upon and would have been killed in all probability, but that Major Wodehouse, the British Commissioner, who happened to be near, forced his way through the crowd and stood over the man until he was carried away, badly but not seriously hurt.

The Committee having got back inside the Court House, the mob now surged around to the front entrance, where with savage yells they demanded that the Representatives appear. Whenever one of these was seen at an upper window, fists and sticks would be shaken at him, and the shout went up, "Look out for yourself!" while the eyes of the upturned faces glared with demoniacal fury. Repeated attempts were made by the Marshal and Deputy, and by well-known foreigners to persuade the mob to disperse peaceably, but these attempts only seemed to still further excite their unreasoning rage. They declared that they had nothing against any foreigner, but only wanted to get hold of the native Representatives, to wreak on them their vengeance for having voted against Queen Emma. The situation of the members was now getting precarious, shut up unarmed in a building, the doors of which would yield to a moderate assault, with a howling mob without, apparently thirsting for their lives.

The cry was now raised by the mob (about four o'clock) "Break in the back doors!"—the front being guarded by the Police. (It is proper to state just here, that throughout the riot, the native Police were of little or no use.) One or two rushes, a piece of lumber used as a battering ram, and the folding doors yielded and the mob poured in. The members were now mostly all in the upper portion of the building, with several of the Ministers, Judges, and other officials.

The entire building was now at the mercy of the mob, and the destruction of chairs, tables, furniture, papers and books was executed so rapidly that in less than half an hour the furniture and contents were thrown out from nearly every room on the first and second floors. The office of the Clerks of the Court and the Library alone were respected. Mr. Barnard, the assistant clerk, with Sheriff Dayton and two Policemen, guarded these records of the Court, and persuaded the rioters to leave them untouched, as they were the property of the people. Had the wills and records on deposit here been destroyed, the loss could never have been repaired, and the confusion to which it would have given rise must have affected every interest in the Kingdom.

For a time, after gaining an entrance, the mob devoted their attention to the destruction of property, and appeared to forget the Representatives, while they proceeded to smash furniture, tear up papers and multilate books, in the offices of the Attorney General, of Judge Hartwell, Judge Widemann, the Police Magistrate, and the Police Court Room. Many valuable private and some public documents were ruthlessly destroyed, of a nature that can never be replaced.

All the windows and most of the windowsash of the Court House, both above and below, were broken with coral stones or with clubs thrown by the mob.

And now commenced the attack on the Representatives, as they were endeavoring to escape from the building. Clubs, improvised from table and chair legs, were freely used, and that murder out-right was not accomplished can only be explained by the number of the assailants all striking blindly at once. A few foreigners too, were active and courageous in endeavoring to rescue and save the members. As it was, four were seriously injured by blows about the head, viz.: Messrs. Kipi and Haupu of Hilo; Nahinu of South Kona; and Moehonua of Honolulu. The following were badly, but not seriously cut and bruised: Messrs. Lonoaea and Birch, of Wailuku; Kaiue and Kupihea, of Molokai; Kapule, of Makawao; Koakanu, of Koloa, Kauai; and Kakani, of Hana, Maui. We have heard of but one person outside the Representatives who was attacked and beaten—J. Koii Unauna, a known strong partisan of Kalakaua. Hon. W. T. Martin and his son Hon. J. H. Martin, both members of the Assembly, barely escaped from the mob, through the courageous assistance of foreign friends.

Immediately after the attack on the Committee, as described above, some of the members suggested that assistance be sent for from the ships of war in the harbor. But it was not until further violence had been perpetrated by the mob, and they had plainly declared their intention of having the lives of the members, that the authorities consented to seek for foreign assistance. A request from the King elect, and from their Excellencies the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Governor of Oahu was made to the Representatives of Great Britain and the United States, for the landing of a sufficient force for the protection of life and property. In a few minutes thereafter a squad of marines and sailors from the U. S. S. *Tuscarora* and *Portsmouth*, and shortly after their arrival, a similar squad from H. B. M. S. *Tenedos*, landed and marched up to the Court House and took possession of the building and grounds. Some of the rioters, who were actively engaged in the work of destruction in the building, no sooner caught sight of the armed force than they dropped their clubs and mingled with the crowd, which soon after gradually dispersed. A few were arrested on the spot, but the majority marched off in triumph, shouting and hurrahing for the Queen. To her residence they repaired in a crowd, and saluted her with exultant cheers, while some of her partisan leaders made incendiary speeches. In this connection it should be stated, that while the riot was at its height, a member of the House of Nobles drove to the Queen's residence and begged of her to go down to the Court House and use her personal influence in dispersing the mob and preventing the spilling of blood, which he represented as imminent. The Queen is stated to have treated this message with indifference, as no concern of hers. Subsequently she promised another gentleman that she would go, but did not go. She sent however, a note to be read to the rioters, which was addressed to "My People," and was in substance to this effect: "That if they could not obtain their desires now, perhaps they had better wait until the morrow, when a new election for Sovereign could be had!"

The debris of the mob were in full blast at Her Majesty's residence, speech-making and boasting, after sundown, when a file of the *Tenedos* marines marched into the yard and dispersed them, the police making one or two arrests.

A notable circumstance throughout the whole of the riot was that with the one exception at the beginning, no foreigner was molested, though if the rioters had not been dispersed by a show of an armed force just at the time when they were, indiscriminate violence, robbery and arson would probably have resulted throughout the city.

Among the foreigners who were prominent in efforts to check the rioters, were Messrs. C. C. Harris, S. B. and Geo. Dole.

When the rush was made for the Police Court room, Mr. Harris stood in the doorway and, at the peril of his life, resisted the infuriate mob. When the rioters raised their clubs over his head, he threw off his hat and dared them to strike a blow. Then single handed pitched about a dozen of them off the steps, and continued to guard the outer door, though the rioters effected entrance at another door and succeeded in their designs of destroying the furniture.

The American Minister and the British and French Consuls were also active in endeavors to check the fury of the mob, and when they found them useless, the two former quickly and cordially co-operated in complying with the request of the Government for the landing of marines from the war vessels. Nothing but the prompt appearance of these forces on the scene put a stop to the riot, and saved the further destruction of property.

As no outbreak of this kind had been anticipated, no firearms had been provided. The Marshal had one or two pistols in his office, and two of the Representatives were armed with pistols, but they were not used; and it is perhaps as well that they were not discharged, as this number could have had but little effect in staying the riot, and may have increased it. Had there been twenty-five armed persons in the building at the outset, there would have been no outbreak. It was this entire absence of means of defence that encouraged the rioters.

It is remarkable that nobody was killed, when such savage attacks were made on the victims. Pools of blood covered the mattings and floors, while the plastering in various rooms was smeared with blood.

During the night the foreign marine forces held possession of the Court House, the Station House, Palace, and government offices, and have continued in possession up to this day. Several shots were fired on the guards stationed around the Court House on Thursday night, but since that there has been no demonstration of any kind against them.

The larger part of the rioters were evidently from Koolau, Ewa and Waialua, who came into town for the express purpose of influencing the election. They were no doubt encouraged by persons in this city, whose complicity, it is hoped, will be traced out. That they came here with the determination to create a disturbance, if necessary to secure the election of their candidate, there can be no question. They assembled in the morning at the residence of Queen Emma, and a little before noon marched in squads of a hundred or more to the Court House, where they remained till the election was over, the leaders constantly haranguing the populace. Although there were several hundred engaged in the riot, it will probably be found that the leaders and promoters do not exceed a dozen. It is stated that nearly all the soldiers who were concerned in the mutiny at the barracks were also in this riot.

Soon after the arrival of the marines, the police began to make arrests, and before nightfall secured at the Court House and Queen Emma's residence some ten or twelve. This number has been increased to over fifty, most of whom have been recognized by the Representatives and others. Some have acknowledged that they took part in the riot,—and there will probably be no trouble in obtaining evidence to convict at least the most active among them.

[From the P. C. Advertiser, Feb. 14th.]

We can hardly find words to express our shame and sorrow in view of the lawless and violent proceedings of Thursday last. For the first time in Hawaiian history have we seen a mob of natives, made up of the lowest classes, unreasoning, cruel, and utterly reckless as all mobs are, but fortunately without any recognized leader of ability, and so without much concert of action. There can be no question but that a squad of twenty determined men, armed with the ordinary policeman's billy, and keeping well together, could at any time have quickly dispersed the crowd that gathered about the Court House on Thursday afternoon. But it appears that we have been so much in the habit of crediting the Hawaiians—even those of the lowest classes—with an almost superstitious regard for the sanctity of law and its representatives, that although everybody was aware of the feverish excitement got up since the King's death by the partisans of Queen Emma, yet no one seems to have seriously anticipated that they were capable of resorting to the senseless extreme of attempting to coerce the Legislature to undo the solemn and formal constitutional act of the election of a Sovereign. But this however was the central idea with the rioters, as gathered from the shouts that occasionally rose above the babel of voices, and, as they at length retired in the face of the foreign forces, they went shouting, "To-morrow we will have Queen Emma elected!" The inevitable moral to be drawn from the experience of Thursday is this, that the government of the day is not only lamentably weak, but that that weakness is fraught with danger to the order and peace of the community and the safety of life and property. But for the presence in our waters—we may say providentially—of the war vessels of the United States and Great Britain, the city of Honolulu and its inhabitants, foreign men, women and children as well as native, would have been at the mercy of a mob of infuriated, semi-savage natives, who, when stopped in their course of destruction of property and would-be murder, were just beginning to get warm to their devilish work, and arson would soon have followed. The lesson to be learned by the foreigners and the law-abiding portion of the native community is simply this, that we must pay more attention in the future to organizing means of self-defense and the maintenance of order, than we have deemed necessary in the past.

We do not envy the reflections that must now arise in the mind of any man in this community, who, during the past six or seven months, has aided by pen or voice in inciting and encouraging among the native populace those sentiments of discontent, insubordination and contempt for constituted authority which have naturally culminated in the outbreak of the week that has just passed. And we deeply regret that the immediate occasion for that outbreak of lawlessness and violence should be furnished by the acts and exaggerated published manifestoes of a lady who, until now, has stood so high in the public estimation.

Our Misfortune.

There is no use in dissembling the fact that the most intense indignation was felt and expressed during and since the riot, against the noble lady who was the rival candidate for the Throne. That she did not act discreetly in not promptly seeking to stay the destruction of property and injury to the persons of the Representatives, by calling off her supporters is also evident, but what her reasons were, we do not know. On the other hand, however, it is argued that had reasonable measures been taken on the part of the authorities to provide some kind of an armed force to be available on a moment's notice, the disturbance might have been checked at its outset, with simply the arrest of the leaders, and in this case no one would have thought of casting blame on the rival candidate. It is easy for people, *after* a disaster of any kind, to say what should have been done and what not, and to cast blame, when they themselves had never suggested or even thought that any such measures were necessary. Riots often occur in American, French and English cities, where every precaution is taken to guard against them, and frequently more destruction of property and life is done in a shorter space than occurred here.

We all supposed ourselves to be tolerably well protected by the volunteer companies, which now we find are unreliable. They were ordered out before a blow was struck, but the officers reported that no dependence could be placed on them. Hence, when too late, we found ourselves defenceless, and welcomed the intervention of a foreign armed force. Let us now profit from our experience and provide such means of defence as can be relied on in any future emergency.—*Gazette*, Feb. 6th.

THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY of these islands have been laid under deep and lasting obligations to Captains Skerrett, Belknap and Ray of the American and British war vessels in port, and to their officers and men, for the prompt manner in which they rendered material aid in suppressing the riot, and the careful and considerate manner in which they discharged a peculiar duty.—*P. C. Advertiser*, Feb. 14th.

Action of the Consular Corps.

At a meeting of the Consular Corps, held on Saturday last, at the office of Mr. Schaefer, the following resolution was unanimously adopted upon the suggestion of one of the members:

Resolved, That the senior of the Consular Body, Mr. Heuck, accompanied by Mons. Ballieu, who joins to his functions of Commissioner those of Consul for France, call upon the Representatives of the United States and Great Britain, and convey to them the sincere thanks of the foreign Consuls for the promptness and impartiality with which they, through their ships of war in port, assisted the local authorities in putting an end to the disturbance of last Thursday, without in any way interfering with Hawaiian politics. By so doing not only lives and property of American and British subjects together with Hawaiian was saved, but such protection was likewise given to the subjects of all other nations represented here by the members of the Consular Corps, and grately acknowledging this fact, the fairness and readiness of those who extended such protection is highly commendable. The gallant and moderate conduct of the Captains, officers and men of the *Tuscarora*, *Tenedos* and *Portsmouth* was a pleasing fact, and the appreciating thanks of the meeting to Captains Belknap, Ray and Skerrett, and those under their command, to be communicated to them through their respective Representatives here.

The Committee immediately called upon Mr. Peirce and Mr. Wodehouse and delivered the foregoing message, whereupon both these gentlemen expressed their fullest appreciation of this act on the part of the Consular Corps, renewing the assurance that at all times the interests of the subjects of all nations together with those of this kingdom would be gladly and readily guarded by them.—*Advertiser*, Feb. 21st.

The Rioters.

The examination of the rioters commenced yesterday before His Honor the Police Magistrate, whose office is temporarily on the second floor of the Station House, Attorney General Judd appearing for the Crown. Seventy-three arrests of persons supposed to have been engaged in the riot have been made up to yesterday noon, and of those examined so far, the evidence has been sufficient to detain only about one-half. Several have plead guilty to the charge of riot made against them, and of the whole number that may be arrested probably not over twenty or twenty-five will be committed for trial at the April term of the Supreme Court. That all who are found guilty, especially the ringleaders, should receive the full penalty of the law, is

the general sentiment of the community. Had the leaders in the mutiny at the Barracks last September been tried and sentenced to the punishment which their offense demanded, the lesson would have been a wholesome one, which would not have been soon forgotten. Justice demands that the fullest penalty of the law shall be executed in this as well as in every other riotous proceeding. We have been altogether too lenient, and it is time that all who deliberately break the laws should be made to suffer.—*Gazette, Feb.* 18.

Proclamation.

We, KALAKAUA, by the Grace of God King of the Hawaiian Islands, agreeably to Article Twenty-second of the Constitution of Our Kingdom, have this day appointed and do hereby proclaim and make known that, failing an heir of Our body, Our beloved subject and Brother, His Royal Highness, Prince WILLIAM PITT LELEIOHOKU is to be Our Successor on the Throne as King, after it shall have pleased God to call us hence.

Done at Iolani Palace in Honolulu, this
(L. S.) Fourteenth Day of February, in the year of Our Lord Eighteen Hundred and Seventy-four.

By the King: KALAKAUA R.
EDWIN O. HALL, Minister of the Interior.

We the undersigned Nobles of the Kingdom, do hereby consent to the above appointment:

Chas. Kanaina, G. P. Kanoa, P. Nahaolelua, C. R. Bishop, J. O. Dominis, H. A. Kahanu, H. Kuihelani, W. T. Martin, J. P. Parker, J. I. Dowsett, J. Moanauli, A. S. Cleghorn, S. G. Wilder, Paul Isenberg.

Kalakaua R.

I, KALAKAUA, KING of the Hawaiian Islands,
To all to whom these presents may come—Greeting:—

By virtue of the authority of the 35th Article of the Constitution of the Kingdom, do hereby Ordain and Decree, that My Brother, William Pitt Leleiohoku is hereby invested with the style and title of His Royal Highness, PRINCE LELEIOHOKU.

It is further my Order and Command, that from and after the date of These Presents, he shall take Precedence of all other persons whatsoever, on all State occasions.

In Testimony Whereof We have caused these
{GREAT SEAL.} Letters to be made Patent, and the Seal of Our Kingdom to be hereunto affixed.

Given under Our hand at Iolani Palace in the City of Honolulu, this Fourteenth Day of February, in the year of Our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-four.

By the King: KALAKAUA R.
CHAS. R. BISHOP,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The proclamation of the appointment of Prince LELEIOHOKU as Heir Apparent to the Throne, is received by all loyal people with great satisfaction, as a timely act of His Majesty and a further guarantee of the stability of Hawaiian independence.—*Advertiser, Feb.* 21.

IT HAS PLEASED HIS MAJESTY THE KING to appoint as Justices of the Supreme Court the following named gentlemen:

Honorable CHAS. COFFIN HARRIS,
First Associate Justice,
Vice A. S. Hartwell, resigned.

Honorable F. FRANCIS JUDD,
Second Associate Justice,
Vice H. A. Widemann, resigned.

JNO. O. DOMINIS,
His Majesty's Private Secretary.

Iolani Palace, February 17th, 1874.

IT HAS PLEASED HIS MAJESTY THE KING to appoint the following named gentlemen as Members of His Cabinet:

His Excellency PAUL NAHAOLELUA,
Minister of Finance.

WILLIAM L. GREEN,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Honorable H. A. WIDEMANN,
Minister of the Interior.

Honorable A. S. HARTWELL,
Attorney General.

JNO. O. DOMINIS,
His Majesty's Private Secretary.

Iolani Palace, February 17th, 1874.
—*Advertiser. Feb.* 21.

A LITTLE more than thirteen months have elapsed since the Cabinet of Lunalilo took office, and now, under a new Sovereign, we have to announce the advent of new men to the executive offices of the country. In bidding farewell to the old incumbents, we have no desire to needlessly criticise their official career. The record of the year past will show that we have dealt with them fairly and justly as public men, naught extenuating nor setting down aught in malice. Their experience in office, though short, has been varied, and doubtless perplexing and wearisome at times. If anybody is pleased to see them retire, it may be safely said on the part of the Ministers that they are not sorry to be relieved.

The announcement on Wednesday of the formation of the Cabinet of His Majesty Kalakaua, four days after his accession to the throne, took most people by surprise, and together with the attendant changes in the composition of the Bench of the Supreme Court, formed the one absorbing topic of conversation in all circles. In our position as public journalists we have listened attentively to the voice of public opinion, and can safely say that the new ministerial appointments are very generally satisfactory. No doubt candidates for the positions could have been named in abundance, but it would have been extremely difficult to have selected four men in this limited community better calculated to command the respect and confidence of different parties whose special interests are supposed to be regarded, than those upon whom His Majesty's choice has fallen. And the cosmopolitan character of the community is apparently recognized in the fact that the four leading nationalities are represented in the persons of the Ministers—Hawaiian, English, German and American.

Governor PAUL NAHAOLELUA, who is named as Minister of Finance, is one of the few left of the class of educated petty chiefs who entered Government service in the early days of Kamehameha III. During a long life—he is now over seventy—he has been a trusted and honored public servant, having for many years past filled the post of Governor of Maui and its dependencies. He is a family connection of the Queen Dowager Emma, and his appointment to a Cabinet position is a just and proper concession in the native Hawaiians.

Mr. W. L. GREEN, the gentleman who takes the port-folio of the Foreign Department, is an English merchant of over twenty years residence in this city. He is a person of education and culture, with literary and scientific tastes, of an active and enterprising habit, and noted among our business men for his good judgment and practical common sense. Though an Englishman by birth, he is believed to be devoid of national prejudices—a cosmopolitan and a man of the world.

Judge WIDEMANN, in assuming the important position of Minister of the Interior, enters upon a line of duties with which he is quite familiar, having been for a number of years Chief Clerk of that Department. He doubtless knows as much about the resources, the needs and the capabilities of the country as any other man. A resident here of over twenty-five years, married to a Hawaiian lady, and the father of a large family, he speaks the vernacular fluently, and is familiar with the native character, its good points and its failings. Judge Widemann is a man of liberal views, of enterprising and industrious habits, and withal is possessed of that unassuming style of manner and tact that is so necessary in the head of the Department of the Interior.

In Judge HARTWELL, as Attorney General of the Kingdom, it may with truth be said that the Cabinet has been strengthened at the expense of the Bench. While all must regret his retirement from the position in which he has attained the unlimited and high esteem of the entire community as an upright judge, yet that regret is compensated for by the reflection that in his new position as the law adviser of the Crown and a member of the Cabinet, a wider field of usefulness is open to him, and the country is assured of having the benefit of his safe counsel and calm judgment in all matters of state.

In thus briefly summing up the *personnel* of the new Cabinet, we may fairly assume that the country has a right to expect at the hands of this Ministry, an administration of the Government which shall be characterized by the positive evidences of enterprise, prudence and strength. It will be our province in the future, as it has been in the past, as independent public journalists to closely watch the course of public men, equally prepared to award the meed of praise or to apply the lash of criticism, as the necessity for either alternative may arise.—*Advertiser, Feb.* 21.

THE NEW appointments to the Bench of the Supreme Court of Messrs. Harris and Judd as First and Second Associate Justices, was considerably more of a surprise to the general public than those of the Cabinet. The first named gentleman, besides having been a prominent member of the bar of this country since 1850, held important and influential positions during the reign of Kamehameha V., and was active and conspicuous in some of the exciting events of that period. Since retiring from the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs in the latter part of 1872, Judge Harris has resided for some time on his plantation at Hawaii, and has taken no part whatever in public affairs until now. But it is not surprising there should be some among those who formerly opposed the Minister, that continue to cherish a modicum of the same personal estimate of the Judge. It is hardly necessary to say that such a conclusion is unfair, and it is only mentioned here for the purpose of affirming our conviction that the new appointee to the grave and highly responsible position of First Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, taking with him as he does a thorough knowledge of the law in its theory and practice, appreciates in its highest sense the solemn trust that he has undertaken. The role of a Minister and that of a Judge on the Bench are essentially different, not to say opposite, in the manifestations of character which the discharge of their separate duties may evoke. For his own utterances in this connection, we refer to the report, to be found elsewhere in to-day's paper, of Judge Harris' remarks at the meeting of the Bar on Wednesday last, on the occasion of the retiracy of Judges Hartwell and Widemann, and the seating of the new incumbents.

Mr. Justice Judd, the Second Associate, is comparatively young for a seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court, having been at the Bar about ten years. His talent and industry are marked, as are his probity of character, his gentlemanly courtesy of manner, and his sympathy with the Hawaiian people, among whom he was born. As a

lawyer, and in the position of Attorney General which he has occupied during the past year, he has been painstaking and thorough.

For the first time since its organization in 1846, all the seats of the Supreme Bench are occupied by men bred to the law. Robertson, Davis, Andrews, Ii and Widemann, were none of them educated as lawyers—although the two first named made themselves such by close application, and after arriving at middle age. In the maintenance of the purity and integrity of the Supreme Court—the tribunal of last resort—lies the security of our independence, and of all that we hold dear.—*P. C. Advertiser, Feb.* 21.

[From the P. C. Advertiser, Feb. 21st.]

AT THE INVITATION of His Excellency Attorney General Hartwell, an informal meeting took place in the Library Room of the Supreme Court, yesterday forenoon, of a number of our leading merchants and other citizens. His Excellency stated succinctly to those assembled the intention to reorganize the public force so as to have only reliable men; to disband the present volunteer military organizations and to form at once two new companies of 100 men each, one to be composed of foreigners and one of natives; and he proposed to organize in addition a force of minute men or special police from among the residents, who should be armed with a revolver and a policeman's billy, and to be ready to rally for the preservation of peace and order at any moment of emergency when the Attorney General or the Marshal shall require their assistance.

The proposition met with universal approval, and some twenty names were at once subscribed. The organization will probably be completed to-day, and will consist of some fifty or sixty citizens, a number of whom will be native Hawaiians. While we do not anticipate a recurrence of the recent scenes of riot and violence, all will agree that the general confidence and tranquility will best be promoted by our being prepared in advance for any emergency; and in this view the prompt action of the Attorney General (who is also the legal head of the police of the Kingdom) will receive the hearty approval of all good citizens.

The community generally, foreigners and natives, have offered their services as a special police, and a large force is now organized for the purpose, so that the slightest disturbance of the peace would now be promptly suppressed.

[From the Advertiser of Feb. 14th and 21st.]

LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS.

SPECIAL SESSION, FEB. 12, 1874.

Fully two hours before the time set for opening the Assembly, (12 o'clock noon) the people began to assemble in the Court House grounds, and at a quarter to 12, there was probably a thousand men, women and children in the neighborhood. At that moment a procession of the Queen's adherents marched down the street, numbering perhaps 200 persons, with drums beating, who gave and took a considerable amount of cheering. The place reserved for spectators in the hall will probably hold 300 persons, and it was immediately filled to overflowing on the opening of the doors.

The desks of the Nobles and Representatives were arranged in a semi-circle around the Hall, and members generally were in their seats before the hour. On the right of the President's dais, were seats reserved for Foreign Diplomatic and Consular Representatives, and among those present we noticed the American Minister Resident, the British Commissioner and Consul General, the French Consul and Consuls of other nationalities.

At 12 o'clock, precisely, the Clerk of the old called the Assembly to order, and after House, prayer by the Hon. Mr. Lonoaea, His Ex. P. Nahaolelua was called to the Chair pro tempore.

The roll of Nobles and Representatives was then called, to which all responded except Hon. C. G. Hopkins (absent from the country).

Hon. Mr. Kaukaha moved to go into nomination for permanent officers.

Before proceeding to an election of officers, Hon. Mr. Aholo raised the question, as to whether the Representatives of 1872 or those of 1874 were the proper ones to elect a Sovereign. He doubted also whether the members now returned would all be found, on examination, to be entitled to sit. He moved the reference of this question to the Judges of the Supreme Court.

Hon. Mr. Wilder rose to a point of order. The House was not yet organized, and could not entertain any matters of business outside of choosing officers.

Supported by Hon. Mr. Kaukaha, who said he had long since settled this question in his own mind. He hoped there would be no attempt to obstruct the business of the nation like that put forth by the member for Lahaina. Mr. Kaukaha urged that the House must proceed to organize before discussing any questions. Hon. Mr. Kaai also ably supported this view. As yet this was only an assemblage of persons, and not the Legislative Assembly. But he thought that credentials of Representatives should be first examined and reported on and members sworn, before any business whatever can be done.

The acting President ruled that the election of permanent officers was the only business now in order. The House then proceeded to ballot for officers, with the following result:

President, His Ex. P. Nahaolelua; Vice President, Hon. S. K. Kaai; Secretary, Mr. R. H. Stanley; Interpreter, W. L. Wilcox; Sergeant-at-Arms, W. C. Parke; Chaplain, Rev. J. N. Paikuli.

The election of messenger was postponed for the present.

The credentials of the Representatives were then placed on the President's table and referred to a select Committee for examination, who, after returning into the House, reported that the credentials of all the Representatives, as sent to the Minister of the Interior, were in due and legal form. Adopted.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Kupihea, Hon. A. S. Hartwell, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, was requested to administer the Constitutional oath of office.

Judge Hartwell then proceeded to administer the oath, first to the Nobles and then to the Representatives, the deputation from each island by itself. The officers were then sworn in.

His Ex. C. R. Bishop, Minister of Foreign Affairs, then read the following official statement to the House:

MR. PRESIDENT, NOBLES AND REPRESENTATIVES:

His late Majesty Lunalilo was elected as the Successor to His late Majesty Kamehameha V., by the Legislative Assembly on the 8th day of January, A. D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-three.

After a short reign of one year and twenty-five days, His earthly existence terminated at Haimoeipo, His private residence in Honolulu, in the Island of Oahu, on the Third day of February, A. D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Seventy-four.

His late Majesty Lunalilo left no heirs, nor did He appoint any Successor in the mode set forth in the Constitution, with the consent of the Nobles, or make proclamation thereof during His life.

There having been no such appointment or proclamation, the Throne of Hawaii became again vacant, and the Cabinet Council immediately thereupon considered the Provisions of the Constitution in such case made and provided, and

ORDERED, that a meeting of the Legislative Assembly be holden at the Court House in Honolulu, on Thursday, which will be the Twelfth day of February, A. D. 1874, at Twelve o'clock at noon. And of this Order all Members of the Legislative Assembly will take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

There have been filed with your President, a Certificate of the decease of His late Majesty, and a Certified copy of the Records of the Cabinet Council when the above Order was made.

By virtue of this Order you have been convened to Elect by Ballot some Native Alii of this Kingdom as Successor to the Throne.

May the Blessings of Heaven rest upon you, and may the God of all Wisdom guide your deliberations.

CHARLES R. BISHOP,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
EDWIN O. HALL,
Minister of the Interior.
ROBERT STIRLING,
Minister of Finance.
A. FRANCIS JUDD,
Attorney Gen. of the Kingdom.

Hon. Mr. Kuikahi moved that the House do now proceed to ballot for a King of these islands. Carried.

Hon. Mr. Wilder on the part of the Nobles and Hon. Mr. Moehonua were chosen as tellers.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll of the House, beginning with the name of His Highness Chas. Kanaina. As each member's name was called he advanced to the ballot box on the Secretary's table and deposited his ballot.

The tellers, having counted the ballots, announced the result as follows:

Hon. D. Kalakaua,	39 votes.
Queen Emma,	6 "

His Excellency the President then declared the Hon. David Kalakaua, chosen as King of the Hawaiian Islands, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

The following members were appointed a committee to wait upon the King elect and inform him of the result:

Hon. Messrs. Kaukaha, Moehonua, Aholo, J. H. Martin, Kaiue.

On motion, the Secretary was instructed to prepare the necessary certificate of this election, and to cause a copy of the same to be published in the newspapers of the country.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

SECOND DAY, February 13th.

The House was called to order by His Excellency the President, at a few minutes past 10 A. M. There being no quorum present, the Sergeant-at-Arms was ordered to procure the attendance of absent members. The members having come in,

Prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Paikuli, Chaplain of the House.

Minutes read and approved.

Mr. David Eldridge was elected Messenger.

Mr. Kaukaha from the Special Committee appointed to wait on the King elect, reported the following communication from His Majesty the King:

IOLANI PALACE, Honolulu, Feb. 12, 1874.

TO HIS EX. P. NAHAOLELUA, *President of the Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Islands.*

SIR:—I have received at the hands of your Committee the certificate of my election to-day by the Legislative Assembly as Successor to the Throne of the Hawaiian Islands.

I wish to express to the Legislative Assembly through you, my thanks for this highest mark of their confidence, and to say that I accept the Royal trust. KALAKAUA.

The message was received and ordered to be placed on the minutes.

His Ex. the Minister of Foreign Relations stated that His Majesty authorized him to say that he would be pleased to take the oath of office to-day, at half-past eleven o'clock, at Kinau Hale. The members of the Legislative Assembly were invited to be present, and foreign representatives. His Excellency regretted that the size of

the building rendered it impossible to invite the public.

The House thereupon adjourned until to-morrow at 10 A. M.

THIRD DAY, February 14th.

The House met at 10 A. M., His Ex. P. Nahaolelua, the President, in the Chair.

Prayer by the Chaplain. Minutes read and approved.

Hon. Mr. Wilder, under a suspension of the rules, introduced a bill appropriating $10,000 to defray the expenses of the special session of 1874.

On motion of His Excellency the Attorney General, the rules were again suspended, the bill passed through its several readings, and was finally passed, and a select committee, consisting of the Hon. Messrs. Wilder, Aholo and J. H. Martin, appointed to lay the same before His Majesty.

His Ex. the Minister of the Interior stated that His Majesty had communicated his intention to prorogue the Assembly in person to-day at 12 o'clock noon.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Kaukaha, a committee, consisting of His Ex. J. O. Dominis, Hons. J. P. Parker and Kakina, was appointed to prepare and present resolutions of condolence to His Highness Charles Kanaina, father of the late King, on the death of His Majesty Lunalilo.

The following communication from the foreign residents of Honolulu was laid before the House:

To the President, Vice-President, Nobles and Representatives of the Hawaiian Kingdom, in Legislative Council Assembled:

HONOLULU, Feb. 13th, 1874.

We, the undersigned, citizens and foreign residents of this capital, beg most respectfully to present to Your Honorable Body the expression of our most heartfelt sympathy and commiseration with you, and more especially with those of your number who suffered from the attack of a lawless mob on the day of the election of the Sovereign to the Hawaiian Throne.

We are universally anxious to tender you this expression of our extreme regret at the occurrence of so serious an outrage committed upon you while discharging the duties of the highest trust the people of this nation could confer, and we trust that Your Honorable Body will be pleased to accept this as an assurance of our heartfelt sympathy with you.

F A Schaefer,	O G Clifford,	M Hyman,
J C Glade,	A W Peirce,	John S Walker,
J C Pfluger,	D P Peterson,	H I Nolte,
J G Dickson,	J McColgan,	E Furstenau,
Jno S Smithies,	M Green,	B F Bolles,
J W Robertson,	Thos Cummins,	G W Houghtailing,
S M Damon,	Geo H Luce,	Theo H Davies,
C S Bartow,	Em Fenard,	G W Macfarlane,
John Ritson,	Wm S Luce,	Thos R Walker,
Theod C Heuck,	A P Brickwood,	Godfrey Rhodes,
W L Green,	R B Davidson,	Fr Banning,
Sam'l C Damon,	R Meyer,	Th Opfergelt,
S F Chillingworth,	A J Cartwright,	W Martens,
W G Irwin,	Wm W Hall,	J D Wicke,
M Louisson,	Frank Brown,	H Brantlecht,
H Macfarlane,	E Krull,	Julius Hoting,
W A Markham,	H M Whitney,	Jas S Lemon,
H R Stillman,	W Babcock,	Geo H Ross,
C P Ward,	Jas L Lewis,	W R Buchanan,
Jno H Paty,	Ira Richardson,	H L Sheldon,
Chas S Heustace,	Chas A Castle,	J H Black,
J D Brewer,	E P Adams,	Alex Campbell,
Wm Johnson,	P C Jones, Jr.,	H Schmidt.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Kaukaha, a select committee was appointed to prepare a reply expressive of the appreciation of the sympathy thus tendered by the residents of Honolulu, and that this correspondence be published in the newspapers of this city.

The following was the response sent by the Chairman of the select committee:

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
Honolulu, February 14th, 1874.

GENTLEMEN:—In behalf of the Legislative Assembly of the Kingdom, we have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial presented on the 13th inst., by the citizens and foreign residents of Honolulu, tendering the expression of their sincere regret at the occurrence of so serious an outrage on the Assembly, while in the discharge of the high trust to them committed; and most cordially thank you one and all for your assurance of heartfelt sympathy so kindly expressed to us as a body, and more especially for the cordial manifestations of beneficence for those of our number who suffered upon that occasion.

Very respectfully submitted,
JOHN O. DOMINIS,
Chairman of Committee.

To Messrs. J. C. Glade, F. A. Schaefer, A. J. Cartwright, and others.

The following resolution was then adopted and ordered to be spread on the minutes:

Resolved, That this Assembly hereby tenders its sincere thanks to the Representatives of Foreign Powers and to the officers and crews of the war vessels now in port for their generous assistance in preserving the peace and order of this Kingdom, on the 12th day of February, 1874.

His Ex. the Attorney General then made the following apology on behalf of the Ministers:

The Attorney General said that as there was nothing occupying the attention of the House, he wished to avail himself of the opportunity to make some remarks in regard to the disgraceful riot of the 12th inst. Undoubtedly his colleagues and himself would be blamed for not having foreseen that deeds of violence would be committed, and for not having provided that an armed force be present to prevent their occurrence during the election of a King. This had been suggested and discussed. The Cabinet thought that, as some of their number had resided here for 25 or 30 years, and one (the speaker) had been born here, they were acquainted with the Hawaiian race and that they were safe in trusting the people. The behavior of the people during the interregnum preceding the election of His late Majesty LUNALILO, and during other crises through which the people had passed, had led the Cabinet to believe that though there would be great excitement and loud words on the occasion, yet that would be *all*. That it was better to trust in the law abiding character which this people had acquired during long years, than to have the presence of an armed force during the election. A display of soldiery would be readily misconstrued to be either an attempt at coercion, or an appearance of fear when none really existed. In this view, however, the Cabinet were mistaken, as the murderous assaults on the Hon. Representatives, and the malicious destruction of property proved. A force of forty policemen had been provided, also a Committee of one hundred and seven of our best Hawaiians had been enrolled who agreed to remain among the crowd and preserve order. This was deemed by all who knew of the arrangement to be amply sufficient. All present know of how little avail their efforts were.

The Hon. Mr. Kaukaha (the Representative from Hanalei, whose arm was in a sling) said he regretted exceedingly that the Attorney General had seen fit, on behalf of the Cabinet, to allude to this unpleasant subject, or to attempt to excuse or explain the unfortunate and disgraceful occurrences of Thursday last. Had the Ministry said nothing about it in the Assembly, he and his brother Representatives would have themselves kept silence; but since the Ministers attempted to excuse themselves for their want of precaution, he must speak. It was remarked that the Ministers, from their experience of our people, had felt that there was no danger of violence or lawlessness. This feeling of security was not warranted from the history of the recent past. When last year the Assembly met for the election of a King it was notorious that the crowd which then surrounded the Court House were prepared for deeds of violence if their favorite was not elected. This was a fact known all over the islands. The Ministers knew the state of feeling among a large portion of the people of this city immediately preceding Thursday last, and ought to have been prepared for trouble. There was the affair of the Barracks, last September—did they learn nothing from the fact that the soldiers in mutiny were backed up by the populace at that time? But on Thursday last, after the Committee of the House had been assaulted and driven back, some of the members had then appealed to the Ministers to send for assistance from the men-of-war, but they did not act promptly, nor until blood had been shed, and the house was in possession of the rioters. The wounds that the Representatives from the other islands had received, he considered, were owing entirely to the neglect of the Ministry, and he repeated that he was sorry that they had themselves introduced the subject.

Hon. Mr. Kaukaha then offered the following:

Resolved, That the Ministers are hereby authorized and directed to provide medical attendance from the foreign and native physicians of this city, and also nurses, for the members of this House who have suffered injury; and to pay for the same out of the public treasury; and that the Minister of Finance render an account of such expenditure at the next session of the Legislative Assembly.

The House then adjourned to 10 minutes before 12 o'clock.

At 12 o'clock His Majesty, accompanied by his Aids, left the Palace, under salutes from Punchbowl battery, H. B. M. S. *Tenedos*, and the U. S. S. *Tuscarora*, and was escorted by the Hawaiian Cavalry. On the arrival of His Majesty at the Court House the foreign troops and the Honolulu Rifles were drawn up in front of the building and received the King with the usual honors. He rode down in the State Carriage, accompanied by his brother, Prince William Leleiohoku, and brother-in-law, Hon. A. S. Cleghorn.

When His Majesty entered the Legislative Hall, the audience rose while he proceeded to the President's desk, and remained standing while he was present. Prayer was offered by the Chaplain of the Assembly, after which the King read the following address, in Hawaiian and English, proroguing the Assembly:

NOBLES AND REPRESENTATIVES:

The vacancy of the Throne of Our Kingdom by the demise, on the 3d inst. of Our much lamented Predecessor, made it necessary for you to meet in extraordinary session.

There has been no unnecessary delay either in your coming together or in the discharge of the important duty imposed upon you by the Constitution.

By your free choice I am now King, and I hope, with your aid and that of all my faithful subjects, to make My Reign a blessing to my people.

The present session having been called for a special purpose, which has been accomplished, I have no other business to lay before you now, but the regular biennial session will be convened in April next, as required by the Constitution, at which time all matters pertaining to the welfare of Our Kingdom may be considered.

NOBLES AND REPRESENTATIVES: I desire again to thank you for your partiality and kindness towards Myself: and I pray the Almighty that He will continue to protect and prosper Our Kingdom.

I now declare this Legislative Assemby prorogued.

His Majesty, who was looking extremely well, was attired in a plain black suit, with the star and riband, and wore the decoration of a Commander of the Order of Francis Joseph of Austria. Both on the arrival and departure of the Royal Cortege, the crowd at the Court House and in the streets cheered heartily.—*Advertiser, Feb.* 21, 1874.

THE LETTER of sympathy addressed to the Legislative Assembly by the foreign citizens and residents, was hurriedly prepared by F. A. Schaefer, Esq., and completed barely in time for presentation; which will account for the fact that many were not afforded an opportunity to sign it.

[The publisher desires to express his acknowledgments to Mr. M. Dickson for the excellent photographic likeness of His Majesty which appears on the first page of this paper; to Mr. Justice Judd, Mr. A. T. Atkinson and others for facilities furnished; and to Mr. H. L. Sheldon for translations from the Hawaiian.]

[The following circulars, mostly anonymous, were printed in slips by the hundreds and some by the thousands, in the native language only, and eagerly sought for and read by the natives, during the days just preceeding the election of the King. They are now translated into English especially for this paper.]

A Call.

To MY FRIENDS THE PEOPLE:—*Salutations to you.*

Last Thursday afternoon, a slip was published in Honolulu with the title, "To the Hawaiian Nation," and signed EMMA KALELEONALANI.

On consideration and close examination, it will appear that she is the only one that can be confided in as the Parent and Sovereign of these Islands. What shall we, the people do? Take the power upon ourselves, and instruct our Representatives, vote for Emma Kaleleonalani for the country, for her only, that the eyes of the nation be upon her, and upon no one else. Instruct them also that they strongly urge the other Representatives that they be unanimous as we are for Emma Kaleleonalani.

Awake! O my friends, ye people who regard the chiefs, why do ye sleep? Awake, ye tribes of the sand-beach of Kakuihewa (Oahu), Kauai of Mano, Molokai of Hina, Maui of Kama, and Hawaii of Keawe. Why do ye hold back? Ye have before you the works of her beneficence, seen of all the people, as a witness of her fitness to be a Parent for the orphan, a successor to the Hawaiian Crown. Behold we the Queen's Hospital, the one city of Refuge that she and her husband erected as a place for healing the wounds of the afflicted. Nor is this all, many more are her good deeds, which it would be useless for me to name in a list, for we all are witnesses of them.

Be united, my friends, ye people, let your voice be as one! One ballot, for Emma Kaleleonalani as Queen of these Hawaiian Islands. CHOOSE WELL.

Honolulu, Feb. 7, 1874.

A Call.

Everybody is requested to go to the residence of Queen Emma on Friday, February 9, 1874, at the hour of 8 in the morning, to consider the important interests of the people from Hawaii to Niihau.

Awake! Awake! Be alert and unanimously elect Emma Kaleleonalani to be the Queen of these Hawaiian Islands. God save the Queen, and perpetuate the independence of Hawaii.

Honolulu, Feb. 7. 1874.

May the Almighty Preserve Emma Kaleleonalani.

To all true Hawaiians, from the rising of the sun at Kumukahi to the going down of the same at Lehua:

Salutations to you: It is not at all likely that we people have forgotten or treated without consideration the circulars which our beloved Queen has published during the past few days, in which she confidently lays before the nation her sentiments and the desires of our King who is now gone:

His real desire and intent, on which he had considered day and night, and which he had spoken, this is what the Queen has made public, and it is very true.

Therefore let us arouse, and ask, what is the Queen to us; is her position a low one, or is it a high position?

If her rank is high, if her mind is discreet, if she is benevolent and patriotic, look well to these things, before the work of creating the heavens and the earth is completed.

The history of this Queen is written, and her name has been declared "KALELEONALANI," because far excelling that of all others is her sacred rank;

Therefore arise O Hawaii, secure your independence! Be of one mind, ye people of all parts, to confirm the Queen as the Head, the Mother, the Guardian of the Hawaiian Government, that she may be the honored Crown for the head of the Hawaiian nation for all time to come.

Consider the Queen of England, in her administration of the government. She is a woman that trusts in God and hence the security of her country, the peace among her people. So also with our Queen.

Therefore the testimony put forth by the Ministers saying that they do not know and did not hear the desire of the King as to appointing a successor,—that amounts to nothing. They did not hear, whereas the King's Chamberlain, his intimate friend, says that the King did direct the preparation of a writing while in Kona, Hawaii, but it was deferred until returning to Honolulu, and then on account of extreme weakness it was further deferred until he should be better, but behold, death came like a thief, and ended all.

Therefore let us take up and perform that which was conceived in his heart, firmly and without fear, and by these words let us instruct our Representatives to do and perform in accordance with the will of the people. And to this end let us ask the God of Heaven to watch over and to care for the fatherless, and to grant our desires.

Then Hawaii of Keawe, arise, stand up to your principles, and ask the Almighty Father to grant your desire, and make Queen Emma Kaleleonalani your Queen.

Maui of Kama, here is your Queen, Emma Kaleleonalani. Pray to the Almighty in your prayers—"God save the Queen, and save the nation through her."

Oahu of Kakuihewa, let the loud call be heard in your churches, to humbly pray Him that is near that He may hear the voice of thy prayer.

Kauai of Manokalanipo, on bended knees offer thy devotions to thy Redeemer, that thou mightest through Him gain peace and rest after thy troublous times with the kings that have gone; and here is thy Refuge, Emma Kaleleonalani. Pray fervently, that thy desires may be accomplished.

Therefore, ye whole people, slack not your earnest desire until the Assembly shall meet, and then stand fearlessly, never retreating before the enemy.

THE SONS OF HAWAII BENEATH THE FLAG OF HAWAII

Honolulu, Feb. 9, 1874.

Be Active, Ye Native Hawaiians—God Save Emma Kaleleonalani.

To HER MAJESTY QUEEN EMMA:

Salutations:—On Monday last, at the hour of 10 in the morning, we assembled at your house for the purpose of considering and consulting together and forming a unanimous conclusion on the choice of a Sovereign. Mr. W. S. Pahukula made an address, (after which you appeared before us) in which he repeated your commands to him, and stated the fact that His late Majesty Lunalilo had given directions to you, and also that the King's Chamberlain, H. G. Crabbe, had certainly heard it from the King's own mouth. We, your people and our wives, were filled with joy, and gave repeated cheers, we were so delighted at hearing those words from the mouth of your assistant chamberlain, W. S. Pahukula; the crowd hurrahed and hurrahed again with delight, at the good words which fell from the above named spokesman; and we hereby declare our belief that everything then told us was true, and we accept and confirm all that fell from Your Majesty's mouth, and from your orator, W. S. Pahukula.

And we are the more confirmed in our belief in these truths because our Queen is incapable of deceit, she is good and godly; therefore are we greatly rejoiced, in hearing the pleasant words that have been spoken before us, words that we have thoroughly credited, and that have seized upon our hearts that are convinced of their truth; therefore have we given cheer upon cheer for the gracious words spoken; thus gracious also will be her reign over us.

And therefore we ask you all, Representatives, join with us in our rejoicing, that you may be respected; listen to the voice of the people who elected you to go to the front with minds full of patriotism and loyalty. And now, O Queen, if our Representatives shall indeed be of one mind, and shall elect thee, then regard thou our voice, and adhere to the principles set forth in thine address of Monday last, and the words of W. S. Pahukula spoken for thee; and we know that thou wilt perform them without doubt.

O Thou God of the Heavens, hear now our prayer. We ask Thee to help us, and execute the desire of our hearts, and cause the Representatives to elect our Queen; to this end do Thou give them wisdom and knowledge in the Legislative Assembly, and to the Nobles and the Ministers as well; in Thy name and by Thy guidance can it be accomplished; and may the Queen be ever preserved in the Heavens.

Since the earth was inhabited by man, up to this last Monday, never was there known so altogether excellent a speech, and which so filled the people with delight that they wanted to hurrah forever.

The life of the land is established in righteousness.

BY THE PEOPLE OF THAT DAY:

To the People.

Salutations to thee, Great Hawaii of Keawe, Maui of Kama, Oahu of Kakuihewa, and Kauai of Mano.

Now are we entered into deep grief by the death of King Lunalilo on the 3d day of February, 1874; and whereas he did not intend to leave us without an heir to sit upon the Throne of these Hawaiian Islands, therefore,

The King, previous to his last sickness, did express his desire that the successor to the Throne should be Queen Emma Kaleleonalani, although he was then sick.

The King greatly loved his people, and therefore he perceived that Emma Kaleleonalani was the proper person for the nation and for the government, and on that account alone he appointed her the successor to the Throne.

Therefore, O Hawaiian people, if we loved our King Lunalilo that is dead, let us love also his heir, and place her on the Throne of these islands, in accordance with the wish of the King now gone.

And whereas we know the good deeds of this Queen—

1. She has erected the Queen's Hospital, a place where the indigent sick are doctored without pay.

2. She assisted the sufferers by the earthquake at Kau, Hawaii.

3. She personally contributes to the education of native children in the English language.

4. She is a chief who is kind to her own family, to her servants, &c.

She does all this; therefore she can take care of the government and the nation.

Let us not be ensnared by the false and lying people, who say—

1st Falsehood. That the Queen does not desire the Throne. The answer to this is, She does desire it.

2d Falsehood. Don't elect Emma, for she will marry a foreigner, and this Kingdom will then go to Great Britain. Here is the answer to this—the Queen does not desire to marry a foreigner. And moreover this government will not be taken by Great Britain, because Great Britain and France have sworn by the name of the Almighty God, that Hawaii shall be forever independent.

3d Falsehood. It has been published in writing, that it will not be well to elect Emma, because she cannot wear trowsers, but only petticoats. The answer to this is, It will not do to elect D. Kalakaua, for he will put on trowsers and boots too, and give us all a kicking.

Therefore, all ye people from Hawaii to Kauai, let us all unite to carry out the wishes of King Lunalilo, our great and beloved chief. Let the people of each election district throughout the islands instruct the Representatives, to do and perform in accordance with the desire of the late King.

Moreover the Ministers are doing wrong, they are limiting the time.

What right have these Ministers of themselves to place any one upon the Throne without the consent of the majority in this city, and without notice to the whole Hawaiian nation?

What authority do these Ministers possess, seeing that they are out of office, under their commissions from the King.

It was these wretched Ministers who wickedly urged the King to give away Puuloa for a Reciprocity Treaty.

Therefore, ye people from Hawaii to Kauai, let us deny the Ministers and their works.

And I humbly ask you to assemble peaceably in your respective districts, and cast your ballots for her.

O Lord, grant Thy love to Hawaii nei, and to Queen Emma Kaleleonalani.

THE CORRECT GUIDE.

A Voice for the People.

To the Representatives—Salutations to You:

The night passes without sleep, because the mind is filled with painful apprehensions on account of your compelled attendance at the capital to sit in the Assembly prepared for you to consider the appointment of a Successor to our King, one who shall reign over you and us all.

Therefore, we hereby submit that this is not a small mater which can be quickly decided, it is a subject of vast importance for the mind to consider on. We therefore call upon you to be thoughtful, and to postpone this matter until you have an opportunity to confer with your constituents, so that you can be agreed, in accordance with God's will.

Therefore consider ye, and postpone this meeting for the choice of a Successor to the King, until a proper time.

A Call of Her Majesty Queen Emma Kaleleonalani.

At the hour of 10 this day, all the Representatives assembled at the residence of Queen Emma Kaleleonalani.

They not having been present at the meeting on Monday last, Her Majesty stated to the Representatives the desire expressed by our late beloved King to appoint her as his Successor on the Throne of Hawaii. And Her Majesty further stated to the Representatives that a written will had been prepared which the King had firmly intended to sign, but that his extreme illness had prevented his doing so. Thereupon she informed the Representatives that she was a candidate before the Legislature for the Succession, and she hoped for their favorable consideration. At the conclusion of the Queen's speech, the Hon. W. T. Martin rose, and respectfully approved thereof, and asked that the will be read. Mr. Crabbe, His late Majesty's Chamberlain, then read the will.

His Highness C. Kanaina and the Hon. Simon Kaai stood up as witnesses of the will. This was the end of the meeting. To-morrow, Thursday, Feb. 12, is the day for the election of Sovereign for these Hawaiian Islands.

W. A. KIHA AND KAILI.

Honolulu, Feb. 11, 1874. Clerks.

I hereby call upon you, beloved people, to go to your homes and ask the favor of Heaven upon us, then will Hawaiian independence be preserved and the nation will revive.

Be prayerful ye young men, ye old men, young women and old women,—all true lovers of country—then will we prevail.

EMMA KALELEONALANI.

Hurrah! Hurrah!—Emma Kaleleonalani the Beautiful Queen.

To all the Representatives, from Hawaii to Kauai; Salutations to you:

We have heard of your arrival here in Honolulu, and that before going to your respective places of abode you went in a body to the Palace to visit the remains of our beloved King, Lunalilo. This was a proper manifestation of your regard for the King of our country, and thereby we are led to think that you love the chiefs, that you love our country, that you are stable, not favor seekers, not to be enticed by the snares of the evil minded that tend to destroy the nation.

Now therefore, ye people, the religious and the irreligious, the vagabonds, the blackguards, the greedy, the flattery devourers, the evil minded, the unloving, the bowed heads, the stingy, the uncharitable, the pagans,—be attention, and kneel, and every one of us pray earnestly with a loud voice to the High One of the Heavens, to be gracious and to give firm hearts to the Representatives who are to elect our new Sovereign, that they may perform their duty correctly and properly, and show to the Hawaiian people that they are reliable, united and fearless, that they are the flowers of Kamehameha I. the famous soldier chief. Therefore let us hurrah for EMMA KALELEONALANI, the well-beloved beautiful sweet-scented flower of the islands, the rare flower.

Ye wives of the Representatives, beg, coax, and draw the hearts of your husbands. Induce, persuade and lead the thoughts of your husbands to the one you are thinking on. If your husband does not consent to your desire, it will show that he despises you. Husband and wife should be of one mind, not merely companions.

Therefore, O Hawaiians, this is the Legislative session in which to show that you are full of wisdom in the respect of reviving and building up the nation, so that the land shall be again full of people, and do away with the saying of the foreigner, that "kanakas are no good, fools, and without sense." Turn ye every man, and consider how ye stand. Here now must we determine—each for himself, how we stand.

The spirits of the old cannibal women of Wahiawa prophesied last night, that we shall be preserved and blessed through the Queen.

And when she is placed in that exalted position, as befits her name, there she will remain while we behold her, and cry unto her to abolish the burdens of the Constitution upon the people, that she will look upon us, and we will eat together, talk together, live together, and walk together with her, she will always assist the poor and distressed.

Neither will she marry a foreigner, but a native, if not a scion of the chiefs, then some son of a commoner.

BY THE FLOWER-GIRLS OF MAEMAE.

The following is a translation of a note in the Hawaiian language which was sent down to the Court House by Queen Emma on the afternoon of the 12th, and was read to the rioters—but not until the most of the damage was done:

"To my people: Be moderate, do that which is right. If your desires are not accomplished, request the Legislature to meet again. "EMALANI.

"Rooke House, Feb. 12, 1874."

[From the Hawaii Ponoi Extra, Feb. 11, 1874.]

Table of Hawaiian Chiefs.

On the 5th of October, 1867, Mr. S. M. Kamakau, well known as a Hawaiian Historian, published a list of genealogies of chiefs in the *Kuokoa* newspaper.

That list has never been disputed during the past seven years, and we see no reason to doubt its correctness now, as follows:

THE TABLE OF HAWAIIAN CHIEFS.

As the days and the years roll on, we hear frequent complaints of those who are prophesying, observing the stars, and foretelling the fate of the nation. Strangers also from foreign lands are thus prophesying and lamenting over us, declaring even that their own religion cannot save us, and depending also upon the weak arm of flesh in this regard. There is great striving also in prayer on this account.

But really in my opinion there are many chiefs and scions of chiefs remaining, and the power of the Almighty can increase their numbers. The Royal Family is by itself, and stands alone, but its supporters and those upon whom it rests, let us turn and examine there.

1. W. C. Lunalilo the son of Kekauluohi and Kanaina; she was the daughter of Kaheiheimalia Kaniu Hoapiliwahine, the daughter of Namahana, the daughter of Kekaulike, King of Maui. Kaleimamahu was the father of Kekauluohi, who was the son of Kalanikupuapaikalaninui Keaoulu, who was the son of Keeaumoku, who was the son of Keawe and Kalanikauleleiewi, Kings of Hawaii. During the reigns of Kamehameha I. II. and III. the high office of Kuhina Nui (or Prime Minister) was in this family. Kekauluohi was the elder sister and Kinau the younger, the last named being the mother of Kings Lot and Alexander and the Princess Victoria.

2. Ruth Keelikolani, daughter of Kalanipauahi, the daughter of Keoua, daughter of Kauhiwawaeono, son of Kekauhiwamoku, son of Kekaulike, King of Maui. The father of Kalanipauahi was Pauli Kaoleioku, son of Kamehameha I. The reputed fathers of R. Keelikolani were Luanui Kahalaia and M. Kekuanaoa.

3. Bernice Kalani Pauahi, the daughter of Kanaholo Konia, daughter of Kahiliopua Luahine and Pauli Kaoleioku son of Kamehameha I., of the line of Kings and priests of Paao. Kahooheiheipahu Paki, the son of Kalanihelemailuna Paki, son of Kamehameha the Great King of Maui. Kawao was the mother of Kahooheiheipahu Paki, who was the daughter of Kalanimahiikapu, the son of Kumukoa, the son of Kanealii and Keawe the King of Molokai and Hawaii.

4. David Kalakaua and family, born of Keohokalole, the daughter of Aikanaka, the son of Keohohiwa, daughter of Keaweaheulu, son of Heulu, son of Kuanuuanu, son of Nuuanu, son of I. Keaweaheulu was one of Kamehameha I. principal Ministers. Aikanaka was son of Kaikioewa, son of Kaina Kukue, son of Kaolohaka, son of Keawe, King of Hawaii.

Kapaakea, the father of David Kalakaua and his family, was the son of Kamanawa, the son of Kepookalani, son of Kameeiamoku, which last was one of Kamehameha I. principal Ministers. The families of two of Kamehameha I. Ministers have entered into this family of chiefs.

5. Emma Naea and her family. Emma Naea is the daughter of Fanny Kekela, the daughter of Kaoanaeha, daughter of Kalikookalani, daughter of Kaniuniu, and Kekunaialeimoku, son of Keawe. Kaoanaeha had two reputed fathers—Kelimaikai and Kaleipaihala. Keleipaihala was the son of

Keawemauhili and Kalaniopuu, who were both Kings, Kapu chiefs, and Keawemauhili originated from a close intermarriage.

Naea was the son of Kukaeleiki and Kamaunu the daughter of Kalauauea; they are from a Kauai and Oahu chief family, and from Maui through Kaula.

From the Pacific Commercial Advertiser.

Meeting of the Bar.

A very interesting occasion was the meeting of the members of the Bar of the Supreme Court on Wednesday afternoon, on the occasion of the retiring from office of Judges Hartwell and Widemann, and the elevation to the seats on the Bench thus vacated, of Judges Harris and Judd.

Judge Hartwell spoke as follows:

My Brethren of the Bar.—At His Majesty's request, I have resigned the high and most honorable position which I have been honored with during the last five and a half years, as First Associate Justice of this Court. I came among you a stranger, without experience in judicial duties. In retiring from this place, I desire to state that I am conscious of many faults of manner and that I may frequently have given you annoyance by hasty words or acts. It has been my earnest wish to conduct the Court impartially and decorously, and with just regard to the rights and feelings of those who pleaded before me. If I have succeeded in convincing your minds of that fact, I shall be more than satisfied.

In the keen professional anxiety to secure the rights which are believed to belong to clients, I know the disappointment which often follows an adverse ruling. But your bearing towards myself both as a Judge and personally, has shown me that I have had your kindly feeling and a large share of your confidence. I wish to thank you most cordially for this. I also wish to acknowledge to you my indebtedness for your valuable legal assistance in reaching the correct conclusions of law. It has often been the case, that my own first and even second impressions have been corrected or modified by your suggestions, and as I believe, in a way to secure nearer approximation to justice.

I retire with deep regret from the duties that I have loved, and from the associations that are endeared to me by many acts of kindness on your part.

I can ask for my successors no greater happiness than that the same consideration and aid that you have given to me be extended to them.

To my mind there is no more dignified and responsible duty than that of an independent and intelligent counsel. When the mouths of others are closed from fear, doubt or ignorance, he stands forth to plead fearlessly in the cause of law and right. You gentlemen are those custodians of the law. You have faithfully performed your duties during my acquaintance with you; and that you may always find success and happiness is my sincere prayer.

For the officers of the Court, the Attorney General and his deputy, the Marshal and his deputy, the Clerks and the Interpreter: Gentlemen—Accept my thanks for your kindness to myself personally and officially, and for the faithfulness with which your difficult duties have been discharged. With the fervent hope that the Department of the Judiciary may always sustain a high and pure position in the sentiment of the community, I bid you adieu.

Judge Widemann said that the very brief notice of this meeting which he had received had precluded his making any preparations for extended remarks, but he heartily assented to all that had fallen from Judge Hartwell.

Mr. McCully, on behalf of the officers of the Court, and Mr. Jones on behalf of the Bar spoke eloquently and feelingly in response to the addresses of the retiring Judges.

Marshal Parke then read the commissions from His Majesty the King, appointing Charles Coffin Harris and Albert Francis Judd to the positions respectively of First and Second Associate Justices of the Supreme Court.

Judge Hartwell addressed a few words of welcome to the new Justices, as, shaking hands with the retiring ones, they took their seats on the Bench.

Mr. Justice Harris then said:

Gentlemen.—It is a serious thing to undertake to judge on matters affecting the rights, fortunes and lives even of one's fellow men; but we undertake the duty to-day with an humble yet firm reliance upon the guidance of Divine Providence.

Events have precipitated His Majesty's determination in selecting his counselors, and in consequence, we are called quite unexpectedly to-day to take seats on this Bench.

It will not be surprising to you that at this moment, the whole past of this Court seems passing before me, a past of which, Mr. Montgomery, you Sir, and myself are the only persons connected with the business of the Court left who can speak from actual memory.

I see the Court sitting in a small house a few rods makai of this one, having previously come from the house on Fort street, now occupied by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. Lee, Chief Justice—ever laborious; even in failing health unconquerable—with the whole burden on his shoulder. Judge Andrews, pure, simple hearted, honest—of abounding charity, the very ideal of an humble Christian; and all that is said of him is equally applicable to his Associate Ii. Robertson, not bred a lawyer, but born one. He was between thirty and forty years of age before he ever entered a Court room, as a practitioner, but his clear and logical mind, his laborious industry, his patience, firmness of purpose and undaunted courage, soon made him an accomplished lawyer and the beau ideal of a Judge. Davis, when he ascended this Bench, was a versatile and accomplished scholar and a good lawyer.

I see before me, Bates, Burbank, Blair, and bear in mind Bowlin—speculative but no practitioner—who would do credit to any Bar; and among the native lawyers Kauwahi, the most brilliant of men—nature had endowed him with every quality of an advocate—infinite in resources, a most valuable ally and a most formidable opponent. J. W. E. Maikai, Kaumaea, David Kaauwai, but little behind him, Nailiili and Kalauhala, pains taking and reliable—we are glad to see before us worthy successors—may you avoid their faults and rival their excellencies.

I see this building rising from its foundation. This room as at first constructed was one, from the lower floor to the ceiling—the present floor having been put in subsequently, thus dividing it into two stories. I hear in fancy Judge Lee making the address of inauguration—well do I remember his words: "May its lofty ceiling never look down upon anything which is contrary to justice, good order and decorum"—which prayer we may well now reiterate in our own behalf, and turning to his portrait and calling to mind a celebrated trial, (of which, Mr. Montgomery, you and I were part) in charging the jury be made use of the quotation which is a legend for the picture; we likewise hope that we may at all times be enabled to preside in the spirit of that motto: "Fiat justitia ruat cœlum." We can only hope that the Court may be conducted as well in the future as it has been in the past, and more especially its near past; we may hope to emulate, gentlemen, (the retiring Justices) your assiduity, your patience, your justness; we cannot surpass them.

Gentlemen of the Bar, we depend upon your cooperation, more especially yours Mr. Attorney General, to whom I sincerely hope as I confidently believe a brilliant future of usefulness and success is developing.

Mr. McCully, of the number of my pupils in the profession you are the only one present; you know in what esteem we hold you. Your manner of conducting trials for your late chief has commended you to all. The clearness and distinctness with which you state your case and the gentlemanly courtesy with which you conduct it, will always make your assistance in eliciting the truth and endeavoring to arrive at just conclusions valuable to the Court.

Mr. Stanley, the many favors that have been interchanged between us, and the intimate relations which for the last year and a half, have subsisted between us makes it, in my opinion, exceedingly proper that I should address you particularly on this occasion; we have done much important business together, and your assistance has been of the greatest value to me. Your unwearied industry and high professional honor make a client's interest peculiarly safe in your hands. I have never known you to make a proposition of law which you did not think to be fairly sustainable, or a statement of fact which was not true or which you did not believe to be sustained by evidence. These qualities will continue to make your advocacy here as acceptable as your assistance to myself in my private business has heretofore been valuable.

Mr. Marshal Parke, it is now very nearly a quarter of a century since our business relations commenced. You are one who in your capacity as an officer of this Court has still survived its changes. Your devotion to your duty, and the earnestness with which you seek to oblige everyone, are known of all men. Permit us to hope that the relations which have subsisted between you and each of us, and between you and our predecessors may continue until you may see fit to dissolve them.

Gentlemen Clerks—you know the personal friendship and esteem with which both of us regard you, and the confidence which we repose in you. I have had occasson to draw upon your patience and forbearance most especially, and no doubt my associate in a less degree. We shall have occasion to draw upon this bank in the future, and to a very large extent. But we shall draw in full confidence that our credit is unlimited, and our drafts will not be protested—even in thought.

Mr. Interpreter—your duties are of great importance as between the jury, the witness and the counsel. We wish for your assistance. But at the same time, I think it right to say to you that I think you worthy of better things. This has been to you a good school, and I earnestly hope that by preparation for higher and more responsible walks of life, you will soon open to yourself the road of advancement and prosperity.

Mr. Justice Judd said:

Gentlemen.—I have accepted this high and responsible office from convictions of duty to this country—*my* country. Relying upon your forbearance and assistance and the aid of Almighty God I hope to be able to discharge this trust with acceptance.

Appropriate responses were made to these addresses by Messrs. Montgomery, Preston, Jones, Komoikehuehu, and McCully; after which Mr. Justice Harris announced the appointment of the Hon. Alfred Stedman Hartwell as Attorney General.

[From the Advertiser of Feb. 28th]

The commencement of a new reign and the accession to office of a new Ministry, like the establishment of a new firm in business, becomes a fruitful subject for speculation, and general attention is directed to the executive departments of Government in expectation and hope to see something accomplished or at least attempted, for the general good. Some there are, undoubtedly, who take a sombre view as to the possibilities of our future, and think they can see in the recent changes no real ground for anticipating a turn in the tide of affairs that has so long been running at ebb with the country generally. These may with propriety be termed the croakers, and with some of this class, unfortunately, the wish is father to the thought. Others again, run to the opposite extreme and are sanguine that now, with men of enterprise, energy and firmness at the head of affairs, we may certainly and speedily look for great and beneficial changes in—well, about everything, down to even the price of living.

While adopting neither of these opposite extremes, we believe there are reasonable grounds for expecting at the hands of the present Ministry, not only a definite, declared and settled policy, on general principles, but the inception of some measures of enterprise and activity, that shall be in marked contrast with the dawdling, red-tape style to which the country has for years been accustomed, and under which everybody and everything has, metaphorically speaking, gone to seed. Truly, the men who have just taken their seats in the Cabinet of our young and newly elected King, have presented to their hands a noble opportunity to distinguish their own names, and by able statesmanship raise Hawaii from the slough of despond into which, through the errors and the mismanagement of the past, she has been gradually declining, and to lift her, step by step, to the post of honorable prosperity and thrift to which her position and resources unquestionable entitle her. The task it will be acknowledged is a severe one, and its attempted performance implies wisdom and skill to devise, tact to propose, and untiring industry and fertility of resources to carry out. Important measures must be planned and carefully weighed, and the arguments for and against thoroughly scanned, in order to meet the objections of critics, who we all know by experience, are more plentiful than fair in our small community. Let us venture generously in advance to credit the the new Ministry with the possession of all the peculiar and varied qualifications thus indicated as necessary in the discharge of their duties so as to meet the requirements of the situation and the just expectations of the country.

[From the Advertiser of Feb. 28th]

Official Correspondence.

The *Gazette* of this week contains nearly two columns of correspondence from the Foreign Office, which, as it is of quite a formal character, we will summarize. Under date of the 12th, the then incumbent of that office writes to the Representatives of the United States and Great Britain, informing them that "a riotous mob have unexpectedly made a violent attack upon the Court House and the members of the Legislature," and that the government "have not the force at hand to resist," and requesting aid at the earliest moment possible from the ships of those nationalities, to assist "the police in quelling the riot and temporarily protecting life and property." On the same day the Minister writes to the Commissioner of France, informing him of the election of the King, of the attack by the mob on the Court House, and of the call for aid upon the ships of war, and it is added that "had there been a French ship of war in port, M. Ballieu would also have been requested to join in affording the authorities temporary aid." Under the same date, M. Ballieu in acknowledging receipt of the Minister's dispatch, says—"You may rest assured that I would have given to the French forces similar instructions to those transmitted by Mr. Peirce and Mr. Wodehouse, and that the good feelings of the country which I represent will never be wanting in matters involving the security of the Hawaiian nation and of the inhabitants of these islands." On the 19th, His Ex. W. L. Green, (who on the previous day had assumed the duties of the Foreign Office) informs the American and British Commissioners "that such arrangements have now been made for the preservation of order in this city as will allow of the withdrawal of the forces which were landed from" the U. S. S. *Portsmouth* and *Tuscarora* and H. B. M.'s S. *Tenedos*, "which have rendered such invaluable services to His Majesty's government." To this, appropriate replies were received from the respective Commissioners, informing that the forces would reembark on the 20th. On the 21st the Minister informs the French Commissioner that the occasion for the presence of the foreign troops having passed away, they had returned to their respective ships; and on the same date the Minister, by command of the King, thanks the American and British Commissioners in His Majesty's name, and in that of His government, and through the Commissioners, Commanders Belknap and Skerrett of the *Tuscarora* and *Portsmouth*, and Captain Ray of the *Tenedos*, "for the prompt and efficient aid rendered to the local authorities in suppressing the riot in this city on the 12th inst. The events of the 12th inst., unfortunate as they may have been, served to exhibit the feelings of friendship which exist between the countries, and the certainty with which this government may rely in cases of emergency upon the cordial and disinterested co-operation of the Representatives and ships of the United States, as well as those of Her Britannic Majesty." The reply of the British Commissioner is dated on the 22d, and that of the American Commissioner on the 23d. Major Wodehouse says: "I beg that you will, in my name and in that of Captain [illegible] of Her Majesty's ship 'Tenedos,' express to His Majesty, and His Majesty's Government, our thanks for their kind recognition of the services which we were enabled to perform on the occasion of the riot of the 12th of February. It is hardly necessary for me to give the assurance 'that in any case of emergency, His Majesty's Government may rely upon the cordial and disinterested co-operation of Her Britannic Majesty's ships of war.'" In the reply of Mr. Peirce the following language is used: "The purport of said note was communicated immediately to the gallant U. S. Naval Officers named. In their behalf, and by their request, I now tender to His Majesty and the Hawaiian Government, our joint and grateful acknowledgments and sincere thanks for the expressions of your generous appreciation of the services rendered as referred to, and, presented in your note, in words gratifying to a naval officer's sense of professional pride and honorable to the service of which they are members. In reply to your allusion, in regard to the friendship that subsists between the United States and this Kingdom, permit me to remark that that friendship has existed uninterruptedly for three quarters of a century past, with what benefit to this nation the recording angel and human annals will show. May the future intercourse of the two peoples be as happy and as glorious as the past."

RULES AND REGULATIONS

Made and proclaimed by His Majesty the King, to govern the Military Forces of the Kingdom.

1. The Minister for Foreign Affairs shall be Secretary of War. His Staff shall consist of one Aid-de-Camp, with the rank of Major, and one Aid with the rank of Captain.

2. The Staff of the Governor of Oahu, the Commander of the Military Forces of Oahu, shall be one Assistant Adjutant General, with the rank of Major and two Aids, each with the rank of Major.

3. The Volunteers when on active duty, shall be subject to the Articles of War made and provided for the Royal Guard.

4. Such returns and reports shall be made as the Secretary of War may prescribe.

5. The Royal Guard shall guard the King's person, the Palace, the Treasury, the Barracks, the Battery, and the Magazine, and perform such other duty as may be directed.

6. All Military Offences punishable by Court Martial shall promptly be reported to the Secretary of War, who shall thereupon order a Court Martial to consist of one or more Commissioned Officers, who shall forthwith hear and determine the case, and pass sentence thereon subject to the approval of the Secretary of War.

7. Offences not punishable by Court Martial may be punished by order of Company Commanders; but in no case beyond confinement with or without a ball and chain for not more than twenty-four hours.

8. No Commissioned Officer shall be punished except by sentence of Court Martial.

9. The daily rations for each enlisted man shall be as follows, viz:

1 lb Meat, or its equivalent in Salmon twice a week.
5 lbs Paiai and two Biscuits.
15 lbs Sugar to 100 Rations.
10 lbs Coffee to 100 Rations.
1½ lbs Tea to 100 Rations.
1½ lbs Star Candles, (or an equivalent in oil.) to 100 Rations.
4 lbs Soap to 100 Rations.
4 lbs Salt to 100 Rations.

10. The Rations, Uniforms, Arms, Equipments and Drill, shall be such as the Secretary of War may direct.

11. A Commissioned Officer shall be present at each stated Roll Call.

12. All communications shall pass through the regular military channels.

13. Officers shall be Commissioned by the King, and hold their Commissions at His pleasure.

14. Non-Commissioned Officers shall hold Warrants from the Company Commanders, subject to the approval of the Governor of Oahu.

15. No military organization shall be formed except by order of the Secretary of War.

16. All Regular Troops shall be enlisted and mustered into service by order of the Secretary of War.

17. The monthly pay of troops in active service shall be as follows, viz: Captain, $60; Lieutenants, $50; 1st Sergeants, $10; Sergeants, $8; Corporals, $7; Privates, $6; Musicians, $10.

17, b. The Band shall be enlisted and mustered under the Articles of War, and under such Regulations as shall be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

W. L. Green,
Department of War, Feb. 27, 1874. Secretary at War.

ARTICLES OF WAR

Made and proclaimed by His Majesty the King, to govern the Royal Guard, and Volunteer forces when on active duty.

1. Any soldier who shall desert his post shall be punished by confinement not less than twenty-four hours, with or without a ball and chain, or by such sentence as a Court Martial may direct.

2. Any soldier who shall strike his superior officer, or use threatening or disrespectful language to his superior officer, shall be punished by confinement with or without a ball and chain for not less than twenty-four hours, or by such sentence as a Court Martial may direct.

3. Any soldier who shall injure any arms, equipments or other Government property, shall be punished by confinement at hard labor with or without a ball and chain, not more than twenty-four hours, or by such sentence as the Court Martial may direct.

4. Any soldier who shall refuse to do duty, shall be punished by confinement at hard labor, with or without a ball and chain, not less than twenty-four hours, or by such sentence as a Court Martial may direct.

5. Any soldier guilty of mutinous conduct or language, shall be punished by confinement with a ball and chain not less than one week, or by such sentence as a Court Martial may direct.

6. Any soldier using disrespectful language towards His Majesty the King, shall be dishonorably dismissed from the service with loss of all pay, be reprimanded in general orders, and confined with or without a ball and chain, not more than one year, as a Court Martial may direct.

7. Any officer guilty of neglect of duty, or conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, or conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline, shall be cashiered, with loss of pay, or reprimanded in general orders, as a Court Martial may direct.

8. The following punishments, or in aggravated cases, any two or more of them, may be inflicted by order of Court Martial, upon enlisted men, found guilty of any offence enumerated in the articles of war, viz.:

(a) Dishonorable dismissal from service with loss of pay.
(b) Reprimanded in general orders.
(c) Confinement with or without a ball and chain, not to exceed one year.

9. Any soldier drunk on duty shall be punished by confinement with or without a ball and chain, not more than twenty-four hours, or by such sentence as a Court Martial may direct.

10. Except when Martial Law shall be declared by His Majesty the King, all soldiers shall be amenable to the law of the land for any violations thereof, but warrants of arrest shall be communicated to the Secretary of War.

11. The Articles of War shall be read to the Royal Guard every Sunday morning.

Done at Iolani Palace, the 27th day of February, 1874.
By the King,
KALAKAUA R.
W. L. Green, Secretary at War.

GENERAL ORDER No. 1.

1. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, at His Majesty's Command, assumes control of the General Military Forces of the Kingdom as Secretary of War.

2. The following named Officers are announced as composing the Staff of the Secretary of War: J. Bates Dickson, Aid-de-Camp, with the rank of Major; Phillip Opfergelt, Aid-de-Camp, with rank of Captain.

3. A Royal Guard will be forthwith enlisted and mustered under the Military Regulations, made and proclaimed by His Majesty the King. Major Dickson will proceed to muster this Company into service as soon as they are enlisted.

4. The organization known as the Hawaiian Cavalry is hereby disbanded. All public property in possession of the officers and men of this Company will be at once turned over at their Armory to an officer to be designated by the Governor of Oahu to receive the same.

5. A Company of Hawaiian Volunteer Cavalry, to be designated "The Lelelohoku Guard," will be organized forthwith, with a maximum strength of one Captain, one 1st Lieutenant, one 2nd Lieutenant, and fifty enlisted men.

6. The designation of the Volunteer Artillery Company, now known as "The Prince of Hawaii's Own," is hereby changed to that of "The Prince's Own;" and the number of enlisted men in the said Company will be reduced to a maximum of fifty.

7. A Company of Volunteer Infantry, to be designated as "The Hawaiian Guards," will be organized forthwith, with a maximum strength of one Captain, one 1st Lieutenant, one 2nd Lieutenant, and one hundred enlisted men.

8. All communications relative to the troops on the Island of Oahu, to this office, will pass through General John O. Dominis, Commander of the Military Forces of Oahu, addressed to Major J. Bates Dickson, Aid-de-Camp.

General John O. Dominis is hereby charged with the execution of Sections 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, of this Order.

[Signed.] W. L. Green, Secretary at War.
Department of War, Feb. 27, 1874.

Military Reorganization.—By reference to the official documents which appear in to-day's paper, emanating from the office of the Secretary at War, it will be seen that the Military service is to be reorganized, and placed upon what appears to be a basis that will ensure efficiency, economy and proper discipline. The knowledge and experience of Attorney General Hartwell will be invaluable in this connection. Major J. Bates Dickson, who has been appointed as Aid to the Secretary, is no holiday soldier, having seen several years of active

service in the late American war. He fought under Rosecranz in the Southwest, and it is a sufficient guarantee of his executive ability to know that he has been Adjutant General of an army corps. Capt. Phillip Opfergelt, also appointed Secretary's Aid, was an officer in the Prussian service during the late European war. Thus, while our Secretary at War may have had little or no experience in the field of Mars, his Aids have both smelt powder when the burning of it meant business.—*Advertiser, Feb. 28th.*

God Save the King.

PRIZE HYMN—BY W. C. LUNALILO.

TRANSLATED BY REV. L. LYONS.

1. Eternal, mighty God,
Bless, from thy bright abode,
Our Sovereign King;
May thy all-powerful arm
Ward from our Sire all harm,
Let no vile foe alarm,
Long may he reign!

2. Royal, distinguished name,
Our beauteous diadem,
Long life be thine;
Thy wing spread o'er our land,
From every wrong defend,
For thee our prayers ascend,
Long live our King!

3. Before thee, King of Kings,
Of whom all nature sings,
Our prayer we bring;
Oh, let our kingdom live,
Life, peace and union give,
Let all thy care receive;
Bless thou our King!

THE FUNERAL OF LUNALILO.

From past experience, the native people have been led to expect rainy and stormy weather on the burial days of their high chiefs, but that of His late Majesty Lunalilo proved an exception. Though the weather had been threatening rain during the week, Saturday, February 28th, was one of those beautiful days for which this climate is so proverbial, the sun shining brightly, with occasional passing clouds and wind enough to cool the atmosphere without causing dust.

At an early hour of the morning the people began to gather on King street, where the procession was to form, and at the hour of starting the line of march on either side through King and Nuuanu streets was thronged by the cleanly dressed and decorous native population, to the number it is estimated, of between five and six thousand. Stores and places of business were universally closed, while the verandahs along the route of the procession, and in some instances the house-tops even, were crowded with ladies and children, anxious to witness the solemn and impressive spectacle.

A little after 10 o'clock the marines and seamen from the four war vessels in port, (the U. S. S. *Tuscarora*, *Portsmouth* and *Benecia*, and H. B. M.'s S. *Tenedos*) under arms, and numbering altogether some 300 men, making a very fine appearance, marched on to the ground and took their positions on the west side of King street. On the east side were the different civic bodies of Honolulu, ranged in line, forming a brilliant display of uniforms and regalias,—the red-shirts of the firemen; the modest regalia of the Good Templars, and that of the Knights of Pythias; the symbolic Odd Fellows' sash; the square and compass of the "mystic tie;" and the rich semi-military array of Knights Templars. The procession was formed precisely in the order prescribed, and as it appears in the programme which we print herewith.

ORDER OF PROCESSION
FOR THE FUNERAL OF
His Late Majesty Lunalilo.

Undertaker.
Ahahui Opiopio.
Honolulu Fire Department.
Mechanics' Benefit Union.
Good Templars.
Knights of Pythias.
Odd Fellows.
Free Masons.
Members of the Medical Faculty.
The Konohikis of the Crown Lands.
The Konohikis of the late King's Private Lands.
Governor of Oahu and Staff.
Band.
Detachments of Marines and Sailors from
U. S. S. Portsmouth,
U. S. S. Tuscarora,
U. S. S. Benecia,
H. B. M. Corvette Tenedos.
The late King's Servants.
The late King's Purveyor.
His late Majesty's Chamberlain.
Clergy of the Roman Catholic Church.
His Lordship, the Right Rev. Bishop of Arathea.
Clergy of the Anglican Church.
His Lordship, the Right Rev. Bishop of Honolulu.
Protestant Clergy.
The Rev. Henry H. Parker.
The late King's Aids.
Colonel Allen, bearing the Sword and Hat of the late King.
His Ex. J. M. Kapena, bearing the Crown of the late King.
Large Kahilis.

Large Kahilis. Small Kahilis. Pall Bearers. Pall Bearers. Small Kahilis. Large Kahilis.

Large Kahilis.
The late King's Charger.
Carriage bearing their Majesties the King and Queen, H. R. H. Prince Leleiohoku, and H. R. H. Charles Kanaina.
Carriage bearing Her Excellency the Governess of Hawaii, the Honorable Mrs. Dominis, the Honorable Mrs. Cleghorn, and the Honorable Mrs. Bishop
Carriage bearing the Queen Dowager Emma, and the Honorable Mrs. Naea.
Foreign Representatives, Captains and Officers of Foreign Vessels of War in Port.
The King's Vice Chancellor.
Members of His late Majesty's Cabinet.
His Majesty's Cabinet Ministers.
Judges of the Supreme Court.
Members of the Privy Council of State.
Governors of the different Islands.
Consular Corps.
The Legislative Assembly.
Circuit Judges.
Clerks of Government Departments.
Collector General, and Custom House Officers.
Postmaster General, Postmasters and Clerks in Post Office.
The Marshal, and Sheriffs of the different Islands.
District Justices.
Members of the Bar.
The Hulumanus.
Foreign Residents.
Hawaiian Population.
Police Force.
Detachment of Cavalry.

Those who attend the funeral are to assemble in front of the Palace at 10 o'clock, A. M., on Saturday, the 28th day of February, and the procession to start at 11 o'clock.

The line of procession *preceding* the remains of His late Majesty, will be formed on King street, the right resting on Alakea street. Those who follow the remains, will form on King street, their right resting on the Waikiki side of the Palace gate.

The Public generally are invited to attend.
Iolani Palace, February 23, 1874.

Funeral services were held in the Palace before the procession set out, the Rev. Henry H. Parker officiating in the Hawaiian language. His Majesty the King and Court entered the East Room, in which the coffin lay, at half-past ten. Some ten minutes later H. H. Charles Kanaina, the late King's father, came in and took his place as chief mourner, the King sitting just behind him with Prince Leleiohoku on his right. Six large kahilis were kept waving over the coffin. The services then commenced, the choir of Kawaiahao Church, under the leadership of Mr. A. T. Atkinson, chanting:

"Man that is born of a woman
Hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery," &c.

Then followed reading of the Scripture and an impressive prayer by the Rev. Mr. Parker. The choir again chanted from the burial service:

"I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord:
He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live:" &c.

Mr. Parker then made an eloquent and impressive address in Hawaiian. A Hawaiian hymn, composed by the late Rev. Hiram Bingham,—("Aole make e ue;" "Weep not for him,") concluded the services in the Palace. The venerable father of the dead King was much affected, as indeed were all present. In the Room, besides the Royal Family were the Foreign Commissioners, Captains Hopkins, Ray, Belknap and Skerrett of the war ships in port; members of the late and present Cabinet; Privy Councillors, and a few of the Nobles.

The procession began to move at 11:30, and passing through King street and up Nuuanu avenue, the hearse reached the Mausoleum at a few minutes before 1 P. M. It was twenty minutes in passing a given point, and a pretty accurate observer has given the number of persons who composed it at 1,500. The government band, under the leadership of Berger, furnished appropriate music. During the passage of the procession, and until the Mausoleum was reached, minute guns were fired from the battery on Punchbowl and from the *Benecia*, *Tenedos* and *Tuscarora*. The hearse, which was heavily draped with black, was drawn by four black horses. The coffin or casket (made by Fischer) is a magnificent piece of workmanship, made of beautiful island cabinet woods, and highly polished. On the lid in elaborately carved and frosted solid silver, appears a crown, beneath which is engraved on a shield, surrounded with frosted leaves, the inscription in Hawaiian, which we translate:

WILLIAM CHARLES
LUNALILO.

King of the Hawaiian Islands.

Born on the 31st day of
January, A. D. 1835.
Died on the 3d day of
February, 1874.

He reigned One Year
and Twenty-five days.

Beneath it on a silver scroll was the national motto,

"The life of the land is established
in Righteousness."

In front and rear of the hearse, and on either side, were large and small *kahilis*, or plumes of feathers of all colors, and numbering no less them seventy-six, carried by retainers of chief families.

Arrived at the Mausoleum, the military formed in front and facing the entrance, while the civic bodies were drawn up opposite, and on the right. The coffin having been lifted from the hearse, was borne into the building, and placed on a platform in the centre. The scene was here impressive. Around on all sides, were the coffins containing the remains of the former Kings and Chiefs of Hawaii, indistinctly seen in the "dim, religious light" of the building. The King, the Prince, the Governess of Hawaii, and Kanaina,—the last leaning on the arm of Mr. Hall,—stood at the head of the coffin. The Queen Dowager with Albert Kunuiakea, stood a little to the left of these, the Queen leaning against the coffin of her late husband, while Keelikolani was near that of Kamehameha V. The Hon. Mrs. Bishop and the members of the late and present Cabinets were on the right. The Rev. Mr. Parker was a little forward of these groups. The Ante-room and door-ways were thronged with diplomatic and naval uniforms. As soon as the principal personages had taken their places, the choir sang, very softly—

"There is an hour of peaceful rest," &c.

The effect of this in the dead quiet of the building was strikingly beautiful, and in marked contrast

with the outside, where the wailing was loud and heart-rending, while within all was hushed. Mr. Parker offered a short prayer, and then, in a most impressive manner, with raised hand, he gave the final blessing.

The seamen and marines drawn up in front of the Mausoleum then fired three volleys, flags were run up to the mast-head, the populace returned city-ward, and the funeral of Lunalilo was over.

AUDIENCE AT THE PALACE.

On Monday, March 2d, at 10 o'clock A. M. His Majesty received the members of the Foreign Diplomatic and Consular Corps, at an audience at Iolani Palace. There were present in the reception room, attending upon the King, His Royal Highness Prince Leleiohoku, the Cabinet Ministers, His Majesty's Aids, His Excellency Gov. Dominis and Aids, and the Hon. Charles R. Bishop.

His Excellency H. A. Peirce, American Minister Resident, addressed His Majesty as follows:

YOUR MAJESTY:—I have the honor to tender respectful congratulations with sincere good wishes on the auspicious events of Your Majesty's Accession to the Throne; and the appointment of Your Royal Brother, William Pitt Leleiohoku to succeed, when in the course of Divine Providence the Throne shall be again vacant.

May Your Majesty's reign be one full of years and of honors; and such as will secure for Your Nation the inestimable blessings, of Peace, Happiness and Prosperity.

To which His Majesty replied as follows:

It affords me profound satisfaction to receive from you, the sincere good wishes and congratulations which you have just expressed upon my Accession to the Throne and the appointment of my Brother to succeed me.

I shall never forget the prompt manner in which you and the officers and men of the United States ships then in port answered the call of the authorities on the 12th ultimo., in assisting to quell the sudden and unexpected disturbance of that day, and you and Captains Belknap and Skerrett have added one more to the almost innumerable obligations for which my little Kingdom stands indebted to the Great Republic, and which have assisted in securing to it in the past, the blessings of Peace, Happiness and Prosperity which you desire for it during my reign.

Major Wodehouse, H. B. M. Commissioner and Consul General, addressed His Majesty in the following words:

Allow me to express my sincere congratulations on Your Accession to the Throne of Hawaii, and my hope that the friendly and cordial good understanding which has always existed between Your Royal Predecessors and the Sovereigns and Government of Great Britain, may be uninterruptedly maintained during Your Majesty's reign, which I pray may be long and prosperous.

To which His Majesty replied:

I receive with extreme pleasure your congratulations on my accession to the Throne of Hawaii. I cannot doubt, but that the friendly and cordial good understanding which has always existed between my predecessors and the sovereigns and government of Great Britain, will be uninterruptedly maintained during my reign.

I cannot let this opportunity pass, without stating how much I am indebted to you, Major Wodehouse, for your personal active and courageous assistance in quelling the riot on the 12th ultimo. And how valuable I consider the presence on shore on that occasion of Lieut. Bromilow, and the officers and men from the Tenedos under the command of Capt. Ray, assuring you and Capt. Ray that I look upon your efforts and his co-operation on that day as auspicious events at the commencement of the reign which you pray may be long and prosperous.

M. Ballieu, Consul of France, addressed the King as follows:

SIRE:—I am happy to take the opportunity that is offered to me to present Your Majesty my respectful homage.

That it may please God to give you long life and a prosperous reign, is my sincere wish and hope; and in saying this I am sure that I express the feelings of France.

To which His Majesty responded:

It gives me the greatest pleasure on this occasion to receive you, Monsieur Ballieu, the Representative of France, and to believe that I have the good wishes and the prayers of yourself and of her people for a long and prosperous reign. I trust the relations between your country and mine may continue as pleasant during my reign as during that of my predecessors. There is no country whose friendship or good will I shall value more than that of France.

Th. C. Heuck, Esq., Imperial German and Royal Danish Consul, addressed His Majesty on behalf of the Consular Corps, viz.: E. Hoffmann, Imperial and Royal Consul for Austria and Hungary; Alex. J. Cartwright, Consul for Peru; C. S. Bartow, Chile; F. A. Schaefer, Italy; C. S. Mattoon, United States; J. S. Christie, Jr., U. S. Vice Consul; Theo. H. Davies, British Vice Consul; J. W. Pfluger, Russian Vice Consul; J. C. Glade, Acting Consul for Sweden and Norway; F. Banning, Consul for Belgium and the Netherlands. Mr. Heuck spoke as follows:

SIRE:—May it please Your Majesty to receive through me the sincerest congratulations of the Foreign Consuls upon your happy accession to the Throne.

Hawaii nei, united by bonds of friendship and respect with all the world, cannot fail to prosper under Your Majesty's reign commencing under such promising auspices.

Confident that Your Majesty's Government will as heretofore assist us, the endeavors of the Consular Corps will ever be to promote commercial intercourse between your country and those whose flags we represent.

Our hopes and wishes are long life and a prosperous reign to Your Majesty.

His Majesty replied to the address of the Foreign Consuls as follows:

It gives me great pleasure, gentlemen, to receive your congratulations on this occasion. I recognize the importance and value of friendly relations with all the world as a means of promoting the prosperity of my Kingdom. My Government will no doubt do all in its power to encourage commercial intercourse between this country and those whose flags you so worthily represent, and I shall be the more desirous to see that commercial intercourse increased, because it involves the necessity of increasing at the same time, the exchangeable products of this Kingdom, by which means alone it can attain the prosperity you desire for it during my reign.

The United States Minister Resident presented the following naval officers:

Capt. Wm. E. Hopkins, Commanding U. S. S. Benicia; Geo. E. Belknap, Commanding U. S. S. Tuscarora; J. S. Skerrett, (Comdr. U. S. N.) Commanding U. S. S. Portsmouth; Geo. F. Kutz, Chief Engineer U. S. S. Benicia; Louis F. Allen, Chief Engineer U. S. S. Tuscarora; Henry S. Pitkin, Surgeon U. S. S. Benicia; E. Putnam, Paymaster U. S. S. Benicia; Wm. H. Whiting, Lieut. Comdr. U. S. S. Benicia; Lewis Clark, Lieut. Comdr. and Ex. Officer U. S. S. Portsmouth; H. Jones, Surgeon U. S. S. Portsmouth; J. H. Harmony, First Asst. Engineer U. S. S. Tuscarora; J. G. Hobbs, Past Asst. Paymaster U. S. S. Tuscarora; Albert C. Engard, First Asst. Engineer U. S. S. Benicia; Geo. A. Norris, Lieutenant U. S. S. Tuscarora; E. K. Moore, Lieutenant U. S. S. Portsmouth; Frederick Singer, Master U. S. S. Benicia; H. G. Elsworth, Lieutenant U. S. S. Benicia; M. D. Hyde, Ensign U. S. S. Tuscarora.

James H. Wodehouse, Esq., H. B. M.'s Commissioner and Consul General presented E. W. Ray, Captain of H. B. M.'s S. Tenedos and the following officers:

Francis Ross Bromilow and B. Dyke Acland, Lieutenants; John N. Lloyd, Navigating Lieut.; John G. Hazzard and Ralph W. Jones, Sub. Lieuts.; Arnot Henderson, Nav. Mid.

Theo. Ballieu, Commissioner of France, presented Ch. Pernet, French Chancellor.

During the progress of the reception, the Government band stationed in the Palace yard, played appropriate national airs.

A RETROSPECT.

The origin of the events which had their culmination in the revolution of July 1st, 1887, must be sought for in the Moreno episode of 1880. The *teterrima causa*, of course, was the vicious and worthless Constitution of 1864; but, as the Hon. C. R. Bishop said in the now historical meeting of June 30th, 1887, he had lived under it during the reign of five Kings, and had not found out that it was a bad one until the last few years, when it had been so thoroughly misused. We may, for the moment, dismiss that, and concentrate our attention on the last eight years, when it became patent to one designing mind how the "worthless rag" of a Constitution might be used by an unscrupulous man for private aggrandizement.

C. C. Moreno came here in 1880, with a scheme for a trans-Pacific cable and a plan for a set of Chinese steamers, which were to touch here on their way between San Francisco and the Flowery Kingdom. He soon found his way to the ear of the King, and put before him some dazzling schemes. Moreno was a keen politician, and made use of Mr. W. M. Gibson, who was then leading the Opposition in the Legislature, to further his views in the House, and also learned Gibson's plans, some of them, according to his story, very desperate ones, for acquiring power. The Cabinet at that time consisted of Messrs. S. G. Wilder, Interior; J. M. Kapena, Foreign Affairs; Simon Kaai, Finance, and Edward Preston, Attorney-General. An attempt was made to overthrow this Cabinet in the Legislature by a vote of want of confidence, but it was defeated, and the session came to a close. Within a few hours after the prorogation the Cabinet was summarily dismissed by the King, and commissions were signed (August 14th) for John E. Bush, Interior; C. C. Moreno, Foreign Affairs; Kaai, Finance, and Claude Jones, Attorney-General. The change called forth a perfect storm. A mass meeting was held, the Diplomatic Corps intervened, and the most objectionable feature in the Ministry, C. C. Moreno, was forced to resign, August 19th, and left for San Francisco in the Ho Chung, a steamer belonging to the Chinese Navigation Company. By September 27th, 1880, an entirely new Ministry was formed, with Messrs. W. L. Green, H. A. P. Carter, J. S. Walker, and Mr. W. N. Armstrong joined them later as Attorney-General.

This was but an episode, but it showed what could be done. If a

A SKETCH OF RECENT EVENTS,

BEING

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS WHICH CULMINATED ON JUNE 30, 1887, TOGETHER WITH A FULL REPORT

OF THE

GREAT REFORM MEETING,

AND

THE TWO CONSTITUTIONS IN PARALLEL COLUMNS.

HONOLULU:
PUBLISHED BY A. M. HEWETT.
HAWAIIAN GAZETTE PRINT.
1887.

stranger could drop, as it were, from the clouds, and do what Moreno had done, why should not another, who was a resident here, do likewise? The seed sown by Moreno took rapid hold in the mind of Gibson, and from the moment of Moreno's fall, he resolved to work on the lines of the wily Don.

It took some time to organize his scheme, but Gibson kept his aim steadily in view. On May 19th, 1882, during the first weeks of the Legislative session, the Green-Carter Ministry resigned, and Gibson was called to the head of affairs. His colleagues were Messrs. Simon Kaai, Interior; J. E. Bush, Finance, and Edward Preston, Attorney-General. From 1882 to June 30th, 1887, a system of gradual extension of royal prerogatives, a using of the public funds for private ends, has steadily gone on. The changes in the Cabinet have been so frequent that it acquired the name of kaleidoscopic; but whatever change took place, one central figure always remained, and that was W. M. Gibson. During his career he occupied every place in the Cabinet, and on one occasion he filled three positions at the same time, viz.: Foreign Affairs, Interior and the Attorney-Generalship.

The policy at first adopted was to play upon the King's vanity, and for that purpose a gorgeous coronation pageant was arranged, which took place February 14th, 1883. The bills incurred on that occasion were enormous—how large has never yet been learned, but at the session of 1886 the outstanding accounts under this head still amounted to some $20,000. The coronation, however, was but the thin end of the wedge. In every way that could add to the tinsil and glitter of the Kingdom, money was spent.

It became very clear that to do this it was necessary to "hold" the Legislature. To this end political heads were chopped off in all directions, and the places of the former incumbents filled by men devoted to the new *regime*, without reference to their fitness for the positions. Thus Mr. Godfrey Brown was summarily dismissed from the Finance Office and Colonel Allen from the Collector-Generalship of Customs, while the Board of Education, consisting of Messrs. C. R. Bishop, E. O. Hall, Godfrey Rhodes and J. Kawainui, were turned out in an insulting manner. The name and influence of the King were freely used in the elections, and the Government candidates for election were chosen from among the office-holders. In the Legislature of 1884 an effort was made to meet the evil, but the Opposition was not united enough; it needed that the governing powers should more plainly show their evil qualities before all men would unite in a solid phalanx against them.

The Appropriation bill of 1884 far exceeded any previous one. Money was voted for many useless things; the expenses of the Privy purse were swelled; so was the military vote, the vote for Foreign Missions, and, throughout the whole session and long after it, the Spreckels' influence was supreme. The following two years told the same tale of extravagance, only the Government were becoming more bold. Jobs of the most flagrant description were constantly being brought before the public, through the press, and the Cabinet calmly smiled and asked the complainants what they were going to do about it?

The leprosy question, also, had been growing into a crying evil. Lepers were let free, either on the authority of Mr. Gibson or the King, and these permits were used for political purposes. To quell the feeling in this direction, for it was growing serious, Dr. Arning, a specialist, was sent for from Germany. He came, instituted a set of valuable experiments, and then, proving only a scientific man and not a political tool, was dismissed, under circumstances which are fresh in the minds of all our readers. Debt, too, began to accumulate rapidly, and to bolster their failing finances, loans were obtained from Mr. Spreckels.

For the Legislature of 1886 a gallant fight was made to have a body of men elected who would vote money with some sense of its value, and who should, in some degree, represent the capital and brains of the country. The effort was abortive. Every scandalous means was used to secure a victory for the men in power. Bribery was employed, liquor was allowed to run in a tide, promises of office were given, intimidation was resorted to, and in one district a number of soldiers were taken up to outvote the Opposition candidate, while in another the voting lists were openly tampered with.

With a Legislature composed of such materials, and obtained by such means, it is not surprising that the right of free speech was cut off, and that a reckless disregard for the rights of capital and brains reigned supreme.

The session lasted from April 30th to October 16th—a period of 170 days. The results were an appropriation bill of somewhat over four-and-a-half millions of dollars, the income of the country being about two millions. A loan bill was passed authorizing the Government to borrow $2,000,000, the affair to be managed by a syndicate in London. A free liquor bill had been passed in the Legislature of 1884, and that of 1886 gave an opium bill, which was so framed that bribery could be freely used to obtain the license. The results of this bill will be seen later on. Then there was an army bill authorizing the expenditure of a very large sum of money, and creating generals, colonels, intelligence officers, and no end of frippery. The buying and fitting out of a man-of-war was authorized, and the vote for foreign missions was still further increased. One thing was made clear, during the session, and that was the Ministerial view of the Constitution. In open debate the question was argued: "Where lies, or should lie, the preponderating, the actual ruling power?" One of the Independent members maintained "In the Legislature;" the Ministry held "In the Crown;" and the latter theory was acted upon.

Great dissatisfaction was felt at the close of the Legislature; but matters were not so bad yet as to cause all men to unite. What the

Government intended to do soon began to be developed. An embassy, under charge of John E. Bush, was sent, at great expense, to Samoa. A large sum of money was expended over festivities in honor of the King's birthday. The Explorer (re-named the Kaimiloa)—a vessel totally unsuited for the purpose—was purchased by the Government for twenty thousand dollars, and some $50,000 or $60,000 were expended in turning her into a man of war. The crew was largely made up of boys from the Reformatory School, and their conduct, together with that of some of the officers, created a perfect scandal. On the evening before the day appointed for the sailing of the vesel, a mutiny broke out and several of the officers were summarily dismissed. Meantime, money was very scarce, the loan was bungled, and though the money had been subscribed in England it was not forthcoming in Hawaii. The roads all over the group were in a terrible condition; the harbor had not been dredged for months, no funds being forthcoming for the purpose; the landings were neglected and Government indebtedness was not liquidated.

So bad had things become that men set seriously to work to right them, and early in the present year a number of gentlemen in Honolulu and on the other islands began to consider the best means for putting an end to the then state of affairs, and placing the government of the country on a basis which should for the future do away with the system of corruption and fraud which had ruled so long. For this purpose arms were imported, and every preparation made beforehand. The organization took the name of the Hawaiian League, and had enrolled among its members some of the weightiest men in the city.

The agitation was progressing favorably, when a weapon was put into the hands of the patriotic party which served to unite the whole population as one man against the *regime* under which such iniquities could be perpetrated.

We have spoken above of the opium law which was passed in the Legislature 1886, and which had received the King's signature in spite of the most vigorous protests from all classes of the community. The bill provided that a license for the sale of opium, at the rate of $30,000 per annum, should be given to whomsoever the Minister of the Interior might choose.

The facts in the matter, furnished on undeniable authority were published in the HAWAIIAN GAZETTE of May 17th, and from that paper we quote. The paper said:

"Early in November, 1886, one Junius Kaae, heretofore conspicuous for nothing except being a "Palace hanger-on," (since promoted to the office of Registrar of Deeds,) went to a Chinese rice planter named Aki, and asked him if he did not want the opium license. Aki said he did. Kaae then informed him that he could help him to get it; and that the first step necessary was to pay the King the sum of $60,000; but that he must hurry up about it, because there were others trying to get the King

to give it to them. After some discussion, Aki agreed to act upon Kaae's suggestion. About the 6th of December, in the afternoon, $20,000 were taken to the Palace in a basket. The King, seeing others around, told the bearers to come in the evening. They came in the evening and met the King, who directed them to see Kaae. Kaae, being present, conferred with the King, and then went to the King's private office, and he there received the $20,000, and put it in the King's private drawer. A few days after, the King stated to the owner that he had received the $20,000. Shortly after a check on the bank for $10,000 was handed to the King personally. The same day Kaae returned it, saying that they preferred coin to checks. The same evening the coin to that amount was delivered to Kaae. A day or two later $30,000 in gold coin and certificates of deposit, in two baskets, were taken to the Palace and delivered, together with a present of a little baked pig, to the King personally. This completed the $60,000. Finding how easily $60,000 was made, probably there were some qualms of conscience about letting the licence go so cheap. Aki was therefore informed by Kaae that John S. Walker was backing another Chinaman, and that unless $15,000 more was forthcoming, Walker's Chinaman would get the license. Aki reluctantly raised the amount, and it was paid to the King personally."

Shortly after this, Aki heard that the license had been given to another Chinese syndicate, at the head of which was Chun Lung.

The fact that he had lost his money and his license, made Aki tell, and the whole circumstances were drawn up in a series of affidavits. On May 31st the *Gazette* published Aki's affidavit, giving the matter more fully in detail, and likewise exposed an illegal land transaction, in which the Minister of Foreign Affair, W. M. Gibson, while Acting Minister of Interior, had been engaged.

It had also transpired that the Minister of Interior, J. Aholo, had drawn a sum of money out of the treasury, certifying that it was for the work done on the continuation of Queen's street, when it was known, for a fact, that no such work had been bone.

These publications created an immense sensation, and the entire press, united in denouncing the venality and corruption of the Hawaiian Government. Preparations were made for holding a public meeting on Monday, June 27th, but it was deemed advisable to postpone the meeting till Thursday, June 30th. Early on Tuesday, June 28th, it was rumored that the Ministry had resigned. This was found to be a fact. During that day and the next the ex-Attorney-General made efforts to get together a coalition Ministry, but without success, and on Thursday, June 30th, the mass-meeting was held. The account of it, which appeared in the *Gazette*, is reproduced here corrected by the accounts published in the *Commercial Advertiser* and *Herald*. It reads as follows:

THE GREAT MASS MEETING.

The most enthusiastic, largest and yet most orderly meeting ever held in Honolulu took place on Thursday afternoon, June 30th. The meeting had been advertised June 29th by posters in English, Hawaiian and Portuguese, and long before the appointed hour, 2 p. m., the approaches to the armory of the Honolulu Rifles, corner of Punchbowl and Beretania streets, were thronged with crowds of people of all classes, hurrying to the rendezvous. All the stores in town were closed by 1 p. m., and all work on buildings or in machine shops was brought to a close. Passing the Palace a considerable stir was noticed, and as the *Gazette* reporter passed, a native with half a dozen rifles on his shoulder was proceeding thither from the barracks.

Outside the armory the Honolulu Rifles, were drawn up under arms, with fixed bayonets, and each man carrying fifty rounds of ammunition, our citizens soldiers looked a fine body of men, "ready as one of the speakers afterwards said in the meeting "to defend their right or enforce them."

IN THE ARMORY

Seats had been arranged, and by two o'clock the building was filled in every part, while a large crowd blocked up every opening. The platform was placed on the *mauka* or land side of the building. On the table was the Hawaiian flag, while at the back the flags of the United States and Great Britain were intertwined, fit emblems of the Mother and Daughter country standing shoulder to shoulder.

THOSE WHO WERE PRESENT.

The assemblage was thoroughly representative—Mechanics, Merchants, Day-laborers, Planters, Professional men, all were there. Of nationalities there were Americans, Britons, Colonials, Germans, Hawaiians, Portuguese, Chinese and Japanese. In numbers, a good many estimated the crowd as being about 2,500. With but a few exceptions, all were animated by the same feelings, the same determination, to put an end, once and for all, upon the present iniquitous system of misrule and extravagance.

The following list of names was compiled by Mr. Dan Logan, of the *Herald*, Dr. Emerson, and Mr. Alatau T. Atkinson, of the *Gazette*, and though necessarily imperfect, will serve to show the material of which the meeting was composed:

REPRESENTATIVE NAMES.

Jonathan Austin, Hon. W. F. Allen, Alatau T. Atkinson, J. B. Atherton, L. C. Ables, H. J. Agnew, L. Aseu, F. E. Atwater, W. Alexander, Hon. C. R. Bishop, Major Benson, U. S. A., Hon. Cecil Brown, Godfrey Brown, Frank Brown, W. P. A. Brewer, Rev. Dr. Beckwith, W. R. Buchanan, P. Butler, J. E. Brown, J. Bushee, Rev. S. E. Bishop, Geo. C. Beckley, A. J. Cartwright, Sr., H. W. Schmidt, R. J. Creighton, Hon.

John A. Cummins, James Campbell, Hon. W. R. Castle, G. P. Castle, Kwong Hang Cheng, Yuen Chong, J. O. Carter, E. S. Cunha, Lau Chong, Robert Catton, C. K. Cooke, E. C. Damon, M. Dickson, W. E. H. Deverill, J. A. Dower, J. Dowsett, Dr. N. B. Emerson, G. D. Freeth, W. S. Forsyth, Chas. Foster, (Maui), W. E. Foster, C. J. Fishel, Hon. W. L. Green, H. F. Glade, Sir A. Gooch (England), Robert Gay, R. Jay Greene, W. Robinson, R. Grieve, Capt. W. B. Godfrey, Chr. Gertz, Frank Gertz, Walter Hill, A. Hoffnung (England), Julius Hoting, Major Hills, C. Hammer, F. M. Hatch, W. W. Hall, W. L. Holokahiki, C. W. Hart, Thos. Hughes, W. E. Herrick, Major A. B. Hayley, Hon. P. Isenberg, A. Jaeger, P. C. Jones, E. W. Jordan, W. A. Kinney, Geo. Kim, A. Kraft, Capt. J. King, Prince Albert Kunuiakea, M. Louisson, R. W. Laine, D. Logan, H. R. Macfarlane, E. C. Macfarlane, Fred. W. Macfarlane, M. McInerny, Rev. W. C. Merritt, Alex. McKibbin, Capt. Mist, R. N., E. Muller, Rev. Alex. Mackintosh, Dr. J. S. McGrew, A. Marques, J. A. McCandless, M. D. Monsarrat, Dr. Robt. McKibbin, Captain Macaulay, John Nott, P. Neumann, Rev. W. B. Oleson, Hon. Sam. Parker, R. W. Purvis, John H. Paty, W. C. Peacock, W. H. Rice, Mark P. Robinson, Dr. C. T. Rodgers, H. Riemenschneider, H. Renjes, Capt. Ross, L. F. Stolz, Capt. Harry S. Swinton, J. H. Soper, S. Savidge, F. M. Swanzy, G. M. Stillman, Dr. Tucker, H. S. Tregloan, J. G. Tucker, T. G. Thrum, Fred Turril, H. S. Townsend, R. von Tempsky, J. M. Vivas, J. T. Waterhouse, E. M. Walsh, Wm. C. Wilder, J. Hay Wodehouse, H. M. Whitney, Henry Waterhouse, C. L. White, J. A. Wilder, T. Rain Walker, G. L. Wilcox, Rev. Geo. Wallace, C. B. Wilson, R. N. Webster, Chief Engineer Whittaker, U. S. A., A. S. Wilcox, A. Young.

At the Reporters table were Messrs. Daniel Logan, editor of the *Daily Herald*, Walter Hill, editor of the *Bulletin*, Alatau T. Atkinson, editor of the *Gazette;* Messrs. Taylor and Gilbert, of the *P. C. Advertiser*, Mr. S. Kaaikaula, of the *Pae Aina*, Mr. Ho Fon, of the *Chinese News*, and Mr. F. J. Testa, of the *Elele*.

THE MEETING.

Shortly after the stroke of 2, Hon. S. B. Dole came on to the platform and calling the meeting to order, nominated Mr. P. C. Jones as chairman. The nomination was accepted unanimously and amid loud applause, the genial gentleman, who has presided over so many a social gathering, took charge of the most important meeting that has ever been known in Hawaiian history.

Mr. Jones, on ascending the platform, said: I feel honored at being nominated chairman of this, the largest and most important meeting that has ever assembled in this city. We have assembled in a constitutional manner, and propose to conduct it in a constitutional manner. We are here for the purpose of asking for good government, a thing we have not had, but which we earnestly desire. We, representatives of all nations, are assembled here and we can afford to conduct ourselves in a firm and

dignified manner, because we are firm and determined in what we ask. (applause.)

A set of resolutions have been prepared which will be read to you by Mr. L. A. Thurston and also a communication from the King which has just been received by the Hon. C. R. Bishop. Then there will be short speeches, as there are many speakers and the place is warm and we are warmed up they will be limited to five minutes. We must make the work short, sharp and decisive. (loud cheers.)

Hon. Lorrin Thurston apologised for appearing in uniform, but he had been so ordered by his commanding officer, and he obeyed his orders. He then read the following:

RESOLUTIONS.

We, the citizens, residents and tax-payers of Honolulu, acting, as we firmly believe, in sympathy with and in behalf of all rightminded citizens, residents and tax-payers of this Kingdom, and been assembled in mass meeting in the city of Honolulu, on the 30th day of June, 1887, do resolve as follows:

1—That the administeration of the Hawaiian Government has ceased, through corruption and incompetence, to perform the functions and afford the protection to personal and property rights, for which all Governments exist.

2—That while some of the evils of which we complain cannot be at once adequately redressed, and their recurrence prevented, and many others are incurable except by radical changes in the present constitution; yet there are some evils which we feel must be remedied at once, before a permanent reform movement can be inaugurated with any reasonable prospect of success.

3—Holding these views we request of the King:

First—That he shall at once and unconditionally dismiss his present Cabinet from office, and we ask that he shall call one of these persons, viz: William L. Green, Henry Waterhouse, Godfrey Brown or Mark P. Robinson to assist him in selecting a new Cabinet, which shall be committed to the policy of securing a new constitution.

Second—That Walter M. Gibson shall be at once dismissed from each and every office held by him under the Government.

Third—In order, so far as possible, to remove the stain now resting on the throne, we request of the King that he shall cause immediate restitution to be made of the sum, to wit: Seventy-one thousand dollars ($71,000), recently obtained by him in violation of law and of his oath of office, under promise that the persons from whom the same was obtained should receive the license to sell opium, as provided by statute of the year 1886.

Fourth—Whereas, one Junius Kaae was implicated in the obtaining of said seventy-one thousand dollars ($71,000), and has since been, and still is, retained in office as Registrar of Conveyances, we request, as a safeguard to the property interests of the country, that said Kaae be at once dismissed from said office, and that the records of our land titles be placed in hands of one in whose integrity the people can safely confide.

Fifth—That we request a specific pledge from the King—

(1) That he will not in the future interfere either directly or indirectly with the election of representatives.

(2) That he will not interfere with or attempt to unduly influence legislation or legislators.

(3) That he will not interfere with the constitutional administration of his cabinet.

(4) That he will not use his official position or patronages for private ends.

Resolved, That

Paul Isenberg, W. W. Hall, J. A. Kennedy, W. H. Rice, Capt. Jas. A. King, E. B. Thomas, H. C. Reed, John Vivas, W. F. A. Brewer, W. B. Oleson, Cecil Brown, Capatain John Ross, J. B. Atherton,

Are hereby appointed to present the foregoing resolutions and requests to the King; and said Committee is hereby instructed to request of the King that a personal answer to the same be returned within twenty-four hours of the time when the same are presented; and to further inform the King that his neglect so to answer the same within said time will be construed as a refusal of the said requests.

Resolved, That said Committee, in case of the King's refusal to grant said requests, or in case of his neglect to reply to the same, is authorized to call another mass meeting at this place on Saturday, July 2d, at 2 p. m., to further consider the situation.

When the second request, relative to the summary dismissal of Walter M. Gibson, was read, a perfect storm of cheers swept through the building.

Hon. C. R. Bishop then read the communication he had received from the King, premising that it had reached him at 1 p. m.

THE KING'S LETTER.

Hon. C. R. Bishop, Member of the House of Nobles, Privy Councillor of State, etc.

MY DEAR SIR:—Reposing especially confidence in your loyalty and sound judgment as a councilor, and knowing your regard for our people, we are moved to call upon the Hon. W. L. Green to form a Cabinet and a Ministry which he may select, and will be acceptable to the respectable and responsible majority of our people, will be welcome to us; and any guarantees which may be reasonably required of us under the Constitution and laws of our Kingdom will be at once conceded to such Administration.

Your friend,

KALAKAUA.

The chairman re-read the letter for the benefit of those who were far off, Mr. Bishop's voice not being strong enough to reach the whole assemblage.

Mr. W. A. Kinney read a translation of the resolutions in Hawaiian, the reader being frequently interrupted by applause.

Hon. W. L. Green, on being called was received with great applause. He said a speech from him was impossible. He could not tell, no one could tell what the course of events would be. He knew no more than any one present about the letter from the King. The meeting had assembled to express themselves as to the past and in regard to the future, and he urged upon the speakers to keep their language firm and decisive. He remembered a meeting held some three years ago he thought at the Lyceum. It was a large meeting, though not so large as this, and its object was to protest against the mal-administration the Gibson Cabinet. He was not there, not being well, but sent a letter, in which he expressed himself in strong language. He need not go into the details—that could be done better by others; but they were met again to-day, because from that day to this that same administration had been getting worse and worse until at last it had become intolerable. He considered that their united attitude to-day was one which would teach His Majesty that he must turn over a new leaf, and see that this country is governed as a constitutional monarchy. He thought the King's letter precluded his saying anything further on this point. If he should be called upon to head a Ministry it should be one pledged to the common good, and which would carry out the resolutions passed there that day.

Mr. W. A. Kinney, before addressing the meeting in Hawaiian, spoke in English. He said that he had been born here and please God he was going to die here, and would try to live here under this flag, but he wanted that flag to be clean. It would not be clean unless they went much rurther than the removal of the Gibson administration. He had been reminded of the words of Lord Chatham, "It is time that the crown were addressed in the language of truth." It is the height of folly to put four men into a hostile camp, and support the tension to try and keep them there. (Mr. E. M. Walsh—"We will support them!") The speaker had a great deal of confidence in Mr. Walsh, but he preferred a good constitution—a new constitution every time, and anything less than a new constitution would not suit him.

The miserable rag of a constitution we had did not afford adequate representation nor impose proper restrictions upon the power of the throne. He believed it was written on the hearts of those before him—"a new constitution, and that speedily." It was the height of folly to suppose that commercial men and others in the community could stand and hold these men in their places. We had tried this kind of things for the last six years. With a good constitution we would have peace—peace flowing like a river. The franchise will be reconstructed and the king will have power as great as the Queen of Great Britain, and that ought to be enough for him. If to his own rights he wants to add the rights of seventy-five thousand subjects he is not going to have them. The revolution of thought

would be followed by a revolution of arms, as it always had been, if our reasonable requests were not granted. He pledged his life, every cent that he possessed and his sacred honor, under that flag that sheltered him from his birth. (cheer) If the men would not put this thing through, the women would. He referred to the mental agony the women had endured these passed years for want of proper protection against disease, many having had to isolate their children in foreign lands. No man can stop or stay this movement now. The sails are set, the ship is in motion; we cannot go back. Push her forward into the open sea. (cheers)

Mr. Kinney then spoke several minutes in Hawaiian.

Hon. S. B. Dole being called upon, said: Fellow-citizens—There are two thoughts to which I will call your attention in our Constitution. First: "The King conducts his Government for the common good." The second is like unto it: "All men are allowed to assemble to consult upon the common good." We have a right to be here, and we have assembled according to law; but we would not be here to-day if the King had conducted the Government for the common good; he has not done so. This meeting has come together to consider the public interests, and is composed of men who are determined to have good government. As I understand the situation, this meeting is called to give the King one chance to fall into line for political reform—just one chance. I do not say he will take the chance. I am not here to talk about the Ministers, but about the King (loud cheers), for he is not conducting the Government for the benefit of the people. I need not detail the fact of bad government by the King to you; it relates to all departments of the administration; interference with everything appertaining to government has been his rule, and he has sold his sacred oath of office to the highest bidder. We are here for no unlawful purpose; we are here to demand that the King cleanse the Government, and that he return this money—which every man, woman and child in the country believes he took unlawfully—not for the sake of the parties to whom it belongs, but to show that the Government is to be conducted henceforth upon clean principles. We remember the last six years, during which the rights of the people have been trampled under foot, the representative principle of government has been practically destroyed, the principle of Ministerial responsibility interrupted, and public moneys recklessly squantered. These things cannot go on. This movement means political reform, and it has gone so far that, from the talk I hear as I go along the street, opposition or hostility to it is in the public mind something akin to treason.

Mr. J. A. McCandless, whom the chairman introduced as a gentleman who went down into the bowels of the earth, spoke next. He said he supported these resolutions, and in doing so he believed that he represented some fifteen hundred people. He was ready to support them with the last drop of his blood. All were united—merchants, mechanics, laborers and all. He believed that there was a unanimity which had never before been

attained. Fifteen hundred persons had been disfranchised for no other reason than they were white men, and they were not going to have this much longer. They hed a right to have their franchise granted unconditionally. [A voice: We'll take them.] He was afraid there were some among them who were weak-kneed. One man had got his gun and taken it home, and left a note upon the table with the words: "Good-bye; shall be out of town till next Sunday." That there were some who wanted bracing up. There were men among them the grandchildren of those who had fought at Waterloo, and made it what it was; of the noble six hundred at Balaklava. They had among them some of the heroes of Appotomax, and also of the Franco-German war. These were the kind of men this community is made up of. Abraham Lincoln had remarked on the eve of the late war, "It may be necessary to set the foot down hard." And a great newspaper correspondent, who was present, said that he knew then for the first time that the great North was ready, and, concluded the speaker, from what I see here to-day I know that we are ready to put our foot down. (Applause.)

Hon. C. R. Bishop said—This is unquestionably an important meeting, the most important ever held in Honolulu. I see before me mechanics, merchants, professional men. They are not here for amusement, but because they feel that the course of affairs calls for prompt and determined action. We should discuss matters in a peaceable manner without any threats; we do not need any threats. The fact that so many men have come here shows that we do not need any threats. I came here in 1846, became naturalized in 1849, and have lived under five kings. We thought we had really a liberal constitution, because those kings did not encroach upon the rights of their subjects. But we have found out within the last few years that our constitution is defective, partly on account of bad advice to the king but largely on his own account. The king has encroahed on our rights. We have had very few mass meetings, but when we have one like this I believe it means either a new constitution or one with material reforms, which I am sure we shall have. I come here as a Hawaiian, not for any class or clique. If it was any class or clique, I would not come here at all. (Applause.)

Mr. Henry Waterhouse spoke in native in substance as follows :

Fellow citizens of Hawaii nei—Hon. C. R. Bishop says the constitution is full of faults. If so, let us have a new constitution. Therefore, let us stand by the resolutions. We shall see from those who stand by these resolutions who are the friends of the Hawaiian people. My counsel is to stand firm, and go before the King without fear, and make our demands fearlessly.

Mr. R. Jay Green said : Gentlemen, fellow citizens, friends, neighbors and brothers : I was not aware that I should be asked to speak here or I should have put on my other coat. But the boys left me to come here, and I had to follow them, and all I want to say is that I expect to keep on following the boys. (Applause.)

Hon. L. A. Thurston said : Gentlemen, you and I have been waiting a long time for this day, but it has come. It is a long lane that has no turning, but we have come to the turning of our lane. There are persons here to speak to all of you, but I am here to speak as a Hawaiian. My ancestors came here in the reign of Kamehameha I. I was born and brought up here, and I mean to die here. Hawaii is good enough for me. I speak for Hawaiians, because you foreigners can speak for yourselves and can look out for yourselves, but many of these Hawaiians are ignorant and have been deserted by their leaders. I am the representative of the constituency of Molokai, and spent some weeks there last summer, and I wish to say that the Hawaiians on Molokai are with us to a man. It may be that this letter from His Majesty was meant to head off this resolutions. I remember reading somewhere of a man who was going to shoot a coon, and the coon said : "Don't shoot; I'il come down." The King is the coon and this meeting the gun. [Great applause.] History repeats itself. We all remember the King's message to the Legislature in 1884, recommending economy, and asking that it should begin with His Majesty's privy purse. That message was accepted in good faith, and there was a grand torchlight procession to the Palace to thank him—I carried a torch in that procession myself—but it was followed by appropriations enormously in excess of the revenue. And again, in 1886, came another message for retrenchment, but this time it didn't wash. There was a meeting during the Moreno time to protest against bad government, and into the midst of it some one came and said, "It's all right; the King has appointed a new Ministry," and there were three cheers for the King, and that was the last of it. Are there any cheers to-day? (Loud cries of No! No!) The King was taken at his word. I noticed that there were no cheers proposed for the King to-day. It is not sufficient to have the King accept these resolutions; we must have a new Constitution, and must have it now. A Constitution is a contract, and if the King and the people both agree to change it, there is no violation of constitutional rights and no revolution. If we have let things come to this pitch, and take the King at his word, it is to rely on wind. Let a change in the Constitution be the first and last, and only request if necessary, but let that be the one to be insisted on till the last moment.

Hon. Paul Isenberg said that on many points he agreed to these resolutions, but as far as the new constitution was concerned he was somewhat doubtful. Let it be done legally. The subject had been broached the previous day of his entering a new Ministry. If so, he would not be a party to pushing a new constitution through in a hurry. It would not be legal unless carried by the Legislature. (Dr. C. T. Rodgers: What Assembly gave us our present constitution?) We could have an extra session to pass the constitution, and another extra session to ratify it. (Hisses and applause.) He hoped all would be peaceful and not hasty. (A voice: We have been waiting six years.) If so, we could very well wait another.

(Great uproar and cries of "No, no." Dr. Emerson: "We won't wait another year." A voice: "We mean to have it now." Cries of "Sit down.") The speaker took his seat.

H. L. Swinton said, in Hawaiian, I am not going to speak in the English language, because the haoles all think as I do. It has been said that this meeting is called to incite to kill the Hawaiians. I have always been called a rebel. This is because I am not afraid to speak my mind, and my mind is firm and clear that the government is false and corrupt. My advice is stand by the resolutions for a new constitution and let us not be satisfied with promises by the King. Let us not be satisfied when the King tells us he has turned out the cabinet, what more do you want. Let us follow the lead of Thurston, and demand a new constitution.

Mr. Alexander Young, who represented the Honolulu Iron Works, said he was proud to stand upon the platform and look so many honest men in the face. They were men who not only looked what they meant, but meant what they looked. He was no speaker, but a thinker. He came here twenty-three years ago, and at one time, when traveling, he was proud of living here. Lately he had done some traveling, and had to hide his face when he found this flag, stinking abroad. He represented a large class of men not only in this country, but all over the world. The class he represented were the horny-handed sons of toil, who earned their honest dollar and could lie down and sleep without it burning them. He was ready to shoulder a musket to defend Kalakaua, and not a knave. Some had counselled them to wait; but he said wait not, strike the iron while it is hot. Kalakaua had had a great many years to let us see whether he was a man or not. The tension about our hearts had long been strained, and to-day the strings had broken, and we must express ourselves. He was not a lawyer, and could not tell whether we could have a Constitution in five minutes; but necessity was the mother of invention, and we must get it as soon as possible. There was not a coward in that assembly—not one, though it was not always wise to rush into mischief. If the King would not do what was wanted, he must be made to do it. Let us exercise patience and put the matter in the hands of people able to deal with it. Let us have a new Constitution, and if it is not legal, the same power would make another.

Dr. Tucker said that when he came to this country there were mutterings of discontent, and it was all Walter Murray Gibson. We arraign the King. He does not know that this assembly—largely composed of men who think that kings are not of much account anyway; he does not know that if it was not for the wise counsel of men in this movement his head would have been off before this. They could not wait any longer for reform. The King had better be a saint while he is well, as well as when he is sick.

Mr. L. C. Ables, who represented the clerks, said that he had come here to seek his fortune, but had not seen it. He was an American, the stars

and stripes was his flag, but the Hawaiian flag would suit him as well, and he was going to stay by it. The class whom he represented wanted a new constitution, and they were going to have it. He was not a lawyer, but he had been told by lawyers that the constitution was promulgated by a King. It could be done again. Some would ask, "Are you going to get it?" In illustration of his determination to have it, he related an anecdote about a certain youth who had evinced an indomitable determination in hunting for a wood chuck wherewith to regale the appetite of a hungry Methodist preacher. The boy chased the wood chuck into his hole. A man came along and asked the boy if he could get him, "Mister," said the boy, "I've *got* to get him;" and for the constitution. we've *got* to have it!

Hon. Cecil Brown said, in Hawaiian: Perhaps you ask, why is this meeting of citizens? Perhaps the thought may enter that it is to propose to do evil to Hawaiians. Not so. I am an Hawaiian, and was born under this flag, and under it my bones shall be buried. Has there been good government in the past few years? No. Has the Legislative right been respected? No. We want, then, a new constitution. We want the King to think of the public good, not of of personal ends. We have just seen the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, and if Kalakaua would follow her example, he might reign as long. But if Queen Victoria were to act as badly as Kalakaua, she would not live an hour. Let us, then, go for a new constitution.

Mr. E. M. Walsh, manager of the Paia plantation, Maui, said that he represented the planters, who, he felt sure, would endorse the sentiments so ably expressed. In 1882 a deputation representing the plantations on the other Islands waited on the King to petition His Majesty to give them honest government. The result was they were snubbed. The King afterwards went to North Kona, and with the assistance of his soldiers defeated Pilipo in the election. They did not want to use threats, but to-day they were prepared, and would not be again insulted. He believed it would be wise to change the constitution. He did not know the best way of doing it, but in view of the consummate skill which had brought this movement forward, he was ready to leave it to the thirteen gentlemen to see that it was done right. It seemed to him, however, that this was a time to have the voice of the people. From Maui all were with them. In 1882, as he had said, the King let them go with false promises. They took his word then. Now, let us prepare a constitution and say, This is what we want and what we must have. (Applause.)

Mr. J. M. Vivas then read the resolutions in Portuguese, and made a speech which evidently went to the hearts of his countrymen.

Mr. J. G. Tucker said they had heard talk about this flag and that flag, but they had gone into this thing as people of all nationalities merged into Hawaiians. They had come and meant to stay till they got what they wanted.

Mr. W. H. Rice, of Kauai, spoke in the native language as follow:

Hawaiian citizens, from Hawaii to Niihau; from northwest to southeast; we want to clean up the government. Has the government been clean? No! The roads are wasting and groaning from one end to another of the land. Where is the money for the roads? Sent on an exploration with the Kaimiloa. If we go asking for bread, shall we be satisfied with stones? Some one asked me to-day if I had my gun? Well, yes; I am a cattle drover, and I need one. It has been well said that the ship of this movement has been launched, the anchor is weighed, the sails set, now let us take the helm and steer.

Lieutenant C. W. Ashford was the last speaker. He appeared upon the platform in uniform, and armed with a rifle and belt of cartridges. He stated that he was under military orders, and had been commanded by his superior officer not to indulge in a political speech. He had not had the privilege of listening to all the speeches, but from reports which had been carried to the corps outside, he understood that a gentleman representing vast moneyed interests here had counselled the meeting to wait another year for a new Constitrtion.

Here the Rifle company marched round the outer edge of the building and took up their position inside to hear the speech of their comrade, and as they did so three rousing cheers and a tiger were given for the "boys."

Lieutenant Ashford, resuming, acknowledged the compliment on behalf of the corps. He had joined it three years ago in anticipation of trouble such as they saw that day. Returning to Mr. Isenberg's remark, he said that gentleman, in view of his position, would naturally have an aversion to anything having a tendency to disturbance. He (the speaker) did not want to fight, but by heaven if we did——. If we set about getting reform under the present constitution we might wait till our grand-children were grey. He felt sure Mr. Isenberg did not express the sentiments of that meeting, certainly not those of the Honolulu Rifles. At the same time he had the greatest respect for the great nation that gentleman represented. He thought that Germans were pretty well decided not to submit to dictation abroad, however much they might at home.

The German heart is strong and true,
The German arm is strong,
The German foot goes seldom back
Where armed foemen throng.

If armed foemen should throng here, he did not think the German foot would go back. He wished to say a few words on the merits of a new constitution. It has been objected that we could not have it at once, because such a thing would be unconstitutional and illegal. He would show the fallacy of that argument. In 1864, when Kamehameha V., convoked his Legislature, it was thought that a new constitution was wanted. After some weeks they failed to agree upon one satisfactory to His Majesty. The Legislature was arbitrarily dismissed, and the King,

without even saying "By your leave," forced upon them a new constitution. That was the constitution we were living under to-day, and some people had the gall to say we were living under a constitutional government. He held that nothing was constitutional which was forced upon the people without their consent. The present constitution did not adequately protect personal rights, and it gave the King power which no monarch in a civilized country in the present day possessed. Who had ever heard of an absolute veto by the monarch anywhere in recent years? King Kalakaua had a great many very pleasant qualities, and many which were not so pleasant. Personally, he had behaved in a very friendly manner to the speaker when he came here, and perhaps would still if he were to truckle to him as some did. Cries of "Time" being heard, he concluded by urging upon all not to let the matter drop until some sensible and concerted action was taken. (Applause.)

Hon. W. R. Castle moved the adoption of the resolutions, seconded by Dr. Emerson and many others. On being put to the meeting they were carried unanimously, there being a roar of ayes! and dead silence when Mr. Jones put the question: "Contrary minded!"

The chairman stated, as the meeting was dispersing, that he had been requested to say that Mr. Gibson had sent for a squad of the Honolulu Rifles to go down to his house and protect him against the Hawaiians.

The committee immediately waited on the king, who stated that he was willing to give an answer off hand; but the committee informed him that they would leave the documents in his hands, and expect a reply in writing.

The meeting was thoroughly orderly throughout, but it was strong and determined.

After the meeting the Committee of thirteen proceeded to the Palace and presented the resolutions to the King requesting a reply.

The next day the King called a meeting composed of the American Minister, W. H. Merrill; the British Commissioner, James Hay Wodehouse; the French Commissioner, Henri Feer and the Portuguese Commissioner, A. de Souza Canavarro, to whom he offered to transfer the powers vested in him as King. These gentlemen refused to accept the trust but advised the King to lose no time in forming a new Cabinet and signing a new Constitution, which would meet the demands of the people. Accordingly in the afternoon the following reply was forwarded to the citizen's Committee.

THE KING'S REPLY.

To Honorable Paul Isenberg and the Gentlemen Composing the Committee of a Meeting of Subjects and Citizens :—GENTLEMEN :—In acknowledging the receipt of the Resolutions adopted at a Mass Meeting held yesterday and presented to Us by you. We are pleased to convey through you to Our loyal subjects as well as to the citizens of Honolulu. Our ex-

pression of good-will and our gratification that Our people have taken the usual constitutional step in presenting their grievances.

To the first proposition contained in the resolutions passed by the meeting, whose action you represent, we reply that it has been substantially complied with by the formal resignation of the Ministry, which took place on the 28th day of June, and was accepted on that date, and that we had already requested the Hon. W. L. Green to form a new Cabinet on the day succeeding the resignation of the Cabinet.

To the second proposition, we reply that Mr. Walter M. Gibson has severed all his connections with the Hawaiian Government by resignations.

To the third proposition, We reply that We do not admit the truth of the matter stated therein, but will submit the whole subject to Our new Cabinet and will gladly act according to their advice and will cause restitution to be made by the parties found responsible.

To the fourth proposition, We reply that at Our command Mr. Junius Kaae resigned the office of Registrar of Conveyance on the 28th day of June, and his successor has been appointed.

To the fifth proposition, We reply that the specific pledges required of Us are each severally acceded to.

We are pleased to assure the members of the committee and our loyal subjects, that we are, and shall at all times be anxious and ready to co-operate with our Councillors and advisers, as well as with our intelligent and patriotic citizens in all matters touching the honor, welfare and prosperity of our Kingdom.

Given at Our Palace this first day of July, A. D., 1887, and the fourteenth year of Our Reign. KALAKAUA REX.

The new Cabinet, consisting of Messrs. W. L. Green, Finance; Godfrey Brown, Foreign Affairs; Lorrin A. Thurston, Interior, and C. W. Ashford, Attorney-General, were sworn in the same day, and the revolution was practically over. It only remained to sign the new Constitution. This document was prepared with great care, a large number of the members of the Hawaiian League being present and taking part in the debates. The document was ready on Wednesday, July 6th, received the King's signature at 6:15 P. M. of that day, and was duly proclaimed on the next, copies being sent forward to the other Islands.

Without the organization known as the Hawaiian League, this revolution could never have taken place. The moment that the members were called upon they were ready and well armed. Without the assistance of Major V. V. Ashford, who had command of the Honolulu Rifles, order could not have been kept. To the gentlemen who form that corps, the citizens of Honolulu owe a deep debt of gratitude. For two days Honolulu was under martial law, and yet the most perfect order was kept, the banks and business places were open, and there was perfect security to both life and property. It was the most peaceful and most complete of revolutions, but it was so because the power was there to sustain it.

A word or two about Mr. Gibson. He was arrested by the Military on the morning of July 1st, and was handed over to the civil authorities on a charge of embezzlement on the evening of the Saturday. He was permitted to remain in his house under guard, but on July 5th was removed to the Prison. When brought before the Police Court the Attorney General entered a *nolle pros*, and Mr. Gibson quietly got on on board the brigantine John D. Spreckels which was leaving that same day and sailed for California. Thus bringing one of the most unpleasant episodes in Hawaiian History to a conclusion.

THE TWO CONSTITUTIONS.

CONSTITUTION OF 1864.

GRANTED BY HIS MAJESTY KAMEHAMEHA V., BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, ON THE TWENTIETH DAY OF AUGUST, A. D. 1864.

ARTICLE 1. God hath endowed all men with certain inalienable rights; among which are life, liberty, and the right of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

ARTICLE 2. All men are free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; but this sacred privilege hereby secured, shall not be so construed as to justify acts of licentiousness, or practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the Kingdom.

ARTICLE 3. All men may freely speak, write, and publish their sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be enacted to restrain the liberty of speech, or of the press, except such laws as may be necessary for the protection of His Majesty the King and the Royal Family.

ARTICLE 4. All men shall have the right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble, without arms, to consult upon the common good, and to petition the King or Legislative Assembly for redress of grievances.

CONSTITUTION OF 1887.

WHEREAS, the Constitution of this Kingdom heretofore in force contains many provisions subversive of civil rights and incompatible with enlightened Constitutional Government.

AND WHEREAS, it has become imperative in order to restore order and tranquility and the confidence necessary to a further maintenance of the present Government that a new Constitution should be at once promulgated:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Kalakaua, King of the Hawaiian Islands, in my capacity as Sovereign of this Kingdom, and as the representative of the people hereunto by them duly authorized and empowered, do annul and abrogate the Constitution promulgated by Kamehameha the Fifth, on the 20th day of August, A. D., 1864, and do proclaim and promulgate this Constitution.

ARTICLE 1. God hath endowed all men with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the right of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

ARTICLE 2. All men are free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; but this sacred privilege hereby secured, shall not be so construed as to justify acts of licentiousness, or practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the Kingdom.

ARTICLE 3. All men may freely speak, write, and publish their sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be enacted to restrain the liberty of speech, or of the press.

ARTICLE 4. All men shall have the right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble, without arms, to consult upon the common good, and to petition the King or Legislature for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE 5. The privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* belongs to all men, and shall not be suspended, unless by the King, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety shall require its suspension.

ARTICLE 6. No person shall be subject to punishment for any offense, except on due and legal conviction thereof, in a Court having jurisdiction of the case.

ARTICLE 7. No person shall be held to answer for any crime or offense, (except in cases of impeachment, or for offences within the jurisdiction of a Police or District Justice, or in summary proceedings for contempt,) unless upon indictment, fully and plainly describing such crime or offense, and he shall have the right to meet the witnesses who are produced against him face to face; to produce witnesses and proofs in his own favor; and by himself or his counsel, at his election, to examine the witnesses produced by himself, and cross-examine those produced against him, and to be fully heard in his defence. In all cases in which the right of trial by Jury has been heretofore used, it shall be held inviolable forever, except in actions of debt or assumpsit in which the amount claimed is less than Fifty Dollars.

ARTICLE 8. No person shall be required to answer again for any offence, of which he has been duly convicted, or of which he has been duly acquitted upon a good and sufficient indictment.

ARTICLE 9. No person shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

ARTICLE 10. No person shall sit as a judge or juror, in any case in which his relative is interested, either as plaintiff or defendant, or in the issue of which the said judge or juror, may have, either directly or through a relative, any pecuniary interest.

ARTICLE 11. Involuntary servitude, except for crime, is forever prohibited in this Kingdom; whenever a slave shall enter Hawaiian Territory, he shall be free.

ARTICLE 12. Every person has the right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his house, his papers, and effects; and no warrants shall issue, but on probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and describing the place

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ARTICLE 9. No person shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

ARTICLE 10. No person shall sit as a judge or juror, in any case in which his relative, by affinity, or by consanguinity within the third degree, is interested, either as plaintiff or defendant, or in the issue of which the said judge or juror, may have, either directly or through such relative, any pecuniary interest.

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to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE 13. The King conducts His Government for the common good; and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men among His subjects.

ARTICLE 14. Each member of society has a right to be protected by it, in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property, according to law; and, therefore, he shall be obliged to contribute his proportional share to the expense of this protectien, and to give his personal services, or an equivalent when necessary; but no part of the property of any individual shall be taken from him, or applied to public uses, without his own consent, or the enactment of the Legislative Assembly, except the same shall be necessary for the military operation of the Kingdom in time of war or insurrection; and whenever the public exigencies may require that the property of any individual should be appropriated to public uses, he shall receive a reasonable compensation therefor.

ARTICLE 15. No subsidy, duty or tax of any description shall be established or levied, without the consent of the Legislative Assembly; nor shall any money be drawn from the Public Treasury without such consent, except when between the sessions of the Legislative Assembly the emergencies of war, invasion, rebellion, pestilence, or other public disaster shall arise, and then not without the concurrence of all the Cabinet, and of a majority of the whole Privy Council; and the Minister of Finance shall render a detailed account of such expenditure to the Legislative Assembly.

ARTICLE 16. No Retrospective Laws shall ever be enacted.

ARTICLE 17. The Military shall always be subject to the laws of the land; and no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by the Legislature.

ARTICLE 18. Every Elector shall be privileged from arrest on election days, during his attendance at election, and in going to and returning therefrom, except in cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE 19. No Elector shall be so obliged to perform military duty, on the day of election, as to prevent his voting; except in time of war, or public danger.

to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE 13. The Government is conducted for the common good, and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men.

ARTICLE 14. Each member of society has a right to be protected in the enjoyment of his life, liberty and property, according to law; and, therefore, he shall be obliged to contribute his proportional share to the expense of this protection, and to give his personal services, or an equivalent when necessary. Private property may be taken for public use but only upon due process of law and just compensation.

ARTICLE 15. No subsidy, duty, or tax, of any description, shall be established or levied without the consent of the Legislature; nor shall any money be drawn from the Public Treasury without such consent, except when the sessions of the Legislature, the emergencies of war, invasion, rebellion, pestilence, or other public disaster shall arise, and then not without the concurrance of all the Cabinet, and of a majority of the whole Privy Council; and the Minister of Finance shall render a detailed account of such expenditure to the Legislature.

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ARTICLE 19. No Elector shall be so obliged to perform military duty, on the day of election, as to prevent his voting; except in time of war, or public danger.

ARTICLE 20. The Supreme Power of the Kingdom in its exercise. is divided into the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial; these shall always be preserved distinct, and no Judge of a Court of Record shall ever be a member of the Legislative Assembly.

ARTICLE 21. The Government of this Kingdom is that of a Constitutional Monarchy, under His Majesty Kamehameha V., His Heirs and Successors.

ARTICLE 22. The Crown is hereby permanently confirmed to His Majesty Kamehameha V., and to the Heirs of His body lawfully begotten, and to their lawful Descendants in a direct line; failing whom, the Crown shall descend to Her Royal Highness the Princess Victoria Kamama'lu Kaahumanu, and the heirs of her body, lawfully begotten, and their descendants in a direct line. The Succession shall be to the senior male child, and to the heirs of his body; failing a male child, the succession shall be to the senior female child, and to the heirs of her body. In case there is no heir as above provided, then the successor shall be the person whom the Sovereign shall appoint with the consent of the Nobles, and publicly proclaim as such during the King's life; but should there be no such appointment and proclamation, and the Throne should become vacant, then the Cabinet Council, immediately after the occurring of such vacancy, shall cause a meeting of the Legislative Assembly, who shall elect by ballot some native Alii of the Kingdom as Successor to the Throne; and the Successor so elected shall become a new *Stirps* for a Royal family; and the succession from the Sovereign thus elected, shall be regulated by the same Law as the Present Royal Family of Hawaii.

ARTICLE 23. It shall not be lawful for any member of the Royal Family of Hawaii who may by Law succeed to the Throne, to contract Marriage without the consent of the Reigning Sovereign. Every Marriage so contracted shall be void, and the person so contracting a Marriage, may, by the Proclamation of the Reigning Sovereign, be declared to have forfeited His

ARTICLE 20. The Supreme Power of the Kingdom in its exercise, is divided into the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial; these shall always be preserved distinct, and no Executive or Judicial officers, or any contractor, or employee of the Government, or any person in the receipt of salary or emolument from the Government, shall be eligible to election to the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, or to hold the position of an elective member of the same. And no member of the Legislature shall, during the time for which he is elected, be appointed to any civil office under the Government, except that of a member of the Cabinet.

ARTICLE 21. The Government of this Kingdom is that of a Constitutional Monarchy, under His Majesty Kalakaua, His Heirs and Successors.

ARTICLE 22. The Crown is hereby permanently confirmed to His Majesty Kalakaua, and to the Heirs of His body lawfully begotten, and to their lawful Descendants in a direct line; failing whom, the Crown shall descend to Her Royal Highness the Princess Liliuokalani, and the heirs of her body, lawfully begotten, and their lawful descendants in a direct line. The Succession shall be to the senior male child, and to the heirs of his body; failing a male child, the succession shall be to the senior female child, and to the heirs of her body. In case there is no heir as above provided, the successor shall be the person whom the Sovereign shall appoint with the consent of the Nobles, and publicly proclaim during the Sovereign's life; but should there be no such appointment and proclamation, and the Throne should become vacant, then the Cabinet immediately after the occurring of such vacancy, shall cause a meeting of the Legislature, who shall elect by ballot some native Alii of the Kingdom as Successor to the Throne; and the Successor so elected shall become a new *Stirps* for a Royal Family; and the succession from the Sovereign thus elected, shall be regulated by the same law as the present Royal Family of Hawaii.

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or Her right to the Throne, and after such Proclamation, the Right of Succession shall vest in the next Heir as though such offender were *Dead*.

ARTICLE 24. His Majesty Kamehameha V., will, and His Successors upon coming to the Throne, shall take the following oath: I solemnly swear in the presence of Almighty God, to maintain the Constitution of the Kingdom whole and inviolate, and to govern in conformity therewith.

ARTICLE 25. No person shall ever sit upon the Throne, who has been convicted of any infamous crime, or who is insane, or an idiot.

ARTICLE 26. The King is the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, and of all other Military Forces of the Kingdom, by sea and land; and has full power by Himself, or by any officer or officers He may appoint, to train and govern such forces, as He may judge best for the defense and safety of the Kingdom. But he shall never proclaim war without the consent of the Legislative Assembly.

ARTICLE 27. The King, by and with the consent of His Privy Council, has the power to grant reprieves and pardons, after conviction, for all offences, except in cases of impeachment.

ARTICLE 28. The King, by and with the consent of His Privy Council, convenes the Legislative Assembly at the seat of Government, or at a different place, if that should become dangerous from an enemy or any dangerous disorder; and in case of disagreement between His Majesty and the Legislative Assembly, he adjourns, prorogues, or dissolves it, but not beyond the next ordinary Session; under any great emergency, he may convene the Legislative Assembly to extraordinary Sessions.

ARTICLE 29. The King has the power to make Treaties. Treaties involving changes in the Tariff or in any law of the Kingdom shall be referred for approval to the Legislative Assembly. The King appoints Public Ministers, who shall be commissioned, accredited, and instructed agreeably to the usage and law of Nations.

ARTICLE 30. It is the King's Prerogative to receive and acknowledge Public Ministers; to inform the Legislative Assembly by Royal Message, from time to time, of the state of the Kingdom, and to recommend to its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

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ARTICLE 26. The King is the Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy and of all other Military Forces of the Kingdom, by sea and land. But he shall never proclaim war without the consent of the Legislature; and no military or naval force shall be organized except by the authority of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 27. The King, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, and with the consent of the Cabinet, has the power to grant reprieves and pardons, after conviction, for all offenses, except in case of impeachment.

ARTICLE 28. The King convenes the Legislature at the seat of Govern, ment, or at a different place, if that should become insecure from an enemy or any dangerous disorder, and prorogues the same; and in any great emergency he may, with the advice of the Privy Council, convene the Legislature in extraordinary Session.

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ARTICLE 30. It is the King's Prerogative to receive and acknowledge Public Ministers; to inform the Legislature by Royal Message, from time to time, of the state of the Kingdom; and to recommend to its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.

ARTICLE 31. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred. His Ministers are responsible. To the King belongs the Executive power. All laws that have passed the Legislative Assembly, shall require His Majesty's signature in order to their validity.

ARTICLE 32. Whenever, upon the decease of the Reigning Sovereign, the Heir shall be less than eighteen years of age, the Royal Power shall be exercised by a Regent or Council of Regency, as hereinafter provided.

ARTICLE 33. It shall be lawful for the King at any time when he may be about to absent himself from the Kingdom, to appoint a Regent or Council of Regency, who shall administer the Government in His name; and likewise the King may, by his last Will and Testament, appoint a Regent or Council of Regency to administer the Government during the Minority of any Heir to the Throne, and should a Sovereign decease, leaving a Minor Heir, and having made no last Will and Testament, the Cabinet Council at the time of such decease shall be a Council of Regency, until the Legislative Assembly, which shall be called immediately, may be assembled, and the Legislative Assembly immediately that it is assembled shall proceed to choose by ballot, a Regent or Council of Regency, who shall administer the Government in the name of the King, and exercise all the powers which are Constitutionally vested in the King, until he shall have attained the age of eighteen years, which age is declared to be the Legal Majority of such Sovereign.

ARTICLE 34. The King is Sovereign of all the Chiefs and of all the People; the Kingdom is His.

ARTICLE 35. All Titles of Honor, Orders, and other distinctions, emanate from the King.

ARTICLE 36. The King coins money and regulates the currency by law.

ARTICLE 37. The King, in case of invasion or rebellion, can place the whole Kingdom or any part of it under martial law.

ARTICLE 38. The National Ensign shall not be changed, except by Act of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 39. The King's private lands and other property are inviolable.

ARTCILE 40. The King cannot be sued or held to account in any Court or tribunal of the Realm.

ARTICLE 31. The person of the King is inviolable and sacred. His Ministers are responsible. To the King and the Cabinet belongs the Executive power. All laws that have passed the Legislature, shall require His Majesty's signature in order to their validity, except as provided in Article 48.

ARTICLE 32 Whenever, upon the decease of the Reigning Sovereign, the Heir shall be less than eighteen years of age, the Royal Power shall be exercised by a Regent or Council of Regency, as hereinafter provided.

ARTICLE 33. It shall be lawful for the King at any time when he may be about to absent himself from the Kingdom, to appoint a Regent or Council of Regency, who shall administer the Government in His name; and likewise the King may by His last Will and Testament, appoint a Regent or Council of Regency to administer the Government during the minority of any Heir to the Throne; and should a Sovereign decease, leaving a minor Heir, and having made no last will and Testament, the Cabinet at the time of such decease shall be a Council of Regency, until the Legislature, which shall be called immediately, be assembled and the Legislature immediately that it is assembled shall proceed to choose by ballot, a Regent or Council of Regency, who shall administer the Government in the name of the King, and exercise all the powers which are vested in the King, until such Heir shall have attained the age of eighteen years which age is declared to be the legal majority of such Sovereign.

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ARTICLE 40. There shall continue to be a Council of State, for advising the King in all matters for the good

ARTICLE 41. There shall continue to be a Council of State, for advising the King in all matters for the good of the State, wherein He may require its advice, and for assisting him in administering the Executive affairs of the Government, in such manner as he may direct; which Council shall be called the King's Privy Council of State, and the members thereof shall be appointed by the King, to hold office during His Majesty's pleasure.

ARTICLE 42. The King's Cabinet shall consist of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of the Interior the Minister of Finance, and the Attorney-General of the Kingdom, and these shall be His Majesty's Special Advisers in the Executive affairs of the Kingdom: and they shall be *ex officio* Members ot His Majesty's Privy Council of State. They shall be appointed and commissioned by the King, and hold office during His Majesty's pleasure, subject to impeachment. No act of the King shall have any effect unless it be countersigned by a Minister, who by that signature makes himself responsible.

ARTICLE 43. Each member of the King's Cabinet shall keep an office at the seat of Government, and shall be accountable for the conduct of his deputies and clerks. The Ministry hold seats *ex officio*, as Nobles, in the Legislative Assembly.

ARTICLE 44. The Minister of Finance shall present to the Legislative Assembly in the name of the Government, on the first day of the meeting of the Legislature, the Financial Budget, in the Hawaiian and English languages.

ARTICLE 45. The Legislative power of the Three Estates of this Kingdom is vested in the King, and the Legislative Assembly; which Assembly shall consist of the Nobles appointed by the

of the State, wherein He may require its advice, which Council shall be called the King's Privy Council of State, and the members thereof shall be appointed by the King, to hold office during His Majesty's pleasure, and which Council shall have and exercise only such powers as are given to it by the Constitution.

ARTICLE 41. The Cabinet shall consist of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Finance, and the Attorney General, and they shall be His Majesty's special advisers in the Executive affairs of the Kingdom; and they shall be *ex officio* members of His Majesty's Privy Council of State They shall be appointed and commissioned by the King and shall be removed by him, only upon a vote of want of confidence passed by a majority of all the elective members of the Legislature, or upon conviction of felony, and shall be subject to impeachment. No act of the King shall have any effect unless it be countersigned by a member of the Cabinet, who by that signature makes himself responsible.

ARTICLE 42. Each member of the Cabinet shall keep an office at the seat of Government, and shall be accountable for the conduct of his deputies and clerks. The Cabinet hold seats *ex officio*, in the Legislature, with the right to vote, except on a question of want of confidence in them.

ARTICLE 43. The Minister of Finance shall present to the Legislature in the name of the Government, on the first day of each Biennial Session, the financial Budget, in the Hawaiian and English languages.

ARTICLE 44. The Legislative power of the Kingdom is vested in the King and the Legislature, which shall consist of the Nobles and Representatives sitting together.

ARTICLE 45. The Legislative Body shall be styled the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and shall assemble, biennially, in the month of May. The first regular session shall be held

King, and of the Representatives of the People, sitting together.

ARTICLE 46. The Legislative body shall assemble biennially, in the month of April, and at such other time as the King may judge necessary, for the purpose of seeking the welfare of the Nation. This body shall be styled the Legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

ARTICLE 47. Every member of the Legislative Assembly shall take the following oath: I most solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will faithfully support the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and conscientiously and impartially discharge my duties as a member of this Assembly.

ARTICLE 48. The Legislature has full power and authority to amend the Constitution as hereinafter provided; and from time to time to make all manner of wholesome laws, not repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution.

ARTICLE 49. The King shall signify His approval of any Bill or Resolution, which shall have passed the Legislative Assembly, by signing the same previous to the final rising of the Legislature. But if he shall object to the passing of such Bill or Resolution, He will return it to the Legislative Assembly, who shall enter the fact of such return on its journal, and such Bill or Resolution shall not be brought forward thereafter during the same session.

ARTICLE 50. The Legislative Assembly shall be the judge of the qualifications of its own members, and a majority shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such

in the year of our Lord Eighteen hundred and Eighty-eight.

ARTICLE 46. Every member of the Legislature shall take the following oath: I solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will faithfully support the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and conscientiously and impartially discharge my duties as a member of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 46. The Legislature has full power and authority to amend the Constitution as hereinafter provided; and from time to time to make all manner of wholesome laws, not repugnant to the Constitution.

ARTICLE 48. Every bill which shall have passed the Legislature shall, before it becomes law, be presented to the King. If he approve he shall sign it and it shall thereby become a law, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to the Legislature, which shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it If after such re-consideration it shall be approved by a two-thirds vote of all the elective members of the Legislature it shall become a law. In all such cases the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of the Legislature. If any Bill shall not be returned by the King within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Legislature by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

ARTICLE 49. The Legislature shall be the judge of the qualifications of its own members, except as may hereafter be provided by law, and a majority shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as the Legislature may provide.

Article 50. The Legislature shall choose its own officers and determine the Rules of its own proceedings.

penalties as the Assembly may provide.

ARTICLE 51. The Legislative Assembly shall choose its own officers and determine the Rules of its own proceedings.

ARTICLE 52. The Legislative Assembly shall have authority to punish by imprisonment, not exceeding thirty days, every person, not a member, who shall be guilty of disrespect to the Assembly, by any disorderly or contemptuous behavior in its presence; or who, during the time of its sitting, shall publish any false report of its proceedings, or insulting comments upon the same; or who shall threaten harm to the body or estate of any of its members, for anything said or done in the Assembly; or who shall assault any of them therefor, or who shall assault or arrest any witness, or other person ordered to attend the Assembly, in his way going or returning; or who shall rescue any person arrested by order of the Assembly.

ARTICLE 53. The Legislative Assembly may punish its own members for disorderly behavior.

ARTICLE 54. The Legislative Assembly shall keep a journal of its proceedings; and the yeas and nays of the members, on any question, shall at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

ARTICLE 55. The members of the Legislative Assembly shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest

ARTICLE 51. The Legislature shall have authority to punish by imprisonment, not exceeding thirty days, every person, not a member, who shall be guilty of disrespect to the Legislature by any disorderly or contemptuous behavior in its presence; or who, during the time of its sitting, shall publish any false report of its proceedings, or insulting comments upon the same; or who shall threaten harm to the body or estate of any of its members for anything said or done in the Legislature; or who shall assault any of them therefor; or who shall assault or arrest any witness, or other person ordered to attend the Legislature, on his way going or returning; or who shall rescue any person arrested by order of the Legislature.

ARTICLE 52. The Legislature may punish its own members for disorderly behavior.

ARTICLE 53. The Legislature shall keep a journal of its proceedings; and the yeas and nays of the members, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Article 54. The members of the Legislature shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of the Legislature, and in going to and returning from the same; provided such privilege as to going and returning shall not cover a period of over twenty days; and they shall not be held to answer for any speech or debate made in the Legislature, in any court or place whatsoever.

Article 55. The Representatives shall receive for their services a compensation to be determined by law, and paid out of the Public Treasury,

during their attendnnce at the Sessions of the Legislature, and in going to and returning from the same; and they shall not be held to answer for any speech or debate made in the Assembly, in any other Court or place whatsoever.

Article 56. The Representatives shall receive for their services a compeniation to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Public Treasury, but no increase of compensation shall take effect during the year in which it shall have been made; and no law shall be passed, increasing the compensation of said Representatives beyond the sum of One Hundred and Fifty Dollars for each session.

Article 57. The King appoints the Nobles, who shall hold their appointments during life, subject to the provisions of Article 53; but their number shall not exceed twenty.

Article 58. No person shall be appointed a Noble who shall not have attained the age of twenty-one years and resided in the Kingdom five years.

Article 59. The Nobles shall be a Court with full and sole authority to

but no increase of compensation shall take effect during the biennial term in which it shall have been made; and no law shall be passed increasing the compensation of Representatives beyond the sum of Two Hundred and Fifty Dollars each for each biennial term.

Article 56. A Noble shall be a subject of the Kingdom, who shall have attained the age of twenty-five years and resided in the Kingdom three years, and shall be the owner of taxable property in this Kingdom of the value of Three Thousand Dollars, over and above all encumbrances, or in receipt of an income of not less than Six Hundred Dollars per annum.

Article 57. The Nobles shall be a Court, with full and sole authority to hear and determiue all impeachments made by the Representatives, as the Grand Inquest of the Kingdom, against any officers of the Kingdom, for misconduct or maladministration in their offices; but previous to the trial of every impeachment the Nobles shall respectively be sworn, truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question, according to evidence and law. Their judgment, however, shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold or enjoy any place of honor, trust, or profit under this Government; but the party so convicted shall be, nevertheless, liable to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to the laws of the land.

Article 58. Twenty-four Nobles shall be elected as follows: Six from the Island of Hawaii; six from the Islands of Maui, Molokai and Lanai; nine from the Island of Oahu; and three from the Islands of Kauai and Niihau. At the first election held under this Constitution, the Nobles shall be elected to serve until the general election to the Legislature for the year of our Lord 1890, at which election, and thereafter, the Nobles shall be elected at the same time and places as the Representatives. At the election for the year of our Lord 1890, one-third of the Nobles from each of the divisions aforesaid, shall be elected for two years, and one-third for four years, and one-third for six years, and the electors shall ballot for them for such terms, respectively; and at all subsequent general elections they shall be elected for six years. The Nobles shall serve without pay.

Article 59. Every male resident of the Hawaiian Islands, of Hawaiian,

hear and determine all impeachments made by the Representatives, as the Grand Inquest of the Kingdom, against any officers of the Kingdom, for misconduct or mal-administration in their offices; but previous to the trial of every impeachment the Nobles shall respectively be sworn, truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question, according to evidence and the law. Their judgment, however, shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold or enjoy any place of honor, trust, or profit, under this Government; but the party so convicted shall be, nevertheless, liable to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to the laws of the land. No Minister shall sit as a Noble on the trial of any impeachment.

Article 60. The Representation of the People shall be based upon the principal of equality, and shall be regulated and apportioned by the Legislature according to the population, to be ascertained, from time to time, by the official census. The Representatives shall not be less in number than twenty-four, nor more than forty, who shall be elected biennially.

American or European birth or descent, who shall have attained the age of twenty years, and shall have paid his taxes, and shall have caused his name to be entered on the list of voters for Nobles for his district, shall be an elector of Nobles, and shall be entitled to vote at any election of Nobles, provided:

First: That he shall have resided in the country not less than three years, and in the district in which he offers to vote, not less than three months immediately preceding the election at which he offers to vote:

Second: That he shall own and be possessed, in his own right, of taxable property in this country of the value of not less than Three Thousand Dollars over and above all encumbrances, or shall have actually received an income of not less than Six Hundred Dollars during the year next preceding his registration for such election:

Third: That he shall be able to read and comprehend an ordinary newspaper printed in either the Hawaiian, English or some European language:

Fourth: That he shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution and laws, such oath to be administered by any person authorized to administer oaths, or by any Inspector of Elections:

Provided, however, that the requirements of a three years' residence and of ability to read and comprehend an ordinary newspaper, printed either in the Hawaiian, English or some European language, shall not apply to persons residing in the Kingdom at the time of the promulgation of this Constitution, if they shall register and vote at the first election which shall be held under this Constitution.

Article 60. There shall be twenty-four Representatives of the people elected biennially, except those first elected under this Constitution, who shall serve until the general election for the year of our Lord 1890. The representation shall be based upon the principles of equality, and shall be regulated and apportioned by the Legislature according to the population to be ascertained, from time to time, by the official census. But until such apportionment by the Legislature, the apportionment now established by law shall remain in force, with the following exceptions, namely: there shall be but two Representatives for the Districts of Hilo and Puna, on the Island of Hawaii; but one for the Districts of Lahaina and Kaanapali, on the Island of Maui; and but one for the Districts

Article 61. No person shall be eligible for a Representative of the People, who is insane or an idiot; nor unless he be a male subject of the Kingdom, who shall have arrived at the full age of Twenty-one years—who shall know how to read and write—who shall understand accounts—and shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for at least three years, the last of which shall be the year immediately preceding his election; and who shall own Real Estate, within the Kingdom, of a clear value, over and above all incumbrances, of at least Five Hundred Dollars; or who shall have an annual income of at least Two Hundred and Fifty Dollars, derived from any property, or some lawful employment.

Article 62. Every male subject of the Kingdom, who shall have paid his taxes, who shall have attained the age of twenty years, and shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for one year immediately preceding the election; and shall be possessed of Real Rroperty in the Kingdom, to the value, over and above all incumbrances of One Hundred and Fifty Dollars—or of a Leasehold property on which the rent is Twenty five Dollars per year—or of an income of not less than Seventy-Five Dollars per year, derived from any prop rty or some lawful employment and shall know how to read and write, if born since the year 1840 and shall have caused his name to be entered on the list of voters of his District as may be provided by law, shall be entitled to one voto for the Representative or Representatives of that District. *Provided, however*, that no insane or idiotic person, nor any person who shall have been convicted of any infamous crime within this Kingdom, unless he shall have been pardoned by the King, and by the terms of such pardon have been restored to all the rights of a subject, shall be allowed to vote.

Article 63. The property qualification of the Representatives of the People, and of the Electors, may be increased by law.

of Koolauloa and Waialua, on the Island of Oahu.

Article 61. No person shall be eligible as a Representative of the people unless he be a male subject of the Kingdom, who shall have arrived at the full age of twenty-one years; who shall know how to read and write either the Hawaiian, English or some European language; who shall understand accounts; who shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for at least three years, the last of which shall be the year immediately preceding his election; and who shall own real estate within the Kingdom of a clear value, over and above all encumbrances, of at least Five Hundred Dollars; or who shall have an annual income of at least Two Hundred and Fifty Dollars, derived from any property or some lawful employment.

Article 62. Every male resident of the Kingdom, of Hawaiian, American, or European birth or descent, who shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution and laws in the manner provided for electors of Nobles; who shall have paid his taxes; who shall have attained the age of twenty years; and shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for one year immediately preceding the election; and shall know how to read and write either the Hawaiian, English or some European language, (if born since the year 1840), and shall have caused his name to be entered on the list of voters of his district as may be provided by law, shall be entitled to one vote for the Representative or Representatives of that district; provided, however, that the requirements of being domiciled in the Kingdom for one year immediately preceding the election, and of knowing how to read and write, either the Hawaiian, English or some European language, shall not apply to persons residing in this Kingdom at the time of the promulgation of this Constitution, if they shall register and vote at the first election which shall be held under this Constitution,

Article 63.—No person shall sit as a Noble or Representative in the Legislature unless elected under, and in conformity with, the provisions of this Constitution. The property or income qualification of Representatives, of Nobles, and of Electors of Nobles, may be increased by law; and a property or income qualification of Electors of Representatives, may be created and altered by law.

Article 64. The Judicial Power of the Kingdom shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such Inferior Courts as the Legislature may, from time to time, establish.

Article 65. The Supreme Court shall consist of a Chief Justice, and not less than two Associate Justices, any of whom may hold the Court. The Justices of the Supreme Court shall hold their offices during good behavior, subject to removal upon impeachment, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. *Provided, however*, that any Judge of the Supreme Court or any other Court of Record may be removed from office, on a resolution passed by two thirds of the Legislative Assembly, for good cause shown to the satisfaction of the King. The Judge against whom the Legislative Assembly may be about to proceed, shall receive due notice thereof, accompanied by a copy of the causes alleged for his removal, at least ten days before the day on which the Legislative Assembly shall act thereon. He shall be heard before the Legislative Assembly.

Article 66. The Judicial Power shall be divided among the Supreme Court and the several Inferior Courts of the Kingdom, in such manner as the Legislature may, from time to time, prescribe, and the tenure of office in the Inferior Courts of the Kingdom shall be such as may be defined by the law creating them.

Article 67. The Judicial Power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under the Constitution and laws, of this Kingdom, and Treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority, to all cases affecting Public Ministers and Consuls, and to all cases of Admiralty and Maritime jurisdiction.

Article 68. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court shall be the Chancellor of the Kingdom; he shall be *ex officio* President of the Nobles in all cases of impeachment, unless when impeached himself; and exercise such jurisdiction in equity or other cases as the law may confer upon him: his decisions being subject, however, to the revision of the Supreme Court on appeal. Should the Chief Justice ever be impeached, some person specially commissioned by the King shall be President of the Court of Impeachment during such trial.

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Article 69. The decisions of the Su-

preme Court, when made by a majority of the Justices thereof, shall be final and conclusive upon all parties.

Article 70. The King, His Cabinet, and the Legislative Assembly, shall have authority to require the opinions of the Justices of the Supreme Court, upon important questions of law, and upon solemn occasions.

Article 71. The King appoints the Justices of the Supreme Court, and all other Judges of Courts of Record; their salaries are fixed by law.

Article 72. No judge or Magistrate can sit alone on an appeal or new trial, in any case on which he may have given a previous judgment.

Article 73. No person shall ever hold any office of Honor, Trust, or Profit under the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, who shall, in due course of law, have been convicted of Theft, Bribery, Perjury, Forgery, Embezzlement, or other high crime or misdemeanor, unless he shall have been pardoned by the King, and restored to his Civil Rights, and by the express terms of his pardon, declared to be appointable to offices of Trust, Honor, and Profit.

Article 74. No officer of this Government shall hold any office, or receive any salary from any other Government or Power whatever.

Article 75. The Legislature votes the Appropriations biennially, after due consideration of the Revenue and expenditure for the two preceding years, and the estimates of the revenue and expenditure of the two succeeding years, which shall be submitted to them by the Minister of Finance.

Article 76. The enacting style in making and passing all Acts and Laws shall be, "Be it enacted by the King, and the Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Islands, in the Legislature of the Kingdom assembled."

Article 77. To avoid improper influences which may result from intermixing in one and the same Act, such things as have no proper relation to each other, every law shall embrace but one object, and that shall be expressed in its title.

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Article 72. No Judge or Magistrate shall sit all alone on an appeal or new trial, in any case on which he may have given a previous judgment.

Article 73. The following persons shall not be permited to register for voting, to vote, or to hold office under any department of the Government, or to sit in the Legislature, namely: Any person who is insane or an idiot, or any person who shall have been convicted of any of the following named offenses, viz: Arson, Barratry, Bribery, Burglary, Counterfeiting, Embezzlement, Felonious Branding of Cattle, Forgery, Gross Cheat, Incest, Kidnapping, Larceny, Malicious Burning, Manslaughter in the First Degree, Murder, Perjury, Rape, Robbery, Sodomy, Treason, Subornation of Perjury, and Malfeasance in Office, unless he shall have been pardoned by the King and restored to his Civil Rights, and by the express terms of his pardon declared to be eligible to offices of Trust, Honor and Profit.

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Article 77. To avoid improper influences which may result from intermixing in one and the same Act, such things as have no proper relation to each other, every law shall embrace but one object, and that shall be expressed in its title.

Article 78. All laws now in force in this Kingdom, shall continue and remain in full effect, until altered or repealed by the Legislature; such parts only excepted as are repugnant to this Constitution. All laws heretofore enacted, or that may hereafter be enacted, which are contrary to this Constitution, shall be null and void.

Article 79. This Constitution shall be in force from the Twentieth day of August in the year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-Four, but that there may be no failure of justice, or inconvenience to the Kingdom, from any change, all officers of this Kingdom, at the time this Constitution shall take effect, shall have, hold, and exercise all the power to them granted, until other persons shall be appointed in their stead.

Article 80. Any amendment or amendments to this Constitution may be proposed in the Legislative Assembly, and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of members thereof, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on its journal, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to the next Legislature; which proposed amendment or amendments shall be published for three months previous to the next election of Representatives; and if in the next Legislature such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members of the Legislative Assembly, and be approved by the King, such amendment or amendments shall become part of the Constitution of this country.

KAMEHAMEHA R.

Article 78. Wherever by this Constitution any Act is to be done or performed by the King or the Sovereign, it shall, unless otherwise expressed, mean that such Act shall be done and performed by the Sovereign by and with the advice and consent of the Cabinet.

Article 79. All Laws now in force in this Kingdom, shall continue and remain in full effect, until altered or repealed by the Legislature; such parts only excepted as are repugnant to this Constitution. All laws heretofore enacted, or that may hereafter be enacted, which are contrary to this Constitution, shall be null and void.

Article 80. The Cabinet shall have power to make and publish all necessary rules and regulations for the holding of any election or elections under this Constitution, prior to the passage by the Legislature of appropriate laws for such purpose, and to provide for administering to officials, subjects and residents the oath to support this Constitution. The first election hereunder shall be held within ninety days after the promulgation of this Constitution, and the Legislature then elected may be convened at Honolulu upon the call of the Cabinet Council, in extraordinary session at such time as the Cabinet Council may deem necessary, thirty days notice thereof being previously given.

Article 81. This Constitution shall be in force from the 7th day of July, A. D., 1887, but that there may be no failure of justice, or convenience to the Kingdom, from any change, all officers of this Kingdom, at the time this Constitution shall take effect, shall have, hold, and exercise all the power to them granted. Such officers shall take an oath to support this Constitution, within sixty days after the promulgation thereof.

Article 82. Any amendment or amendments to this Constitution may be proposed in the Legislature and if the same shall be agreed to by a majority of the members thereof, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on its journal, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to next Legislature; which proposed amendment or amendments shall be published for three months previous to the next election of Representatives and Nobles; and if in the

next Legislature such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members of the Legislature, such amendment or amendments shall become part of the Constitution of this Kingdom.

KALAKAUA REX.

By the King,

W. L. GREEN,
Minister of Finance.

HONOLULU, OAHU. } ss.

I, KALAKAUA, King of the Hawaiian Islands, in the presence of Almighty God, do solemnly swear to maintain this Constitution whole and inviolate, and to govern in conformity therewith.

KALAKAUA REX.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this sixth day of July, A. D., 1887.

A. F. JUDD,
Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Chancellor of the Kingdom.

Saturday Press Print,
Honolulu.

KALAKAUA

THE CROWNING

OF THE

DREAD KING

GLEAMS the first bright ray of morning
O'er the blue sea to the eastward,
To the eastward o'er the blue sea,
As the golden sun returning
Drives the darkness from the islands,
From the islands of Hawaii,
And relentlessly pursuing
Ev'ry slow-retreating shadow,
Slays them with his burning lances,
With his burning lances slays them;
Then saluting, turns to greet the
Sun as, from his couch arising,
He looks on the work approving.

Chas A Brown 1884

THE CROWNING

OF THE

DREAD KING.

BY

GEORGE W. STEWART.



PUBLISHED BY
Thos. G. Thrum, Honolulu, H. I.
1883.

Gleams the silv'ry sheen of Ewa,
Rise the bold steeps of Kaala.

Now the silent goddess Muta
Flies from Kipikona's presence
As her dreaded sister Pitho,
Maid of eloquence, approaches,
And beneath whose gentle suasion
Speaks the gray-haired, sage, *Kuhina*,
Speaks these words great Kipikona :—

"O Cassandra of the ancients!
I appeal to thee, fair goddess,
On this day of all most glorious
In the annals of Hawaii,
To foretell the fate impending
O'er this fair, sequestered kingdom,
In the arms of Neptune nestled ;
To foretell the happy future
Of Hawaii and her sov'reign
Who this day sits crown'd and scepter'd
On the throne of Lunalilo
And the great Kamehamehas ;

Who this day becomes most sacred
In the eyes of all the people
By this act of coronation.
Long indeed must be the lifetime
Of the king and of the kingdom!
What on earth can blast their fortunes
With this added weight of honor,
Honor to both chief and country?

"Come ye Muses from Parnassus,
Come Mnemosyne's fair daughters,
Come ye nine, ye honor'd sisters ;
Come Calliope and Clio,
Come thou Erato, lov'd goddess,
Come Urania, divine one,
Polyhymnia, Euterpe,
Come Thalia, ever welcome,
Come Terpsichore, deft leader
Of the youth in mazy tripping,
Come Melpomene, fair goddess,
Come thou dread yet lov'd enchantress!
Come ye three attendant maidens,
Come Aglaia and Thalia,

And as now he fast approaches,
Boom the cannon from the Punchbowl;
From the esplanade they boom too,
Like great Jove's escaping thunder,
Like the din of Thor the Norse god;
And the echoes 'mong the canyons
Sound like roaring fires of Vulcan,
Like the driving gusts of Boreas,
Like the lashing waves of Pele.
Sweetest strains of music rising
Borne upon the breeze of morning,
Mingle with the cheers and singing
Of a blest and happy people,
Of the people of Hawaii.

Tis a day for great rejoicing,
For before yon orb descending
Plants a kiss upon the waters
Of the great Pacific ocean
On the dim line to the westward,
As he hastens to his slumbers,
Will be crowned King Kalakaua,
Crowned the King of all Hawaii.

On the summit of Leahi,
On the pinnacle most lofty,
Stands the aged Kipikona,
The *Kuhina aina e*, the
Fam'd "*Kanaka Poalima*"
Of the dread king of Hawaii.
Lost in silent meditation
Long he gazes on the ocean,
On the sear'd mound of Leahi,
On the mountains looking inland,
On the dark vale of Manoa—
Ever sad and yet enchanting,
Like a beautiful young widow
In her tears and in her mourning.
Down below him on the broad plain
Lies the beauteous Honolulu
In her tropic robes of em'rald,
Just awak'ning from her slumbers,
Where the vale of Nuuanu
Leads the way to Lanihuli.
And beyond the cluster'd suburbs,
Miles beyond the leaf-rob'd cottage
And the native *hale pili*,

And as now he fast approaches,
Boom the cannon from the Punchbowl ;
From the esplanade they boom too,
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Come Thalia, ever welcome,
Come Terpsichore, deft leader
Of the youth in mazy tripping,
Come Melpomene, fair goddess,
Come thou dread yet lov'd enchantress !
Come ye three attendant maidens,
Come Aglaia and Thalia,

Come Euphrosyne, thou fair one,
Come thee with thy sister Graces;
Come, O come ye to Hawaii
On this day of all most happy!
Cluster round about the monarch
On his throne at Iolani,
And assistance lend I pray you
That will make this day a great one,
That this day will make a mark'd one!
Come thou too, divine Phillammon,
With thy sweetest notes of music!
Drive all care from out Hawaii!
Let the day be one of pleasure!

"O, this day of coronation—
Happiest day of all my lifetime!
O this view spread out before me—
Miles of mountains, scores of valleys,
Groves of palm, green seas of foliage,
And the long white line of sea-foam!
O for Homer, for a Virgil,
For some Horace, or a Milton,
For a Dante, a Camoens,

To pass down to time the picture
In the poet's softest measure!
Some Da Vinci, some Murillo,
To transfer the scene to canvas!
O for Angelo of It'ly
On this day of days, Hawaii,
To present thy king in marble,
To preserve his form in marble,
In his native Honolulu,
In thy capital, Hawaii!"

Halts the speech of Kipikona
As his eyes enraptur'd linger
Once again upon the picture,
On the lovely panorama,
On the works of art and nature
In the charming isle, Oahu.
As he looks upon the ocean,
As he gazes on the harbor,
As his eyes search through the shipping,
Steals a frown across his visage
And in low voice, as if musing,
As if speaking without heeding,

Words like these were slowly utter'd,
Words like these spake Kipikona :

"Not a sail on the horizon,
Not a ship along the seashore
Hastens with its host of people
To the dread king's coronation,
To the crowning of the dread king
Of the islands of Hawaii.
I can see no scores of war-ships
In the harbor's placid waters ;
In can see no squadrons coming
O'er the oceans rolling billows ;
There has come no prince or princess,
And no host of great officials
Clad in gold and silver laces ;
There have come no words of greeting
From the dread king's royal brothers
In the distant lands of Europe,
In the lands of distant Asia.
No large fleet the Great Republic
Sends to do the dread king honor,
As we all so much had hoped for,

As all had so much expected.
Not a squadron comes from Britain,
And from France no fleet is sent us ;
Not a German flag is sighted ;
Not a dragon banner waving
Greets the eye in all thy waters,
All thy waters, O Hawaii !
Not a sail comes from the eastward,
From the westward, or the southward ;
No canoe from Tongatabu,
No canoe from Rarotonga,
And no *waa peleleu*
From the isles of the Samoans ;
Not a proa from the South Seas."

Once again the great *Kuhina*,
Once again did Kipikona
Brood in silence on Leahi.
Without speaking and unheeding,
Wrapped in thought and meditation,
Mov'd he then along the pathway
Down the bold sides of Leahi,
Through the palm groves of Waikiki,

In the wide world ev'ry people
Speaks this day thy name in praises,
On this day of coronation.
Tens of thousands tell the story
Of thy birth and of thy lifetime,
And thy crowning, Kalakaua,
In thy isles amid the ocean,
In thy kingdom in the ocean.
Comes a great, a mighty chieftain,
From the distant isles of Japan,
From Japan beyond the sunset;
Half a dozen souls from "Frisco,"
All the way from San Francisco;
Come from Molokai and Maui—
Come from Molokai of Hina
And from Maui, isle of Kama,—
From Hawaii to the southward—
Great Hawaii of Keawe,—
From Lanai of fam'd Kaulu,
From Lanai of Kipikona,
From Kauai the northern island—
Isle of Manokalanipo,—
From the isle of Niihau too,

And from all parts of Oahu—
Oahu of Kakuihewa,—
Come the *kanes*, the *wahines*,
And the *keikis*—throngs of people,
To behold the coronation
Of the *Moi* Kalakaua,
Of the dread king of Hawaii,
All the islands of Hawaii,
Moi kapu me aloha,
Ihiihi, kapukapu,
Moi o Hawaii pae aina.
Now, O Sire, the hour approaches,
Now draws near the hour we long'd for,
And the people all are waiting
To behold the ceremony,
To behold the coronation."

Ceasing then great Kipikona,
Bowing, back'd from out the presence
Of the royal Kalakaua,
Of the dread king, of the monarch.

Throng the people to the palace,

O'er the *alanui Moi*,
To the king at Iolani.
As his sov'reign he approaches
Low obeisance makes the aged,
Makes the gray-hair'd Kipikona;
Then before him standing upright,
Standing in the royal presence
Of the monarch of Hawaii,
Speech like this makes the *Kuhina*,
The "*Kanaka Poalima*,"
The "Man Friday" of the dread king:

"My congratulations give I,
Give I to you, Sire, this great day,
When you take the crown and scepter,
When your life becomes seclusive,
Becomes sacred, becomes *kapu*
In the streets of Honolulu,
Of thy native Honolulu,
And the islands of thy kingdom,
Boom the great guns, boom the cannon,
Ring the bells and crash the small arms,
And thy people sing thee praises,

Chant thee praises in their *meles*.
All the land is clad in beauty.
On all sides the decorations
Please the eye of ev'ry subject;
Twice a score of thousand banners
Float upon the morning breezes,
And the light coquetish zephyrs
Wanton with a million streamers;
Ev'ry heart is fill'd with pleasure—
And e'en nature seems more joyous—
For the people love their dread king,
Love the dread king of Hawaii,
With a love that is undying,
With a love that lives forever.
With thy name each lip is weighted.
Hoarse thy people are by shouting,
Shouting as if each were Stentor,—
'Kalakaua *lanakila!*
Lanakila Kalakaua!'
O dread *Moi* of Hawaii,
August sov'reign of Hawaii,
Monarch of Hawaii nei:
Ev'ry people in the wide world,

To the halls of Iolani,
By the scores and by the dozens,
By the hundreds, by the thousands.
Seated in the great pavilion,
Seated on the broad verandah
Of the palace of the dread king,
Wrapt in silence and in wonder
Is the multitude of people
Till His Majesty advances
With the Queen, his royal consort,
With the officers attending,
With the train of maids in waiting,
With the crowns and with the scepter
Borne upon a velvet cushion.
Then arising they remain so,
Standing in the royal presence,
In the presence of the dread king,
Of the King and *Moiwahine*.
Group'd about the august sov'reign,
August monarch of Hawaii,
Are the chanc'llor of the kingdom,
The *Kuhina aina e* and
The *Kuhina Kalaiaina*,

And the *Loio Aupuni*,
Also the *Kuhina Waiwai*,
And the nobles, the *aliis*.
With the brave men are fair ladies,
Ladies fair from all the islands,
All the islands of the kingdom.
Silk and satin are their vestures.
Jewels sparkle on their persons.
Lend their charms both art and nature.
Beauty ev'rywhere aboundeth,
Ev'rywhere aboundeth beauty.
In the front of Iolani
On each side the royal party,
In long lines, both foot and mounted,
Are the soldiers—gallant soldiers,
In their uniforms from Europe,
From far Germany in Europe.
Strains of music—sweetest music—
And the singing of the grand choir
Are upon the breezes wafted,
Wafted on the gentle breezes,
On the soft and tardy breezes.
Round about are banners waving

On the palace and pavilion ;
Overhead and all around them
Flags and streamers—full a thousand—
Tremble in the balmy zephyrs,
In the soft breeze, in the light breeze.
Rare indeed such scene of beauty !
Rare indeed is seen such picture
As to-day thou seest Hawaii,
As thou seest to-day, Hawaii !

Hush'd the murmur now of voices ;
Not a sound breaks on the stillness :
On the dais kneels the sov'reign,
Kneels the Queen beside the dread King.
Stands the Chancellor before them.
In firm voice the oath is spoken,
Spoken is the oath distinctly ;
Speaks assenting words the dread king,
Speaks the monarch words assenting.
Now from off the velvet cushion
Are the crowns of gold and jewels
Lifted to the dread king's forehead,
To the forehead of his consort ;

Now the diadems adorn them ;
Wear they now thy crowns, Hawaii.
Blessed day this ! blessed moment !
Speaks again the voice of cannon,
Swell again the strains of music,
Deaf'ning are the cheers of thousands,
Of the thousands, many thousands.
O ye mountains, send the echoes
Back again to be repeated,
O'er and o'er to be repeated !
Hail the dread king of Hawaii !
Live ye long to rule thy kingdom !
Mighty monarch, live forever !
Cheer on cheer again arises
From the people, all the people,
And amid the grand rejoicing,
"*Ua mau ke ea o ka*
Aina i ka pono," shout they ;
Shout they, "*Ua mau ke ea*
O ka aina i ka pono."

All is over ! all is ended !
Slowly now the throng disperses

From the palace and pavilion,
From the grounds about the palace;
And the dread king with his consort,
With his consort and his courtiers,
Seeks the halls of Iolani,
Seeks thy halls, O Iolani!

Through the overarching azure
Glides the orb of day majestic
To the open arms of Neptune,
Stretch'd along the far horizon
Where the sky is seen coquetting
With the ever-restless billows;
Moving onward and descending,
Drawing nearer, ever nearer,
To the circling line extended
'Tween the realms of day and even,
Now he flings his robes about him,
Draws about his purple mantle
Lined with folds of rich vermilion,
Fring'd with gold and sparkling jewels,
Passes down the gilded stairway
Through a radiant show'r of diamonds,

Through a fine spray iridescent,
Lightly leaps across the border,
Steps into the darkness softly,
Waves his flaming locks an instant,
Quickly draws the veil of ev'ning,
Bows his head in silent slumber.
Softly steal the gath'ring shadows
Upward to the glowing zenith
Where the last pale gleams of sunlight
From the day-king's couch reflected,
Yield their charms without a struggle,
Die away and fade forever.

Gone the last dim ray of daylight;
Gone the faintest gleam of twilight;
And the ebon night advancing
Drops o'er earth her sable cov'ring,
Calls fair Luna o'er the mountains,
Gems the sky with shining starlights,
Dots the cloudless blue with brilliants,
Leads the shy moon with her veil'd face
Far into the depths of starland,
Where, with modest mien and kindly,
Reins she queen o'er all the heavens.

Lightly falls the breath of even,
Softly sigh the ev'ning breezes
Through the plumage of the palm tree,
Through the spreading algaroba,
Through the branches of the *ulu*,
The *kamani* and the guava,
Mid the leaves of the *kukui*,
Mid the fronds of the banana ;
Chirps the cricket in the bamboo ;
Croaks the mynah in the mango ;
Scream the night birds o'er the waters ;
Sounds the hum of murm'ring voices,
Words low-spoken, mingling whispers,
Careless jests and cautious laughter,
As once more to Iolani
Flock the people by the hundreds,
Throng the people by the thousands,
And about the palace gather,
Gather round about the palace.

Now a hundred torches lighted
Show a thousand bright eyes flashing,
Lighting up expectant faces,

As a surging mass of people
Presses forward to the entrance
In the front of Iolani,
Where a group of natives seated,
In a semi-circle seated,
Wait the coming of the dread king,
Of the dread king of Hawaii,
Moi kapu of Hawaii,
Moi kapu, ihiihi.
Through the crowd a murmur ripples ;
Ev'ry eye is upward turning,
And the multitude of people
Cries "*Aloha i ka Moi!*"
Cries "*Aloha* Kalakaua!"
As the king and the *aiis*
Step from out the palace doorway,
Step upon the broad verandah,
Seat themselves before the people.

Rises now an aged native,
Jesturing and slowly chanting
In a monotone his *mele*,
Chanting praises to the dread king.

Coarser the remarks and jesting
Of the audience enraptured ;
Louder chant the many actors,
Grosser are the *meles* chanted,
Wilder grows the waving, twisting,
Of the *hula hula* dancers,
Devotees of Lakakane,
Devotees of Baal-Peor.
Wild the scene before the palace !
Wild the scene before the dread king !
And the many torchlights gleaming,
The surrounding torches flick'ring
'Neath the sable robe of midnight,
Throw about unsteady flashes,
Rays of light and dancing shadows
Alternating in succession,
Making wilder still the wild scene,
Lending the nocturnal revels
All the weirdness, all the madness,
Of a Bacchanalian riot.

Time, who waits nor pain nor pleasure,
Time, who turns not from his pathway,

Presses on his way untiring,
Bids farewell unwilling midnight,
Leaves the tardy hours and minutes
With'ring corpses by the wayside,
Rushes on to greet the morning.
But the throng at Iolani
Lives forever in the present ;
By the concourse there assembled
Is the flight of time unheeded.
Lost in pleasure, mad with license,
Still they press about the dancers,
Still applaud the *hula hula*.
Drunk with unrestrained abandon,
Frenzied grow they with excitement
Till at last the night unchiding,
Till the all-too-lenient darkness,
Weeping o'er the crimes it covers,
Sees the chaste dawn's warm face flushing,
Blushing at the wild excesses.
Drawing closer then her dark veil,
Fill'd with secret shame and sorrow,
Moves she on with hast'ning footsteps
From the grounds of Iolani—

Next comes forth a group of dancers,
Hula dancers, male and female;
On their heads are *leis* of flowers,
Round their necks are *leis* of feathers,
Of the feathers of the *moho*,—
'Bout their waists are folds of *kapa*,
Short *pa-us* of waving *kapa*,
The *kupee* round their ankles,
Bare their arms and brown-skinn'd shoulders.
Kneeling on the ground beside them
Are the *lei*-bedeck'd musicians;
Now in unison they're chanting,
Now they beat the *ipupaipu*
On the ground, and now they tap it
With the hands and with the fingers;
Rattles the *uliuli* too,
Rattles lightly, rattles loudly,
With the pounding of the *ipu*,
Pounding of the *ipupaipu*.
With the music move the dancers,
Move the *hula hula* dancers,
Chanting in excited voices;
Carefully they make each movement,

With exactness, with precision;
Wave the arms and twirl the fingers,
Silently but full of meaning;
Sway the lithe elastic bodies,
Now to this side, now to that side,
Forward, backward, backward, forward,
Posturing with wildest jestures;
Bend they now with snake-like motions,
Now stand upright like the *koa;*
Take a short step, then another,
Wave the arms like writhing serpents,
Now move backward, slowly backward,
Now stand swaying, writhing, twisting;
Louder, louder, grows the chanting,
Louder yet the *olioli*,
Louder the *uliuli* sounds,
Louder grows the pounding, beating,
Of the hollow *ipupaipu;*
Frequent grow the peals of laughter,
Louder ring the shouts and cheering
From the multitude of people
As they press about the dancers,
Press about the *hula* dancers;

While the morn detains the bright sun
Sounds the tramp of marching legions
Pressing on to Iolani—
The *kanaka* and the *haole*,
The *lelewa* and the *pake*—
To present their *hookupu*
To the dread king of Hawaii,
King of all Hawaii nei.
In their aching arms they bear great
Loads of presents for the *Moi*,
For the *Moi kapukapu*.
Bear they offerings of *kalo*,
Of the *maia*—the banana,—
Of the cocoanut—the *niu*,—
Leis of seashells, *leis* of feathers—
Leis of seeds and *leis* of flowers,
Leis of cane strips, *leis* of *maile*,
Leis and *malos* in great numbers,
Gifts of *poi* and gifts of *paiai*,
In the calabash—the *ipu;*
Bring they stalks of sugarcane and
Folds of *kapa*, large *moenas*,
And the bak'd hog, luscious bak'd hog;

Balls of *limu*, sweet *kulolo*,
Na uwala, inamona,
With the *aki* and the *ulu*
And the *alaala hee;*
Bring they *awa, amaama*,
And the flying fish—*malolo*,
Wrapt and tied with care in *ki* leaves;
The *puaa* and *ilio*,
Moa kane me wahine,
The *koloa* and the *nene*,
And the *palahu*—the turkey,
Hee maka, hee miko,
Ipu-pu me ipuala,
Nui loa hua moa
Me kau wahi kenikeni.

Ended then the *hookupu*,
Ended then the tribute giving
To the *Moi* of Hawaii;
And the people, all the people,
Passing through the dread king's palace,
Through the halls of Iolani,
Went upon their way rejoicing

Followed by the host of people—
From the islands of Hawaii,
Folds her sable garment round her,
Hides her tear-stained cheeks within it,
Sadly, shyly, turns a moment,
Waves farewell toward the eastward
Where the welcome maid, Aurora,
Burns again her flick'ring lamplight,
Tints the gauzy haze with purple,
Tints the purple with a soft pink,
Streaks the pink with burnished amber,
Gilds the whole with gold and silver.
And along the lighted pathway
Comes bold Horus, comes the day-king,
In his chariot of bright fire,
And o'er the horizon bounding
Plunges up the azure archway,
Drives the dismal night before him
Farther on her weary journey,
Throws o'er all his beams refulgent,
Fills the heavens with his glory.

Given o'er to mirth and pleasure
Is the new day, is the bright day,
Are the hours of night that follow,
And the days and nights succeeding;
Days of sporting, nights of *hula*,
Nights of *hula*, days of sporting,
Time of joy for all the people,
All the people of Hawaii.
Pass the mornings and the noon times,
Pass the ev'nings and the dark nights
In an endless round of pleasure
Till there comes another great day,
Comes the day of presentation,
Presentation to the dread king
Of the gifts of all his people;
And once more the sun returning
Tips the ocean's edge with crimson,
Fires the blue sea's rim with crimson,
And, above the waters rising,
Seeks the cloud-fleck'd vault of heaven,
Giving light to all Hawaii,
Spreading daylight o'er the wide world,
Ush'ring in the day of gladness.

To return once more at nightfall,
To return once more—the last time—
To behold the *hula hula*,
To behold the writhing *hula*,
To behold the wild disorder ;
Closing act this of the drama,
Closing act this of the *fete* days,
Last act of the coronation.

Thus the festal days were ended ;
Ended thus the festal nights were ;
Thus was crown'd King Kalakaua,
Thus indeed was crown'd the dread king,
King of thy fair isles Hawaii,
King of all Hawaii nei.



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THOUGHTS

ON THE

HAWAIIAN SITUATION,

— BY A —

MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF NOBLES.

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Thoughts on the Hawaiian Situation.

Feuds and jealousies, entailing as their consequences trouble and loss to the native inhabitants, sprang up amongst foreign settlers soon after their arrival on Hawaiian soil.

In 1839, the visit of the French frigate *Artemise*, and her hostile proceedings, were caused by a series of high-handed acts countenanced or prompted by foreigners who had gained influence over the minds of native chiefs The apologists of these and their advisers, the latter of whom were considered by others to be the true authors of the trouble, contended that the determination of the French Government that its subjects should receive equally favorable treatment at the hands of rulers with the subjects and citizens of other nations was a blow aimed at Hawaiian independence

In 1843 certain British claims occasioned another danger for Hawaii; for King Kamehameha III, trusting to the honor and justice of Great Britain, ceded his Kingdom, rather than yield to them. The result proved that his confidence in the rectitude of the British Government was not misplaced. The claims were declared unsound in law, and the sovereignty of his Islands was restored.

In 1852 Honolulu was invaded by an infuriated mob from the whaling fleet then in port. The riot was subdued by the police, assisted by residents.

In 1854, Mr. Gregg, acting for the United States, and

Mr. Wyllie, for Kamehameha III, prepared a secret treaty for the annexation of Hawaii to her neighbor; John Young, Minister of the Interior, and Mr. Allen (lately American Consul) Minister of Finance, consenting. Two chiefs of commanding influence amongst the natives, John Ii and Paki, opposed, and in 1855, succeeded in defeating the scheme.

Ever since, an uneasy feeling has more or less haunted men's minds. For some years past it has been intensified by public acts and measures, appearing to many scarcely veiled attempts to destroy Hawaiian autonomy. These have seldom been defended. When denounced, the rule has been to quietly leave them without enquiry or discussion. Assuming that they have been real attacks on Hawaiian independence, so far they have failed, and the devoted victim has escaped with life and liberty.

The mysterious feeling of insecurity, however, remains; just as though an earthquake or an eruption from Punchbowl were momentarily expected. Now, it is a thoughtful and intelligent native, the picture of anxiety and dread, asking about the condition and prospects of the country; again it is constantly apparent in newspaper articles; once more it finds place in a public address or oration; this phase will be more particularly noticed further on. Most of all, and demanding especial attention, not a mail from San Francisco, the capital of a friendly State, but brings a budget of newspaper articles, all more or less offensively harping to the same strain, all bristling with inuendos and remarks hostile to Hawaii, her people, and independence. If these articles are an indication of what is to follow, Hawaii's days would seem to be numbered. Meanwhile, every one goes to his work feeling

something like the boy in the dark, dreading he knows not what, and whistling to keep his courage up.

In order that there may be no mistake as to the character of the acts alluded to, some of them will be briefly noticed, not going further back, however, than the reign of Lunalilo, for at the death of Kamehameha V a gentleman was in office who jealously guarded the interests of the Kingdom. He was speedily superseded; the newly appointed incumbent of the office being disturbed by no such visions as those which had floated in the brain of his predecessor.

A scheme was at once set on foot to alienate an important part of the national territory in the immediate neighborhood of the capital, in order to obtain a treaty for the sale of Hawaiian produce duty-free in American markets. This treaty was at first favorably received, but afterwards repudiated by the good-natured Lunalilo. To relate the history of that abortive attempt at dismemberment would consume too much time; but the fact must be evident to every impartial mind competent to form a judgment, that its consummation would have been the beginning of the end of Hawaiian independence.

Shortly afterwards (1874), a law setting aside the 20th Article of the Constitution was passed through the Legislature with the sanction of all in authority. This Article decrees that "treaties involving changes in the tariff, or in any law of the Kingdom, shall be referred for approval to the Legislative Assembly." The law in question, Chapter 40 of the Session laws of 1874, containing only one Section, enacts, "That any treaty or treaties of Commercial Reciprocity which may be negotiated after the adjournment of this Session of the Legislature, and before the next meeting thereof, and which shall provide for an entrance into any other coun-

try or countries of any of the products of this country, in view of and by reason of the admission of any article, the product of the country or countries so contracting, into shis country free of duty, or for a duty less than that now imposed, is hereby approved of, and the same shall go into effect and become the law of the land whensoever such Treaty or Treaties may be ratified by His Majesty the King and proclaimed by him to the people, etc."

It will be observed by comparing the two foregoing extracts that a Treaty non-existent, and in contemplation only in 1874, was decreed to be made law when ratified and proclaimed by the King, in defiance of the fundamental law of the land providing that treaties of that nature should be "referred for approval to the Legislative Assembly."

The period of time provided by the law for its operation was "after the adjournment of this session of the Legislature (1874) and before the next meeting thereof" (1876) so that, even had it been constitutional, it had become void, and had expired by limitation at the commencement of the session of 1876. Now, the Treaty was not received till near the close of that session, when Ministers refused to refer it for approval to the Legislative Assembly, as the Constitution decreed. They were supported by Judges of the Supreme Court who were "of the opinion that the requirements of the Constitution have been complied with in this respect." The same Judges also decided that "the Treaty under consideration does not involve any change in the present tariff," although the schedule appended to its second Article comprises thirty lines of print, enumerating an immense variety of articles of merchandise, commencing with "Agricultural implements" including manufactures

of cotton, iron, steel and wood, and ending with tobacco, "whether in leaf or manufactured," formerly paying a duty of ten per cent., but under the provisions of the Treaty admitted free of all duty. A vote of want of confidence in the Ministry failed, and the Treaty went into operation without being referred for approval to the Legislative Assembly.

In 1878 a most meagre account of the proceedings of the Ambassador lately returned from the Court of St. James having been laid before the Assembly the presence of the gentleman was required by resolution, with the hope that oral information would be furnished. The expectation, however, was doomed to disappointment, for the resolution was annulled by a letter emanating from the Supreme Court, adopted by the Ministry, and signed by the King, declaring that the resolution was unprecedented in tenor, and that the Assembly in passing it had assumed an authority which he would not permit it to exercise, infringing as it did on his constitutional prerogative.

This document, whose effect on any legislative body determined to maintain its own rights and liberties would be to bring it into collision with the highest officers of the Crown, or even with the Crown itself, was tamely, submissively received; the indignity calmly pocketed by those notables deliberating for the good of their country; the remonstrances of one or two members passing unheeded.

When called for at the session of 1880 the letter was not forthcoming; nor could a copy be found on record; no trace of it in either of the Ministerial Departments, amongst the documents of the Supreme Court, or at the Palace. Its character had demanded its own destruction as soon as it had served the purpose for which it had been

designed, so that there should be no possibility of its appearing in future as a witness against its contrivers.

The evil sowing has not yet yielded its full harvest. But it is full of promise. Great Britain has been treated with marked discourtesy. That is something gained. And while promises have not been wanting, Hawaiian residents and employers of labor have been prevented from obtaining the servants and laborers they require. That is something more. Great Britain has again been defied; for having informed the Hawaiian Government that she should consider the imposition of a duty higher than ten per cent. on her merchandise, while other foreign goods were received duty-free, as an unfriendly act; the duty on one article (rice) exported from British ports has been raised from ten to more than a hundred per cent.; and a shipment on the way to Honolulu when the law was made has not been exempted from its operation.

Once more, the articles in foreign treaties providing for equal treatment with the most favored nation have been set aside by the fourth article of the Treaty of Reciprocity, providing that no such treaty shall be made with any other nation. It has been said that this article was inserted in the last named treaty at the instance of one of the Hawaiian Commissioners.

What can be more damaging to Hawaii, both in her domestic affairs and foreign relations, than the invasion of Chinese hordes that has been courted by Hawaiian officials? Who can estimate the losses in money and population Hawaii has suffered? The injury to Hawaiian families, the ruin of their homes by these men, or the disgust that the invitation to them may have caused to our nearest neighbors? It is well known that Americans and Australians are checking, as far as they

can, the immigration of these men into their respective countries. It remained for Hawaii to attract as many as she could. Are we prepared to hear the stern remonstrances this course may draw down from other quarters?

All these things have been thrusts endangering Hawaiian existence; whether or not they have been designed for the purpose let those say who have made them. Certainly, they have not been made by the Government of the United States, nor can it be said or ought it to be suspected, that that Government has been implicated in them, or that she has been in collusion with Hawaiian officials to destroy a nationality for which she professes to entertain the most friendly sentiments.

Up to the present time Hawaiians have not been disposed to hold any other persons answerable for the tortuous acts mentioned, than those who committed them; nor, as far as the writer knows, have they any reason to so hold others. Many of their rulers were born on American soil but they lost their nationality on becoming Hawaiians, for Hawaiians they had to become before being eligible for office. If, therefore, they have done anything injurious to Hawaiians, and people of other nations resident in the Hawaiian Kingdom (for the interests of all are identical) the actors themselves are accountable, and no one else is; although, judging from past events, perhaps they may have entertained some idea of increasing the power of the country of their birth by presenting to her, but at what cost and sacrifice! the fruit of their schemes when ripe for gathering, the destroyed independence and sovereignity of these Hawaiian Islands.

True, since the close of the civil war some American gentlemen have more than ever cast longing eyes on the Hawaiian domain. Of one it was humorously said,

alluding to the report that he was commissioned by his Government to again treat for annexation, that he carried Hawaii in his breeches pocket; and the Boston *Post*, newspaper, of Nov. 29th, 1879, informed the world in an apparently inspired article that the United States Government desired to purchase these Islands, but found she could not obtain a valid title; wherefore reciprocity had been granted with the expectation of its having the same effect. But it is found, after the lapse of nearly five years since this Treaty went into operation, that, although the national prosperity has vastly increased, the disinclination of Hawaiians to annexation is as great as ever; so that there is no present hope of their voluntary relinquishment of their cherished independence.

This being the case, although the acquisition would enormously strengthen her in waging offensive naval war, it is difficult to believe, in spite of constant insidious attacks by individuals, that without complaint of wrong done to her or any of her citizens, the United States would forcibly seize Hawaii, and incorporate the little State into her own possessions. Still, in some shape or other, but principally as has already been remarked, in newspaper articles from San Francisco, the suggestion that such is to be the case is met on every hand.

Assuming that some prominent men and politicians of the United States desire to acquire possession of these islands, their advances, although favored or assisted by foreign born Hawaiian officials, have been constantly declined by native Hawaiians.

These, as a people, however they may admire the greatness of their colossal neighbor, have no desire to become a partner in her prosperity or a partaker of her

fortunes. They believe that the benefits accruing would be enormously outweighed by the injuries sustained from a union with their gigantic wooer; so they shrink from it. Its consummation they believe would be fatal to them. They would no longer be their own masters. They would be strangers in their own country. They fear shipwreck for their frail bark, desolation and death for themselves. They would consider themselves doomed to speedy extinction by surging crowds intent only on their own aims and ends.

The question follows, momentous and full of interest not only for Hawaiians but the world: Will the United States, regardless of the rights and wishes of Hawaiians, appropriate the country by force?

Hawaii, although a small Kingdom, is a regularly admitted member in the family of nations, having treaties with most of the civilized nations of the world. Her separate and independent existence has been acknowledged for nearly forty years; and we have seen that the United States with a population of fifty millions, claims to have been the first to encourage the little Kingdom. All who heard the eloquent address delivered by Mr. Dole in the hotel grounds, on the 4th of July last, must have been struck by the good-will, manly sentiments, and evident desire to do justice which pervaded its every line. With patriotic exultation ringing in every tone of his voice, he reminded his hearers that the nation whose natal day was then celebrating, has demonstrated that it is cheaper to acquire territory by purchase than by conquest, no war of conquest or ambition staining the annals of the republic; that that great nation was first to encourage this little Kingdom as one of the nations of the earth, and has never by act or word threatened its independence; and is now bound to us by

an alliance favorable to Hawaiian prosperity and independence, and to the mutual friennship of both countries." He evidently did not believe that it was intended to act the part of the farmer's wife who fattens her chicken before making a meal of it, any more than did that great statesman, Daniel Webster, on the 14th of Dec., 1842, when he addressed Messrs. Haalilio and Richards on their visit to Washington:

"The United States have regarded the existing authorities of the Sandwich Islands as a government suited to the condition of the people, and resting on their owu choice, and the President is of opinion that the interests of all the nations require that the Government should not be interfered with by foreign powers. Of the vessels which visit the islands it is known that a great majority belong to the United States The United States, therefore, are more interested in the fate of these islands than any other nation can be; this consideration induces the President to be quite willing to declare as the sense of the Government of the United States that the Govern ent of the Sandwich Islands is not to be dict ted to; and that no power ought either to take possession of the islands as a conquest, or for the purpose of colonization, and that no power ought to seek for any undue control over the existing Government or any exclusive privileges or preferences in matters of commerce."

True negotiations for the transfer of Hawaiian sovereignty to the United States have since been commenced but not completed. Hawaiian repugnance to the measure has prevented its fulfillment.

There can be no pretext for the measure at the present day, with the national interests continually increasing, and those of other nationalities also developing, with a

Government in which the foreign element must hereafter be well represented.

Can it be reasonably supposed then, that the United States Government has so changed its views and principles that it would forcibly seize these islands and hold possession of them in defiance of law and justice, in the face of its own declaration "that no power ought to take possession of them as a conquest or for the purpose of colonization," and of its own frequent professions of goodwill; in declared and open opposition to the wishes of Hawaiians, and of all nations having interests in Hawaii? Would that Government, great and powerful as it is, undertake to intervene between Hawaii, although powerless, aud the rest of the civilized world? Would she dictate that existing treaties shall no longer be observed? That there shall be an end of them once and forever? Would she undertake to override the rights of all other nations having interests in Hawaiian welfare and independence? Is she so great that she can afford to set law and justice at nought? Is she prepared to exclaim, *Sic volo sic jubeo sit pro ratione voluntas?* If she be she may carry her point but she will lose more in prestige than she will gain in power.

"O, it is excellent
To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant."

That a great nation, numbering fifty millions, descended from the most enterprising of the peoples of the Old World, with a country so rich and vast that its inhabitants are more prosperous and wealthy than any other people—that this nation claiming a new era of freedom and international justice, should seize by force these few mountain tops scarcely larger than Naboth's vineyard,

separated from them by two thousand miles of water, almost passes belief.

Such an act would provoke a groan of horror and execration throughout the civilized world.

But it is said the United States would not tolerate any foreign power in possession of Hawaii. The reply is that no citizens or subjects of any other country are known to entertain designs hostile to her independence. She is at peace with the world. Her existence depends upon the preservation of peace. One small ship of war could easily destroy every town and hamlet in the country with perfect impunity to herself. It is true there are complications between Hawaii and Great Brit in which ought not to exist; and having to the mental vision of the writer the appearance of having been hitched as a means of compassing Hawaii's ruin. It is a well known historical fact that both Great Britain and France are mutually bound by treaty to respect Hawaiian independence; and the reception that King Kalakaua has just met at the British Court is an additional indication of British purposes.

And the United States have much nearer neighbors than Hawaii, with two thousand miles of water separating them from her How does she tolerate the existence of those others with territories conterminous with her own, if diminutive Hawaii is a stumbling block in her path?

The little Republic of San Marino, with a population of five or six thousand souls, continued to exist in the midst of warring Empires and States during a period of more than thirteen centuries – her independence being respected by surrounding potentates The Hawaiian Constitutional Government has not yet completed her first half century. Can it be really the case that a

powerful party in a distant nation professing to be Hawaii's best friend, and claiming the reputation of dealing justly by all men, would, before the world and the world's Creator, seek their country's aid, and employ force to destroy the national existence of this small State? Some few rash or sordid individuals might consider such an act a patriotic or profitable achievement; or a military Government might seize Hawaii under the plea of military necessity; but it is only reasonable to believe that in such a case, if that Government were American, that an appeal to the people. the source of the governing power, through Congress as their representatives, would speedily secure a reversal of the wrong—a return to rectitude and justice. There can be little doubt the sober, steady civilians would refuse to ratify an act that would cover them with anything but glory; and that might suggest most unpleasant, because true, comparisons Should the necessity arise for an appeal from Hawaiians to that fifty millions of freemen. it would surely not be made in vain. They would decide, imperatively too, or their nature must be changed; that that freedom for which their fathers fought and bled - for which they themselves, if called upon, would struggle to the bitter end – should not be crushed out in the case of a handful of islanders because they are too weak to defend it.

It is reassuring to know that a prominent American gentleman of unsuspected purity believes that the United States will respect Hawaiian independence although the suggestion itself taken in connection with daily experiences is one to create uneasiness It calls to mind the French maxim, "*Qui s'excuse s'accuse.*" It was also pleasant to Hawaiians to learn that another of Hawaii's representative men publicly declared, on a recent occa-

sion, "that he shuddered to think the Constitution could be disregarded with impunity. That he was brought up to believe in the solemnity of a written Constitution." What would be that gentlem n's feelings if he were to see that sacred guarantee of an independent people's rights torn to shreds by an alien Power? the separate and equal station which the laws of Nature and Nature's God had conferred on that people violated. profaned, destroyed by a Power professing itself to be her best friend? Would not his blood boil, his words be too big for utterance?

The American people would not tolerate the seizure of these islands by the Government of any other nation, nor of their own. They would not suffer so foul a blot to deface their fair fame; an act of such glaring wrong, of such repudiation of the ties which bind, and laws that govern Christian man to sully the glory of their good name, their character for dealing with all men in the spirit of truth and justice.

If they did tolerate the seizure, they must teach their children to unlearn the sacred command, "*Parcere subjectis.*" practised by the generous and noble-minded of all nations. They must refrain from impressing on others. or even of themselves believing much that appears in the famous declaration of independence, and from singing their own national songs How could they inveigh against the tyranny of others while crushing out the existence of a people who had done them no wrong—had practised on them no injustice; whose only sins against others were their being too confiding to suspect evil, and too weak to offer resistance to aggression? How could they with reason assert their adherence to principles which they deliberately violated, showing by their acts that they had no "decent regard for the opinions of men,"

and that although denouncing oppression they were prepared when opportunity offered to prevent men owing them no allegiance from enjoying their own "unalienable rights in "the pursuit of happiness," and from carrying on their own Government "in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness in the form to which they are accustomed"—to seize their territories, and destroy their institutions.

Should the people tolerate that act, how could they thenceforth proclaim to the world "our cause it is just?" Would they believe their own professions? Could they persuade others to believe them? Would not not such a profession appear like a mockery to Hawaiians and all having interests on Hawaiian soil? The seizure of Hawaii by the Government of the United States, and its ratification by the people in opposition to the expressed wishes of Hawaiians would show that Republicanism could descend to acts of rapine and wrong as wilfully as the most determined despot; that she has no regard to the rights of men or reverence for the laws of God; and that she is not the angel of light her votaries represent her. But Hawaii will not injure her friends by professing to believe Republicanism the monster here conjured up. She desires a continuance of real friendship. but no closer connection, on the part of her great neighbor. She will not for an instant entertain the thought that so long as she shall observe all the conditions of good feilowship, aud faithfully fulfil her international duties, she will be offered a victim to injustice and ambition.

She her chiefs and people, hope to be allowed to live and work out their national life according to their own views; conforming not only as a duty, but a pleasure to the requirements of Christian civilization. They do not wish to injure a soul, They harbour not a thought of

ill-will to anyone, but offer an impartial and hearty welcome in a spirit of confidence and friendliness to all coming to her shores. Chiefs and people alike regard their independence as an inestimable blessing. They hope to retain end transmit it unimpaired to future generations—the true way, they believe, of fulfilling their international duties. As for themselves they desire no grandeur or eclat. They are not ambitious for wealth or fame, unless it be the fame for deeds of charity and truth; and should their country be seized to-morrow, their independence lost, and themselves invited to take allegiance to or under any great nation, they would refuse—their prayer in their new and unhappy condition would be that of the country mouse:

"Give me again my hollow tree,
A crust of bread, and liberty."

Fellow Countrymen !

Let us remember that the eyes of other nations are upon us, and be careful what we do.

The United States, Great Britain and France did not acknowledge our independence until after we had a Constitution and written laws, and when they believed that we would be governed by those laws and maintain a civilized government. Other nations have made treaties with our rulers, because they too had faith in us as a law abiding people. Only a little over a year ago, when, for the first time, our Legislature was called to elect a King, we showed by our self-control that we were worthy of the respect and confidence of the great nations of the earth. To-day we will confirm that good opinion.

In observance of law and order, there is peace, safety and strength.

HAWAIIAN.

Honolulu, February 12th, 1874.

TO THE PUBLIC

A printed circular was issued on Friday morning last, purporting to give an account of certain proceedings in the Privy Council on the previous day, in the course of which a member of His late Majesty's Cabinet had made the announcement that notwithstanding repeated efforts to induce him, the King made no nomination of a Successor, to his Ministers either collectively or individually; whereupon the author of the circular assumes this to be a complete answer to the manifesto issued by Her Majesty QUEEN EMMA.

Under these circumstances the QUEEN deems it not only proper but necessary to repeat, that on more than one occasion, not only to her but to several others who were in attendance upon him, the late King declared his earnest wish and desire that she should succeed him upon the Throne; and that he moreover cautioned and counselled her not to decline said nomination. And Her Majesty farther states that she was informed by the late King that his Ministers had more than once endeavored to influence him in favor of another well-known person as the Successor; that owing to these repeated efforts, and feeling that his Ministers and the Nobles were opposed to his only choice, he was unfortunately debarred from making known his intentions in time and in a suitable form. And moreover, it is proper that Her Majesty should state the fa[illegible] that previous to the King's death she was i[illegible] viewed by persons high in authority, [illegible] quested that she herself should endeavo[illegible] ence the king in favor of another person[illegible]

Thus the truth will appear that the [illegible] not publicly make the nomination whi[illegible] sired,—not because of any want of thoug[illegible] the subject, or from an unwillingness to make [illegible] nomination whatever,—but because there was an absence of any real confidence or sympathy between himself and his chosen advisers. Had there been the slightest indication that *their* favorite would be accepted, there would have been no difficulty or doubt in interpreting the King's wishes.

From the foregoing statement of facts, which is strictly true, it will appear that whatever may be the result of a contested succession, the QUEEN can in no wise be held responsible.

Honolulu, Feb. 9, 1874.

TO THE PUBLIC

THE lineage of Her Majesty EMMA KALELEONALANI, a chiefess of the highest blood, is as follows:

Keliimaikai, who was an own brother of Kamehameha I. was the father of Kaoanaeha who was the mother of FANNY YOUNG KEKELAOKALANI, and this last was the mother of EMMA KALELEONALANI. The Queen is therefore the nearest living connection of Kamehameha I. the conquerer of these Islands, and thus Her rights to the Throne are superior to those of any other person, both legally and by descent.

The Queen is known from one end of the Islands to the other as an eminently kind and benevolent lady. In proof of this we have that noble Institution the Queen's Hospital, established to preserve the life of the nation through the generous labors of Herself and Her Royal Husband.

The Queen is a person of wealth, and possesses extensive lands; the real and personal estate of His late Majesty Lunalilo has been bequathed to Her in reversion after the death of H. H. Chas. Kanaina. The nation is desirous of seeing the government debt discharged, and the Queen if made our Sovereign would be the person to contribute to that discharge by living on Her own private income, and dispensing with any allowance from the Treasury.

The signs of the heavens (na lani) are propitious, and foretell Her becoming the Sovereign and Mother of the nation, for these are Her names: Kalanimalokuloku, Umihulumakaokalani, Kaleleonalani, Lelemaolioli, Lelehauoli, Lelehoola.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

TO THE
HAWAIIAN PEOPLE

ARCHIVES OF HAWAII

WHEREAS, His late lamented Majesty LUNALILO died on the 3rd of Febauary, 1874, without having publicly proclaimed a Successor to the Throne; and whereas,

His late Majesty did before his final sickness, declare his wish and intention that the undersigned should be His Successor on the Throne of the Hawaiian Islands, and enjoined upon me not to decline the same under any circumstances; and whereas,

Many of the Hawaiian people have since the death of His Majesty urged me to place myself in nomination at the ensuing session of the Legislature;

Therefore, in view of the foregoing considerations and my duty to my people and to the memory of the late King, I do hereby announce and declare that I am a Candidate for the Throne of these Hawaiian Islands, and I request my beloved people throughout the group, to assemble peaceably and orderly in their districts, and to give formal expression to their views on this important subject, and to instruct their Representatives in the coming session of the Legislature.

GOD PROTECT HAWAII.

EMMA KALELEONALNNI.

HONOLULU, February 5th, 1874.

HAWAII PONOI---KU I KA WA.

HONOLULU, FEBRUARY 7, 1874.

AT A MEETING of the Privy Council called yesterday to pass appropriate resolutions on the death of His Majesty King Lunalilo,—the Ministry by the Honorable C. R. Bishop, made the following announcement, which we think it advisable to give to the People immediately.

His Excellency said that though the late King was repeatedly urged in the month of September to nominate a Successor to the Throne, he had nominated no one whatever, and that he never had expressed to himself, in his official capacity or otherwise any intention to nominate any person; and speaking for his colleagues (all of whom were present), he was authorized to say that no nomination had been made to them collectively or to either of them individually,—and further, that although repeated efforts were made to induce him to nominate a Successor subsequent to his return to Honolulu, he never expressed any intention to appoint any one, though the Hon. C. R. Bishop frequently told him that he would immediately call the Nobles on the expression of any wish to nominate a Successor.

This seems to us a complete answer to the manifesto signed by EMMA KALELEONALANI.

There can be no doubt by the expression of the immense assembly at Kawaiahao Church on the 4th inst., that the feelings of the People are for the HIGH CHIEF KALAKAUA; and we but echo the opinion of the People and endorse it. We assume that if it had been the wish and intention of the late King that any particular person should succeed, he would have made the nomination. This question is set at rest by the explicit declaration of the Ministers.

KALAKAUA has the strongest claims to the votes and confidence of the People. The Throne of the Kamehamehas is vacant, and a new King is to be chosen,—not of the House of Kamehameha. The HIGH CHIEF KALAKAUA is presented by the people of this city as their choice. He is the eldest male representative of a Princely Hawaiian family, which is undoubtedly next to the House of Kamehameha, and is entitled to the highest consideration in this country.

GOD PROTECT HAWAII!

Long Live the High Chief Kalakaua!

MA KA HALAWAI ana o ka Aha Kukamalu i ka la inehinei, i kaheaia no ka kuka ana i kekahi mau olelo hooholo hooalohaloha kupono no ka make ana o ke Alii ka Moi Lunalilo. Ua hoopuka mai ka Mea Hanohano Bihopa, ma ka aoao o ka Aha Kuhina, i keia mau mea malalo nei, a makou i manao ai he mea kupono ke waiho koke aku imua o na Makaainana.

Ua hoopuka mai ka mea hanohano, oiai, ua koi pinepine ia ka Moi i hala, i ka malama o Sepatemaba, e hoopuka mai i Hope Hooilina no ka Noho Alii; aka, aole nae oia (ka Moi) i hoopuka mai i kona manao no ka hoonoho ana i Hope nona; a aole no hoi i hoopuka mai iaia ponoi i kau wahi manao no ke koho ana i kahi mea ma ke ano i Hope nona ma ka Noho Alii; a ma ka aoao o kona mau hoa Kuhina, ua hai mai oia, aole ka Moi i hala i hoopuka mai imua o lakou, na Kuhina a pau, a i kekahi Kuhina pakahi hoi, i kona manao no kona Hope. A mahope mai nei hoi, i kona manawa i hoi mai ai i Honolulu nei, mai Hawaii mai, ua koi pinepine ia aku oia e hoopuka mai i kona manao no kona Hope, aole loa oia i hoike mai i kona manao e hookohu i kekahi mea; a me ka hai pinepine aku no hoi o Hon. Bihopa, e kahea koke no oia i ka halawai ana o na 'Lii, ina e loaa ana mai iaia mai ka manao ana e hookohu i Hope nona.

Ma ka hoomaopopo ana, me he mea la ia makou he pane kupololei loa keia i ka olelo hoike i puka mai ai i kela la aku nei i kakau inoa ia ai e EMMA KALELEONALANI.

Ma ka nanaina i ka hoopuka leo nui ana o ka halawai nui i malamaia ma ka Luakini o Kawaiahao i ka la 4 nei, aohe he kanalua ana i koe o ka manao makee laulaha o na Makaainana no ke 'LII KALAKAUA; a he hookupinai aku ka makou i ka manao o ka Lehulehu, a me ka apono pu aku ia mea. Ke manao nei makou, ina o ka makemake a me ka manao maoli o ka Moi i hala o ka hookohu ana i kahi mea ana i manao ai i Hope nona ma ka Noho Alii, ina ua hoopuka mai no la oia no ia mea. Aka, o keia ninau ano nui, ua lilo i mea ole ma ka hoike pololei ana mai a na Kuhina.

He mea maopopo no KALAKAUA na kuleana ikaika loa e koho a e paulele nui ai iaia. Ua hakahaka ka Noho Alii o na Kamehameha, a e kohoia ana he Moi hou; aole nae noloko mai o ka Hale o Kamehameha; a ua hoomaopopoia e na Makaainana o keia kulanakauhale o ke 'LII KIEKIE KALAKAUA ka lakou Alii i kaunui loa ai. No ka mea, oia ka makahiapo o kekahi ohana Alii Kiekie o Hawaii nei, i pili koke loa i ka Hale o Kamehameha, a o ka hookohu ana iaia i Moi, he hana kupono loa ia o ka lehulehu o keia mau Mokupuni e hooko ai.

E OLA O HAWAII I KE AKUA!

E Mau ke Ola o ke Alii Kiekie Kalakua!

TO THE PEOPLE!

The President of the public meeting held at Kawaiahao on Wednesday, the 4th of February, 1874, has communicated to me the unanimous sentimeut of that meeting as expressed in the Resolutions adopted, in which you have declared your wish that I should be chosen as King of our beloved country at the session of the Legislative Assembly called to meet on the 12th of this present month.

I sincerely thank you, people of my ancestors, for the expression of your confidence in naming me as the Successor to the Throne; and, knowing myself to be in sympathy with you, I shall study to carry out your wishes.

His late Majesty died without nominating or proclaiming a Successor to the Throne, and it therefore devolves upon the Legislative Assembly, under the Constitution, to elect a Sovereign.

I accept your nomination of myself to this high and responsible position of Guardian of the Government, with the earnest hope that that Government may be conducted wisely, and so as to secure and perpetuate our national independence and the preservation and prosperity of our race.

GOD PRESERVE HAWAII.

KALAKAUA.

Honolulu, February 6th, 1874.

E NA
Makaainana Aloha!!

No ka mea, ua hiki mai i o'u ma ko oukou Peresidena la o ka Halawai Makaainana a oukou i akoakoa ai ma Kawaiahao ma ka Poakolu, Feb. 4, 1874, na hoike ana no ko oukou manao lokahi e like me ka oukou i hooholo ai,—no ke koho ana mai ia'u i Moi no oukou, i makua hoi nana e malama i ko kakou aupuni aloha, a waiho aku i ka hooko ana mai ia makemake o oukou e o'u mau makaainana na ka Ahaolelo e kaheaia ana ma ka Poaha ae nei, Feb. 12, 1874.

No keia, e na makaainana, ke haliu aku nei wau elike me ko oukou leo kahea, oiai, ua hakahaka ko kakou Noho Alii, aole hoi i koho ko kakou Moi i hala aku la i Hooilina no ko kakou aupuni, e hooko no wau i ko oukou makemake, a e hui lokahi like aku hoi me oukou ma ka manao hookahi.

E ae no wau e lilo i Makua malama i ko kakou aupuni ; a e hana me ka hooponopono noiau ana i ke kulana o ko kakou noho'na kuokoa a'u e makemake nui nei e hoomau loa keia noho kuokoa ana o Hawaii nei, a e hoola i ka lahui kanaka.

E OLA E HAWAII!

KALAKAUA.

Honolulu, Feb. 6, 1874.

PART II

SOCIAL: HEALTH, WELFARE AND RELIGION

HAWAIIAN MISSION CHILDREN'S SOCIETY

HOOMANAMANA--IDOLATRY.

BY JAMES BICKNELL.

Idolatry as it is now practiced among Hawaiians is subtile, and not so apparent to the world generally as that form of it which prevailed in 1820, when the Missionaries first arrived in these Islands. There is a necessity for concealment in these days which did not exist in the olden times. The causes which have produced this result are two:—

I. REPRESSIVE EDICTS.

Having experienced the new birth in Christ, Kaahumanu became deeply anxious that her people should attain to the same blessedness. Uniting in her person the office of Missionary teacher as well as that of ruler, it seemed to her necessary in the effort to suppress idolatry, to issue proclamations forbidding the people to worship images. Some, no doubt, destroyed their idols and with sincere desire joined the the Christian religion. But the majority of the people, through fear, concealed their images, and still worshiped the gods in secret.

This state of things has continued until now the King has come out as an idolater, and allied himself to the ancient superstitions. The times have changed since Kaahumanu's rule. Although the fear of the

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chiefs has passed away from the minds of the people, there remains, however, in place of it:

II. THE FEAR OF RIDICULE.

Hawaiians dislike greatly to be called pagans. They desire to present a civilized exterior though their minds be brimful of idolatrous notions. Tax a Hawaiian as being a hoomanamana case, and he will resent it. No matter how deeply he may be engaged in idolatrous practices, he will not admit it. He will deny stoutly that he is an idolater until he is found out, and his practices exposed.

FETICH WORSHIP.

Fetich worship is the form of idolatry prevailing at the present time. It is easy to conceal, and therefore, under present circumstances, it is the most convenient for the people to practice. The fetiches are usually small, and can very readily be carried about the person without being noticed. For instance, Kane o ka poha kaa, is a small pebble stone about the size of a cherry. Kalaipahoa, the symbol of the spirit of revenge, is a wooden fetich, and may be carried in one's dress without much difficulty. This fetich is imagined to have the power of destroying life, and is the most dreaded of all. The possessor of it, if he wishes to kill his enemy, has only to say, "E Kalaipahoa e, e hele oe e pepehi ia mea!" "O Kalaipahoa, go thou and destroy such a one!" The doom of the person so devoted is supposed to be sealed, unless he is protected by a counter influence. Imagination has most to do in this matter. If a Hawaiian believes that some one is praying him to death, his fears become excited, and he dies through the effects of imagination.

Kauila is the counter fetich to the Kalaipahoa. A

person carrying a piece of this wood about him is invulnerable, and proof against the attacks of the Kalaipahoa. This fetich is non-aggressive, its province being simply to withstand the assaults of the Kalaipahoa and other malevolent influences.

Akia has some of the characteristics of the Kalaipahoa. Mokihana, nioi, noni, and some other woods, are said to possess medicinal properties when used as fetiches. Awa root is an important element in sorcery practice. A decoction made from the scrapings of the Kalaipahoa and Kauila woods combined, is in common use. As a wash for the person, it is supposed to be an effectual guard against the anaana—death by sorcery.

Then, there are regalias, badges, and table spreads for the gods. In fact, the number and variety of fetiches is very great. Each fetich represents an akua, or god. When a Hawaiian is dispossessed of his fetich, he is then at sea—the connection between him and the god which the fetich represents, is severed.

The King, it is reported, is striving to bring the system of fetich worship into a concise form of which he shall be the acknowledged head. In the palace is a small room the only furniture in which is a table with a book lying upon it. The book is David Malo's history of Hawaiian traditions and legends, which after his death came into his daughter's possession; the King obtained it through her husband, John Kapena.

Usually before reading, a circuit of the table is made seven times, after which the book is opened with a show of reverence, and then the credulous owner of the sanctum holds converse, in imagination, with the gods and demi-gods. This book is the basis of the present Hale Naua.

All Hawaiians do not possess fetiches; the majority

of them, however, have the idolatrous spirit which is always sure to assert itself in time of sickness.

In Hawaiian, actual fetich worshipers are called, "He poe hoomanamana maoli;" the designation for those who have simply imbibed the idolatrous spirit is, "He poe *puni* hoomanamana."

GODS AND KAHUNAS.

Together with the chief gods, Ku, Lono, Kane, and Kanaloa, Hawaiians also propitiate the aumakuas, ancient heroes; the akua-hoounauna, messenger gods; and the unihipili, guardian angels. The unihipili are the spirits of deceased relatives and friends.

Kalaipahoa is classed as an akua-hoounauna. Tradition is, that his sister Kapo entered into a tree and became a deadly poison. It is quite possible, that many of the deaths attributed to his agency are properly due to his sister.

The orders of the Kahunas existing at the present time are:

First, kahunas who practice medicine only; second, those who preface their incantations with Scripture texts and readings; third, the kahuna-anaana who are thought to possess the power of praying people to death; fourth, the regular Kahunas who claim to be the depositories of the gods, and practice fetich worship in the endeavor to heal diseases.

HALE NAUA—HOUSE OF WISDOM.

The grand divisions of this society are Kilo, Kahuna, and Kuhikuhipuuone.

Kilo is astrology and divination, chiefly the latter. The diviner's art is aided by a prurient imagination, and any one can perceive to what depths of infamy that will lead.

Enough has been said in the foregoing pages to show what the Kahunas are.

Kuhikuhipuuone means chorography. Each professor of the art is a walking encyclopedia, and knows all the particulars relating to the surface of this group of islands. The names of lands, their positions, divisions, boundaries—everything, in fact, connected with them is committed to memory. This division of the Society is the most cleanly. In ancient times, the Hale Naua was composed of the chiefs and higher orders of the people. It was a mark of distinction to be a member of it.

In the Society recently organized, kuhikuhipuuone is the scientific phase which holds its meetings in public. The kilo and kahuna departments being idolatrous, the ceremonies connected with them are performed in secret, and attended by those only who are specially interested.

Not being denounced from the pulpit as it should be, Hawaiians have settled down to the belief that fetich worship is right enough, since the object sought in practicing it is to remove disease. To their minds, sickness is the greatest of all human ills. They fail to perceive, that fetich worship entails the loss of the soul. Instead of tightening their hold of Christ at the approach of death most Hawaiians let go, and apply to the gods to ward off the dreaded end. Through complicity with idolatry, the minds of the majority of church-members become clouded at the supreme moment when they most need the light of Christ.

If Hawaii were virgin soil, it would be an easier matter to deal with the hoomanamana. As it is now, the difficulty lies in the fact that this unclean spirit has intrenched itself in the churches, and is usurping the high places.

How to dispossess the people of their fetiches, and of the trust in the gods, is the most important question confronting the Christian ministry to-day.

When the visions were given to the Apostle John of the unparalleled iniquity that would arise in after years within the church of Rome, it is stated that he "wondered with a great wonder." A person to whom the interior state of the native churches is revealed, experiences the same feeling as the Apostle. The sinuosities of the hoomanamana, its duplicity and guile, its audacity in assuming to be an angel of light, fills him with amazement. For some reason known only to God, the Hawaiian churches have been permitted to fall into the hands of Satan. Let us pray that they may be delivered from captivity, and in the coming time reflect the true light of the Lord.

Idolatry being the chief cause of the decline of piety in the churches, their revival will depend largely upon its successful expulsion. To ignore its presence, and attempt to impel the churches forward in the state that they now are, will only end in defeat. The churches need reforming as well as reviving. No revival work will be permanent which is not based upon a pure heart and conscience.

The idea prevails among Hawaiians that sickness is a visitation from God. This notion, while peculiar to the race, is also in accord with Old Testament prophecies and history. With this belief influencing their minds, they are instructed from the pulpit that it is of no avail to pray to Jehovah for relief from physical ills, they must go elsewhere for help. Having very little confidence in foreign physicians, they therefore resort to the Kahunas as the only hope.

It is almost impossible to induce a Hawaiian to part with his fetiches while he is in health. During sickness is the favorable juncture. After practicing

the incantations, and he finds that the gods fail to heal, then he is willing to give up his fetiches, and serve Jehovah alone. With few exceptions, church-members serve Jehovah during health, and the gods in sickness.

If this be a right diagnosis of their state—there is every reason to believe it is—then it behooves the Christian ministry so to labor that the people shall give up their fetiches as well as their trust in the gods for physical healing. The teachings should be so plain that the hearers shall know and understand, that Jehovah rules over the body as well the soul, and that in everything, whether physical or spiritual, they must apply to Him alone for aid.

Strangers visiting these Islands, and seeing the churches filled with worshipers, entertain the idea that the Hawaiian race is extensively christianized. When the Lord Jesus appeared among the Jews, synagogues abounded in the land; the people also were zealous for the law and the ordinances of religion. "Judge not according to appearance, but judge righteous judgment," is His command to church statisticians.

Crœsus, King of Lydia, asked Solon if he were not a happy man being the possessor of so great riches. The philosopher replied, "I will answer that question when you come to die." When under sentence of death in Cyrus' camp, Crœsus acknowledged the fitness of this answer.

The proper time to judge the Hawaiian's standing in the Kingdom of God is, when he is sick. It is on the sick-bed that his true character is revealed.

The chief business of the Catholic Priests on these islands, is grafting their own superstitions upon the Hawaiian stock. Some of the Mormon native preachers pray to the gods openly. They teach that idola-

try and Christianity are the same in effect, the difference being only in the change of names addressed to the Supreme Being ; and that baptism by immersion atones for sin. No warfare with the hoomanamana is thorough, which does not include a crusade against Popery and Mormonism.

To assail the Kahunas from the public platform, while a necessary thing to be done, will not, however, always result in their downfall. Their citadel is the sick bed-side. If the Christian can dislodge them from their supremacy at this point, the battle is won so far as the hoomanamana is concerned. It is no difficult matter after the spell is broken, to turn the minds of the people to Jehovah the only true God and sole arbiter of events. Unfortunately, the native pastors fear the Kahunas and dare not oppose them ; the sick therefore are neglected. This is the weak point in Protestantism. Not on the public arena, but in the chamber of the sick, is where the decisive battle between Christianity and the Kahunas has to be fought.

THE NEED OF THE CHURCHES.

All through the ages, and even in the darkest days of popery, there have been exceptional cases in which the light of God has shone undimmed by human devices. What the Hawaiian churches really need is light—more light from God. Additional light from God will make what is now the exception, the rule.

How to enable the Hawaiian churches to gain the pure light of the Gospel, is a question well worth consideration at the present time.

The native pastors have been recreant to their trust and not exposed the hoomanamana ; while those of foreign birth, not realizing until lately its presence in the churches as a force, it has remained unchecked.

Now that attention has been directed to it as the great sin of the nation, it should be made the chief objective in the assaults against the empire of sin and darkness. No compromise should be made with it, for until it is suppressed there can be no solid foundation upon which to build Christian churches.

John the Baptist was the forerunner of Christ. In like manner, the preacher of the Gospel should prepare the way of the Holy Spirit by directing men's attention to their sins. It is his part to bring the sinner face to face with the portion of Scripture which bears upon his case; that of the Holy Spirit is to convince of sin and change the heart. The preacher makes the diagnosis, the Holy Spirit affords the remedy. Want of success in Christian work happens through failure on the part of preachers of the Gospel to diagnose aright the state of the people among whom they labor.

In the early years of the Mission on these Islands, idolatry, as it then existed, was the chief object of attack. Of late, attention has been mainly directed to side issues. Idolatry—the root-sin—being overlooked, consequently no general outpouring of the Holy Spirit has taken place such as occurred in 1838, and the following years. Should a return be made to old methods of preaching, there is no doubt of it, revivals will follow.

From the time of Kamehameha V. idolatry has made gradual advances, while Christianity has declined. That monarch did not openly oppose Christianity, his secret practices, however, were against it. The revival of idolatry is more extensive than most people are aware.

A native woman now living at Waianae, spoke in a prayer and conference meeting held in this city, substantially as follows:

"I was born on Hawaii. My parents were pious people, and I was early taught to pray. Unhappily, after arriving at adult age, I married an unbeliever against the wishes of my friends. My husband drew me into idolatry so that at his death, which happened a few years afterwards, I was deeply involved in it, for a great many Kahunas attended him in his sickness.

"I found my present husband at Waianae. He also was an idolater at the time I married him. During a season of sickness with which he was visited about a year and a half ago, we practiced the hoomanamana,, thinking through its means to obtain a cure. One day the District Magistrate called at the house, and seeing what we were doing, he began to teach us the right ways of the Lord. Under his instruction, our minds received the light and we gave up heathen practices. We now serve Jehovah alone."

Her husband, who was sitting by her side, had previously testified that he was freed from idolatry. His wife's testimony, while supplementing his, gave also an account of her early life and education under Christian influences, with the subsequent lapse into idolatry when she married her first husband. It may, perhaps, be well to add, that all the while this woman was living in idolatry she was also enrolled as a member in good and regular standing in the church.

At the same meeting, a member of one of the Honolulu churches stated, that he had during the greater part of his religious life served God with one half of his body and Satan with the other. But about fifteen months previous, through close study of the Bible, he had learned to worship Jehovah with the whole heart. Since this change took place, this man has been very successful in turning others from fetich worship.

A sure test in distinguishing a true Hawaiian Christian is, that through union with the Lord Jesus Christ, he has a knowledge of God's dealings with his soul. The majority of church-members have no religious experience whatever.

It is not the lust of the flesh, neither is it the pride of life, that is repressing the native churches so much as the paralysis of the soul—the inability of the people to cast off the shackles of the ancient superstitions. Those who know what is going on beneath the surface, feel as if nothing but the Presence upon the scene, of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, could unravel the tangle into which religion has been drawn. It seems almost as if light had joined hands with darkness, and that for the time being the two were one. Certainly, it will take patient, self-denying work on the part of Christian teachers to effect a change that shall divide the light from the darkness, and for ever keep it seperate.

MISCONCEPTIONS IN REGARD TO CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.

Knowing the interior as well as the exterior state of their countrymen, the native pastors are conscious that the standing of church members, like their own, is not what it ought to be. The foreign clergy see only the surface life of the people.

The native pastors, with few exceptions, are dominated by the idolatrous spirit, and in their Reports of the state of the churches, they give only the exterior view. Hence it has come to pass, that the foreign clergy are clearly deceived in their estimate of the standing of church members. The illusion is complete; it is as if a man were to live in a brick house which he is mistaking all the while for a stone one. Without being conscious of it, the weight of their influence to-day is on the side of a Christianity whose

adherents fear Jehovah less than they do the heathen gods.

There is a way of getting at the truth of things. Those who desire the truth may find it by searching. Anyone who cares to make a special study of the hoomanamana will find that the statements made in this tract regarding it, are essentially true.

When the land shall have been purged of idolatry, the churches will then be able to take care of themselves without much aid from foreigners. The right material is only needed to make the power of the Holy Spirit invincible in their case. With clean hearts to move upon and mold, the Holy Spirit can make Hawaiians as valiant for the faith as either Americans or Englishmen.

WHY ARE THE HAWAIIANS DYING OUT?

OR, ELEMENTS OF DISABILITY FOR SURVIVAL AMONG THE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE.

By Rev. S. E. Bishop.

[Read to Honolulu Social Science Association, November, 1888.]

Mr. Darwin supplied an expression which has been much in vogue, "The survival of the fittest." This is scarcely applicable in the present case, since in Hawaii nei there is no competitive "struggle for existence" between weaker and stronger races of men. The Hawaiian Islands have been far more than sufficiently productive for the ample supply of the needs of all the people living here since the beginning of this century. So far all the different races have lived in plenty, and in amity with each other. A crowded condition might be conceived as possible in the future, when the thrifty and capable classes would push the inefficient and improvident classes into penury. In such case, one would think the Chinese to be the best fitted for the "struggle for existence," and the Polynesian the least fitted. The former inherits an education of hundreds of generations in living on the minimum of necessaries, also an unequaled patience of industry and tactful thriftiness for procuring those necessaries. The latter, thriftless and indolent in comparison, would be crowded out of the land.

No such conditions exist. There is no struggle to find subsistence. One race is as fit to survive as another, so far as obtaining a living is concerned, in a country where the wages of one day's unskilled labor will purchase all indispensable food and raiment for a whole week. Neither is the climate of Hawaii less favorable to the health of one race than to that of another. It is comparatively a perfect climate, absolutely devoid of extremes of temperature, free from humidity, swept by the ever purging ocean airs, and seemingly incapable of long harboring malarial or zymotic

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Why are the Hawaiians Dying Out?

BY S. E. BISHOP.

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diseases. Possibly an Esquimaux might not thrive here. For all other races, it is an Eden in salubrity.

Yet it is the strange fact—in view of the amiable and attractive qualities of Polynesians, the distressingly sad fact—that simultaneously with the arrival of white men in these islands, the Hawaiian people began rapidly to melt away, and that this waste has continued up to the present with substantial steadiness. At the date of the discovery, Captain Cook estimated the population at 400,000. Later historians have leaned to the more moderate estimate of 250,000. My father who was one of the first party of white men to travel around Hawaii in 1824, then observed such evidences of recent extensive depopulation in all parts of that island, that he very decidedly supported the estimate of Cook. There are now less than 40,000 pure Hawaiians surviving. The later counts have been taken with reasonable accuracy. One is led to suspect that the earlier ones omitted considerable numbers, when one observes the comparative sparseness of native population in every district, as compared with the relatively dense population fifty years ago, when only 125,000 were counted, or little more than three times the present number. With the exception of the towns of Honolulu, Hilo, and Wailuku, every large and populous town in the islands has dwindled to a hamlet since my boyhood, and the then frequent and considerable hamlets scattered everywhere, have almost all disappeared. The recollections of fifty years since are of throngs and swarms of natives everywhere. Yet even then all the talk was of how the islands had become depopulated; even then, in travelling, the deserted sites of villages and hamlets with abandoned plantations were constantly pointed out. Have we now one in six of the ancient numbers of natives, or have we only one in ten? It is immaterial; the fact remains of an enormous depopulation.

And yet, in the total absence of any struggle for existence, all the more or less civilized races migrating here, appear to thrive and multiply abundantly, and the children surpass their parents in health and in stature. At first sight, these foreigners do not average as equal to the Hawaiian. The Chinaman is vastly his inferior in strength, in stature, in symmetry, and in apparent soundness. But the Chinaman lives and propagates, while the Hawaiian dies easily, and

leaves few or no offspring. The Caucasian also comes with his family and multiplies amain.

The query then is, under what peculiar disabilities does the Hawaiian labor, as to vitality and power of propagation, from which the foreign races living here, are exempt? This inquiry is farther complicated by the fact that these disabilities, whatever they are, seem to have first sprung into efficiency upon contact with the white race. The coming of that race appears to have introduced new deleterious influence, and created new conditions, under which the Polynesian, somewhere weak, succumbs. We are to seek to clearly define what these unfavorable conditions are, and wherein the weakness of the native race to withstand these adverse influences, consists.

I here limit our inquiry to the Hawaiians, because with this people only do we possess any intimate acquaintance. A similar state of things prevails more or less throughout Polynesia, and ultimate extinction appears to threaten the native population of most of the groups of Polynesia. We are to endeavor to define the precise causes of depopulation. We should strive to indicate exactly what adverse influences have been steadily at work for five generations to kill off the Hawaiian people. There has been a great deal of vague generalization—of indefinite talk about a weak race succumbing to the stronger. We want to quit vagueness and generalities, and find the answer to the question, "In what respects, particularly and precisely, are the Hawaiian people weaker than their white, or their Mongoloid guests?" This will prepare us for the further inquiry, by what means can this weak race be so invigorated that it will again multiply? Our first effort—perchance unskilled and misdirected, is to diagnose the deadly malady which is slaying the people.

As the leading and most efficient element of weakness in the Hawaiian race, tending to physical decay, we predicate:

1. *Unchastity*. This has always been general among females as well as males. The Hawaiian female was, like males of other races, aggressive in solicitation. It was matter of good form that all proposals should be expressed by the female. It is still so, except to the extent that foreign ideas have permeated society. The records of Cook's discovery of the group indicate that state of things as originally existing. The account written by Dr. Ellis, Cook's chief surgeon, states how at Kauai where they first touched,

Captain Cook was determined, on account of serious disease among his men, to permit no intercourse with the women so as not to introduce disease among the Hawaiians. It was, however, impracticable to prevent the women from swarming over the ships. The native account received from participants by the early missionaries, states that it was arranged in public council that the women should take this course, as the easiest way of obtaining iron and other prized articles from the ships.

Proceeding from Niihau to Alaska, and returning nine months later, Cook's ships made the coast of Hamakua, Hawaii. He again sought to keep the women from his crew, but discovered that they were already infected with the malady. So promiscuous were the habits of the people, that from the first center of infection at Waimea, the malady had in nine months, spread like a fire to the other extremity of the group. This again, is corroborated by the information obtained by the early missionaries as to the spread of the disease. Dr. Ellis describes in words undesirable to here reproduce the grossly aggressive and impetuous action of the females.

It was the universal practice of ordinary hospitality to visitors, to supply them during their sojourn, with the women of the family. Such a matter-of-course tender was a frequent cause of annoyance to the early missionaries in their tours in remoter districts, enjoying the cordial hospitality of the most well-to-do people in their neat thatched cottages. I am not prepared to say how far this heathen custom has now lapsed into disuse. It is certainly one of the old customs sought to be maintained and revived together with the hulas and idolatrous practices. One of the painful experiences of missionaries in the out-districts, was to hear of this practice being carried out in the chief households of his parish when some great man came along with his suite. I speak from repeated personal experience as a missionary pastor.

It may be said in general that chastity had absolutely no recognition. It was simply a thing unknown and unthought of as a virtue in the old domestic life of Hawaii. A woman who withheld herself was counted sour and ungracious. This did not exclude more or less of marital proprietorship, involving an invasion of the husband's right in enjoying his

property without his consent. There was no impurity in it, any more than among brute animals.

There was, however, a salutary limitation of some importance in a frequent stringent guarding of early virginity. Young maidens were quite commonly put under tabu for first use by the chief, after possession by whom all restriction ceased. No sense of a sacredness in chastity seems to have been involved in this, nor any sense of profanation in the contrary. It was only the thought of a special choiceness in an article that was fresh and unused. In the tremendous disturbances of life ensuing upon the advent of the white man, even this solitary restriction perished.

No severe moral reprobation is due to the primitive Hawaiian for what seems to have been an ignorant innocence of easy, promiscuous living, like the free life of animals, without sense of evil. None the less must we deem this social condition more than any other to have incapacitated the Hawaiians from holding their own after the advent of the white man. During the simplicity of aboriginal life, and in the total absence of sexual diseases, the evils resulting from promiscuous intercourse would be minimized. Procreative force remained largely in excess of mortality, so that the teeming population was kept down by infanticide. But to the malady which the white man imported, the unguarded social condition was as tow to the flame. The scorching and withering disease ran like wildfire through the nation. Multitudes died at once, while the survivors remained with poisoned bodies and enfeebled constitutions.

A general impairment of constitutional vigor in the people by venereal disease caused them to fall early victims to other maladies, both native and foreign. All diseases ran riot in their shattered constitutions. They became especially incapacitated to resist pulmonary maladies. The greatly increased prevalence of colds and consumption is doubtless due to this syphilitic diathesis, rather than to change of habits as to clothing, although the latter may have had some unfavorable effect. Probably the pestilence called *Okuu*, whatever its nature, which carried off such a bulk of the population in 1804, owed most of its virulence to the impaired physique of the people.

Another destructive effect of the syphilitic taint is believed to have been an inflaming of sexual passion. It may have

acted as a ferment thrown into the former more quiet pool of promiscuous social living. There can be no doubt that the advent of foreigners in large numbers was attended by an immense increase of debased and bestial living. Ten thousand reckless seamen of the whaling fleet annually frequented these islands and used it as their great brothel. This enormously aggravated and inflamed the normal unchastity of the people. In the presence of the white hordes life became hideously brutalized. To multitudes of young women, gathered into the seaports for profit, from half the households in the country, life became a continuous orgie of beastly excess. All the former slender limitations and restrictions upon an indiscriminate commerce fell to pieces. The stormy and reckless passion of the white man, exulting in his unwonted license, imparted itself to the warm but sluggish Hawaiian nature. Life became a wasteful riot of impurity, propagated from the seaports to the end of the land. There was thus no defense against the new and trying conditions of life through any existing sentiment of the sacredness of chastity. The inevitable consequence was depopulation. The population of brothels and slums has no internal power of multiplying.

In the Report on the subject of Purity adopted by the 144 Bishops convened in the late Pan-Anglican Conference at Lambeth Palace, are the following words; "We solemnly record our conviction that wherever marriage is dishonored, and sins of the flesh are lightly regarded, the home life will be destroyed, and the nation itself will sooner or later, decay and perish." The source of this language will lend it great weight. The Hawaiian nation is a sad witness to their truth.

One of the most destructive consequences of the new physical taint was the enfeeblement of infancy, rendering it difficult for the diseased babes to survive the ignorant and careless dealing of their nurses. The largest increase in the mortality of the Hawaiians was undoubtedly among their infants. The external influences adverse to infant survival among Hawaiians are very great. Chief among these are the practice of feeding with unsuitable nutriment in early infancy, the prevalence of unchecked cutaneous maladies, general lack of watchful care, and evil doses administered by ignorant or superstitious friends. Healthy and vigorous infants, as of the old times, would in good numbers, survive all

these hostile conditions. Those born into the taint of syphilis, with its inward and outward corrosions, had little prospect of surviving other maltreatments, unless some missionary or other beneficent foreigner came to their aid with his simple regimen and alleviations.

Under this general head of Unchastity, as the chief cause of the depletion of the race, a considerable share must be attributed to the extensive loss of procreative power in the males. This loss was probably due in part to syphilitic taint, but is mainly owing to early sexual excess during puberty. In the aboriginal condition, there would seem to have been less tendency to very early indulgence among the males. The nervous irritations of the syphilitic taint, and the exciting excesses pervading native society, may have been causes extending debauching influences even to the children. It is certain that in many districts, deplorable excesses have been found to exist among the school children. It seems to be true that a majority of young Hawaiian men never have children. Those placed early under the discipline of foreigners, in boarding schools or otherwise show exceptions to the common rule. The incapacity seems to be mainly on the part of the males. Young women united to Chinamen or white men are usually quite as fruitful as women of other races. *Per contra*, it is to be noted that such men are apt to select the best conditioned females, also that they are accustomed to restrain and to protect their wives, as Hawaiians do not, and so keep them in healthier condition.

The common record of Hawaiian families is, few or no children born, or perhaps several born, most or all of whom die in infancy. It is exceedingly rare to find a large family surviving to adult age. Nearly all such that I have known were families under the immediate and very parental control of some missionary, with whom the parents had lived from early youth, learning habits of industry, self-control, and civilized domestic living. They were themselves kept in vigor and health, their children were well cared for, and well doctored in sickness. Natives so situated very frequently not only raised large families, but by means of their superior industry, skill and thrift, acquired considerable substance. Being thereby placed in a high social rank among their countrymen, it has too commonly resulted, that most of their children became

dissolute, like the children of the wealthy elsewhere, and the family failed to be continued.

Among other disastrous effects of the universal syphilitic taint was the frequency of miscarriages. It has been the testimony of missionaries and physicians, that a very considerable proportion of native births have been prevented by that cause. In my inquiries in native households, this has been assigned as frequently as any other, as the cause of the absence of children. To make such inquiries is indeed melancholy. One becomes glad to hear that even one or two children are surviving in a household.

Abortion is often attributed to active horseback exercise during pregnancy. As native females used to be continually galloping about, no doubt this has contributed to the evil since 1850, when the common people began generally to possess horses. With the development of good roads, wheels are now coming into very common use by all classes.

2. *Drunkenness.* This should be assigned to no inconsiderable place among disabling conditions. Before the *haole* arrived, the favorite narcotic was *awa* (*piper methysticum*) more commonly known throughout Oceanica as *kava*. A beer of some strength was made by fermenting sweet potato. The sirupy *Ki-root* (*Dracœna Ti*) was also macerated and fermented, becoming still more alcoholic than the potato. This was less acceptable, tending to produce irascibility, while the sour potato swill only inflamed sexuality. No great orgies of drunkenness resulted from the use of any of the foregoing. The vice existed only in mild forms. *Awa* in excess tended to waste and paralyze the system.

With the foreigner came the products of the still. Only then did drunkenness begin to reign. Drunken orgies were an essential part of the beach-comber's paradise on Hawaiian shores. He found the Hawaiian an apt disciple, save that like all savages, he did not know how to stop. The story of the early missionaries is one of constant impediment in their labors from the inebriety of the King and Chiefs, and of frequent annoyance and disturbance from the riotous orgies of the common people. While Kamehameha lived, he put considerable check upon both his people and himself as to temperance. His youthful successor, Liholiho, plunged, with his people, into a carnival of excess.

The contribution of drunkenness to depopulation was

mainly indirect, although powerful. It tended to overturn and destroy whatever remains of wholesome social order and domestic life survived the general wreck consequent upon foreign intercourse. It stimulated the passions; it solved the remaining bonds of self-restraint; it flung prudence to the winds; thus it enhanced the effectiveness of the causes previously described. Intemperance is always a chief ally of impurity. The gin-mill and the brothel are close partners.

3. *Oppression by the Chiefs.* There was a considerable mortality during the first quarter of this century, when the sandal-wood trade was active, caused by the heavy exactions of the King and Chiefs upon the common people to procure this precious commodity, wherewith to liquidate their immense debts to the traders, incurred for yachts and costly luxuries. Great numbers of men were driven into the mountains upon this errand, passing many nights in cold and rain with slight protection and little food. The result was great waste of life, and the almost entire extirpation of the precious tree. Other severe exactions of labor were common. Great levies of labor and supplies were frequently made at a chief's caprice from the tenants of remote estates, to be brought to the island capital. This was an evil much increased by the temptations of foreign trade. No doubt it materially contributed to the decimation of the people. Oppression by chiefs has ceased to be an operative cause for nearly half a century, or since Constitutional government began to exist.

4. *Infectious and Epidemic Diseases.* These have largely added to the destruction of the population. There seems to be good reason for accepting the theory that new diseases attack with more severity and greater fatality races who are unaccustomed to them or to their like. No doubt any race becomes in time somewhat hardened to the diseases which infest it, the weaker and more susceptible individuals being weeded out, and the hardier ones transmitting their resisting power to descendants.

Measles first appeared here in 1849. Great numbers died in all parts of the group. The excess of mortality was attributed to the patients' bathing in order to alleviate the external heat and irritation of the malady.

Small-pox first arrived in 1853. Before vaccination could

be efficiently administered to the natives, the infection had spread over the Island of Oahu, and one-half, or 15,000, of the people on that island perished in a few weeks. After their manner, they rushed to visit their friends when attacked by the disease. Isolation and precaution against infection is foreign to their natures. By the energy of the then "missionary" government quarantine measures were vigorously enforced on the other islands, and the people thoroughly vaccinated, so that only a few hundred deaths occurred. Foreigners were all promptly vaccinated, and nearly all escaped.

Malarial and other epidemics have been repeatedly introduced, and from time to time have produced extensive mortality among the natives. The admirable climate, with its sea-air and the ozone of the mountain land-breezes, seemed in each case rapidly to mitigate the virulence with which earlier cases of the new malady would be characterized, later cases assuming milder forms, until the disease seemed to slowly die out. This was very marked in the instance of what was known as the "Boo-hoo" fever, which attacked all newly arrived foreigners. It was quite severe at its first appearance in 1851, but by 1857 had become a very trifling malady.

Leprosy has been something of a scourge. Probably 4,000 lepers have died in these islands during the past thirty years. The number at present suffering from the disease cannot be more than 1,500, or four per cent. of the native population. For more than a year, or since the end of 1887, there has been a radical improvement in the work of segregating the lepers. There seems reason to believe that soon nearly every leper will have been removed to the excellent asylum at Molokai. The lepers are nearly all natives. The disease very rarely appears among the white or the Mongolian races living here, owing to their carefully avoiding intercourse with lepers. Hawaiians, on the contrary, mingle freely with lepers, in the most intimate daily intercourse. They commonly regard the segregation of their leprous relatives as a cruel and uncalled for severity. This is only one illustration of the habitual indifference of this people to sanitation, whether in physics or in morals.

Indeed, the idea of disease being a product of natural

agencies, and a thing to be averted by physical preventives, seems to be one quite foreign to the Hawaiian's mind, and contrary to his mode of thought. In common with other uncivilized races the world over, they were accustomed to attribute all diseases to the immediate agency of some personal demon, who enters the patient and malignantly distresses and destroys him. This brings us to another, and one of the most destructive of the agencies contributing to the diminution of the Hawaiian people.

5. *Kahunas and Sorcery*. The kahuna is the *medicine man*. He is properly a sorcerer or wizard, whose chief reliance for the relief of disease is the employment of supernatural agencies, although he will also perhaps use drugs and hygienic treatment. From ancient times these men and their arts have been powerful agencies of death, although not seldom effecting a species of "faith cure." When a Hawaiian is ill, his superstitions relatives and friends immediately seek to persuade him that his sickness is owing to the malign presence of some demon, who must either be propitiated or expelled by force. Some *kahuna* is called in to accomplish this object. He is believed to enjoy special power with some patron demon, who may be the one needing to be propitiated, or whose agency may be called in to expel and ovecome the perhaps less powerful agent of the disease. If one *kahuna* proves insufficient to the task, others must be found who possess the special influence needed. The processes employed are always expensive to the patient, and very commonly quite severe.

There are sacrifices of pigs and fowls; there are complex incantations. There are doubtless various efforts allied to mesmeric or hypnotic phenomena. Violent sweatings and purgings are frequently used to promote the expulsion of the demon, with great physical severities of different kinds, such as often are of themselves fatal to the patient. The tension of anxiety and dread is terrible and very weakening. A great mortality results directly from this violent and terrifying treatment. Furthermore, there is a large mortality caused by pure mental apprehension, where no disease originally existed. The sufferer is told that a sorcerer is at work against him; he at once sickens, and is prostrated, and soon dies. Or he is solemnly warned by a learned *kahuna* that he has symptoms of dangerous disease impending. Or

he is conscious of having committed some act, such as the violation of a vow, which has offended the family deity, or *aumakua*, and through mental apprehension, the same effect of sickening ensues. All these things play into the hands of the medicine man, bring him dupes and victims, increase his revenue, and multiply the mortality of the people. It is difficult to determine to what extent these superstitious agencies are still at work. There is painful reason to believe that their activity has been greatly revived of late years. There is much ground for thinking that a large proportion of the more intelligent and educated Hawaiians, when they fall ill, are prone to succumb to the inherited superstition. It is commonly remarked that the Hawaiian, when sick, shows a strange lack of recuperative power. He dies easily. He becomes depressed and surrenders, where other men would recover. Probably in most such cases, the cause is his superstitious belief in a demon, whom he feels working at his vitals, and whom it is hopeless to resist.

6. *Idolatry*. This is intimately connected with the above-named agency. Its chief importance, however, in this discussion, is in its character as the most efficient of all the agencies that disorder the mental and debase the moral action of the people, and which frustrate and neutralize remedial influences. It resembles Drunkenness in this respect, but I think very far exceeds it in its evil ethical efficiency.

All thinkers, of whatever creed or type of skepticism, consider a people's religion to have an immense formative power upon them. The institutions, the customs, and the conduct of a people are certain to be shaped and patterned, in a great degree, after whatever embodiments of moral ideals they believe in, such as deified heroes, and deities of whatever sort whom they fear and worship. If the gods of any nation, like those of early Egypt, are understood to exercise substantial justice, to reward virtue, purity, and temperance, and to punish vice, treachery, and cruelty, such a nation will continue to cherish the higher, and to despise the baser qualities. Righteousness has the sanction of religion, and the nation grows and prospers. The Polytheisms of Egypt, of Greece, of Rome, of Chaldæa, in their earlier and less corrupted forms, exalted much of the higher elements of character; hence a good degree of civilization

became possible under these religions. This was also true of the earlier Brahminism of the Vedas. There is strong evidence that these religions were all corruptions from an original Monotheism, retaining something of that earlier religious recognition of the Righteousness and Benevolence of the Heaven-Father, the Dyaus-Pitar, Zeus-Pater, or Jupiter of the Aryan races. It is most noticeable how, from debased races, these nations imported successively the worship of evil gods—the Baals, Molochs, Astartes, Kalis, gods of lust, cruelty, falsehood, debauchery. These fastened as parasites upon the earlier and cleaner Polytheisms, and so corroded and poisoned the social and political life of those great nations.

Whether, as Fornander maintains, any traces of an ancient Monotheism can be discerned in the Polynesian Pantheon, may be considered doubtful. It is certain, however, that the prevailing characteristics attributed to even the highest gods, such as Fornander's Trinity of Ku, Kane, and Kanaloa, were wretchedly evil and unclean. There are not merely strong tendencies to animalism and cruelty, with frequent lapses into crimes of lust and revenge, such as disfigure Greek mythology. These gods of the Hawaiians become absolute embodiments of bestiality and malignity, like Moloch and other gods of the Canaanites.

The impure and malignant essence of Hawaiian deities is visibly embodied in their images. In contrast to the personal beauty of the Greek gods, the aim and the effort of the carver is to depict an extreme of malignity and sensuality. The lineaments are made as revolting and horrific as the artist can combine them from vicious types of animal savagery, such as the shark or the boar. The first impression is a just one, that a people who worshipped such deities as these images represent could not be otherwise than profoundly perverted in their ethical sentiments.

The various legends of the chief gods abound in attributes of the most excessive bestiality. They are generally incapable of being printed without extensive expurgation. A loathsome filthiness is not mere incident, but forms the groundwork of character, not merely of the great hog-god Kamapuaa, but even of the more human-like Ku and Kane of the chief Trinity.

The moral ideas of the worshippers of such gods could

not fail to suffer extreme perversion. Justice and Purity were in contempt. Cruelty and Lust were exalted into religion. The late Matthew Arnold, eliminating personality from the idea of the God of Christendom, defined Deity as "The Stream of Tendency in the Universe that makes for Righteousness." If we could eliminate these horrific personalities from the Hawaiian Pantheon, we might well count the ideal residuum to stand for the stream of tendency that makes for all wickedness. It was an embodied Diabolism.

As a shaping force upon character, and a moving force upon conduct, this diabolic religion takes its energy from Sorcery. Sorcery brings these evil gods down as living active powers interposing in all circumstances of life. By the arts of the *kahunas* the people were held, and, to a considerable extent, are still held, in habitual fear of these powerful gods and their subordinate demons. Their lives are continually threatened by them. Every internal sense of illness is the deadly touch, sensibly felt, of a god. So the people were held in abject slavery to their gods, and to the priests who could influence them. Slaves to such unclean beings, they tend to be like them; their moral sentiments are overturned; evil becomes good, and good evil. Lewdness, prostitution, indecency, drunkenness, being godlike, are exalted into virtues. Recent practical illustrations of this are not lacking.

One of the foul florescences of this great poison tree of Idolatry is the *Hula*. This is most intimately connected with the whole system, and forms an essential part of its services, just as Sacred Music does of Christian worship. The *hula* dances are habitually idolatrous in practice, having their special patron gods, whom the dancers invoke and worship. The chief posturings and movements of the *hulas* are pantomimes of unnameable lewdness, illustrated and varied with elaborate art, and accompanied with chants of unspeakable foulness of diction and description. This is the Sacred Music of Idolatry, its Opera and its Drama. The multitudes of men, women and children who throng to these royal *hula*-operas there drink in the heathen ethics of social life in unmitigated directness and grossness, made sensational with vivid pantomime of beastliness, and embellished with foul wit and jest in song, extolling and dramatizing impurity. Against such schooling, it must be a powerful civilizing force that can make head and redeem any Hawaiian homes from becoming brothels.

7. *Wifeless Chinese*. This is an evil of recent growth, which acts most perniciously upon the social life of Hawaiians. There are some 20,000 Chinamen of the lowest class, without their women, distributed throughout the islands in close contact with the natives, and in many districts outnumbering the Hawaiian males. The effect is necessarily very destructive to the purity of native families, although not more so than the presence of a similar number of unmarried whites would be. There is no doubt but that many native households in all parts of the country are maintained in comparative affluence by the intimacy of Chinese with their females. Some of the heads of these families are members in good standing in the Protestant churches, whose easy-going native pastors lack the energy and authority to deal with the offenders, while the moral sentiment prevailing both within and outside of the church is too feeble to put them to shame.

The catalogue of destructive elements making for the death of the Hawaiian people, as enumerated above, is an appalling one. It certainly suffices to account for any amount of infertility and mortality. On the other hand, there are many sanative and restorative agencies at work, which inspire hope for the repression of these evils, and afford prospect for the reinforcement and augmentation of healing agencies. I briefly name some of the most efficient:

1. *Government Medical Aid*. Paid physicians are within reach of most of the people, whose services to them are free of charge. Their help should save many more lives than they do, or than they will, so long as the people are taught Idolatry, and to trust in the *kahunas*. It is not in itself a very easy thing for a skilled physician to gain the confidence of the native people in the degree that he needs for any considerable success. It is nearly impossible for him to do so, when contending as he generally is with active superstition in the minds of his patients, and their friends, and with the army of *kahunas* working with all their arts against him. His prescriptions will very commonly be neglected, and his injunctions disobeyed.

I have not the slightest doubt that a hearty reception by

the Hawaiian people of the medical aid now provided, discarding their *kahunas*, would at once cause births to preponderate over deaths.

2. *Hygienic Instruction.* There has been a great deal of instruction given upon the laws of health and simple remedial treatment in the schools and churches, and by means of books. Dr. Judd's translation of Cutter's Anatomy and Physiology was printed nearly fifty years ago, and used as a text book in the leading high school. Such instruction has done great service. It has proved insufficient, however, to make head against the inveterate belief in the supernatural cause of disease. It is likely to continue inadequate, so long as the *kahunas* are encouraged to ply their arts.

3. *School Education.* Book knowledge, and even the much vaunted education in English, have sadly failed to arm Hawaiians against succumbing to superstition and its kindred impurity, either in the ranks of the lowly, or the lofty.

Domestic and Industrial Training in boarding schools has accomplished much more, and is doing excellent work for both sexes, by their practical training in the ethics, the conduct, and the industry of Christian civilization. Several hundred youth of each sex are now enjoying the advantages of such schools conducted by Protestants, Anglicans, and Catholics. Adversely, the youth who go out of these schools are at once plunged into a sea of indescribable temptation. Yet much of our best hopes for the future of the race is in the increasing numbers of these well-trained Hawaiians. They tend to form an elevated and civilized social class of their own. This is opposed and disintegrated by a Hawaiian social leadership, whose tendencies are all adverse.

4. *Christian Instruction* will continue to be regarded by earnest believers in Christianity as the chief effective agency in healing the nation's maladies. They hold that Faith in Christ has power to emancipate from fear of demon-gods: they believe that the implanting of the high ideal of righteousness of which Jesus of Nazareth is the source, will in the end erect in all minds a standard of integrity and purity which will be more effectual than anything else in securing moral and healthy living among the people. Probably the most of the many true and earnest friends of

right living who do not accept the supernatural element of Christian doctrine would agree that for the Hawaiian, in his present mental stage of development, such a faith would be a more efficient antidote than any scientific or philosophical teaching could be.

If it be asked why sixty-eight years of Christian teaching has not availed to lift the Hawaiian people out of the mire of impure living, if it be thus efficacious, its teachers would point to the great increase of adverse influences for the last thirty years, and to the direct fostering of sorcery and *hulas* by authority during that time, and latterly to the promotion of hardly concealed worship of the gods. They would also point to the immense growth of foreign elements whose unfavorable influence has been illustrated in the case of the Chinese. They would also call special attention to the fact that, during the period of powerful missionary ascendancy, say from 1833 to 1853, while nearly the whole people became nominal adherents of Christianity, only a minority become actual members of the churches, while the great majority, although outwardly assenting, remained wedded to their habitual vice, and secretly to their superstitions, and that the more Christian minority gave place by death to another generation far less strongly impressed and less fervid in religious interest.

In accordance with the foregoing statement of facts, as I clearly understand them, and whose substantial correctness I think cannot be gainsaid, there seems to be no radical remedy for the two great causes of infertility and mortality, viz: *Unchastity* and *Sorcery*, except a system of vigorously extirpating those two allied agencies in which they generate and are nourished, the *Hulas* and the *Kahunas*. Both are purely heathen institutions of the most pronounced and detestable type, and are totally incompatible with any true and wholesome civilization. They should both be hunted down and exterminated like the venomous reptiles that they are, poisoning and slaying the people. Until this is done with determined thoroughness, I see little prospect of arresting the decrease of the Hawaiian people.

The Hawaiian Race is one that is well worth saving. With all their sad frailties, they are a noble race of men, physically and morally. They are manly, courageous, enterprising, cordial, generous, unselfish. They are highly receptive of good. They love to look forward and upward,

even though very facile to temptations to slide backward and downward. In an unusual degree, they possess a capacity for fine and ardent enthusiasm for noble ends. Should the Hawaiian people leave no posterity, a very sweet, generous, interesting race will have been lost to the world. They can be saved. They have deserved too well of mankind—they have been too kindly, too friendly, too trustful and magnanimous, not to merit the most devoted efforts to avert their threatening fate, and to set them forward in a hopeful course. It seems as if this might most easily be accomplished, if there were only a wise and resolute purpose to do it.

LETTER TO

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury

IN RESPONSE TO THE APPEAL OF

THE BISHOP OF HONOLULU,

BY

THEO. H. DAVIES.

HONOLULU.

1886.

[Copy.]

HONOLULU, March 13, 1886.

The Most Reverend
THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
Primate of all England,
etc. etc. etc.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP.—I have the honour to transmit herewith, copy (Inclosure No. 1) of a letter which has been addressed to me by the Right Reverend the Bishop of Honolulu, and which will explain the reason for my trespassing upon your Grace's time and attention.

The Bishop's letter first came to my notice during my absence from Honolulu, through the columns of the daily press, and, on my return on the 12th of February, I wrote to the Bishop, pointing out the impossibility of my entering into a discussion regarding questions to which he sought to give an official character, in the presence of my official chief.

I have the honour to transmit a copy (Inclosure No. 2) of my said letter, and also of one (Inclosure No. 3) which I addressed to the Reverend Alexander Mackintosh, whom the Bishop had publicly censured for not refusing to convey a second open letter which I had requested him to submit to the Bishop before publication. May I state, in vindication of Mr. Mackintosh's act, that I hold the Bishop's letter, thanking me for the courtesy which prompted me to send him an early copy of my first open letter, forwarded through Mr. Mackintosh's friendly offices, exactly in the manner

adopted on the second occasion; and that Mr. Mackintosh had been employed by the Bishop in negotiations with me, arising from the said first open letter.

I now learn that the Bishop has appealed to your Grace, in the terms of a letter of which copies were privately circulated before the original left Honolulu and which letter became public property in the following week, by its publication in the journals of this city. I have the honour to transmit a copy (Inclosure No. 4) of the Bishop's letter.

I respectfully beg your Grace to take note that I have accepted with deepest sorrow, every challenge to bring into public notoriety matters which every churchman, every christian, and every citizen should wish to have banished from sight and memory. There is, however, no alternative left to me. It has been advertised in the most public manner, that an appeal would be made to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, against the conduct of the British Vice Consul at Honolulu, who was stated to be acting as the delegate of Her Majesty's Representative at Honolulu, and the Archbishop was requested to bring the said conduct to the notice of Lord Salisbury, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

With permission, I will now proceed to reply to the allegations contained in the Bishop's letter to your Grace, dated February 19th and published in the Honolulu Advertiser of February 26th. The allegations are as follows:

1. That I have charged the Bishop with having framed a dishonourable plan for proceeding with the erection of the Cathedral by which plan a debt of nearly ten thousand dollars would have been kept out of sight, to the injury and loss of the Contractor and Treasurer.

2. That I have charged the Bishop with making a proposal, compliance with which would have been an indictable offence.

3. That these charges were made by me in my capacity as Treasurer of the Cathedral Building Committee.

4. That a vote of the Committe, expressing confidence in the ability, uprightness and zeal of Mr. Davies, in and concerning all his past acts as Treasurer, necessarily expressed approval of the Treasurer's so-called accusations of the Bishop.

It is further stated that the alleged accusations are contained in

a pamphlet entitled "Second open letter to the Right Reverend "Alfred Willis, Bishop of Honolulu."

In order to arrive at the knowledge necessary to pronounce upon the above, I fear that it will be requisite that the whole previous correspondence shall be perused. I have therefore prepared a recital of the circumstances that have led to the present attitude, and I have the honour to transmit a copy (Inclosure No. 5) herewith. I regret that I am compelled to trouble your Grace with such a voluminous report, but it would not be proper for me to send mere extracts, which would be open to the suspicion of having been unfairly selected.

(1) I think it will be evident that so far from charging the Bishop with framing a dishonourable plan for proceeding with the erection of the Cathedral, I am disposed to claim that he neither approved of my plan for proceeding with the erection, nor propounded any other. I claim that by an inaccurate presentation of figures, the Bishop sought to prove that the insignificance of the sum the Committee had to provide, justified his charge against them of wilful inaction in order that a revolutionary scheme of the Treasurer's might be carried out. I claim that if the alleged proofs are unfounded, the accusations based thereon must be unfounded, and that it is due to the gentlemen who have been thus publicly arraigned, that the accusations should be fully proved, or fully withdrawn. I am convinced that the Bishop did actually make the mistake of leaving out of sight $9,712; and that the notoriety he has given to his figures and his accusations now makes him unwilling to admit, even to himself, that his figures can have been wrong. I have laid the figures before several experts, who all confirm my view, but I have been unable to learn that the Bishop would consent to refer the figures to anyone. The unreasonableness of the allegation that I charged the Bishop with a plan for proceeding with the Cathedral, whilst ignoring a debt "to the injury and loss of the contractor and Treasurer" must be apparent, when it is considered that the contractor and Treasurer are the two officials whose co-operation is necessary to *any* plan for proceeding. If the Bishop had alleged that I charged him with *censuring the Committee* on the basis of his having left out of sight $9,712, I should have been unable to refute it; but I should still have maintained that I had treated the "leaving "out of sight" as an unintentional mistake.

(2) The words "indictable offence" first occur in a note (Appendix *dd* in inclosure 5) which was addressed to the Bishop in reference to his displeasure expressed to the Congregational Committee for their not having interpolated in the Bishop's formal letter of authorization, a certain clause to which he had after some discussion, informally agreed. No one can suppose that the Bishop realized the nature of his remonstrance to the Committee, nor can there be any question as to the accuracy of their reply. In the case under review, I similarly contended that if the Building Committee had accepted the loan of $5,000 (proffered with the express stipulation that in the the opinion of the Committee the additional sum necessary to complete the bays could be obtained) when in their opinion there was no prospect of the additional sum being obtained, they would have been liable to indictment by the lender. If the Bishop supposed that the said $5,000 loan would leave, as he says, only $1,200 for the Committee to provide, then he was justified in urging them to accept the loan; but if the Committee knew that there was $11,000 instead of $1,200 to provide, then they were bound to refuse the loan, and they would have been acting illegally and dishonourably in accepting it. The question is simple enough: was the amount $1,200 or $11,000? Any expert would decide it in half an hour. I have only charged that the Bishop is under a mistake, but I must admit that the mistake is becoming a very persistent one.

(3) I must confine myself to a simple denial of the charge that if I have made any accusations, they have been made in my capacity of either Treasurer or Vice Consul.

(4) It must be also unnecessary for me to argue against the claim that a vote, approving the acts of the Treasurer, can have any bearing on "accusations" made by a man who happens to be Treasurer, in a document of which the persons voting have no official knowledge. Moreover, your Grace will perhaps observe that my request for an investigation by the Building Committee into the charges made against me as Treasurer, by the Bishop as President, was dated January 22nd. The Bishop formally declined to call a meeting for this purpose, and on the 28th the members of the Committee sent a requisition to the Bishop which was also declined; whereupon the Vice-President instructed the Secretary to convene a meeting for January 30th, at which meeting it was

unanimously resolved to express the confidence of the Committee in the zeal, ability, and integrity of Mr. Davies, in all his past acts as Treasurer.

I venture to think that this vote cannot be held to apply to anything I may have said or written after the convening of the Committee, even if words could in any case be construed into "acts." The Bishop has, however, taken a different view. In his letter to your Grace, the Bishop correctly states that he received my "second open letter" (containing the alleged accusation) on the 29th of January. This was accompanied by a notification that the circulation of that letter would be suspended during all that day. Upon the 30th of January, the printer was instructed to proceed with his work, and a few copies were given to me late that (Saturday) afternoon, but the general circulation did not take place until the following week. I respectfully contend that the said open letter was a simple letter to the Bishop, until the expiration of the time during which I had agreed to suspend the circulation. At the time of the meeting, I do not know that all the members present were aware of the existence of my letter, they certainly had not all read it, and it was of course in no way referred to by the Committee. I regret to learn, however, that the Bishop now publicly states that the letter which he informs your Grace he only received on the 29th, was circulated *on the 28th;* and that it therefore became one of the acts approved by the Committee; and that consequently the vote of the Reverend George Wallace (and necessarily that of the Reverend Alexander Mackintosh) became an overt act against the Bishop, regarding which your Grace's decision must be awaited before Mr. Wallace can be licensed to minister to the congregation recently formed.

Even if the dates supported the Bishop's theory, it is certain that any attempt on the part of the clergy or anyone else to introduce a discussion regarding the correspondence then going on between the Bishop and myself, and not signed by us as officers of the Committee, must have been ruled out of order. But it appears most unfortunate that the Bishop should permit himself to formally censure the only two priests who are connected with the Cathedral, and should publish these censures throughout the land, without having taken the precaution to compare the dates necessary to secure the foundation for these censures. It is possibly the same inattention to accuracy of detail that led the Bishop

to describe a Vice Consul as "the delegate of Her Majesty's Rep- " resentative" and as such as "attacking the Episcopate." Such an expression is, however unintentional, an affront to Her Majesty's Representative, and it is the more unfortunate that it cannot be recalled, having been first made known through the columns of the daily press.

By thus publicly and persistently introducing the official element, and insisting on a published appeal to your Grace, the Bishop compels me to respond to the appeal and to respectfully ask that a proper investigation may be made.

I have applied for leave of absence which will enable me to arrive in England, as I hope, in July, when I shall hold myself in readiness to meet anyone whom the Bishop of Honolulu may designate, in presence of anyone authorized by your Grace to examine into the circumstances.

I venture to assume your Grace's permission to give such publicity to my defence (without having recourse to the local journals) as shall place my position clearly before those who have thus far become acquainted with the threatened and actual appeals of the Bishop to your Grace.

It will be my duty, also to place copies of this correspondence in the hands of Her Majesty's Commissioner at Honolulu, in order that he may make such representations as he may think proper to the Secretary of State.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord Archbishop,
Your Grace's most obedient humble servant,
THEO. H. DAVIES.

INCLOSURE NO. 1.]

(COPY.)

HONOLULU, Feb'y 2nd, 1886.

TO THEOPHILUS H. DAVIES, ESQ.

SIR:—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your second open letter dated Jan. 28th.

With the letter that accompanied it, addressed to the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh, I have nothing to do, and I fear that Clergyman may have cause to regret that he acted as your obedient servant in handing to his Bishop the accusations of the Vice Consul.

I now stand accused before this community by the British Vice Consul:

(1) Of having formed a most dishonourable plan for proceeding with the erection of the Cathedral, whereby a debt of nearly ten thousand dollars would be kept out of sight.

(2) Of having proposed to certain parties the commission of an indictable offence.

The first of these charges is rendered all the graver by the work in which I am charged with this dishonourable intention, being one undertaken for the glory and honour of God.

These charges affect me not merely as a citizen of Honolulu but, as a Bishop of the Church of God.

If these charges can be sustained, I am no longer worthy of any participation in the government of the Anglican Church, and my name should be struck off the roll of Bishops.

I therefore demand that you prefer these charges against me before the one tribunal to which, as Bishop of Honolulu, I am amenable, that of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

I demand that the letter containing these charges be sent forward to His Grace by the next steamer to San Francisco, and that a copy of the accusation so forwarded be previously published in two English and two Hawaiian newspapers of this city, so that

the whole community may know the nature of the charge laid against me before the Archbishop.

If the charges are found to be true you will rid the Anglican Episcopate of an unworthy member.

If they are found to be false, I shall ask His Grace to call the attention of Lord Salisbury to this attack on the Episcopate, by the delegate of Her Majesty's Representative in Honolulu.

As you now appear in the rôle of public accuser, I shall look to the courtesy of the press to give publicity to this letter.

I am, the accused,

(Signed), ALFRED WILLIS,
Bishop of Honolulu.

INCLOSURE NO. 2.]

(COPY.)

HONOLULU, Feb'y 12th, 1886.

The Right Reverend
THE BISHOP OF HONOLULU.

MY LORD:—I am indebted to the courtesy of the public press for the perusal of your letter of February 2nd, which you did me the honour to publish during my absence from Honolulu, and the original of which reached me to-day.

I have already ventured to remonstrate against your confusion of personal and official acts, and I take note that you now emphasize this confusion to such a degree, as to entirely overshadow the merits, such as they are, of the points at issue.

I beg therefore to state respectfully but absolutely, that I must decline to discuss with you any matters which you may claim to have an official character on my part.

I conceive that the public words or acts of a subordinate official not disavowed by his superior, become virtually the words or acts of the superior, and it therefore only remains for you to lay before Her Majesty's Commissioner (to whom alone I am responsible for

my official conduct) any complaints you may think you have against the British Vice Consul.

This will afford you an opportunity to explain the sense in which you publicly use the words that an attack has been made on the Episcopate by the delegate of Her Majesty's Representative; and to which explanation you will doubtless receive the necessary communication in reply.

I shall not follow your Lordship into print any further, reserving however the right to publish in the future any portion of this correspondence that I may deem proper.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,
(Signed), THEO. H. DAVIES.

INCLOSURE NO. 3.]

(COPY.)

HONOLULU, Feb'y 19th, 1886.

MY DEAR MR. MACKINTOSH:—No part of the Bishop's recent publications has given me more surprise or regret, than the public rebuke which he administers to you through the columns of the "Advertiser" of the 4th instant; especially as this censure arises from your having been requested by me to transmit to the Bishop a letter with a message of peace.

My only reason for seeking your aid was that you, having been absent from Honolulu during the incidents which have led to this disputation, having kept yourself so entirely aloof from the quarrel, and having maintained a position of such loyalty to the Bishop, were better fitted than any other man to act as a friend to both parties.

I am at a loss to know where, within the four corners of my letter, the Bishop can discover the basis for the accusations which he formulates against himself in my name.

But in any case you could have no responsibility for the contents of my letter, and it would indeed have been a surprising

act of disrespect to the Bishop, if you had rejected a letter, addressed to him by a person with whom you knew him to be in direct correspondence, and placed officially in your hands.

By what system of official chivalry the Bishop can publicly affront one of his clergy I do not know, but I am thankful that no such procedure is to be feared in the Civil Service, for if I were to incur the severest censure from Major Wodehouse he would not communicate his rebuke either through or to the daily press.

I remain, my dear sir,

Very faithfully yours,

(Signed), THEO. H. DAVIES.

The Revd. Alex'r Mackintosh.

Inclosure no. 4.]

(COPY OF LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF HONOLULU TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.)

To His Grace, the Most Reverend Father in God Edward White, *by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England, and Metropolitan,*

Alfred Willis, *by Divine Permission Bishop of Honolulu, Sendeth Greeting in the Lord:*

It hath been laid to my charge by Theophilus H. Davies, Esquire, Her Britannic Majesty's Vice Consul in Honolulu, Treasurer of the Honolulu Cathedral Building Committee, in a pamphlet entitled, "Second Open Letter to the Right Reverend Alfred Willis, Bishop of Honolulu,"

First, (1)—That I had formed a most dishonourable plan for proceeding with the erection of the Cathedral now being built in Honolulu, by which plan a debt of nearly ten thousand dollars

would have been kept out of sight to the injury and loss of the Contractor and Treasurer.

Secondly, (2)—That I made a proposal to certain parties, compliance with which would have been an indictable offence.

Moreover, the said open letter, containing the above-mentioned charges, written by the said T. H. Davies, Esquire, in his capacity as Treasurer of the said Building Committee, was presented to me by the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh, Priest of the Cathedral Church, and Secretary of the Committee aforesaid; and further, on the 30th day of January, 1886, the day after the said letter had been received at the hands of the Rev. Alex. Mackintosh, a meeting of the members of the Building Committee aforesaid was held, the Vice President of the Committee presiding, there being present the Reverends George Wallace and Alex. Mackintosh, Secretary aforesaid, both Priests of the Cathedral Church, and several gentlemen of the Laity, including the said T. H. Davies, Esquire, Treasurer, on the minutes of which meeting is recorded a Resolution expressing the confidence of the Committee in the ability, uprightness, and zeal of Mr. Davies *in and concerning all his past acts as Treasurer*, by which Resolution those present at that meeting expressed their approval of the Treasurer's accusations of the Bishop made in his letter of the 28th.

Now, whereas, if these charges are true, they disqualify me from continuing in the exercise of my office as Bishop of the Church of God;

And, whereas it is decreed in the 9th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, that "if a Clergyman has any matter, either against his own or any other Bishop, it be decided by the Synod of the Province;

And, whereas, the Diocese of Honolulu is in an isolated position, unconnected with any Provincial organization to which the matter may be referred, and it was held at the Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion holden at Lambeth in July, 1878, that in such isolated Dioceses "appeals should lie to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be heard by His Grace with such assistance as he may deem best" (*Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, Report* 2, *Section* 6);

And, whereas it is provided by the Canons of the Church of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America that "whenever a Bishop shall have reason to believe that there are

in circulation rumours, reports, or charges affecting his moral or religious character, he may * * * demand of the presiding Bishop * * * to convene a Board of Inquiry * * * to investigate such rumours, reports, and charges" (*Title II, Canon* 9, *Section* 2);

Now, therefore, I, ALFRED, Bishop of Honolulu aforesaid, having due regard to the unity and indivisibility of the Episcopate, as laid down by S. Cyprian (De Unitate Ecclesiæ, Cap. 3), whence it follows that if one member suffer all the members suffer with it, and acting in accordance with the ecclesiastical principles above referred to, do, by these Letters, request Your Grace to institute inquiries into the charges set forth in the "Second Open Letter," aforesaid, to the prejudice and injury as well of my personal character, as of the Episcopal Office, hereby expressing my readiness, if the said Theophilus H. Davies, Esquire, can prove the things whereof he now accuses me, to surrender to Your Grace a jurisdiction I am unworthy to hold, and praying that if the said charges are frivolous and false, Your Grace will declare to the whole Anglican Communion that the Bishop of Honolulu is innocent of the charges laid against him, and will also call the attention of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to this attack of the British Vice Consul at Honolulu upon the Bishop, consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, acting under Royal License, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction in the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 19th day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six, and of my Consecration the fifteenth.

(SEAL) ALFRED HONOLULU.

INCLOSURE No. 5.

RECITAL

(WITH APPENDIX.)

At the request of several friends who are interested, but with great reluctance, I commence the recital of the circumstances which have led to the establishment of what is known as the Second English-speaking Congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral; and in doing so I wish distinctly to state, that throughout this paper, I refer exclusively, when speaking of Church matters, to what has hitherto been known as the Foreign Congregation, (though including many English speaking Hawaiians) for whom a special minister has been nominally licensed, and by whom his stipend has been subscribed. The recital is one which can give little satisfaction to any one, except that it marks a distinct advance in the position of the Anglican Church in Honolulu. Unhappily this alteration has not received the approbation of one who, having been for twelve years Chief Minister of the congregation, was looked to to mould the Church into channels of usefulness, but who at this critical period has resolutely abstained from giving one word of sympathy or counsel. For my share in this movement, I have been especially singled out as the object of reproach and scorn, and I have been by turns charged with the revolutionary activity of a dissenter, and the treacherous inaction of a conspirator. I have been pilloried in print by the Bishop, as a man without honour, untruthful, illmannered, and whose accounts ought to be examined by an expert. I have unflinchingly met every charge, and now my accuser demands, through the public papers, that I shall lay before the Archbishop of Canterbury the accusations which *I* have brought against the Bishop of Honolulu. The terms in which this demand was published appeared to be so disrespectful to Her Majesty's Representative at Honolulu, that I wrote to the Bishop stating that I must decline to discuss with

him matters which he claimed to be official on my part. I now learn that the demand has been actually forwarded to His Grace the Archbishop, and there seems therefore no propriety in my delaying the preparation of the recital which will show what basis there is for the statement that I have made the accusation alleged, or any groundless accusation whatever.

In pursuance of my duty as Treasurer and a member of the Canvassing Committee of the Cathedral Building Fund, it became necessary for me to inform the Bishop, last summer, of the financial outlook. I therefore went to him and stated frankly, but in a perfectly friendly manner, that in consequence of the position of isolation which the Bishop maintained towards all religious and benevolent societies not in strict connection with the Anglican Church, I was convinced of the hopelessness of depending on any further general subscriptions to materially aid our Fund. I especially reminded him of the unhappy difference which had arisen on the occasion of the late Queen Emma's funeral, and which resulted at the time in a most bitter feeling between the Bishop and the community generally. And I stated that we could not expect to affront or slight people, and at the same time successfully seek their generous aid. I then went on to show how disastrous to the prosperity of the Church's work was this lack of sympathy, adding that there was not a single act of christian charity in which our part of the Anglican Church was, as a Church, engaged; and that there was no organized work for its members, except decorating the building for festivals; the most melancholy result being that, with few exceptions, the English speaking lads who have been brought up in Church have, as young men, deserted her services, and nearly all the foreign members of the congregation are those who have been trained in other lands. With tacit encouragement from the Bishop, I went on to say that I believed it would be a good thing if it could be arranged that the so-called foreign congregation could be placed on a self-supporting basis, either by being made into a distinct parish, or by an allotted use of the Cathedral. My avowed object was to enable the said congregation, under a specific clergyman, to establish themselves as a working and responsible body, with such freedom of action as

would be accorded to them if they happened to be in London or San Francisco. The Bishop did not controvert any of my statements, but replied, "That would exclude the Bishop." I claimed that it would not necessarily exclude the Bishop, any more than he would be excluded from any Cathedral or Church in England, but that it seemed a necessity that the person who was known as the pastor in our families should have the direction of their services in church. Without this, there would probably be no relief from the inactive course of the past years, and I earnestly begged the Bishop to consider if he could not initiate some plan by which the laity should be brought into active co-operation and made to feel that they had an individual responsibility for the progress of the Church. I assured the Bishop that if he would inaugurate such a change as I had indicated, he would be astonished at the impetus it would give to the church, and the support it would eventually give to him; and I begged him to forestall in this matter the application which I felt sure would otherwise be made to him. I fear I must have added, that if some such step were not taken I believed the work would ultimately "fizzle out." The Bishop was very friendly and I believe at the time he accepted my remarks as frankly as they were given, although he now charges me with having announced myself on that occasion as a dissenter and with having "aired my schemes for the salvation of the Church." The Bishop permitted me to leave with the impression that he was not dissatisfied with what I had said, and with the tacit belief that he would consider if any plan could be found for attaining the end suggested by me.

Nearly two months had elapsed when the Bishop called a meeting of the Building Committee to discuss the financial ways and means. I felt it to be my duty to make the same statement on this point that I had already made to the Bishop, omitting references of a personal nature. The Bishop said that this was not the place to discuss such matters. I then asked when or where they could be discussed, since no meetings of the congregation were ever called, the Churchwardens themselves having held office for years without the form of re-appointment. I further stated that I had said nothing to the Committee, which had not been already reported without demur to the president. The Committee then decided that my remarks were in order, and the discussion proceeded.

Unquestionably a great many things were said, which it must have grieved the Bishop to hear, and which he would not have heard, had he consented to act in any way on the faithful information given him two months earlier. The pent up disappointment of men who had seen every other congregation in Honolulu grow with the population, whilst ours dwindled, or at best was stationary, was clearly expressed. Appeals were made to the Bishop to at least make trial of the plans named, or to propound some plan which would in his judgment meet the needs expressed. The Committee was unanimous, but the Bishop gave no sign of acquiescence or of refutal. He repeated the complaint that it would exclude the Bishop. Eventually the Bishop said he could take no notice of any application that was not in writing. It was then decided that, to avoid anything like party discussion, a memorandum embodying the views generally expressed should be prepared by the Churchwardens, to be signed by a good representation of the congregation. The meeting adjourned without any indication that the Bishop had any plan to propose, either to aid or to caution or to check us in our movement. It was clear that the so-called exclusion of the Bishop was the actual hindrance, notwithstanding the declaration that we only desired that the minister of the foreign congregation should be placed actually in the position that he held nominally, and that during specified services the Bishop should give up to him the direction which he claimed, not as Bishop, but as Dean.

In perfectly good faith, but with little hope, a memorandum, such as had been suggested in the Bishop's presence, was prepared, (Appendix *a*) and forwarded to the Bishop by Mr. Walker, (one of the Churchwardens) in a letter dated Aug. 25th, (Appendix *b*). Both letter and enclosure reflect accurately the good will and christian candour which had marked the previous discussion. Upon the 29th of August the Bishop replied (Appendix *c*) in a letter which was silent as to any approval of even the good professions of the addressed, and as to any recognition of the verbal grounds which had been made so well known to the Bishop. The letter opened up subjects for endless discussion, and could only be regarded as practically obstructive. Mr. Walker replied September 2d in a letter (Appendix *d*) whose delicacy and judgment must be apparent even to those who are unacquainted with the writer or the circumstances. The Bishop's response of Sept. 7th, (Appendix *e*) is in painful contrast with the foregoing, as well as with Mr. Walker's further letter of Sept. 10th (Appendix *f*) which temporarily closed the correspondence.

It was well known, however, that a "counter memorial was being industriously circulated under the Bishop's auspices, and that unfortunately the canvassing for signatures was entrusted to persons who did not hesitate to represent to some that the object of the original memorialists was to exclude natives; to others that it was to exclude poor people; and to others that it was to exclude high church services and to drive away the Bishop. The document was repeatedly altered to suit the feelings of various signers, and it became such an instrument of partisan and almost electioneering warfare, that all friends of the Church must have felt deeply humiliated.

On the 15th of Sept. Mr. Walker called on the Bishop in the hope that by a personal interview he might avert the impending rupture, and he read to him passages from a letter of Captain Mist, R. N., (the Bishop's Churchwarden) addressed to Mr. Walker (Appendix *g*). This interview led to no satisfactory result and I then wrote to the Bishop, Sept. 16th, with an equally discouraging result (Appendix *h*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *l*).

At last, on the 3rd of October, the Bishop wrote (Appendix *m*) in reply to the memorandum—or as he terms it, memorial—of August 25th, a letter in which is evident a desire to minimize the weight of the said memorial. It covered a declaration and schedule (Appendix *n*), the tenor of which was little calculated to cheer the hearts of those who received it. It was indeed felt that the effect of such a response being presented to the body of the signers would be to irritate, and to foster discord instead of peace. Mr. Walker therefore wrote to the Bishop Oct. 9th (Appendix *o*) and received on the 12th the reply (Appendix *p*) which put an end to all hope of harmony. Still the memorialists determined that they would not enter into any dispute, but quietly pursue the object which appeared to them to be a simple duty. Mr. R. F. Bickerton (police magistrate), Mr. Walker and Mr. T. May were appointed a committee to confer with the Bishop, and they accordingly sent him the note of Oct. 16th (Appendix *q*) pointing out clauses in the schedule to which the Committee were instructed to object. The correspondence was continued (Appendix

r, *s*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *w*), the last named transmitting on Nov. 10th the signed schedule to the Bishop. On Nov. 13th the Bishop wrote a letter (Appendix *x*) censuring the Committee severely for two omissions, in both of which the Bishop was ultimately found to be in error (Appendix *y*, *z*, *aa*, *bb*). In the Bishop's note (Appendix *cc*) he contended that the Committee were expected, and that it was their duty to insert in the Bishop's formal letter of Oct. 3rd (Appendix *m*) a modifying clause which he had merely stated Oct. 24th that he agreed "should be inserted." The Committee (including be it remembered the Police Magistrate and one Churchwarden) replied (Appendix *dd*) that "under no circum-" stances could they regard themselves as authorized to insert or " interpolate a clause over the Bishop's signature; such an act " would be an indictable offence;" and they pressed for a fresh letter bearing the clause referred to over the Bishop's signature. The Bishop on Dec. 2nd wrote (Appendix *ee*) maintaining his position, but agreeing to be guided by the advice of Mr. Justice Preston, who subsequently recommended the Bishop to conform to the request of the Committee.

Finally, on Dec. 4th, the Bishop forwarded to the Committee the letter of permission for the signers of the memorial of Aug. 25th to become a separate congregation upon the discharge within three months from that date of the existing liabilities of the Cathedral Building Committee to the contractors (printed in full in Appendix *ii*). It was a gratification to the memorialists that although the Bishop had not attempted to conceal his displeasure, he had, at Mr. Preston's recommendation, removed all expression of disapprobation from the letter of authorization, as this enabled us to go before the public with an appearance of harmony which we believed would eventually become a reality. In this confidence I commenced a fresh effort to obtain subscriptions, and in two days received promises of $1,200, with further indefinite amounts, and I was confident that the success would justify me before the end of the year in advising the Committee to sign a contract for the two bays to complete our building. I can truly say that I do not believe one word or act on the part of the memorialists had been dictated by any feeling, or in any spirit, except thoughtful desire for the welfare and progress of the Church; and they had allowed no provocation to betray them into any irritated or hasty expression. It was therefere a complete shock to find on the 9th of December, that the matter had become a public scandal, by the publication in the morning and evening papers of a circular letter from the Bishop to the Cathedral Congregation, with most severe censures on the members of the Building Committee and the memorialists (Appendix *jj*). This was regarded as a virtual appeal to the spirit of rivalry which had been already too plainly invoked. The only reply made was the publication by Mr. Walker of the original memorandum of Aug. 25th (Appendix *a*), and the following day (Dec. 12th), the Bishop published the counter-memorial with a letter to the "Advertiser" (Appendix *gg*). On the 15th of December a meeting of those interested in the formation of the new congregation was held, when I made a statement of the steps which had been taken by myself and others leading to this formation. I confined myself to such details as appeared necessary to defend us from the attack of the Bishop, which if undisputed would have thrown a cloud over our prospects from the very start. My statement is given in the Appendix (*hh*); it was privately circulated, for we have not permitted a single appearance in the public papers, in spite of the Bishop's repeated communication of his strictures through that channel.

In fulfillment of his announcement of Dec. 9th, the Bishop, giving us no other notice, withdrew with his staff and scholars from the usual services on the following Sunday, and held services in English at 9:30, giving up the Hawaiian services which had hitherto been held every Sunday morning.

About the 12th of January the Bishop, as President of the Building Committee, issued a "reply to the statement of the Treasurer" (Appendix *ii*) of which I will only say here, that the language used greatly astonished the readers. I answered this letter by "an open letter" (Appendix *jj*), and I beg especial reference to the accompanying note to the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh, whose friendly relations with the Bishop I thus invoked in the interests of peace. I received an intimation that the Bishop had not a word to withdraw and that if I used the word "originator" in my letter (which I accordingly altered to instigator) I should be attacking the King. The Bishop then issued, Jan. 21st, his open reply (Appendix *kk*) and leaving others to judge of the figures and phraseology, I must simply say that the statements regarding my opposition to the synod, and my announcing my-

self either as a Congregationalist or a dissenter are entirely unfounded as far as I am concerned. When the discussion regarding the formation of the synod took place, I was in England, and the opposition of which the Bishop speaks must have been on the part of some one else.

I answered the Bishop's second pamphlet Jan. 28th (Appendix *ll*), and although I abstained from any such gross charges as the Bishop had not hesitated to bring against me, I felt bound to speak with great freedom. I again transmitted my letter through Mr. Mackintosh, in the hope that an early perusal of it would induce the Bishop to submit his statements and figures to some tribunal rather than permit the further publication of such an unseemly dispute. I regret to say that the Bishop persistently declines to submit any part of his statements to referees or to present either proof or apology. On my application, (Appendix *mm*) he was asked to convene a meeting of the Building Committee to take into consideration the document he had published as President, dealing with the minutes and censuring the officers of the Committee, but he refused to either convene or attend a meeting. It was however held and my conduct as Treasurer was unanimously approved.

Thus ends the recital. The Second Congregation has by its harmonious growth, in this short time, justified the forecast that was made. The attendance has greatly increased, the Sunday School is trebled and there are healthy signs for the future. If the Bishop had only been on the lookout for friends instead of enemies—if he had made one single effort to show us that he sympathised in our aspirations, whilst combating our mode of carrying them out, this miserable controversy would never have arisen. If he had cared to guide us by his own judgment instead of simply and silently resisting ours, the Second Congregation need never have been formed. But guided apparently by some unfounded suspicion, the Bishop has included in his public censures the only priests who have for years been connected with the Cathedral, both the Churchwardens who have held office for years without protest from any one, all the officers and all the members who take part in the Building Committee; and on the other hand has not produced one single person, priest or layman, to stand forward and explain or defend his position.

THEO. H. DAVIES.

APPENDIX.

a

The undersigned, members of the English speaking congregation, now worshipping at St. Andrew's Cathedral, Honolulu, beg respectfully to suggest the following steps which they believe would promote, to a very important extent, the welfare of the congregation and the success of the work of the Anglican Church in Honolulu.

1. That the members of the said congregation be formed into a distinct society, having authority to elect their own minister, subject to the approval of the Bishop of the diocese.

2. That the minister so elected shall have full charge of the order of services for the said congregation, during such hours as may be allotted for their having the use of the Cathedral.

3. That the said congregation shall be allowed to have the use of the Cathedral for morning and evening service on Sunday, for evening service on Wednesday, and morning and evening service on festivals and other holidays, and at other times when it may not be required for other services.

4. That the said congregation shall be allowed to have the use of such buildings or parts of buildings as may be available for the purpose for Sunday Schools or other meetings in connection with their church work.

5. That the said congregation shall assume all liability respecting the existing engagement with the Rev. George Wallace, he being licensed by the Bishop as their Minister.

6. That the offertories at the services of the said congregation, except those upon two special days annually which shall be given for such missionary purposes as the Bishop may designate, shall be available for the general expenses of the congregation and expended under their direction, and that the

care and cleaning of the cathedral shall be provided for out of the said funds.

Signed :

A. S. Cleghorn,
T. May,
C. E. Henson,
Theo. H. Davies,
Charles Crozier.
E. W. Jordan,
W. S. Luce,
H. Dudoit,
T. E. Corney,
W. H. Baird,
H. W. Mist,
Alatau T. Atkinson,
Mary F. Benson by H M Benson
W. F. Love,
G. D. Freeth,
Jas. W. Robertson,
Alex. Campbell,
F. M. Hatch,
J. M. Monsarrat,
Thomas Brown,
Thos. R. Walker,
Rich'd F. Bickerton,
M. P. Robinson,
Edward Hutton,
James H. Wodehouse,
T. T. Robertson,
G. E. Smithies,
Malcolm Brown,
Jno. A. Palmer,
A. McKibbin,
Eizabeth Schaefer,
Emily E. Berry,
Fred. Whitney,
Geo. H. Smith,
E. B. Thomas,
Thos. Mellor Starkey,
Pauline McGrew,

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b

Honolulu, August 25th, 1885.

My Lord :—As churchwarden for the congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral, I beg to convey to your Lordship herewith, a statement of suggestions with regard to the English speaking part of that congregation, the adoption of which would, in the earnest opinion of the signers, be of great value in furthering some of the objects which they with you have deeply at heart.

This statement I hope that your Lordship will consider in connection with what you have known from conversation and otherwise to be the motives animating the signers, many of whom will be anxious to assist you by doing their utmost in every way to facilitate arrangement of details connected with the suggested changes, if they obtain your Lordship's assent to the changes themselves.

It is very gratifying to me to record the feeling of warm interest in the welfare not only of the church in Honolulu, but of the whole mission, which has been expressed by many of the signers. And by many, if not all of them, it is felt that the institution of the suggested changes would be accompanied by a new effort which they would do their best to make successful for the extinction of the remaining debt of the Organ Fund and Clergy Fund; and it is very strongly believed that one result of the changes would be in a very material manner to advance the building of the new Cathedral.

With regard to the list of signatures, permit me to say that, in cases in which two or more members of one household belong to the congregation, the signature of only one member has been taken for the household.

I remain, My Lord,
Your obedient servant,
Signed, THOS. R. WALKER,
Churchwarden.

To the Right Rev.
The Bishop of Honolulu,
Honolulu.

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c

Iolani College, Honolulu.

My Dear Mr. Walker:—I beg to acknowledge the receipt on the evening of the 25th inst. of a memorial largely signed by members of the English speaking congregation of St. Andrew's, suggesting certain changes in the control of the Cathedral services, which the signers consider "will promote to a very important extent the welfare of the congregation and the success of the Anglican Church," together with a letter from yourself assuring me of the warm interest felt by the signers of the said memorial in the general work of the mission.

Suggestions offered with this earnest desire for the welfare of the church, and so influentially promoted, are deserving of the most careful consideration.

Now the practical result of carrying out these suggestions will be (1) the severance of that relation in which for twelve years I have stood to the congregation of St. Andrew's (not as Bishop but) as principal Minister of the church, and (2) a change amounting to a reversal of the course which has been followed during the above-named period. My aim has been to unite in one congrega-

tion the English speaking Hawaiians with the Foreign residents. But I observe that the document presented to me proceeds almost entirely from the foreign residents, and on inquiring of the Hawaiian members of the congregation whose signatures are absent, I find that they are not in favor of the suggestions offered. It is true that they form an uninfluential minority. But with the existence of such a minority, the document before me can hardly be regarded as an expression of the desire of the whole English speaking congregation, but rather of the principal foreign residents in that congregation to form themselves into a distinct society.

Thus the first practical result of carrying out the suggestions that are offered will be to create a division in the English speaking congregation. It is the opinion of the signers of the memorial that the welfare of the congregation will be greatly promoted by the course that is desired. In presence of the goodly array of names appended to the memorial, I am not prepared to say that they may not be right in their expectations. But it is evident that this welfare is to be purchased at the cost of division. Upon the Bishop must finally rest the responsibility of determining whether the resultant good demands the price that must be paid. Should the result be different to that which is anticipated, those who now ask for the change may be the first to blame the Bishop for granting it.

The document that has been presented contains no justification of the course that it proposes. It expresses the belief on the part of the signers that the welfare of the congregation will be promoted, but there is a complete absence of any statement of the foundation on which that belief rests.

The questions that arise in considering the proposed change, make it necessary that I should have a statement of the reasons which have led the signers to their belief that the good of the church will be advanced by the adoption of their suggestions. Let me ask you to furnish me, on behalf of the signers, with a statement of the grounds on which this belief is based, which, if it does not convince me of the desirability of the change desired, may hereafter be referred to, should the suggestions be adopted, in justification of the change that I am desired to inaugurate.

There are other reasons why such a statement should be added to the memorial. A change in the system which has been pursued for twelve years is asked for during the absence of one of the Cathedral clergy, whose long experience would have enabled him to render at the present juncture, efficient counsel and advice. Moreover, the proposed change cannot be made without affecting his position. So that not only am I deprived of the united counsel of the Cathedral clergy in this matter, but am bound to guard the interests of an absent clergyman, whilst considering the wishes of the congregation.

Secondly, such a statement is desirable on my own account, because I have been given to understand that the signers have been largely influenced by the attitude in which I am supposed to stand towards those who are in separation from the Church, and that I have denied them the title of fellow Christians. If such statements have been made and have influenced the signers of the memorial, it is most desirable that no personal consideration should hinder them from submitting a full account of the grounds on which they have acted, and which furnish the belief that the suggestions offered will promote the welfare of the Church.

I am, very faithfully yours,

Signed, ALFRED HONOLULU.

August 29th, 1885.

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HONOLULU, September 2nd, 1885.

MY LORD:—In acknowledging receipt of your letter of August 29th, I desire on behalf of the signers of the memorandum which was recently sent to you, to thank you sincerely for your evident recognition of the earnest desire for the welfare of the Church with which it has been presented to you.

With reference to your first conclusion, namely, that a result of carrying out the suggestions contained in the memorandum would be the severance of one of the relations in which you have stood to the Cathedral congregation, I can only point out that, whilst the chief minister has had the control, or at all events the direction of the services, it has been impossible for him in view of his other high responsibilities to undertake that personal acquaintance

with the members of the congregation which would enable him to understand their various circumstances in this relation, and with members of the Anglican communion who have not joined the congregation; and the signers of the memorandum are confident that by acceding to their suggestions your Lordship would considerably increase the number of those who would be attached to the Church and be thus added to the Bishop's flock. Your second conclusion is that a reversal of the course followed during the last twelve years is suggested. I would say that the signers ask a change rather than a reversal; and the stationary if not retrogressive condition of the foreign congregation during a period in which the foreign population of Honolulu has so largely increased, indicates the propriety of the suggestion.

We believe that a considerable portion of the minority of which your Lordship speaks would willingly accept the change, and it would be for you to say whether two English speaking congregations should be maintained, or whether one in which the earnest wishes of the large majority, and of others who they believe would be added to them, should be regarded as to the exercise of a privilege in choosing their method of service which they could lawfully enjoy in probably any community of equal size in England, the United States or the British Colonies.

I may say here that no attempt has been made by the signers to obtain the support to their suggestions of such members of the Church as Messrs. ——, ——, ——, and others, who may fairly consider themselves as belonging also to the native congregation, and who may be presumed to be in accord with the method of worship and the doctrines to which they have been brought up. We are, nevertheless, strongly of opinion that they would be willingly, and far more usefully, attached to a portion of the Church which we believe would increase in numbers and active usefulness, than to one which has not shown such increase, and we are strongly confident that the proposed changes would largely increase the members of the Church.

Division in this case and in this sense would mean accession to numbers, to strength and to ability for increase; and it is the conviction on the part of many of the signers of the necessity for, and advantages of what they propose, which leads them to express their willingness, if your Lordship considers it the preferable plan, to ask that a clergyman may be licensed to take charge

of a congregation in your diocese in some separate edifice in Honolulu which they will endeavor to provide.

This confidently hoped for gain in strength is one which we are sure would afford far greater prospect of an increased field for the work of the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh, for which faithful clergyman you have shown in your letter such due considerations than do the circumstances under which he, in common with the Rev. George Wallace, is at present working. Whilst naming these clergymen, permit me to say that neither of them, nor the Rev. Charles Groser, is aware as far as I know, of the nature of the present correspondence, which is between your Lordship and the laymen who signed the memorandum.

I would respectfully and most earnestly urge, that instead of requiring from the signers a categorical statement of reasons for their suggestions, your Lordship would regard the honest and faithful expression of views which was made at a recent meeting of the Cathedral Building Committee as indicative of the strong opinion of the signers; to record in writing what was then said would be simply to repeat what your Lordship knows, and what it was doubtless a cause for as much pain to you as to each other member of that meeting to hear said. It would, I think, be better to take this course, remembering that many of the signers are people who are animated by feelings of the strongest regard and attachment towards yourself and your clergy, who have, during the period of twelve years which you mention, warmly and earnestly supported the church and its work, willingly disregarding their own opinions on many matters of preference, whilst they believed that general acceptance of the existing system might result in the usefulness and prosperity of the church, and who have now had unwillingly to admit that such a change as they suggest is necessary. To enter further into a statement of cause or effect would, I think, be fruitless; the effect seems to us indisputable and the causes we believe to have been indicated at the Committee meeting to which I have referred.

I remain, My Lord,

Yours very sincerely,

Signed, THOS. R. WALKER.

The Right Rev.

The Bishop of Honolulu.

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IOLANI COLLEGE, HONOLULU, Sept. 7, 1885.

DEAR MR. WALKER:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 2, declining to present such a statement as I asked for in my letter of Aug. 29, which might be appended to the memorial as a justification of the change desired. At the same time I find in your letter a statement which you evidently desire me to accept as the ground on which the suggestion of the memorial is based. You refer to "the stationary, if not retrogressive condition of the foreign congregation," as indicating the propriety of the suggestion. In the absence of any other statement, I presume that this is to be received as a diagnosis of the disease which has prompted the signers to prescribe their suggestions as the remedy.

I observe that you speak now of the foreign congregation. The memorial purported to come from the English speaking congregation. But I learn from your letter that no attempt has been made to obtain the support of Messrs. ——, ——, ——, and other Hawaiian gentlemen to the memorial (though why an exception was made in favor of —————— is not explained.) But the above named gentlemen represent a large and increasing section of the English speaking congregation, for Hawaiians who understand the English language prefer the English to the Hawaiian tongue in Divine service; and since they have not been consulted, it is only right that they should have an opportunity of expressing their views before I give an answer to the memorial, lest by any action on my part with which they are not in sympathy, this section of the congregation should be alienated from the church. It is for them to state whether or not they would be willingly attached to a society which desires to be distinct from that to which they now belong.

Unfortunately, two of the most prominent members of this section of the congregation are now absent from Honolulu, Messrs. —— and ——. But whilst I am as desirous as the signers to avoid any unnecessary delay in arriving at a decision, it is a matter of simple justice that all English speaking members of the church should have an opportunity of declaring their wishes in a matter of such grave importance.

Meanwhile, I am considering how the suggestion, for which I know of no precedent to guide me, can be carried out, provided no objection is raised on the part of those who have not signed the memorial. As to the alternative you mention of providing a new edifice, I cannot for a moment suppose that any member of the Building Committee could concur in such a proposition so long as their present liabilities are undischarged.

I remain, very faithfully yours,

Signed, ALFRED HONOLULU.

T. R. WALKER, ESQ.

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HONOLULU, Sept. 10th, 1885.

MY LORD:—I have received and carefully read your Lordship's letter of the 7th instant.

Permit me to point out that I have not declined to present a statement of the reasons which led to the preparation of the memorandum in question, but that I endeavoured to show that there would be no advantage in the presentation of a statement of reasons which must be as well known to your Lordship as to myself, and which "it was doubtless a cause of as much pain to you as to the other members" of the recent meeting of the Building Committee to hear. There would be no difficulty in preparing a record of the opinions advanced by all the members of the Committee present at that meeting; but, as it was in reply to the expression of those opinions that you suggested the preparation of the memorandum, I am still strongly of opinion that the record is neither necessary nor in the interest of church work and harmony desirable.

With regard to my use of the terms "English-speaking" and "Foreign" there can be no room for doubt that they are intended in one sense, and that is to describe the congregation for which a special foreign clergyman has been designated as minister. I have most willingly given up whatever time I could spare to the elaboration of this question in such points as I understood you to suggest, and I beg that your Lordship will interpret the subject from what you know to be its spirit, rather than in the light of errors and omissions which you will undoubtedly be able to discover in my own modes of expression. The signatures of those

members of the church whom you mention and who are alluded to in my letter of September 2nd were not sought for the reason I named in that letter; and this course was taken at the suggestion of Mr. ———, who said he thought it would be preferred by you. If I was mistaken in this respect, and if you desire it, I will ask the opinions of some of those whose names were thus omitted.

May I add that, whilst I cannot trace any connection between the scheme for providing a separate building and the liabilities of the Cathedral Building Committee, I am very strongly convinced of the objection to any such scheme if it can be avoided; and hence it is my anxiety that, by meeting what your Lordship must be convinced is the overwhelming weight of opinion amongst the congregation, you will draw their sympathies closer rather than encourage an opposite tendency.

I remain, my Lord,

Yours very sincerely,

Sd, THOS. R. WALKER.

The Right Rev.
The Bishop of Honolulu,
Honolulu.

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HONOLULU, Sunday, Aug. 23rd.

MY DEAR WALKER:—I wish to write a word or two to put on record my ideas, and reasons for signing the propositions lately drawn up for presentation to the Bishop, as well as the limitations which I wish to be understood as part of my acquiescence in the movement.

I signed the paper, first, because I am most fully aware of the undeniable lack of vitality, inability not only to enlarge its sphere of usefulness, but even to maintain its struggling existence, of the English Church in these Islands as hitherto administered.

Being fully in accord then with the rest of our fellow worshippers, so far, it seemed to me somewhat inconsistent or unreasonable, had I, when a remedy for acknowledged evil is suggested, refused either to accept it or to offer an alternative; moreover,

had I withheld my name, my reasons for doing so would be liable to misinterpretation.

However, having signed, I should wish you to understand the position in which I place myself. I look upon the written proposal, not as an ultimatum, but as the opening of what I hope may lead to friendly discussion and to satisfactory re-organization. I look upon the terms propounded, not as the horn of a dilemma, but as a basis for negotiation.

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H. W. MIST.

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HONOLULU, Sept. 16th, 1885.

MY DEAR BISHOP:—I write with some diffidence, lest I should be intruding personally in a matter upon which you do not desire me to speak now.

But I am so afraid of the harm which must result if you should fail to realize the spirit in which the subject of the future of the services has been raised, that I venture to address you specially on that point.

It is to my sense a great disadvantage that our congregation has never an opportunity of consulting or being consulted on the questions connected with our congregational interests. It seems to me that properly regulated, such ventilation would be as conducive to health in spiritual as in temporal life.

The financial dilemma which now faces us, has compelled an expression of a belief which has, I know, for some time existed, that probably such an alteration as has been suggested, would relieve the stagnation from which we undoubtedly suffer.

My purpose now is not to discuss the suggestion, but to assure you that it emanates from men who are earnest in their desire to promote the prosperity of the Church under your hands, and who wish to aid rather than impede you in this work. It may be that the judgment of all of us is at fault, but even so I pray you to believe that our feeling is one of personal friendship to yourself and support to your official status.

My own hope was that you would on consideration, recognize the sincerity and wisdom of our *aim*, and that you would endeavour to cultivate the friendliness of our intentions, by taking some of us into your confidence sufficiently to show that there was that harmony of spirit amongst us which lies at the very foundation of success.

It would be most melancholy if the increase of vigour we desired should consist in the sense of either triumph or defeat; and I earnestly hope you will accept this interpretation, and whatever reply you may return to the suggestion of so many of your members, I trust it may carry with it an evidence that the bonds of the Church are drawing more closely together the Chief Pastor and his flock.

It is painful to hear that "the congregation have threatened to withhold the money"—that "the Bishop will not let the congregation dictate," and so forth; all the creation of gossip mongers, but which strike fatal blows at our peace.

If you do not approve of, or do not see your way to carry out either of the suggestions, it would, I think, be better to have it so stated as early as possible, and in such a manner, I hope, as would deprive the receipt of the reply of any inference that you did not realize the good will of those who invited it.

I write in great haste, but the matter has been on my mind for some days, and I have been occupied at home.

If I can do anything to show you how earnestly I desire to contribute to your personal gratification in any movement that you and those whom you think it well to consult shall decide to be for the good of the Church in Honolulu, and for the glory of the Great Head, I shall gladly carry it out.

I am, my dear Bishop,
Yours faithfully,
THEO. H. DAVIES.

P. S.—On looking over my hasty letter, I fear it may seem that I am improperly pressing for a decision. Please understand that I only meant that an early settlement would end all gossip, which otherwise might grow so fast as to defeat the object we had in securing the good will and sympathy of our neighbours.

i

IOLANI COLLEGE, HONOLULU, Sept. 16, 1885.

MY DEAR MR. DAVIES.—Yours of this date was duly received this afternoon. I conclude that being so occupied at home you have not seen Mr. Walker since he called on me yesterday, or you would have learnt from him what I have stated in my correspondence, and repeated to him yesterday by word of mouth, that there will be no unnecessary delay in my final reply to the suggestions that have been offered, to the consideration of which a great deal of time has been devoted.

It surely cannot be expected of me that I should enter into a separate correspondence with the individual signers of the memorial. Nor can I see what room remains for consultation with those who, in place of asking for an inquiry into the causes of the present stagnation, have already made up their minds on the subject, and in the form of suggestions have presented certain demands in compliance with which, on my part, lies, in their judgment, the remedy for that stagnation.

I am, very faithfully yours,
ALFRED HONOLULU.

THEO. H. DAVIES, ESQ.

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HONOLULU, Sept. 24th, 1885.

MY DEAR BISHOP.—I am sorry that I have been unable to acknowledge earlier your letter of Sept. 16th, and may I add that I am disappointed that you did not write me in a more gracious tone.

I do not think that anyone would expect you to enter into separate correspondence with the individual signers, nor do I think that many of them would invite such correspondence, but I did expect that the assurances of friendly and Christian disposition which my letter conveyed would be received with courtesy and even with satisfaction.

Permit me to remind you that the memorandum forwarded to you was prepared at your own request, and after you had listened

to a statement of different views to which you were asked to add your own for our guidance.

May I further remind you that many weeks before that, I laid before you my views of our present condition, with the suggestion of what I believed to be the alternative remedies.

You did not question the statement nor reply to the suggestions, and I do not know that the subject was ever raised again, until without any conference with other members I opened it at the committee meeting.

The views then expressed were individual opinions, and you naturally stated that the subject was so important that you did not wish to make a reply until the matter was embodied in form of memorandum.

Your wish has been simply carried out, and there is surely no room for the reproach that the signers have forfeited their fitness for consultation, or have presented any demands. It would have been preferable in many ways if you had been willing to take the initiative, but you stated that you could only act in response to an application.

Under these circumstances I cannot avoid thinking that some means might advantageously have been found, whereby counsel and confidence might have been afforded to those who have not said one word to hinder.

I am, my dear Bishop,
Yours very faithfully,
THEO. H. DAVIES.

The Right Rev'd,
The BISHOP OF HONOLULU.

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IOLANI COLLEGE, HONOLULU, Sept. 24, 1885.

MY DEAR MR. DAVIES:—I have received your letter of this date charging me with a lack of courtesy in my reply to yours of the 16th, a charge wholly uncalled for. There was no occasion for you to have required me to write at all, Mr. Walker having called on me officially on behalf of the signers the previous afternoon, and having received a reply to the question which your letter repeated. I replied briefly, but not discourteously.

To what purpose your present letter is written I fail to discover.

1. When you remind me that the memorandum was prepared *at my request* you commit yourself to a statement that is open to question. The facts are these: Members of the Building Committee were anxious that I should consider certain views to which they gave expression on Church matters. I declined to recognize the Building Committee as a committee on general church questions. The question was asked, how should their views obtain due consideration? I replied, by a memorandum from the congregation, if the views of the Building Committee are those of the congregation. I thus pointed out the proper mode of procedure, and because I did this you now assert that I requested such procedure to be taken.

2. And when you next remind me how "I laid before you my "views of our present condition with suggestions of what I be- "lieved to be the *alternative* remedies"—that word "alternative" is sufficient evidence that there is no room from your point of view for consultation, except as to which of the two courses should be followed. I have never stated that the signers have forfeited their *fitness* for consultation, but that by the nature of their memorandum they have left no *room* for it. Had the memorandum stated that certain causes for dissatisfaction had arisen, and it was desired that an inquiry be made as to the remedy, opportunity for consultation would have been given. But, instead of this, it "suggests" that a certain course be followed, to which an "alternative" the same as that which you had previously proposed, is added by the official correspondent of the signers. In the minds of the signers there is, therefore, no *third* course, so that it simply remains for me to state whether the "suggestions" which I repeat are of the nature of demands, can be carried out, and if so, in what manner.

3. If you think that I have not sufficiently appreciated your "assurances of friendly and christian disposition," I am forced to add that such assurances are not easily reconciled with the spirit which finds expression in such choice language as that the Mission will probably "fizzle out," which you thought fit to make use of in my house at the interview referred to above.

I am, very faithfully yours,
ALFRED HONOLULU.

THEO. H. DAVIES, ESQ.

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HONOLULU, Sept. 25, 1885.

MY DEAR BISHOP:—I have received your letter of the 24th, and I must admit that I can no longer anticipate any good result from a correspondence which I somewhat hopefully commenced.

Your statement, that the use of the words "fizzle out" in forecasting a result which I was urging you to avoid is not easily reconciled with the sincerity of the friendly assurances with which my arguments were accompanied, is beyond my comprehension. I must however leave that, and the discrepancy between our respective recollections of what occurred at the meeting of the Building Committee.

I shall not trouble you with any further letters upon the subject.

I am, my dear Bishop,
Yours faithfully,
THEO. H. DAVIES.

The Right Rev'd,
The BISHOP OF HONOLULU.

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IOLANI COLLEGE, HONOLULU, Oct. 3, 1885.

MY DEAR MR. WALKER:—Circumstances over which I have had no control have delayed my reply to the memorial of August 25 longer than I anticipated. I am at length able to hand it to you herewith. One remark that I made in my letter to you of August 29 I desire to correct. I therein stated that those of the English-speaking congregation whose signatures were absent from that memorial were "an uninfluential minority" of the congregation. A document signed by His Majesty the King and sixty other persons of whom over forty are communicants stating that they have no wish to be united to any society that will be distinct from the Cathedral congregation to which they belong, is sufficient evidence that the members of the Church speaking the English language who do not sympathize with the purport of the memorial of August 25 are neither a minority nor uninfluential.

But whilst anxious to maintain intact the present administration and services of the Cathedral, the signers of the said document offer no objection to my granting the wishes of the signers of the memorial of August 25, provided the services of the Cathedral as at present conducted are maintained.

The conditions on which those wishes can be granted are accordingly stated in the schedule accompanying my reply. On receiving this schedule signed by a committee of the proposed new congregation I am ready to give my written permission for such distinct congregation to be formed.

I remain, very faithfully yours,
Signed, ALFRED HONOLULU.

T. R. WALKER, ESQ.

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A Memorial signed by the Hon. A. S. Cleghorn, Thomas Brown, Esq., Thomas May, Esq., Thomas R. Walker, Esq., C. E. Henson, Esq., Richard F. Bickerton, Esq., Theo. H. Davies, Esq., and 30 other members of the English-speaking congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral, having been presented to me dated August 25, 1885 expressing the desire of the signers to become a society distinct from the congregation of the Cathedral Church of S. Andrew, Honolulu, having authority to appoint their own Minister subject to the approval of the Bishop, and permission to use the Cathedral Church for services at such hours on Sundays, Festivals, and Wednesday evenings as may be allotted to them, the sums received at the offertories at such services to be expended under the direction of the officers of such congregation; Whilst deeply grieved that the signers of the said memorial should desire to separate themselves from their brethren of the one household of faith, so that in place of bearing their share in maintaining the clergy and services of the Cathedral as heretofore they may become a distinct congregation, and whilst worshipping in the same church and in the same language may hold their services at different hours from the Cathedral Congregation; Nevertheless, that I may not oppose what the signers of the said

memorial regard as their just demands, I am willing to give and grant my permission to the said signers to become such separate congregation, having authority to choose their own minister, subject to the approval of the Bishop, and permission to worship separate from their brethren in the Cathedral Church on receiving their agreement to and acceptance of the conditions of becoming such separate congregation, as are set forth in the schedule hereto attached. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this third day of October, 1885.

Signed, ALFRED HONOLULU.

SCHEDULE.

The undersigned on behalf of the signers of a Memorial dated August 25, 1885, requesting that the said signers may be formed into a separate congregation, having authority to choose their own Minister, subject to the approval of the Bishop, and to hold their services under the direction of such Minister in the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew, Honolulu, hereby agree to and accept all and singular the conditions of becoming such separate congregation set forth as follows:

1. That they assume all existing liabilities for the running expenses of the Cathedral Church, the salaries of the organist, verger, and organ-blower, as well as for the stipend of the Rev. George Wallace, up to the date at which they become such separate congregation.

2. That they guarantee the liquidation of the debt outstanding on the completed portion of the new Cathedral and undertake that, without any further demands as a condition of proceeding with the building, they will co-operate heartily with the Bishop and the Cathedral congregation in the erection of two bays of the Nave.

3. That if any Clergyman now in the Diocese be invited by, and should accept the invitation of the said separate congregation to be their Minister it shall be necessary for him to resign whatever license he now holds from the Bishop, in order that he may be duly licensed to be Minister of such separate congregation.

4. That should the office of such Minister become vacant, and the congregation be desirous that a new Minister be appointed, the privilege of choosing such Minister shall be exercised as follows, subject to any statute that may hereafter be made by the Synod, for the appointment of Pastors to parishes and congregations.

(1) The congregation shall appoint two Nominators, both of whom shall be communicants and shall sign a schedule as follows:

"I do declare that I am a member of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Honolulu, in union and full communion with the Church of England and her daughter Churches throughout the world, and that I belong to no other religious body."

The schedule so signed shall be forwarded to the Bishop with the notice of the appointment of the said Nominators.

(2) It shall be the duty of the said Nominators to submit to the Bishop for his approval the name of the Clergy man whom they have selected. But the Bishop shall not be expected to signify his approval or disapproval of any Clergyman whose name is submitted, until he has had full time for inquiry into the character and antecedents of such Clergyman.

(3) Should the Nominators desire to delegate their right of nomination to any person in England, the United States, or elsewhere, such delegates shall be chosen by the Bishop and Nominators together, and the selection by such delegates shall be final.

(4) That before such Clergyman is licensed, the Churchwardens or a committee of such congregation shall give the Bishop a guarantee that the stipulated stipend of such Clergyman shall be paid in full in regular quarterly payments for a stated period of not less than two years, and that they will at no time make any abatement from the said stipend without three months notice being given to the said Clergyman, nor desire his resignation without six months notice and the payment of the passage of himself and family to the country from which he came.

5. That the duties of the Churchwardens of such distinct congregation are limited to the maintenance of order among their own congregation during the time of public worship, the disposal with the Minister of money given at the offertory, and the oversight of the Clergy and laity of that congregation in respect to their observance of and obedience to the laws of the Church.

6. That the Wardens of such distinct congregation shall quarterly pay to the Wardens of the Cathedral a certain share to be hereafter determined of the expenses of lighting, cleaning and keeping in repair the Cathedral Church, the organ, and all things necessary for Divine service.

7. That the said congregation shall have the use for Sunday School and other meetings of whatever buildings are used by the Cathedral congregation for the same purpose.

8. That on the occasion of decorating the Cathedral for the great Festivals of the church, the members of such distinct congregation shall have full liberty to unite with the Cathedral congregation, acting under the direction of the Bishop or his representative.

9. That if such distinct congregation desire to introduce any temporary decorations at any other time, leave shall be granted on application, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made with regard to decorations by the Cathedral authorities.

10. That such distinct congregation be styled, "The Foreign Congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral," and the Pastor of such congregation, "The Minister of the Foreign Congregation."

11. That in accordance with long established usage, the offerings of such Foreign Congregation on Christmas day, and one other day in the year be set apart for some Diocesan or Missionary purpose as the Bishop may appoint.

12. That under the foregoing regulations (saving all rights in the Cathedral Church to the Bishop of the Diocese and his successors) the said Foreign Congregation shall have the use of the Cathedral Church on Sundays, Holy-Days and Fast-Days at a quarter after eleven in the forenoon, and at half-past seven in the evening, and at half-past seven on Wednesday evenings, for the regular services of the Church, and also for occasional services at other times which are not appointed for any regular or occasional service to be conducted by one of the Cathedral Clergy. But the Cathedral authorities are not hereby debarred from allotting different hours for the services of the Foreign Congregation, should they require the above-mentioned hours for their own services.

HONOLULU, October 9th, 1885.

MY LORD:—I beg to acknowledge the receipt on the 5th inst. of your Lordship's letter of October 3rd enclosing a statement of the conditions upon which you are prepared to assent to the carrying out of the suggestions presented to you on August 26th.

Before conveying the statement and letter to the signers of the memorandum of suggestions I trust I may have your permission to indicate one or two clauses in these documents which I would respectfully urge you to modify, inasmuch as they would be likely to carry to some readers a meaning which has probably not been your Lordship's intention, and which has certainly not been the intention of the said signers.

In the statement signed by the Bishop it is said that the desire of the signers of the memorandum is to separate themselves from their brethren, "so that in place of bearing their share in maintaining the clergy and services of the Cathedral, they may become a distinct congregation," as though parsimony were their leading motive. There is no expression in the memorandum of August 25th which can properly bear this interpretation, and I cannot see how your Lordship could so understand it. The signers on the contrary proposed distinctly to assume all the expense they have heretofore borne in the support of the clergy, and in addition to provide for the whole cost of the care and cleaning of the Cathedral.

The Schedule itself seems to meet, so far as I can judge, in a satisfactory manner and degree, the suggestions of the said signers; but its second clause contains a stipulation which not only is impracticable in itself, but which assumes that the assurances of hearty co-operation and good will contained in my letter of August 25th were either not credited or not valued by your Lordship. Any such imputation would be calculated to check rather than to encourage the hearty co-operation which has already been promised, and which this clause distinctly stipulates for. Financial responsibility can only be undertaken by individuals or corporations, and, as no one will have a greater interest in the completion of the Chancel and building of two bays of the nave of the Cathedral than the signers, I hope that you will prefer rather to trust to the good feeling and generous effort of this not inconsiderable

portion of your Lordship's episcopal charge than to impose conditions likely to leave a wound in their minds which many years may not heal.

With respect to the inaccuracy of expression in your former letter which you desire to correct as to the non-signers being "an uninfluential minority," I would point out that the signers have not claimed to be a majority in either influence or numbers; and I should be very glad if this correspondence could be brought before the signers of the memorandum without statement of the fact that a counter-memorial had been presented to your Lordship. The very strong desire of the signers I believe to be that they should unite cordially with all the officers and members of the Cathedral organization; and, if these officers and members are in favour, as you intimate, of the accordance of the distinctive position which was suggested, I consider that the introduction of anything bearing so plain an appearance of rivalry can only be made to the injury of the harmony which has hitherto existed amongst all portions of the congregation.

I remain, my Lord,

Yours very sincerely,

Signed, THOS. R. WALKER.

To the Right Rev.
The Lord Bishop of Honolulu,
Honolulu.

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Iolani College, Honolulu, Oct. 12, 1885.

My Dear Mr. Walker:—I have received your letter of Oct. 9, commenting on my official reply to the Memorial which had been in your hands since the 5th, but which had not, you say, been laid before the signers.

I am therefore to suppose that the letter before me expresses merely your own private opinion, and not that of any others. As such, I cannot see that it requires any reply. But if an explanation of the points to which you take exception will facilitate a conclusion of this matter, I have no objection to giving it.

1. The sentence "so that in place of bearing their share", etc., *imputes* nothing whatsoever. It is a simple statement of the result of what the signers ask. The support now given by them to maintain the Cathedral services will thenceforth be taken to maintain services held by a "distinct congregation" which at present has no existence as such.

2. Art. No. 2 in the Schedule you declare to be impracticable because "financial responsibility can only be borne by individuals or corporations." Yet on the previous page of your letter you write: "The signers assume all the expense they have heretofore borne in the support of the clergy." If they can bear financial responsibility in the one case they can also in the other.

Further, you refer me to your letter of Aug. 25, as containing assurances on which you think I might dispense with this Art. The sentence you refer to is as follows: "It is strongly believed that one result of the change would be in a very material manner to advance the building of the new Cathedral." You say that my stipulation argues that this assurance is either not credited or not valued. So far from this, the article in question is based upon the credit I gave to the assurance. If I have either not valued it at its full worth or valued it too highly, it is for the signers to say what financial responsiblity is to be put to its credit. Matters have reached a stage when vague assurances will not suffice. Lishman is pressing for the payment of a contract which is now due, which I signed as President of a Committee of which the greater number are among the signers of the Memorial. I signed in good faith that every effort would be made by the Committee to raise the money. Instead of this demands of a nature wholly foreign to the purpose for which the Committee was appointed have been brought forward, compliance with which has been made a condition of raising the required funds. It is therefore a matter of simple straightforward justice that the Committee or rather the signers who are acting at the instigation of the Committee should relieve me of all personal liability in the matter of the contract which is now due, on the granting of their demands. If it is wished that Art. 2 be erased from the Schedule then let the Finance Committee at once raise the amount required to meet our present liabilities (of which I am ready to bear my share), let the contract be paid, and there will be no longer any occasion for the insertion of said Art. 2.

3. As for the last paragraph of your letter, however you may now deprecate "the introduction of anything bearing so plain an appearance of rivalry" as a reference to the Memorial signed by His Majesty and others, the responsibility of disturbing the "harmony which has hitherto existed" rests with those who aim at upsetting the present status of the Cathedral, not with those who earnestly ask that that status may be maintained.

I am, very faithfully yours,

Signed, ALFRED HONOLULU.

T. R. WALKER, ESQ.

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A meeting of signers of the memorandum to the Bishop of Honolulu dated August 25th having been held October 16th, 1885, at which the following signers were present, viz: Messrs. A. T. Atkinson, W. H. Baird, R. F. Bickerton, A. S. Cleghorn, C. Crozier, T. H. Davies, C. E. Henson, E. W. Jordan, T. May, H. W. Mist, T. M. Starkey, M. P. Robinson, T. R. Walker and J. H. Wodehouse, the undersigned Committee have been appointed and authorized to signify their readiness to execute the Schedule prepared by the Bishop under date of October 3rd, with the following modifications to which they respectfully ask the Bishop to accede.

The Committee desire that *Article* 2 be erased in conformity with the Bishop's letter of October 12th to Mr. T. R. Walker, and request that instead of insisting in the Schedule that the money shall be subscribed which may be necessary to liquidate the present liabilities of the Cathedral Building Committee, the Bishop in his assent will make the providing of the said amount a condition precedent to the carrying into effect of the new arrangement.

In *Article* 4, *Paragraph* 2, the Committee consider it desirable to define the time during which the Bishop will complete his enquiries into the character and antecedents of any clergyman proposed by the nominators, and ask that the Bishop will intimate the time which he considers sufficient.

In *Article* 10 the Committe are instructed to ask that the word "Foreign" be not used in the title or style by which the proposed distinct congregation or its pastor shall be described, nor any other word which shall convey any sense of separation between them and any other portion of the Church.

In Article 12 the Committee were instructed to ask that the last paragraph be either withdrawn or so modified as to give an assurance that the hours of service of the proposed congregation will not be materially changed from those indicated in the preceding portion of this Article, and that due notice of any proposed alteration shall be given.

RICH'D F. BICKERTON,
T. MAY,
THOS. R. WALKER.

Honolulu, October 16th, 1885.

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IOLANI COLLEGE, HONOLULU.

The Bishop of Honolulu begs to acknowledge a communication dated October 16th, from the Committee of the signers of the memorial, dated August 25th, requesting certain modifications of schedule, dated October 3rd.

1. As to article 2, the Bishop sees no difficulty in accepting the proposal of the Committee, and asks the Committee to draft the form in which the condition of providing the present deficit will be acceptably presented to the signers after it is cancelled in the schedule.

2. In article 4, the Bishop intends by the expression "full time," sufficient time to obtain an answer to a letter addressed to any place on the globe in which the nominated clergyman may have last exercised his ministry. Ordinarily, three months would suffice. But should it be necessary to communicate with India Burmah or South Africa, six months would be required. Hence if the Committee require a limit of time to be named, it cannot be less than six months. With this explanation the Committee will perhaps be satisfied with the article as it stands, as it is not conceivable that the Bishop should desire to prolong the time unnecessarily, otherwise it might read, "time sufficient to obtain a

reply to inquiries into the character etc. from the Bishop of the Diocese in which the said clergyman last exercised his ministry."

3. As to article 10, will the Committee explain in what manner the proposed distinct congregation can have the distinction they desire without a title indicating that distinction? Can the Committee suggest any title which gives a clearer description and definition of this proposed congregation than the word "Foreign." As for deprecating any word that shall convey any sense of separation, it appears to the Bishop unreasonable not to say contradictory for the signers to ask for all the privileges of a separate congregation, and at the same time object to a title bearing witness to their possession of those privileges.

4. In article 12, the Bishop is ready to make the arrangement of the hours of service binding for a period of two years from the date of its going into effect, and provide that after that date, three months notice of any change shall be given.

Signed, ALFRED HONOLULU.

October 19th, 1885.

The undersigned Committee beg to acknowledge receipt of a communication from the Bishop of Honolulu, dated October 19th, in reply to theirs of October 16th.

1. The Committee take note of the acceptance by the Bishop of the erasure of article 2 in the schedule dated October 3rd, and suggest that in the Bishop's letter of permission between the words, "the said signers," and "to become" in line 9, of page 2, the words be inserted "upon discharge of the existing liabilities of the Cathedral Building Committee to the contractor."

2. The Committee will be satisfied by the insertion in article 4, of the limit proposed by the Bishop, namely, "not to exceed six months from the date on which the name of such clergyman shall be submitted to the Bishop."

3. The use of the word "Foreign," in article 10, does not express the distinction which the signers, several of whom are Ha-

waiians, have in view. They will be satisfied with any term which does not imply or seem to imply a distinction of race, and the Committee suggest the title, "Parochial congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral," or "Second English Speaking congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral."

4. In article 12, the Committee would ask for the addition of a stipulation, that after the expiration of the two years assented to in the Bishop's communication of October 19th, no change in the hours of service allotted by this article be made, except by the desire of a majority of all the communicants of both congregations whose votes can be obtained.

RICH'D F. BICKERTON,
T. MAY,
THOS. R. WALKER.

Honolulu, October 22nd, 1885.

The Bishop of Honolulu acknowledges receipt of the Committee's communication, dated October 22nd.

1. The Bishop agrees that the words, "upon discharge of the existing liabilities of the Cathedral Building Committee to the contractor," be inserted as proposed in his letter of permission, and that article 2, in the schedule, dated October 3rd, be cancelled.

2. The Bishop agrees to add to article 4 (2), which by the withdrawal of article 2, will become 3 (2), "not exceeding six months from the date on which the name of such clergyman shall be submitted to the Bishop."

3. In article 10, (which will become article 9) the Bishop agrees that the proposed distinct congregation shall be designated the "Second English Speaking congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral."

4. The Bishop is unable to agree to the stipulation which the Committee desire to be added to article 12, (which becomes No. 11) nor can he consent to bind himself or his successors beyond a definite period. The signers of the memorandum of August 25th, expressed themselves in articles 2 and 3, as willing to accept different hours to those which are now granted, making no stipulation that the later rather than the earlier hours of service should

be allotted to them. The Bishop begs the Committee not to press a point not contained in the original request, and in lieu of the final paragraph beginning "But the Cathedral authorities, &c," to accept the substitution of the following sentence: "And this arrangement shall remain in force for a period of two years from the date of its going into effect, and if not then renewed for a further definite period, shall not be changed without three months notice of such change being given."

If this is acceded to the Bishop will at once forward a copy of the schedule as amended for signature.

Signed, ALFRED HONOLULU.

Honolulu, October 24th, 1885.

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u

The undersigned Committee beg to acknowledge receipt of a communication from the Bishop of Honolulu, dated October 24th, in reply to theirs of October 22nd, 1885.

At a meeting of signers of the memorandum of August 25th held on October 27th the Committee were instructed to accede to the Bishop's proposed modification of Article 12 (which becomes Article 11) of the Schedule dated October 3rd, and to ask that a copy of the Schedule as amended may be placed in their hands for signature.

RICH'D F. BICKERTON,
T. MAY,
THOS. R. WALKER.

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v

The Bishop of Honolulu begs to hand to the Committee herewith a copy of the Schedule as finally agreed to.

Honolulu, October 28th, 1885.

(See appendix ii.)

w

HONOLULU, November 11th, 1885.

MY LORD:—I beg to hand you the Schedule of Conditions enclosed in your letter to the Committee of which I was a member on August 28th, (should be October) to which Schedule the signatures of a number of persons have been added.

I remain, my Lord,
Yours sincerely,
THOS. R. WALKER.

The Right Rev.
The LORD BISHOP OF HONOLULU,
Iolani College.

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x

HONOLULU, Nov. 13, 1885.

SIR:—I beg to acknowledge the return of the Schedule, duly signed, but unaccompanied by any statement as to the date at which the condition precedent to its going into effect will be carried out, or as to the name of the clergyman to be licensed to the Second Congregation.

The work of the Church having already been paralysed by the action of the signers for a quarter of a year, it is intolerable that this paralysis should be indefinitely prolonged after their demands are granted.

By the first Sunday in Advent, a full month will have elapsed since the terms on which I have granted the request of Aug. 25 were finally agreed on, and this ought to be amply sufficient to place the signers in a position to claim the privilege they have asked for.

Requesting an early statement on the above mentioned points,

I am,
Faithfully yours,
(Sd.) ALFRED HONOLULU.

T. R. WALKER, ESQ.

y

Mr. T. R. Walker begs to acknowledge the receipt from the Bishop of Honolulu of a letter dated November 13th, 1885, in which the Bishop for the first time intimates that the name of the Clergyman whose license may be requested for the second congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral should be officially stated before the congregation itself has any official existence or is in a position to invite any Clergyman. So soon as the formal authority has been given, a meeting of the new congregation will be called and the name of the Clergyman and all other necessary measures will be brought forward. Until then no one can be authorized to speak in the name of a congregation which is at present non-existent.

The Bishop further says that the Schedule is unaccompanied by any statement saying when the condition precedent to its going into effect will be carried out. This condition precedent is introduced by agreement to take the place of a guarantee which the Bishop originally asked for; and to make the *date* a condition precedent as the Bishop now proposes would be simply to restore the demand for a guarantee.

The Bishop will pardon Mr. Walker for at present abstaining from any discussion concerning the time that has been lost, and the way in which it has been spent, the responsibility for which cannot rest upon the signers of the schedule.

Honolulu, November 14th, 1885.

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z

The Committee appointed by signers of the Schedule forwarded to the Bishop of Honolulu on the 11th instant respectfully request to be informed whether there are now any obstacles remaining in the way of the completion by the Bishop of the agreement indicated in the Bishop's letter of Oct. 3rd, and modified by subsequent correspondence.

The Committee believe that they have complied with every condition imposed upon them antecedent to the permission promised by the Bishop, and are very anxious to proceed with the

further steps which it is understood will be stipulated for in the Bishop's letter of permission in accordance with his letter to them of October 24th.

Signed, RICHARD F. BICKERTON.
Signed, THOS. R. WALKER.

Honolulu, December (should be November) 21st, 1885.

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aa

The Bishop begs to acknowledge a communication from the Committee, dated December (? November) 21st, which being sent through the Post Office only came to hand on the 24th inst.

In reply he begs to state that at the present date he has received no information of the "discharge of the existing liabilities of the Cathedral Building Committe to the Contractor," which at the suggestion of the Committee made October 22nd, and accepted October 24th, was inserted in the Bishop's reply to the Memorial dated October 3rd, between the words "said Signers" and "to become" as a condition to be fulfilled, previous to the Bishop's official authorisation of the new arrangement on the basis of the Schedule already signed.

Honolulu, November 25th, 1885.

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bb

The Committee of the signers of the Schedule beg to acknowledge receipt of the communication of the Bishop of Honolulu, dated November 25th.

The Committee have governed themselves by the written conditions which have been mutually accepted and which are as follows :—

1. On October 3rd the Bishop informed Mr. Walker that on receiving the Schedule duly signed the Bishop was ready to give written permission for the distinct congregation to be formed.

2. On the same date the Bishop informed the signers of the Memorandum of August 25th, that he was ready to give the said permission, and the authority to choose their own Minister, etc., on receiving their acceptance of the Schedule of Conditions.

3. On October 24th, the Bishop expressed his willingness to cancel clause 2, and to insert in his letter of permission the condition in regard to the liabilities to the contractor.

4. On November 11th, the completed Schedule was forwarded to the Bishop, and the Committee have remained in expectation of receiving in return the written permission described in the Bishop's letter of October 3rd, and containing the condition to be inserted in said letter as stated by the Bishop on October 24th.

The agreement to issue the letter of permission cannot be acted upon as though it constituted permission in itself, and the Committee are simply desirous to be placed in a position to report that the accepted procedure has been carried out by them.

The Committee are glad to note that the distinction between the Bishop and themselves is only technical, for in the confidence that the business was approaching completion the Treasurer of the Building Fund has been induced to make a further advance to Mr. Lishman during the course of this correspondence of over three thousand dollars.

Honolulu, November 25th, 1885.

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cc

The Bishop begs to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from the Committee of the Signers, dated November 25th.

The point at issue lies in paragraph 3 of said communication. If the Committee will refer to letters dated respectively October 22nd and 24th, they will see that the Bishop was neither asked "to insert" nor agreed "to insert" in any letter the conditions referred to; but expressed his willingness that it "*be inserted*" for he could not insert it himself in a document no longer in his hands.

In order to avoid, as he hoped, all possibility of misunderstanding, the Bishop requested the Committee on October 19th, to

draft the form in which the condition in regard to the liabilities would be acceptably made when removed, as desired, from the Schedule.

The Committee accordingly suggested that the clause "upon discharge of the existing liabilities of the Cathedral Building Committee to the Contractor" be inserted between certain words in the Bishop's letter of permission, naming the page and line on which the words occur. By the "letter of permission" the Committee could not possibly refer to any other document than the Bishop's official reply to the Memorial dated October 3rd, in which the words occur between which the insertion of the said clause was desired. The request that the words "be inserted" in a particular place leaves no room to doubt but that the document already existed in which the insertion was to be made. How could the Committee determine beforehand the line and page on which certain words would occur in a letter not yet written, and to be written by another?

The Bishop is unable to discover any other possible meaning of Paragraph 1 of the Committee's letter of October 22nd, than that in which he first read it, viz: that by the "Bishop's letter of permission" they referred to his official reply to the Memorial, dated October 3rd, (which as signifying his conditional assent to the Memorial might fitly be so termed) and into which they desired the clause in question to be inserted.

Having no idea of any other possible interpretation of the said Paragraph, the Bishop replied on October 24th, agreeing that the said clause "be inserted *as proposed*," *i.e.* on line 9 of page 2, between the words "said Signers" and "to become" in his official reply to the Memorial, dated October 3rd, then in the Committee's hands. He wrote the said clause into his own copy, and so confident was he that the Committee would do the same with the original, being authorised by the said letter of October 24th, that he did not think it necessary even to refer to the matter, when handing in the amended copy of the Schedule.

The official reply to the Memorial, dated October 3rd, and thus amended by the desire of the Committee on October 24th, therefore reads as follows:—

"I am willing to give and grant my permission to the said Signers upon discharge of the existing liabilities of the Cathedral

Building Committee to the Contractor to become such separate congregation," etc.

Thus, as the Committee desired on October 16th, this condition is made "precedent to the carrying into effect of the new arrangement," and it is not until this condition is fulfilled, and the present liabilities are discharged that the Bishop's authorization of the new arrangement according to the agreement ought to be expected.

(Sd.) ALFRED HONOLULU.

November 26th, 1885.

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dd

The Committee of the Signers of the Schedule beg to acknowledge receipt of the Bishop's communication dated November 26th.

The Committee now fully recognize the point of misunderstanding, and greatly regret that any such misunderstanding or delay should have arisen.

They however, respectfully point out that the document dated October 3rd was simply a formal statement of what the Bishop was ready to write upon certain conditions. The Committee suggested that the Bishop's letter of permission should contain certain words to be inserted in a clause found in line 9 of page 2 of the said statement, which clause in the letter would then read "I "give and grant my permission to the said Signers, upon dis- "charge of the existing liabilities of the Cathedral Building Com- "mittee to the Contractor to become," &c.

The Committee respectfully state that they have hitherto received no document which they can present to the Signers as a letter of permission, and that under no circumstances could they regard themselves as authorized to insert or interpolate a clause over the Bishop's signature: such an act would be an indictable offence, and moreover would be entirely wanting in force in a document of such an important character.

The Committee venture to hope that the Bishop will accept the view they have here laid before him, and that he will transmit a simple letter of authorization, with the amended clause as recited in the foregoing statement.

Honolulu, November 27th, 1885.

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ee

The Bishop begs to acknowledge a communication from the Committee of Signers, dated November 27th, to which he has been unable to reply at an earlier date, in consequence of absence from Honolulu.

The Committee ask the Bishop to find a meaning in the Committee's suggestion, regarding the precedent condition, which their words cannot possibly bear.

Had the Bishop understood their suggestion in the sense now put upon it, he could not have accepted it, his intention being to give an unconditional authorisation, when the conditions were complied with, not a conditional authorisation which might be the parent of misunderstanding.

As to the insertion of said clause into the Bishop's letter of October 3rd, as the Bishop believed to be intended, being an indictable offence, when inserted by his authority, the idea is not for a moment to be entertained.

Moreover, if to insert a certain clause between certain words in a given line on a given page, means to write a letter in the words found on that page containing said clause inserted at the specified place, the letters would still read, not "I give and grant" but "I am willing to give and grant," and matters would be exactly where they are now.

Will the Committee be satisfied with a letter in these words? If not, and the Committee require the formal authorisation with the conditional clause inserted, it is important that there should be some understanding that the time required for its fulfillment is not to be unlimited. In order to avoid further delay, and remove,

if possible, all further ground of misunderstanding, the Bishop requests the Committee to depute Mr. Walker to explain the position of the Committee in a personal interview to the Hon. E. Preston, by whose advice in the matter the Bishop will be guided.

Signed, ALFRED HONOLULU,

Honoluiu, December 2nd, 1885.

HONOLULU, December 9th, 1885.

MY DEAR FRIENDS:—On Sunday next, acting on the suggestion of a large body of the members of the church made in a memorial presented to me on October 3rd, I intend to hold the Cathedral services in English, at the hours of 9:30 a. m. and 6 p. m.

It is hardly necessary to remind you that the preparation of that memorial was necessitated by the action of the members of the Cathedral Building Committee, who assuming a function for which they were never elected, got up a memorial, dated August 25th, requesting leave for the English speaking congregation to be formed into a distinct society. The memorial was presented in the name of the whole English speaking congregation. Hence, it must be evident to every thinking person, that if the signers of that memorial had presented the mind of the whole English speaking congregation, the noble and beneficent design of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma, in welcoming and fostering a branch of the Anglican Church planted here in its integrity, would be brought to nought. If, before that stage in its development is reached when the Cathedral Church will be administered by a duly constituted Chapter, you remove it from the immediate and personal control of the Bishop, you destroy the Cathedral idea and reduce it to the position of any Parish Church in the Diocese. I am persuaded that many who were induced to sign the memorial of August 25th, did not know its real purport when they wrote their names. Some, I am told, signed it without even

reading it. How far it was from representing the mind of the whole congregation was made clear by your memorial of October 3rd, deprecating any change in the existing order, and expressing your resolve, should any change be made, to stand by and support the Cathedral Church, that it may be a blessing in the land.

The signers of the memorial of August 25th, justify their action by referring to what they call "the stationary, if not retrogressive condition of the foreign congregation," and are "strongly of opinion" that those who did not sign that memorial "would be willingly and far more usefully attached to a portion of the church which we believe would increase in numbers and active usefulness than to one which has not shown such increase."

It is thus plainly intimated that freedom from the incubus of the Bishop, as Dean of the Cathedral, will relieve the stationary and retrogressive condition complained of. Certainly it is a serious allegation that the Bishop's control of the Church, as Dean, has been the great hindrance to its development. But if it is true that fourteen of the best years of my life have been spent in vain in giving the largest share of my ministrations during that time to the English-speaking congregation of the Cathedral, without any charge upon its funds, it is right that the truth should be spoken. But at the same time, I can say with the Apostle: "To me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you or of man's judgment. He that judgeth me is the Lord."

Whatever fault may be found with my administration, for which I am responsible to the Great Head of the Church, one thing is perfectly clear, that if the promoters of the memorial of August 25th, would have asked for a candid and unbiassed inquiry into the causes of the condition of things complained of, they would have found that one great bar and hindrance to development has been in the appropriation of the seats of the church to a few families. Both Hawaiians and the poorer class of foreigners have been kept from the church through fear of taking a place in which a vested interest was claimed. From henceforth, at the Cathedral services, the King's seat alone will be reserved. Saving this regard due to the King's Majesty, there will be no respect of persons in the House of God. Whether you have $10,000 a year or only 50 cents a day, you will be equally entitled to the first unoccupied place in the church.

I have given my consent to the signers of the memorial of August 25th, to become a separate congregation as soon as the existing liabilities to the contractor are discharged. It is arranged that the Rev. G. Wallace be their Pastor. Although they cannot become a distinct congregation until the above mentioned condition is fulfilled, yet I have signified my intention to give up the services at 11 and 7:30 to the Rev. G. Wallace, and at once make the services at 9:30 and 6 the Cathedral services in English.

Let me state in conclusion that my mission here is to build up the Anglican Church upon the basis of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, neither adding thereto nor diminishing therefrom. The fourteen years, during which I have carried out this aim among you, ought surely to give you confidence that the truth which this Church has inherited from ancient days is the foundation on which I shall continue to build. It is not to please men but to gather them into the body of Christ that they may be saved, that the Church is planted. In this work we do not look for immediate success. But if you have confidence in your Bishop as the Chief Pastor of the Diocese and Dean of the Cathedral Church, you will now make it plain to all men that the Bishop is not the cause of the stagnation complained of.

Come on Sunday next to the Cathedral services at 9:30 and 6, and from that day forth fill the church with an earnest hearty congregation, as it has never been filled before, wipe away whatever causes there may have been for reproach, and unite heart and soul with the Bishop and Clergy in making the Anglican Church a praise in the Islands.

Affectionately yours, ALFRED WILLIS.

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gg

HONOLULU, December 11th, 1885.

ED. P. C. ADVERTISER:—My attention has been called to the publication in your columns this morning of the memorial of August 25th, to which reference was made in my circular of the 9th instant.

May I ask you to give the public the same opportunity, *audire alteram partem*, by publishing the counter memorial drawn up under the guidance of His Majesty the King, to the signers of which, as the upholders of the Cathedral Church as hitherto constituted, my circular was addressed.

If Mr. Walker desires to publish the correspondence that has taken place with regard to a memorial, containing no reasons for which it should be acted on, but subsequently justified as my circular states, he has my full consent to his doing so.

Yours faithfully, ALFRED WILLIS.

HONOLULU, October 3rd, 1885.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF HONOLULU:

The undersigned members of the Hawaiian and English-speaking congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral having had under consideration a copy of a memorial presented to your Lordship by certain members of the English-speaking portion of the congregation, suggesting that they may be allowed to form themselves into a distinct society having authority to elect their own minister subject to the approval of the Bishop of the Diocese, desire to assure your Lordship that they have no desire to form part of any society that will be distinct from the Cathedral congregation to which they belong. They desire that the Cathedral services may continue to be carried on as heretofore under the direction of the Bishop as chief minister of the Cathedral Church.

Whilst they would deprecate any division, yet should your Lordship deem it wise to allow the separate service asked for, they would beg that the dignity of the Cathedral Church, according to the desire of its Royal founder and protectress (whose memories every member of the congregation must revere) may be maintained and the rights of the rest of the congregation respected.

In the event of your Lordship assenting to the changes asked for we would suggest that the services heretofore conducted in English be held at 9:30 o'clock a. m. and at 6:30 o'clock p. m. on Sundays. The parties represented by the memorialists being allowed the use of the church at 11 o'clock a. m. and 7:30 o'clock p. m.

If the change is made the undersigned express their willingness to attend the services and assist to meet the expenses which the maintenance of the Cathedral services will involve. (Signed) KALAKAUA (Rex), J. M. Kapena, Curtis P. Iaukea, A. Rosa, Fred. H. Hayselden, Henry Smith, J. S. Webb, Jas. H. Boyd, J. Ailau, F. W. Wood, C. L. Hopkins, John D. Holt, Jr., John M. Hay, George S. Harris, Samuel Nowlein, Abraham Bolster, R. S. Scrimgeour, P. D. Kellett, L. K. Peabody, Grace Kahoalii, Clio Stuart, Eldress Phoebe, Sister Beatrice, Sister Albertina, M. S. Martin, Stella Keomailani, Joseph Morse, H. Peterson, Edward Stiles, A. K. Kuhia, D. Morton, Abbie M. Greene, Anne M. Prescott, T. C. Morris, M. Parrott, M. Butcher, E. Wright, H. Winkle, Mrs. J. Hughes, Mrs. T. H. Hughes, Mrs. Cockburn, S. K. Pua, D. Manaku, John Kea, Mrs. C. H. Bird, Henry S. Wood, N. Fernandez, A. M. Hewett, Richard N. Mossman, Meheula Solomona, James N. K. Keola, Levi Isaac, Susan Bath, Mrs. Alfred Shepard, George Markham, S. Fuller, C. S. Kim Cha, F. J. Testa.

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STATEMENT OF THE TREASURER OF THE CATHEDRAL BUILDING COMMITTEE.

A short statement was presented to the meeting assembled last week, giving a sketch of the circumstances which had led to the organization, with the Bishop's consent, of the congregation of which this meeting is to be representative. The knowledge that after giving this consent and expressing his willingness, the Bishop has seen it to be his duty to make a severe attack on the

congregation he had thus authorized, under the form of an address to another congregation, with whom we hoped and still hope to work in harmony, and that the Bishop has given the widest publicity to his strictures by inserting them in the public journals, renders it necessary that this meeting should hear a plain statement of the steps which have been taken by those who have promoted the movement resulting in our assembly this evening.

In June last I, as Treasurer of the Building Committee, called upon the Bishop and stated that in consequence of the lack of sympathy shown by the Anglican Church toward other Christian Societies, it was in my opinion, based on some financial defeats, impossible to rely on any success in asking from others the necessary aid for completing the portion of the Cathedral for which we had received estimates. I also drew attention to the activity and life evinced by other Churches, and to the stagnation and absence of growth amongst ourselves, pointing out that as a congregation there was not a single object of Christian work, beyond attendance at public worship, in which we were engaged.

I then ventured to name three plans which I thought would tend to alter these deplorable conditions.

1. That the Mission generally should be widened in its operations by cultivating such co-operation with Christian workers outside its own borders as would not be inconsistent with allegiance to our own Society.

2. I suggested that those who so desired might be authorized to form a separate congregation, furnishing for themselves a distinct edifice, where they might be able to carry out Church work within Church rules, but on more liberal or intimate relations with other Christian Societies. I argued that congregations working on such varied lines were found in nearly every diocese in England and elsewhere.

3. I also asked if the said distinctness could not be attained by some plan of division that would enable us all to use the same building, and yet to have the freedom of action which would be granted to us in a separate building.

Having named these three as the only plans which I could think of for producing the imperative change required, as I felt, to save us from practical extinction, I admitted that the first was out of the question, as no one could expect the Bishop to adopt rules or principles which he did not himself endorse. The second

proposal I did not advocate, provided the result could be attained by the adoption of the third. I however earnestly appealed to the Bishop to take the matter into consideration, and to see if he could not take the initiative in placing the congregation in a position of parochial independence, by the adoption of either the second or third plan, but so as to give the appearance of cordiality and harmony to the change. I especially urged that something might be done to invigorate our work before the last instalment of stone arrived from England, as I feared the stoppage would be manifest to every one.

I heard nothing further for two months, but in August the Building Committee met to discuss ways and means for proceeding with the new Cathedral, and the scheme which we are met to discuss was first brought prominently forward at that meeting of the Cathedral Building Committee, when I stated that there was such a lack of sympathy in the public mind toward our Church in its present attitude, that there seemed no prospect of raising the funds for the completion of the work. I then suggested the desirability of placing the English speaking congregation on a distinct basis from the mission proper, but retaining their full connection with the Episcopate exactly as though they formed a separate parish. This would enable the said congregation to cultivate relations of amity with other Christian bodies, without interfering with the more reserved lines on which the Anglican Mission had hitherto been conducted.

The Bishop expressed disapproval of the subject being raised at the meeting of the Committee; but I reminded him that I had already, as Treasurer, introduced the subject to him. It was then discussed at some length, and the proposal was generally approved,—and it was mutually agreed that a formal memorandum should be presented to the Bishop as an expression of the views of a large number of the Congregation.

A memorandum was accordingly prepared; and in order to avoid the appearance of any dissension and to avoid any possibility of acrimonious discussion, it was thought better not to summon a meeting, but to obtain a sufficient number of signatures to satisfy the Bishop that the movement was neither sectional nor inconsiderable in the number of its supporters. It was not intended to give by any means all the names that were known to be in favor

of such an alteration, and the memorandum was signed by thirty-seven of those members who could most readily be found.

It was the earnest hope of some, that when the Bishop found that there was so large a number of the most constant attendants in favor of the simplifying of the status of the English speaking Congregation, he would have accepted the evidence as justifying his taking the initiative in placing us in the position we desired. In this hope we have been disappointed, and with deep pain we have to admit that the Bishop has met the proposal with severe disapproval, and has rejected every effort to have the matter smoothed by conference or personal explanation. On the contrary, we are informed that a counter memorial has been presented, largely signed by persons whose names we did not know until last Saturday, except that the King's name was among them, and we were ignorant of the contents and even of the object of the document, inasmuch as it did not appear to have placed any obstacles in the way of our request.

The gravest feature however is the attempt that has been made to represent this movement as an effort on the part of the foreigners to separate themselves from the natives, and of the well-to-do members to separate from their less affluent brethren. No one can suppose that the Bishop was aware that such statements were being made, for they are such as a glance at the signatures to our document will at once refute.

There are however some charges in the Bishop's published circular which we cannot pass without comment.

1. The paper of August 25th, was not got up by members of the Building Committee as such, and whatever was done by that Committee was done in the presence and under the presidency of the Bishop.

2. The memorial was not represented to be in the name of the whole English speaking congregation, and the Bishop, in acknowledging its receipt, gave the first definition of it, as being largely signed by the English speaking congregation, and its suggestions as being offered with an earnest desire for the welfare of the church, and influentially promoted.

3. I certainly have never heard that any Hawaiian or poor foreigner has been kept from Church because of the appropriation of seats by a few families. For convenience, families have, and always will have, as far as possible, customary seats; but it is well

known that there has been no proprietary right, and no vested interest in any seat, but that all seats at St. Andrew's are free to all comers, except certain seats which were reserved for the Bishop's school. It is well known that the Church wardens or the ushers always see that every comer is supplied with a seat and books. If the appropriation of pews was known to the Bishop to be the chief hindrance to the development of the Church, the remedy was entirely in his control, and it hardly seems just to hold responsible for the continuance of this hindrance those who are reproached for now seeking a voice in the control and regulation of such matters. In point of fact if those who are now coming so zealously to the support of the Church, had been willing to occupy the many vacant seats and take part in the development of the Church work, the present crisis would never have arisen.

We must all greatly deplore the appearance of rivalry and strife which has been given to this movement, and especially that the public have been invited to gaze on the melancholy spectacle.

Upon receipt of the Bishop's conditional sanction last week, I felt so confident that all obstacles had been smoothed, that I set out to canvass for subscriptions for the building fund, and in two days I received promises of over twelve hundred dollars. How can I now ask or expect sympathy or support for our work?

I most firmly assert that so far as I know, there has not been one hostile sentiment amongst those who may be called the originators, and I am confident that under the wise counsel of him whom we so warmly welcome as our future pastor, we shall be able to avoid all collision and needless discussion that may tend to unchristian words or acts. I believe that our feelings towards our brethren are of such a friendly character, that it will soon be found that there is no fuel between us by which any heat can be kept up. When that is manifest we may hope to work together for the completion of that part of the Cathedral which we have regarded as our present aim. But I can see no prospect now of adding anything to the edifice to alter its present condition.

May I add that I at one time hoped the Bishop would have taken the direction of this whole re-organization; and I greatly regret that we have not the evidence of his approval which his presence with us to-night would have afforded.

It is difficult to understand why the Bishop could not, without insisting on his own exclusion from the services, have delegated

o a specific clergyman the position of Minister within the Church, and pastor without, to the congregation for whose ministrations the Bishop himself selected Mr. Wallace. This was in effect what was described to the Bishop as our object, with a view to the strengthening of the position of the Church. It seems to me that it would have been better to refuse our proposal altogether, than to carry it out with divided or sacrificed services, and with the permission of appeals to class rivalries and jealousies which can bring neither strength nor credit to any Church.

THEO. H. DAVIES.

Honolulu, December 15th, 1885.

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ii

REPLY TO A STATEMENT OF THE TREASURER OF THE CATHEDRAL BUILDING COMMITTEE BY THE PRESIDENT.

A most remarkable document has been circulated, signed "Theo. H. Davies," and headed "Statement of the Treasurer of the Cathedral Building Committee." A Treasurer's statement is usually supposed to deal with the finances of the Committee whose Treasurer he is, and be presented and accepted in Committee before being issued to the public. But this is a Treasurer's statement *never* presented to the Committee; of which the President knew nothing for *four days* after it had been issued and circulated; and which proves to be a censure on the Bishop for issuing his letter of December 9th, to the members of the Cathedral Church. And, next, the reader cannot fail to be struck with the importance that the writer attaches to himself. He evidently regard himself as holding such authority in the Church, that when *he* presented all the plans that *he* could think of for saving the Church from the practical extinction which in *his* opinion was imminent, the Bishop was in duty bound to listen to the advice and adopt one or other of the plans *he* suggested; and further, as President of the Committee, the Bishop had no right to object to the discussion of matters in Committee which were wholly foreign to the purpose for which the Committee was appointed, *in consequence of* the subject having been broached in private by the said Theo. H. Davies.

The curious feature of this is that this gentleman who thus delivers himself as if the greatest deference were due to him in matters ecclesiastical is not qualified to be a member of the Synod, nor even to vote at the election of Synodsmen. Whilst permitted to enjoy all the privileges of a churchman, he announced himself to be a Dissenter on the occasion of airing his schemes for the salvation of the Church to which he has referred in his "Allocution." It does not seem to have occurred to him that whilst he enjoys the liberty of disagreeing with the position and teaching of the Anglican Church, he has no claim to a voice in the affairs of a body with which he declines to be formally united.

With these general remarks, I pass to a more particular examination of the "Statement."

1. "The stagnation in the Anglican Church" is set forth as the cause which led Mr. Davies to take the initiative in a movement which resulted in the meeting at the British Club on December 15th, to which this statement was presented. A word about this "Stagnation." It is not to be denied that the condition of the Anglican Church has of late been one of stagnation. The history of it is instructive. Three years ago things were different. The senior Priest at the Cathedral was then an active self-denying man, who had considerably extended the influence of this Church in the city. Several of the most earnest members now on our roll were brought in by his ministry. No Clergyman of the Anglican Church has left a deeper mark or will be longer remembered in Honolulu for his work's sake than the Rev. T. Blackburn. But Mr. Blackburn had to leave. At the end of 1881, I was plainly told by Mr. Davies that if Mr. Blackburn remained the subscriptions on which his stipend depended would be withheld. It was a humiliating position in which I was placed, to have to recommend an earnest Clergyman, who was devoted to his work, to send in his resignation. But I had no fund from which to make up the sum threatened to be withdrawn, and so there was no alternative between this and financial straits. This earnest priest, whom Honolulu spurned, was gladly welcomed in the Diocese of Adelaide. And *here* the work which he had inaugurated began to languish as soon as he was gone. The guild he had established first deviated from its principles and then fell to pieces. In other ways a plain declension has been going on, and the "stagnation" complained of to-day is the practical result of

the "freezing" machinery set in operation by Mr. Davies in 1882.

2. "The lack of sympathy shown by the Anglican Church toward other Christian Societies," has rendered it impossible for Mr. Davies to rely on any success in raising funds. I do not question this statement, because I fail to understand it. It is sufficient to observe (1) that every one who is truly in earnest about religion, be he Roman, Anglican or Protestant, however much he may deplore the divisions of Christendom, yet recognizes certain broad lines separating these bodies from one another, which cannot be ignored. It is not by alliance but by *unity* that these divisions will be finally healed. Until unity is restored it is no lack of respect for whatever true work those separated from us are doing for our common LORD, that we and they run severally on our own lines, and make no attempt to form a joint stock company which can only be promoted on the basis of what Lord Salisbury called the other day "a lifeless, boiled down, mechanical, unreal" form of religion.

(2) By way of commentary on this coldness and lack of sympathy, which one would suppose would cause coldness in return, I may mention that about the same date that Mr. Davies was pressing on me his prescriptions as the only hope of saving the Church imperilled by my unsympathetic attitude, I received from a prominent member of the Congregationalist body, unrepelled by this coldness, an offer of support on an exceedingly liberal scale to an institution of the Anglican Church, provided it can be established.

3. Mr. Davies next relates his action at the Cathedral Building Committee on August 4th, how he *forced* upon the Committee, notwithstanding the protest of the President, the discussion of his scheme for "placing the English-speaking congregation on a distinct basis from the Mission proper," or in other words, for *rending in two* a body which had from the first planting of the Mission been one, and in which such distinctions and divisions as he now proposed had never before been contemplated. Be it remembered that the Committee which undertook to discuss this question was not in any sense a Church council, but had been appointed *solely* as a Committee to take in hand the erection of a Cathedral to be the central Church of the Anglican Communion in the Islands, on the then existing basis, and a national memorial to a former Sovereign.

Let me call attention to the minutes of that meeting. They contain first of all a financial statement from the Treasurer, showing that to complete the Chancel, a sum was required of $9,712; and to complete in addition two bays of the Nave, there was needed $16,975; so that to take a fresh contract for the two bays of the Nave, (for which the material was provided) only called for $6,263 in excess of the sum required to discharge existing liabilities. On the same minutes there is the record of an offer of a loan of $5,000 at five per cent., for five years, approved by the Trustees, which would have covered this difference within $1,263. Had that loan been accepted the building might be going on now with the prospect of speedy completion, and only $1,200 added to the amount of debt already incurred, But this offer made by myself and approved by the Trustees was not even acknowledged by the Building Committee. Yet that loan had been negotiated at the instance of the Vice President of the Committee, who repeatedly in the early part of the year, inquired of me if it would not be possible to borrow money in England at a low rate of interest. Believing that I was being honestly dealt with, and that I should be supported in any steps of this nature that might be taken, I consulted the Trustees individually on the matter, and finally obtained in England the promise of a loan of $5,000 at five per cent. for five years on security offered by myself. Receiving this promise on July 22d, I laid the matter before the Trustees, who resolved "that it is the opinion of the Trustees that under the present condition of the building now in process of erection as St. Andrew's Cathedral, the best interests of the Church will be served by the acceptance of the loan, provided that the additional sum necessary for the completion of the two bays of the Cathedral can in the opinion of the Building Committee be obtained." That additional sum was only as has been stated $1,263. And yet this offer was absolutely ignored, the Treasurer's scheme for separating the English-speaking congregation from the Mission proper being hailed as a financial (!) basis for obtaining funds. Reflecting how a Committee for obtaining subscriptions, consisting of Messrs. Cleghorn, Davies and Mackintosh, had for two years constantly postponed making a general canvass, it became apparent that the Committee were more bent on promoting the revolutionary scheme of Mr. Davies than of obtaining relief from financial difficulties. I do not desire any thanks for anything I do in this world, but

that there should not have been even a formal recognition (though it were to decline it) of my offer of a loan negotiated at the instance of the Vice-President, can only be accounted for by the eagerness of members to bring into operation the "freezing" machine so successfully applied in 1882. It was plainly determined that the Cathedral should *not* be built, unless Mr. Davies' scheme was carried out. So complete a disruption did the proposition at the first glance appear to involve, that I said to the Committee that they might as well ask for my resignation of the See.

4. Next, as to "the memorial of August 25," embodying the above proposition, Mr. Davies asserts that it was *not* got up by members of the Building Committee as such. Why this shuffling? It was not stated in my circular that it was got up by the Building Committee "as such," but by members of the Building Committee. That this was the case the Treasurer's own statement is sufficient evidence.

(2) Mr. Davies affirms that the memorial was *not* represented to be in the name of the whole English-speaking congregation. He is witness against himself that his scheme was to place the English-speaking congregation on a distinct basis from the Mission proper. The memorial of certain members of the English-speaking congregation asks "that the members of the said congregation, &c." A noun of multitude, if not limited, is generally taken to stand for the multitude it includes. When Mr. Davies purchases a herd of cattle, is he satisfied if fifty or sixty per cent. are delivered? Why then is the congregation spoken of in the memorial to be taken to mean a part of it and not the whole?

(3) Mr. Davies objects to my statement that persons have been kept away from the Church by the appropriation of seats, "because he never heard of any such case." Perhaps not. But this is no disproof of my statement. And as to the remedy being in my own hands, the remedy required was one I was powerless to apply. I leave it to those who now rejoice that the seats at the Cathedral are unappropriated to say whether my statement was true or not.

5. That any should have had the presumption to oppose a plan for "simplifying the status of the English-speaking congregation," (whatever that may mean) devised by Mr. Davies is regarded as a grave offence, and that the Bishop should have given the same consideration to a memorial presented over the signature of His

Majesty the King, as to that of which the British Vice-Consul claims the parentage is in his eyes intolerable. But when referring to the counter-memorial he states that until it was published in the *P. C. A.* on December 12th, "we were ignorant of its contents, and even of the object of the document," he makes a statement which is untrue, knowing it to be untrue, as extracts from the correspondence plainly testify. And when he adds: "The gravest part however is the attempt that has been made to represent this movement as an effort on the part of the foreigners to separate themselves from the natives, and of the well-to-do members to separate from their less affluent brethren, the same extracts will show whether this has or has not been the nature of the movement, and if it has been, it is idle to charge my circular with misrepresentation. On August 29th, in acknowledging the receipt of the memorial of August 25th I pointed out to Mr. Walker that the practical result of carrying out the suggestions would be

"A change amounting to a reversal of the course which has been followed during the above-named period (12 years). My aim has been to unite in one congregation the English-speaking Hawaiians with the Foreign residents. But I observe that the document presented to me proceeds almost entirely from the foreign residents, and on enquiry of the Hawaiian members of the congregation whose signatures are absent, I find that they are not in favor of the suggestions offered. It is true that they are an uninfluential minority. But with the existence of such a minority, the document in question can hardly be regarded as an expression of the desire of the whole English-speaking congregation, but rather of the principal foreigners of that congregation to form themselves into a distinct society. Thus the first practical result of carrying out the suggestions that are offered will be to create a division in the present English-speaking congregation. It is the opinion of the signers of the memorial that the welfare of the congregation will be greatly promoted by the course that is desired. In presence of the goodly array of names appended to the memorial, I am not prepared to say that they may not be right in their expectations. But it is evident that this welfare is to be purchased at the cost of division. Upon the Bishop must rest the responsibility of determining whether the resultant good demands the price that must be paid. Should the result be different to that which is anticipated, those who now ask for the change will be the first to blame the Bishop for granting it."

Replying to this warning of the strife and division that my consent to the memorial would cause, Mr. T. R. Walker wrote on September 2nd:

"We believe that a considerable portion of the minority of which your Lordship speaks would willingly accept the suggested change. I may say here that no attempt has been made by the signers to obtain the support to their suggestion of such members of the Church as Messrs. ———, ———, ———, and others who may fairly consider themselves as belonging also to the native congregation, and who may be presumed to be in accord with the method of worship and the doctrine to which they have been brought up. We are nevertheless strongly of opinion that they would be willingly and far more usefully attached to a portion of the Church which we believe would increase in numbers and active usefulness than in one which has not shown such increase, and we are as strongly confident that the proposed changes would largely increase the numbers of the Church. Division in this case and in this sense would mean accession to number, to strength, and to ability for increase."

To this I replied on the 7th:

"The memorial purported to come from the English-speaking congregation. But I learn from your letter that no attempt has been made to obtain the support of Messrs. ———, ———, ———, and other Hawaiian gentlemen to the memorial (though why an exception was made in favor of ——— is not explained). But the above-named gentlemen represent a large and increasing section of the English-speaking congregation, for Hawaiians who understand the English language, prefer the English to the Hawaiian tongue in Divine service, and since they have not been consulted, it is only right that they should have an opportunity of expressing their views before I give an answer to the memorial lest by any action on my part with which they are not in sympathy this section of the congregation should be alienated from the Church. It is for them to say whether or no they would be willingly attached to a society which desires to be distinct from that to which they now belong. Unfortunately, two of the most prominent members of this section of the congregation are now absent from Honolulu, Messrs. ——— and ———. But whilst I am as desirous as the signers to avoid all unnecessary delay in arriving at a decision, it is a matter of justice that all the English-speaking

members of the Church should have an opportunity of declaring their wishes in a matter of such grave importance. Meanwhile I am considering how the suggestion for which I know of no precedent to guide me, can be carried out, provided no objection is raised on the part of those who have not signed the memorial."

On October 3d, I received the counter memorial which has already been made public, and on the same day forwarded to Mr. Walker a schedule of conditions on which I was willing to allow, *not* the English-speaking congregation, but the memorialists of August 15th, to become a distinct congregation, accompanied with the following letter:

"IOLANI COLLEGE, HONOLULU, October 3d, 1885.

"MY DEAR MR. WALKER:--Circumstances, over which I have had no control, have delayed my reply to the memorial of August 25th, longer than I anticipated. I am at length able to hand it to you herewith. One remark that I made in my letter to you of August 29th, I desire to correct. I therein stated that those of the English-speaking congregation, whose signatures were absent from the memorial, were "an uninfluential minority" of the congregation. A document signed by His Majesty the King and sixty other persons, of whom over forty are communicants stating that they have no wish to be united to any society that will be distinct from the Cathedral congregation to which they belong, is sufficient evidence that the members of the Church, speaking the English language, who do not sympathise with the purpose of the memorial of August 25th, are neither a minority nor uninfluential; but, whilst anxious to maintain intact the present administration, and services of the Cathedral, the signers of the said document offer no objection to my granting the wishes of the siguers of the memorial of August 25th, "provided the services of the Cathedral as at present conducted are maintained." The conditions on which those wishes can be granted are accordingly stated in the schedule, accompanying my reply. On receiving this schedule, signed by a Committee of the proposed new congregation, I am ready to give my written permission for such distinct congregation to be formed.

"I remain very faithfully yours,

"ALFRED HONOLULU.

"T. R. WALKER, ESQ."

It will thus be seen that the purport of the counter memorial was clearly understood as long ago as October 3d, and whatever was afterwards done by the signers of the memorial of August 25th, was done with the full knowledge that there was a large body of Churchmen resolved to uphold the status quo. But to this fact they tried to shut their eyes, and wished the counter-memorial to be suppressed. Instead of at once laying before the signers my official reply to the memorial, Mr. Walker wrote on October 9th:

"I should be very glad if this correspondence could be brought before the signers of the memorandum without statement of the fact that a counter-memorial had been presented. * * * I consider that the introduction of anything bearing so plain an appearance of rivalry can only be made to the injury of the harmony which has hitherto existed amongst all portions of the congregation."

To this I replied on October 12th:

"As for the last paragraph of your letter, however much you may now deprecate 'the introduction of anything bearing so plain an appearance of rivalry,' as reference to the memorial signed by His Majesty and others, the responsibility of disturbing 'the harmony which has hitherto existed' rests with those who aim at upsetting the present status of the Cathedral, not with those who earnestly ask that that status may be maintained."

On October 16th a meeting was held of the signers, and with full knowledge of the opposition they had provoked, they resolved to pursue their course to the end, and appoint a committee to consider the schedule submitted to them, When Mr. Davies now deplores the appearance of rivalry and strife, he is acting the part of the wolf in the fable, abusing the lamb down stream for muddying the water.

6. The climax of the document is reached when Mr. Davies laments the absence of the Bishop from the meeting at the British Club, to which his statement was presented. "I greatly regret that we have not the evidence of his (the Bishop's) approval which his presence with us to-night would have afforded." Was there a chair placed ready for the Bishop in case he should put in appearance at a meeting to which he was not invited, and of which he had no intimation? If so, the meeting could hardly

fail to be reminded of Macbeth's regret for Banquo's absence from the feast:

> Now had we here our country's honor roofed,
> Were the graced person of our Banquo present:
> Whom may I rather challenge for unkindness
> Than pity for mischance!

7. In conclusion, I do not regret that those who are dissatisfied with the ministrations as hitherto performed in the Cathedral, and think that they will be happier under the change they have asked for should have the liberty I have freely accorded them. But they have not my permission to try and make others dissatisfied, and to draw them away from the Cathedral services, or Cathedral Sunday School. In order that the position of the Second Congregation may be understood, I append the schedule of conditions on which I have granted the distinctness asked for—"upon the discharge within three months of the existing liabilities." [See Appendix.] At the present time this congregation has no separate existence, and the transactions in the British Club on December 15th, as reported in the *Bulletin*, appear somewhat premature. The change at present made amounts only to this: In order to put an end to the "stagnation" which the action of Mr. Davies and his followers had intensified, and permit the signers of the memorial to enjoy a foretaste of their future separation; the Cathedral service proper is now said at 9:30, and I leave the conduct of the 11 o'clock service to Mr. Wallace, much as of old I left the conduct of the 9:30 service to Mr. Mackintosh. I do not insist at all on my own exclusion from these services; but, having four other services to attend during the day, no purpose is served by obtruding my presence where it is plainly not desired.

Instead of wringing his hands over the "melancholy spectacle" of two English services, resulting from his own action, Mr. Davies should rather rejoice that a thaw is setting in, and the stagnant waters are again beginning to flow. If there is anything "melancholy" in the spectacle presented, it is that of the British Vice-Consul organizing an attempt to interfere with and cripple the administration of the Bishop, consecrated as the chief pastor of the members of the Anglican Communion in these Islands. He declares his designs to have been most friendly. Be it so. I do not judge intentions except so far as they are revealed by words and actions. Be they friendly or otherwise, he confesses himself

disappointed at the result. I therefore recommend him, in future, to cease from interfering in matters ecclesiastical which are not included in his commission from Downing Street.

ALFRED WILLIS,
Bishop of Honolulu, and President of
Cathedral Building Committee.

APPENDIX.

WHEREAS, by a memorial dated August 25th, 1885, the Hon. A. Cleghorn, T. May, Esq., Thomas Brown, Esq., T. R. Walker, Esq., and certain other members of the congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral, have requested our permission to become a distinct society, having authority to elect their own minister, subject to the approval of the Bishop of the diocese;

And whereas the signers of the said memorial have subsequently agreed to the conditions of becoming such separate congregation set forth in a schedule hereto annexed:

Now, therefore, We, Alfred, by Divine permission Bishop of Honolulu, do hereby give and grant our permission to the said Hon. A. Cleghorn, T. May, Esq., Thomas Brown, Esq., T. R. Walker, Esq., and the other signers of the said memorial, upon the discharge within three months of the existing liabilities of the Cathedral Building Committee to the contractors, to become such separate congregation according to the terms particularly set forth in the aforesaid schedule.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this fourth day of December, in the year of Our Lord, 1885, and of our Consecration the fourteenth. ALFRED HONOLULU.

SCHEDULE.

The undersigned, on behalf of the signers of a memorial dated August 25th, 1885, requesting that the said signers may be formed into a separate congregation, having authority to choose their own minister, subject to the approval of the Bishop; and to hold their services under the direction of such minister in the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew, Honolulu, hereby agree to and accept all

and singular the conditions of becoming such separate congregation set forth as follows:

1. That they assume all existing liabilities for the running expenses of the Cathedral Church, the salaries of the organist, verger and organ-blower, as well as for the stipend of the Rev. George Wallace up to the date at which they become such separate congregation.

2. That if any clergyman now in the diocese be invited by, and should accept the invitation of the said separate congregation to be their minister, it shall be necessary for him to resign whatever license he now holds from the Bishop, in order that he may be duly licensed to be minister of such congregation.

3. That should the office of such minister become vacant, and the congregation become desirous that a new minister be appointed, the privilege of choosing such minister shall be exercised as follows, subject to any statute that may hereafter be made by the Synod for the appointment of pastors to parishes and congregations:

(1) The congregation shall appoint two nominators, both of whom shall be communicants, and shall sign a schedule as follows: "I do declare that I am a member of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Honolulu, in union and full communion with the Church of England and her daughter churches throughout the world, and that I belong to no other religious body." The schedule so signed shall be forwarded to the Bishop, with the notice of the appointment of the said nominators.

(2) It shall be the duty of the said nominators to submit to the Bishop for his approval the name of the clergyman whom they have selected. But the Bishop shall not be expected to signify his approval or disapproval of any clergyman whose name is submitted until he has had full time for inquiry into the character and antecedents of such clergyman, not exceeding six months from the date on which the name of such clergyman shall be submitted to him.

(3) Should the nominators desire to delegate their right of nomination to any persons in England, the United States, or elsewhere, such delegates shall be chosen by the Bishop and nominators together, and the selection by such delegates shall be final.

(4) That before such clergyman is licensed the Churchwardens, or a Committee of such congregation, shall give to the Bishop a

guarantee that the stipulated stipend of such clergyman shall be paid in full in regular quarterly payments for a stated period of not less than two years, and that they will at no time make any abatement from the said stipend without three months' notice being given to the said clergyman, nor desire his resignation without six months' notice, and the payment of the passage of himself and family to the country from which he came.

4. That the duties of the Churchwardens of such distinct congregation are limited to the maintenance of order among their own congregation during the time of public worship, the disposal with the minister of money given at the offertory, and the oversight of the clergy and laity of that congregation in respect to their observance of and obedience to the laws of the Church.

5. That the Wardens of such distinct congregation shall quarterly pay to the Wardens of the Cathedral a certain share, to be hereafter determined, of the expenses of lighting, cleaning, and keeping in repair the Cathedral Church, the organ, and all things necessary for divine service.

6. That the said congregation shall have the use for Sunday-school and other meetings of whatever buildings are used by the Cathedral congregation for the same purpose.

7. That on the occasion of decorating the Cathedral for the great festivals of the Church, the members of such distinct congregation shall have full liberty to unite with the Cathedral congregation, acting under the direction of the Bishop or his representatives.

8. That if such distinct congregation desire to introduce any temporary decorations at any other time, leave shall be granted on application, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made with regard to decorations by the Cathedral authorities.

9. That such distinct congregation be styled "The Second English-speaking Congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral;" and the pastor of such congregation "The Minister of the Second English-speaking Congregation."

10. That in accordance with long-established usage the offerings of such Second English-speaking Congregation on Christmas Day, and on one other day in the year, be set apart for some diocesan or missionary purpose as the Bishop may appoint.

11. That under the foregoing regulations (saving all rights in the Cathedral Church to the Bishop of the diocese and his successors) the said Second English-speaking Congregation shall have the

use of the Cathedral Church on Sundays, holy days, and fast days at a quarter after 11 in the forenoon, and half-past 7 in the evening, and at half-past 7 on Wednesday evenings, for the regular services of the Church; and also for occasional services at other times which are not appointed for any regular or occasional service to be conducted by one of the Cathedral clergy. And this arrangement shall remain in force for a period of two years from the date of its going into effect; and, if not then renewed for a further definite period, shall not be changed without three months' notice of such change being given.

[Signed by nearly all the signers of the memorial of August 25th.]

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OPEN LETTER TO THE RIGHT REVEREND ALFRED WILLIS, BISHOP OF HONOLULU, AND PRESIDENT OF THE BUILDING COMMITTEE.

MY LORD:

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of your reply to a statement made by me at a recent meeting of members of the Congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral.

In perusing this document, I have found it necessary to bear constantly in mind your announcement, made recently through the public papers, to the members of the Cathedral Church, to the effect that to you it was a "very small thing to be judged" of them, "or of man's judgment."

I am unwilling to adopt in my letter what you would no doubt admit to be (in the judgment of men) the intemperate and undignified character of your publication; for I confess that I am always glad to receive the approval of my fellow men, and to shew that I can conduct a correspondence without sacrificing the respect due either to myself or to others.

In meeting your assertions I promise that I will not lose my temper, and that I will use only such expressions as seem necessary to make clear my meaning.

In your opening sentence you apparently mistake "a statement of the Treasurer" for "a report by the Treasurer," and consequently, when the Treasurer makes a statement in correction of

your published attack on the members of the Building Committee (which attack you did not think it necessary to communicate to the Committee), you are surprised, and betrayed at the very outset into appealing to the "man's judgment" of your reader.

You proceed to comment on the "curious" feature of my ineligibility as a member of or voter for the synod, although you are aware that many years ago you wrote me a letter stating that my being a communicant made me "an *ipso facto* member "of that church, and of no other." And since you have never pointed out to me a single instance of disloyalty or impropriety in my relation with the Anglican Church, during all the years that I have been honoured with your confidence, the gravity of your present reference cannot be very great.

I will now proceed to notice your numbered clauses.

1. You say that it is not to be denied that the condition of the Anglican Church has been of late one of stagnation; but you state that three years ago things were very different; and in words and hints, which I read with more than pain, you point your finger at the faithful men who have had such charge of the work as you may have delegated to them. Last month you announced that one great bar and hindrance was the appropriation of seats. Now you attribute it to the removal of Mr. Blackburn. You say: "But Mr. Blackburn had to leave. At the "end of 1881, I was plainly told by Mr. Davies, that if Mr. "Blackburn remained, the subscriptions on which his stipend "depended would be withheld. It was a humiliating position in "which I was placed, to have to recommend an earnest clergy-"man, devoted to his work, to send in his resignation * * * "and the stagnation complained of to-day is the practical result "of the freezing machinery set in operation by Mr. Davies in "1882." My Lord, I regard the foregoing remarks with perfect amazement. Had it been possible for me to make and you to listen to such a communication, it must at least have been made in confidence—and not even three years of absolute silence could justify a violation of that confidence now. If it was not worth your while to caution Mr. Blackburn against his enemies then, it seems almost cruel to rob him of whatever little gratification his belief in my friendship may yield him now. I spent about five weeks at the end of 1881 in Honolulu, and when I returned

here a year afterward, Mr. Blackburn had left. During those five weeks of 1881, I had a conversation with you regarding the condition of the Church, and I beg to append a letter written then by me to Mr. Walker, embodying pretty fully what I had said to you. I especially emphasized to you my friendship for Mr. Blackburn. I said that my subscription would continue for a year to come, but I think I added that unless more life were developed, I should not feel bound to continue it longer than a year. You suggested some provision for traveling expenses if Mr. Blackburn should leave or some one else come, to which I responded. I did not say one word to you or to any one else, about any one else's subscription. You were good enough to express your approval of the manner in which I treated the subject, and of the entire propriety of my saying that after a year I should not feel bound to continue my subscription.

I am now asked to believe that I, who had "no claim to a voice in the affairs of the body," who could neither enter nor vote for the Synod, who was in residence in England during the whole time, had yet sufficient influence or power to dictate to your Lordship—and to set in operation "freezing machinery" to be carried out under your sanction and care!—If all this was possible, one thing I trust was not possible; I cannot think that you would so far omit the protection due to your clergy as to allow any one, especially a "revolutionary person" like myself, to direct their movements. My Lord, the position you now say you had to accept was so humiliating as to be incredible,—and to refresh your memory, and to show what did actually occur, I will here insert the only letter written by me on the subject, and written in pursuance of a promise to you.

Dear Mr. Walker: *Honolulu, Nov. 13th, 1881.*

I think I ought not to leave again without speaking to you of the thoughts produced in my own mind by the condition of affairs as they appear to me in connection with St. Andrew's Church.

It has been for years a cause of much solicitude that so little spiritual interest seems to be awakened amongst the members of our congregation; and especially do I feel the marked absence of

young Englishmen from the services, and from any apparent sympathy with religious life.

Whilst I would not seek to shelter myself or any other layman from the responsibility which we undoubtedly incur by our own lukewarmness in manifesting the life of Jesus in our own lives, and by our silence in regard to the great truths we profess to have learned, I still feel that in providing for the spiritual wants of Honolulu sufficient study has not been given to the claim of the busy minds and active energies which make up so large a class both of our permanent and of our transient fellows.

It is useless to blink the fact that many if not most of those whom we would fain see active in Christian work display an utter apathy in such matters, and I see no likelihood of their being reclaimed, unless some vigorous steps be taken with a view to gaining or regaining a religious influence over them.

When I see so much religious activity in other churches, and especially working in and around the Young Men's Christian Association, I feel saddened at thinking that the Anglican Mission neither countenances that association, nor supplies anything in its place that promises success;—and I am more than ever convinced that if we would stir from that state of apathy which seems to enfold our church life, we must seek some such development as I have indicated.

Ties of personal friendship are very strong, and I should be indeed grieved if this letter were to be construed into a breach of those ties in any direction, but my conscience tells me that I must seek the welfare of my countrymen, with so many of whom I am so pleasantly and so intimately connected. I ask that means be taken to draw them to church, to win their confidence not only as sinners, but as men, to teach them that there are activity and life in Christian work, as well as green pastures and still waters for the tired souls.

To do this I feel that a man specially adapted to this work must be introduced, not necessarily as a substitute, but perhaps as a supplement to present workers.

As far as I am concerned, I frankly say that I desire for my children, should they return here, warmer early Christian associations than I have found at St. Andrew's, and that to insure such, I would joyfully and gratefully increase my contribution towards the expenses incurred.

I will say then that if early steps are taken to make spiritual provision for the classes I have named, (and regarding not only their wants, but the tastes and education which may seem to them part of their religion,) I shall be glad to increase my annual subscription to $250, on condition that the steps taken are generally concurred in by the members best known to me.

I will further contribute $250 toward any extra travelling expenses this may necessitate. I may add that I leave these proposals open for completion within a year from this date, and that I trust you may be able to make such use of them as shall result in that Christian progress which I am sure you as well as myself truly desire.

Praying that the great Head of the Church may direct and guide us all to the paths where we may best serve Him,

I am, dear Mr. Walker,

Yours very sincerely,

THEO. H. DAVIES.

Thomas Rain Walker, Esq., Churchwarden.

That letter will doubtless excite your scorn, as being another of my feeble "schemes for the salvation of the Church"—but it is a strange comment on your present report of the vigor that the Church was manifesting three years ago. It is stranger still that at the time you did not rebuke my false statements, nor stand by the man I was so cruelly persecuting.

2. Your next point is to combat my statement of the lack of sympathy shown by the Anglican Church towards other Christian Societies. You meet this by showing that a prominent member of the Congregationalist body had made some liberal proposition, which however does not seem to have been accepted. You have overlooked the somewhat important fact, that the lack of sympathy of which I ventured to complain was not that shown *to* us, but that shown *by* us;—generous enough offers have been made, as for example the instance you refer to, but how have they been met, or acknowledged?

3. I now come to the extraordinary statement regarding the financial report of the Treasurer made August 4th, when this despotic individual "forced" his own views upon the Committee, in spite of the protest of the President.

You say that my statement showed a sum required to complete the chancel of $9,712, and to complete in addition two bays of the nave $16,975, and you add "so that to take a fresh contract for the two bays only called for $6,263 in excess of the sum ($9,712) required to discharge existing liabilities"!

This extraordinary result appears to be arrived at by deducting the debt on the chancel from the contemplated debt on the bays, and by making another mistake of $1,000 in the process you arrive at the conviction that $6,263 will be all that is required to erect the two bays. I am bound to believe that you considered this an accurate result, but I am at a loss to know how any scheme could be carried to success on such a system of accounts. The fact is that you have placed out of sight $9,712, in addition to the said $1,000, and have estimated what the Treasurer reported as $16,975 as only requiring $6,263. You then proceed to visit the blunder upon the heads of the Committee who you had believed were "dealing honestly" with you, and in an utterly groundless and reckless ebullition you show how the Committee, and notably Messrs. Cleghorn, Davies and Mackintosh, were bent upon promoting the revolutionary scheme of Mr. Davies. But your figures were all wrong and your astonishing hypothesis falls with them.

May I at this late hour endeavour to show you the financial position that was reported to your Lordship officially on the 4th of August,—and which left you with the impression that $1,000 added to the $5,000 which the Trustees had arranged with you to borrow would complete the bays.

I stated that the amount required to complete chancel and bays was		$22,871 55
And I was under advance		2,603 55
Making the total requirement		$25,475 10
The unpaid subscriptions were	$ 4,000 00	
The conditional subscriptions were	3,000 00	
Final donation from the London Society	2,500 00	
	$ 9,500 00	
Deficiency after exhausting all known funds	15,975 10	
		$25,475 10

It was distinctly stated that your loan of $5,000 was to be conditional on its serving to complete the bays. You state unequivocally that $1,263 extra was alone required, and yet you had the above figures at your command if you had thought it worth while to make sure of your ground before bringing such a dis-

graceful charge as dishonest dealing against your whole Committee. It is clear that had you been permitted, you would have paid over your $5,000 under the belief that no more than $1,200 extra was required. If the finances had been in any such state as you represent, the loan would have been made available. The loan was not to the Committee, but to the Trustees, and it was not ignored. The amount has entered into all the calculations I have made, and if it were now to be withdrawn it would not be in consequence of either the blunder or the dishonest dealing of the Committee.

4. We now reach the subject of the first memorandum. You are perfectly aware that it was prepared by Mr. Walker, as Church Warden. You might have said it was prepared by members of the choir or of the Chamber of Commerce. I should have replied that it was not prepared by members of either body as such. Would you still have enquired, "Why this shuffling?" or would you have recognized the impropriety of mixing up official and non-official acts as you did in the circular?

The appropriateness of adopting the simile of a "herd of cattle" to illustrate your dealings with your congregation, is a point which I will not argue. But I think respect for some of the members might have kept such an illustration out of print.

5. This clause is a long one, but the point is very concise. You introduce the official designation of the British Vice-Consul, in order to give point to your declaration that he made "a statement "which is untrue, knowing it to be untrue."

My Lord, I take the liberty of telling you that you must not introduce my official position into any unofficial discussion.

I further reiterate that until you published the counter-memorial in the daily papers I was entirely ignorant of its contents, as I still am of the object of the signers. That is the statement which you declare to be untrue, and the only proof you present in support of your outrageous accusations is that as Mr. Walker knew the *purport*, I must have known ths *contents*. You are sufficient master of language to know that *purport* is no more identical with *contents* than I am identical with Mr. Walker, and I think a little wholesome respect for "man's judgment" would have made you hesitate in your choice of weapons.

It is true that the counter-memorial was circulated in such a way that it was probably my own fault that I did not know the

contents, but the fact is simply that I did not know; and it is hardly worth your while, I think, to give me a flat contradiction to gain such a small point as you would make even if you proved that I had really composed the document. There is little doubt as to the object of the *instigator* of the counter-memorial, it being presumably an endeavor to drive a wedge between "natives and the poorer class of foreigners" on the one hand, and the memorialists of August 16th on the other, and especially to punish the latter for asking the liberty which you inform us you have so freely accorded.

I believe that ladies and clergymen are usually protected from such rough usage as you accord me, by their position and office, and that it is a point of honour on their part not to take advantage of the sanctity of this privilege. Gentlemen who are not clergymen, I assume, abstain from making such allegations simply because they are gentlemen, but they would always perhaps stand in awe of the human tribunal for which you express no such reverence.

6. You ask with reference to my expression of regret at your absence from the meeting of December 15th, if a chair was placed for your use. I will therefore re-write the clause referred to and say, "I regret that although the Bishop had officially sanctioned "what he now describes as a revolutionary scheme, and had, as "he states, freely accorded us the liberty of adopting a plan for "'rending in two' the body of the Church, he has deprived us of "any hope that we could look for either his co-operation or good-"will in carrying out the scheme of which he has been reapeatedly "asked to take the direction." The logic is your Lordship's.

7. There is evidently some insinuation conveyed in the words: "They have not my permission to try and make others dissatisfied and to draw them away from the Cathedral services or Cathedral Sunday School." What this means I know not, unless it is an attempt to "take over" the fable of the wolf and the lamb which you had on the same page attempted to fit on to me. I believe your Lordship is aware that there has been for some years a Sunday School in connection with St. Andrew's, although it has probably never been seen by you. There were about 15 or 20 children previous to the change in the services. The father of some of these children came to my office and said that a member of your household had been to him asking him to take the children from this

school and send them to the Bishop's Sunday School, and he wanted my advice. The parents of two of my own scholars told me the same story, and one of the boys has been taken. If that is the practice that your Lordship condemns in the clause referred to, I cannot complain.

In conclusion I regret that you can find any diversion in the idea of my wringing my hands at the melancholy spectacle which this correspondence presents.

Surely it is unusual to see a General after a campaign of 12 or 14 years, turn round in the moment of either victory or defeat, and publicly denounce the officers and troops, most of whom at any rate, whatever their faults, have followed his lead, whether they approved of his generalship or not.

When I regard Mr. Blackburn's success in Adelaide, and the improved condition of congregation and schools here since the adoption of the proposals of the memorialists, I am not ashamed or sorry for the humble part in both movements which you ascribe to my influence,—but I deeply regret that in administering castigation to me, you should have found it impossible to select one solitary name for either approbation in the past, or hope in the future.

Is it not just possible that the accusations which you have so freely flung around upon clergy and laity have arisen from your having followed upon a large scale the mistakes and miscalculations which are so patent in your treatment of the finance statement? I have been so wantonly accused that I claim the right to say this much.

There is certainly much that should be apologized for. But I fear that persons who indulge in this kind of expression are not readily inclined to apologize. In the absence of an apology, I shall make no further replies except to correct mis-statements.

The impression produced by your statement on persons who know neither you nor me will doubtless be that I actually did come to your presence, and announce myself as a dissenter, and that I have either bought or bullied myself into the position of importance which you, and not I, represent myself as occupying.

It is also to be inferred that you have tacitly sanctioned this state of things for years without rebuke to me, warning to your clergy, or abstention on your own part from such moral support as I was able to render.

It is a pleasure to me to enjoy as I do the relations of friendship with all the clergy here, as well as with most, if not all, of those who have left the diocese. That will compensate me for some of the loss I may sustain if I decline to follow too exactly the recommendation with which you close your reply.

My Lord, assurances of friendship or regret are not always either credited or appreciated by you, but for my own sake I will state the profound sorrow with which I send this letter to the press,—and I solemnly protest against the manner in which by your own want of self control, you have forced me into such an attitude of defence—not of myself alone but of the large majority of those of your countrymen who have been for twelve years your supporters, disciples and friends.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your obedient servant,

THEO. H. DAVIES.

Honolulu, January 15th, 1886.

HONOLULU, January 15th, 1886.

The Rev. Alexander Mackintosh:—

MY DEAR SIR:—I have found it necessary to employ very plain terms in acknowledging receipt of the Bishop's latest publication. My answer is now in print, and ready for circulation.

I am however so convinced of the grievous scandal which has already been occasioned by the publicity given to these unseemly disputes, that I should be glad of any steps which could justify me in withholding my open letter from circulation, without injury to myself or to the other gentlemen who have been associated with me in the Bishop's sweeping accusations.

I therefore beg to enclose to you, as a friend of the Bishop, two copies of my said letter, with a request that you will hand one to the Bishop. I will further say, that if I receive to-morrow an assurance that all the charges made against myself and others, in the recently issued reply of the Bishop, will be immediately, absolutely and publicly retracted, and that the said reply, with my open letter shall be submitted to a tribunal of gentlemen, to be nominated by, and to include Mr. Justice Preston (who has already been selected by the Bishop as umpire in another matter), with

the understanding that the decision of said referees as to any apology which may be required shall bind both the Bishop and myself, I will in that case prevent the circulation of my said open letter and will only retain six copies under my own control.

Should copies of the Bishop's statement have left the Kingdom, I wish to make the proviso, that in event of my receiving the assurance I have named, the foreign recipients of such copies shall receive the same notice of retraction as shall be given to those who are resident here.

I am, my dear sir,

Yours very faithfully,

THEO. H. DAVIES.

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OPEN REPLY TO T. H. DAVIES, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR,—After carefully perusing your letter, handed to me by the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh, I wrote you a line to the effect that you had failed to disprove or refute one single statement contained in my reply, and *warning* you as a friend that its publication would injure no one but yourself. But, in spite of this friendly warning, your letter has been circulated, and I observe that you have made one significant alteration, to which I shall call attention hereafter. A man of honour would have felt himself bound to publish the letter word for word as he had sent it to the person addressed, or else refrain from publishing. But you are not moved by such considerations. I now proceed to consider your remarks, and shall endeavour to be as brief as possible.

As to your first point, I grant you that a "statement" by a Treasurer is not identical with a "Treasurer's Report." But a statement by a Treasurer *as Treasurer* behind the President's back is as much out of order as a report would be. The fact remains that *as Treasurer* you issued a statement to the meeting at the British Club censuring the President, and had not the manliness to send him a copy.

Next, as to your position in the Church. I had forgotten the

fact that I once wrote you a letter stating that your being a communicant made you "an *ipso facto* member of the Anglican Church, and of no other." I do not ordinarily keep copies of my letters, and matters easily slip from the memory. But I accept your statement that I did write such a letter, and meant what I wrote—that by your admission to communion with the Anglican Church you ceased to belong to any other religious body. But have you acted in accordance with the spirit and intention of that letter? By no means. I had expressed my willingness to regard you as a churchman, and a churchman only; but you have declined to be so regarded. After joining in the opposition to my scheme for giving a constitutional government to the diocese by means of a duly organized Synod, you declined to make the declaration required of voters, that "you belonged to no other religious body." You have continued to announce yourself a Congregationalist, and, notably, on the occasion to which I referred, declared yourself a Dissenter. Consequently, the letter behind which you now endeavour to shelter yourself has been rendered null and void by your refusal to abide by its provisions.

You ask for retractions. I gladly take this opportunity of publicly confessing that one grave mistake made during my Episcopate was that of allowing you to come to communion with us without confirmation A Bishop's duty is to administer the laws of the Church, not to dispense with them. The law of the Church of England is plain and distinct, that "no one be admitted to Holy Communion until he be confirmed." Now it happened that during my ministry in England a few cases came under my notice of persons who had inherited strong prejudices against confirmation, and whom their pastor admitted to communion without confirmation. The result was, that in a little while their eyes were opened to understand the reasons of the Church's requirement, and they felt uneasy that they had not entered in by the appointed door. In less than two years they were candidates for the laying on of hands. It was in the hope that by the same relaxation of the Church's rule in your case you would be filled with a sense of the unfitness of continuing in communion with us without complying with the Church's laws that I yielded to the pressure put upon me to admit you. I have been disappointed in the result, and I apologize to the whole Anglican Church in Hawaii for the mistake that I made.

I now come to your attack on the five clauses of my Reply.

1. On this head you complain that *if* you ever made such a communication as that Mr. Blackburn's subscription would be withheld, "it must have been made in confidence," and so you proceed to charge me with a violation of confidence. How is that possible? Mr. Blackburn held a public position, dependent on public subscriptions, and how could a communication regarding any of those subscriptions be made under the seal of secresy when it was the foundation of the recommendation I had to make to Mr. Blackburn? Your own words confirm the truth of the statement which you read with "perfect amazement." You remind me of a certain conversation in which you said *that your subscription would continue for a year to come*, but you added (you think) that unless more life were developed, "*I shoutd not feel bound to continue it any longer than a year.*" In these words you plainly confess that you intended to set in operation the "freezing machinery" I spoke of. And on what grounds? "*Unless more life were developed.*" And *you* were to be the judge. It was not if Mr. Blackburn did not work harder, but unless more success attended his ministry according to *your* idea of success. Now those who are labouring in the spiritual harvest field know too well that though a Paul may plant and an Apollos water, it is God alone who can give the increase. They know too well that many of the most earnest, faithful workers have had to say for years, during which their labours and prayers have borne no visible result, "I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain." But by the words that you now recall, and the letter to Mr. Walker that you publish, you publicly deciare that the faithfulness of a minister is according to his success, and that the labourer is not worthy of his hire, whom the Lord does not gladden with the sight of the fruit of his labours.

You remind me that I expressed my approval of the manner in which you treated the matter, and of the entire propriety of your withdrawal of your subscription. I have no objection to this reminder. I admitted that you had a perfect right over your own money, and understanding that the purse was the weapon to be employed against Mr. Blackburn, I accepted the inevitable with as good grace as possible. If I failed in not extending a proper protection to Mr. Blackburn, it was because I had not the dollars wherewith to maintain him in his position.

2. Under this head it is sufficient to state that the offer referred to has been gratefully accepted.

3. We now come to the figures. If you have forgotten the simple rules of arithmetic, it is a pity that you did not submit your figures to one of your clerks before sending your copy to the press. My figures are those you submitted to the committee on August 4th. If they are wrong, it is because yours were, and an expert should be employed to examine your books. But there is no need of this, for your statement shows that my figures are perfectly right. My statement quoted by you on page 5 was that the sum required to complete chancel and two bays was $16,975. In this there is a typical error which escaped me, and the figures should be $15,975, which is $9,712 and $6,263. On page 6 you print the statement that you submitted on August 4th, and show:

Deficiency, after exhausting all known funds to complete *chancel and bays*	$ 15,975 10
But existing liabilities on chancel were	9,712 00
Therefore balance required to erect two bays after discharging debt	$6,263 10

We were bound by our contract at that date to pay the liabilities on the chancel, amounting to $9,712. Consequently, to have taken a fresh contract for the two bays only called for $6,263 *in excess of the sum required to discharge existing liabilities.*

Are you convinced? If not, I will put it in another way. Leave out of sight the liabilities on the chancel, which you reported as $9,712. What was required in addition to this to take a fresh contract for the two bays?

Estimate for the two bays		$19,000 00
Due to Treasurer		2,603 55
Paid on this account	$5,841 00	
Assets shown by you on page 6	9,500 00	
All good if the fresh contract had been taken.		
Balance required	6,263 00	
	$21,604 00	$21,603 55

Hence a $5,000 loan to be paid off in five years left only $1,263 to be immediately raised in addition to existing liabilities ($9,712).

But you ask the public to believe that you had reported (page 5, line 35) $16,975 as the amount required for the two bays, though

no such report was ever made. So that your system of accounts is as follows:

Total deficiency on chancel and bays (page 6, line 16)....	$15,975
Deduct liabilities on chancel.....	9,712
Remainder required for two bays.....	$16,975

This is an extraordinary result! But, blind to your own ridiculous blunder, you charge me with blundering, and represent that I had obtained the $6,263 by trying to subtract $9712 from $16,975, and had made a mistake of $1,000 in the process, making the remainder $6,263 instead of $7,263. But $16,975 is a sum that never entered into my calculations, for in the place where this sum is mentioned in my statement as required for chancel and bays the 6 is a misprint for 5, and this $16,975 which you state that you reported as required for the bays is the $15,975, given by you as the total deficiency, made up of $9,712 for the chancel, and $6,263 for the bays.

Now, my dear Sir, which of us ought to go to school again? And what becomes of your general condemnation of my administration (in paragraph 1 of page 9) which you hinged on my arithmetic?

Next, if you please, where have I brought a charge of dishonest dealing against the whole committee? What I wrote was, that I negotiated the loan, "believing that I was being honestly dealt with." This is no charge against the whole committee. Many of the members knew nothing about the negotiation until August 4th. But had I not a right to expect that those whom I did consult, and with whose approval I acted, if they were not prepared to support its acceptance in committee would have told me fairly and squarely beforehand that it was useless to enter into such negotiations, because there was a determination not to proceed with the Cathedral until certain changes were carried out? Do you answer "yes" or "no?" If "yes," you admit that I was not honestly dealt with, and that is what I wrote. My complaint against the whole committee is their ignoring this matter altogether. This was neither just to myself nor to the Trustees, nor to the gentlemen abroad who had offered the money at a low rate of interest. You say it was not ignored. But the minutes state that no action was taken. To "ignore," according to Webster, is "to leave out of consideration."

You do not like to be reminded that a committee appointed to collect subscriptions postponed for two years making any general canvass, and so denounce it as an "utterly groundless and reckless ebullition." That a statement of fact should be termed an "ebullition" shows how (to use your own word) recklessly you write. Mr. Mackintosh has explained to me that *you* kept that committee in inaction; and so I was not wrong in asserting that that committee (willingly or unwillingly) did aid your efforts to put me in a corner.

4. Are you so dull of understanding as to mistake my illustration of the collective force of a noun of multitude for the institution of a comparison between a congregation of men and a herd of cattle? If there was disrespect to *some* of the members in the illustration, there was disrespect to *all*. It is not I who draw lines of demarcation between members of Christ's Church.

5. On this head you write: "I further reiterate that until you published the counter-memorial in the daily papers I was entirely ignorant of its contents, as I still am of the object of the signers. *This is the statement which you declare to be untrue.*" Not at all. This is *an entirely new* statement. The statement that you made at the British Club, which I declared to be untrue, was, that until the said memorial was published, "*We were* (not 'I was') ignorant of the object of the document." You were addressing a meeting of the memorialists of August 25, and your "we" translated into Hawaiian would be the inclusive "kakou," not the exclusive "makou." You did not speak of your own personal ignorance, but of the ignorance of the whole body of the memorialists as to the contents and object of the document. You wished the meeting at the British Club to believe that they, the memorialists, had been kept in ignorance of any counter-memorial until it was published on December 12th. I have shown that the memorialists had full information of the fact and the object of the counter-memorial as far back as October 3rd. You attempt to wriggle out of the acknowledgement of this by saying that you are not identical with Mr. Walker. But my correspondence with Mr. Walker was with him as the representative of the signers. The information given to him was given to the whole body. If Mr. Walker kept my letter of October 3rd in his pocket, and did not lay it before the signers (which I know he did), you must call him, not me, to account. The memorialists, in the person

of their representative, had received full information of the opposition they had provoked, and the charge you brought against me at the British Club of keeping them in the dark remains just where it was.

You tell me I *must* not introduce your official position into any unofficial discussion. Why not? In the sentence in which it is first referred to the point is this, that if a memorial, of which one holding the *subordinate* position of *Vice*-Consul claimed the parentage, received from me the fullest consideration, I was bound to give at least the same consideration to a memorial emanating from one holding *supreme* authority in the realm, although neither His Majesty nor yourself were acting officially.

I refer to your office the second time, because the fact that you hold an official position in this country, derived from the British Crown, ought to have restrained you from publicly inveighing against the official act of your countryman holding the highest appointment in a different department given by permission of the same Crown. If you are now forced, as you say, into an attitude of defence, it is because you first assumed the *offensive*, and found the position you attacked stronger than you supposed. No one wishes to attack or interfere with you, and as soon as you retire from your interference with my office, you will not have to defend yourself from the resistance of the defender.

The position which I hold here in the Cathedral is one that I have not only to maintain, but to hand on to my successors unimpaired; and, God helping me, the efforts that have been made to upset it will be wholly in vain.

Instead of altering the last sentence of paragraph 5, page 7, you would have been wiser to have omitted it. You write: "There is little doubt as to the object of the *originator* of the counter-memorial, it being presumably an endeavor to drive a wedge between the "natives and the poorer class of foreigners" on the one hand, and the memorialists of August 25th on the other? Is there nothing reckless in this style of argument? But why did you change *originator* into *instigator?* Were you afraid that by the former word you might be hurling misiles at the occupant of the Throne? And what have you gained by the change? "Instigator" is a word rarely, if ever, used in a good sense. An "instigator', is one who incites to evil, not to good. And so by the change of term you brand the counter-memorial as, in your

eyes, a piece of wickedness, and accuse the King and sixty members of the Church of being incited to wickedness by the said "*instigator*" whoever he may be. You had better have let "*originator*" stand.

6. Instead of apologizing for the gratuitous insult of regretting my absence from a meeting of which I had no intimation, you throw your sentence into a new form, in which if the insult is removed, the unreasonableness remains. The object of the memorialists was stated to be freedom from my immediate control, and, leave being granted to them to make a new organization, you now complain because I did not step in and take the *personal direction* of it myself. Have you never read of "the children sitting in the market-place?"

7. The sentence "They have not my permission to try and make others dissatisfied, and to draw them away from the Cathedral services or Cathedral Sunday-School" makes no insinuation, but lays down plainly the limits of my permission. How necessary it was to make that statement is shown by the confession it has elicited. For several years you have enjoyed the privilege of being a teacher in the Cathedral Sunday-school. You have now thrown in your lot with a congregation that has asked to be as separate from the Cathedral as if they formed a new parish. Having left the Cathedral Sunday-school, it is a distinct violation of the arrangement entered into that you, or anyone else, should try and draw away any but the children of the memorialists of August 25th to the new Sunday-school. If the new arrangement is to be carried out without friction, it must be a point of honor that each congregation shall let the other alone. On the side of the Cathedral it is distinctly understood that neither the clergy or teachers will use their influence to induce the children of the memorialists to remain at the Cathedral school. The new congregation should behave to us in the same way. But, instead of this, there has been a *hoomalimaliing* of the children of parents who remain true to the Cathedral to take them away to the new Sunday-school. And when a father refused to allow his boy to be thus taken away you represent him as removing the boy from his proper school to send him to the Bishop's Sunday-school. But the Bishop's Sunday-school is St. Andrew's Cathedral Sunday-school, to which he had always belonged, and in which the father told you he should remain.

In this connection I have a word to say about the "wedge" driven in between races and classes by the afore-mentioned "instigator." You "believe" that I am aware of the existence of St. Andrew's Sunday-school. It evidently requires a stretch of faith on your part to believe this. It is just possible, you mean, that I was not aware of it. So, to satisfy you that I am not quite so remiss in my duties as you insinuate, let me remind you of the gathering at my house in January last, when not merely the children attending that school, but *all* the children under the teaching of the Anglican Church were assembled, numbering over 130. Upon that gathering *without distinction of race or class* of *all* my children, I looked as an earnest of peace and unity for the time to come. But alas! the spirit that was to frustrate those hopes was already abroad.

That gathering in 1885 was in striking contrast to a gathering in the previous January. You may remember that a Christmas Tree was then got up by the members of the congregation for the children. Public notice was given, not that "the children of St. Andrew's Sunday-school," but that "the children of the household of faith" would be entertained at a certain time and place. That notice, moreover, was given in the hearing of the boys of Iolani School, and the girls of St. Andrew's Priory, all belonging to the said household of faith. But these sixty or seventy children had no participation in that entertainment. Was it because for the most part they were sons and daughters of natives and the poorer class of foreigners? Let a comparison between the children's entertainment in 1885 and that in 1884 witness whether it is the Bishop who drives a wedge between class and class, colour and colour.

And now, in conclusion, I have one word more to say. An unfulfilled contract is a reproach to an individual, and not less to a Church. For six months have we, as a Church, lain under this reproach, and no effort made by the responsible committee to remove it. I was given clearly to understand that this reproach would be wiped off if the wishes of the memorialists were granted. They have been granted to the fullest extent consistent with respect for the rights of the rest of the congregation, though to their inconvenience and my own, subject to the liquidation of the debt. A suit against the Committee is threatened. To avoid such further scandal, I applied to the Churchwarden elect of the

new congregation for information as to the quota they were prepared with already to meet these liabilities, The elected representatives of the new congregation are the proper persons to give this information. The reply that I received, issued from your office, was a *point blank refusal to give me any information on the subject.*

It is now manifest to all reasonable men that on my part I have done all that can be done to meet the wishes of the memorialists of August 25th. And if now in return I am not entitled even to a civil reply on important matters of business, if the rest of the congregation whose wishes I have met, and their Pastor elect cannot cause to cease both the strife of tongues, and chiefly the persistent, unreasonable, and unprovoked opposition to my authority which has its headquarters in *your* office, one course only remains, and that is to hold the Cathedral service at the hours which are most convenient to the Cathedral congregation, and not permit any other service to be held until the conditions attached to my permission are fulfilled.

I have written firmly and plainly as the occasion demands, resolved to uphold all that is true, and right, and just. In that resolution I can sign myself in the truest sense, your friend,

ALFRED WILLIS,
Bishop of Honolulu.

Honolulu, January 21, 1886.

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SECOND OPEN LETTER TO THE RIGHT REVEREND ALFRED WILLIS, BISHOP OF HONOLULU.

My Lord:—In my letter dated the 15th inst. I stated that in the absence of an apology, I should make no further replies, except to correct misstatements. This will relieve me from the necessity of characterizing generally your letter of January 21st, or of dealing in detail with its sophistries. A man whose self-respect neither teaches him when he ought to apologize, nor permits him to submit to any tribunal the question of his own imperfections, must be left to gratify himself with the use of such

ammunition as his own unbridled temper, or an uncivilized vocabulary may afford.

I am bound to make one admission in regard to my own compositions, which is that they are sadly wanting in that—shall I call it brutality—of expression, to which many of your correspondents must be accustomed. For this reason, I value your admission that you do not ordinarily keep copies of your letters, and that matters easily slip from the memory; and in my correction of your misstatements, you will kindly bear in mind that I do not attribute them to intentional inaccuracy, but to the unhappy failures of habit or mind to which you have drawn my attention in the above admission. Permit me however to say that you would find it profitable in future to keep not only copies of your letters, but notes of your conversations.

The incidents regarding which there were misstatements to be corrected, are reduced to four, as you have with more or less grace dropped out your other principal accusations.

1. My position in the Church.
2. The negotiations regarding Mr. Blackburn.
3. Criticisms of the Treasurer's figures, and justification of your own.
4. The additional drive you give to the wedge, which is so persistently hammered in, between natives and foreigners.

1. My position in the Church. Are you aware that some weeks after your assertion that I was an *ipso facto* member of the Church, you in 1872 forbade my coming to the Communion, telling me at the same time that the Rev. C. J. Williamson was a *traitor to his faith* for ever having admitted me? Are you aware that several years afterwards, the Rev. T. Blackburn came to me and assured me that it would be a gratification to the Bishop if I would resume my place as a communicant, and that thereafter I came with your sanction?

Is it not clear therefore, that the "mistake" for which you now apologize to the "whole Anglican Church in Hawaii," is one which you made deliberately, years after you had denounced the Rev. C. G. Williamson as a traitor to his faith for doing the same thing? Your memory on this point has altogether betrayed you, and your apology should be either withdrawn or greatly extended, the "mistake" having been committed by you twice, with an interval of years.

2. Your mis-statement regarding Mr. Blackburn is no less glaring; and since you will not be satisfied with my shewing that the communication you allege *could not* have taken place, permit me to say flatly, that it *did not* take place.

Have you forgotten your coming to me in the street in 1880, and consulting me as to whether you should send a bill of exchange by that day's mail for the outward expenses of a clergyman who was then, I think, in Canada? Have you forgotten that in the same year you asked my opinion about your proposal to invite the Rev. R. Wainwright to come out, because he had such a good reputation for building up dead churches, and reviving slumbering places? You added that he would be glad to come, as he had a daughter married in the diocese, and that you thought you could leave him in charge of your college for a year, and so ascertain his suitability for work in Honolulu, without exciting other clerical jealousy.

How does all this compare with your present declarations on success as a test? It is unfortunate that you do not keep copies of your letters, for it might have saved you from the difficulty of having to reconcile some of your correspondence of that date, with your present theory that the Church was so flourishing. Mr. Wainwright came, and he would not stay in Honolulu, and, consequently when the end of 1881 came, you were still uncertain about the place you had expected him to fill. It will surely baffle your mathematical skill to shew how what I said about Mr. Blackburn in 1881, set in motion all your previous activity regarding Mr. Wainwright in 1880. It is singular, too, that whilst you had to be reminded of your expression of approval of my treatment of Mr. Blackburn, you remember distinctly the course of thought which led to that expression, and how the understanding that the paltry power of the purse was to be the weapon, awed you into accepting, "with as good a grace as possible," what you ought, if your account be true, to have spurned with indignant contempt. I must, however, inform you that your memory is entirely at fault in what you now say, unless you were entirely misleading me then. Do you still assert that I have not refuted a single statement?

3. And now the figures. My Lord, I am prepared to admit that your arithmetic, (with the exception of what you term, with singular *naiveté*, the "typical" error of $1,000), is correct—but if

I had a clerk who would descend to such a misuse of figures he should have no more figures of mine to sport with. I hoped that it was a blunder when you made the following statement:—"It is "the opinion of the Trustees that the best interests of the Church "will be served by the acceptance of the loan, provided that the "additional sum necessary for the completion of the two bays can "be obtained." (That is the vote of the Trustees.)

"That additional sum was only, as has been stated, $1,263." (That is the declaration of the Bishop.)

My comment was: "You have placed out of sight $9,712—and "proceed to visit the blunder upon the heads of the Com-"mittee."

My Lord, if you were willing to admit, as you do now, that you were aware that you had left out of sight $9,712, you might have saved yourself the elaborate statistics which appear in your last letter.

It now appears that your plan was, to take the promised subscriptions upon which alone the Committee relied to meet their liabilities to the contractor, and apply them to a new contract, leaving the sum due the contractor out of sight, under the head of "debt already incurred," and of which, apparently, nothing more was to be heard. You would next negotiate a loan in your own name for $5,000, to be secured with interest, and then you are free to reproach the Committee for their treacherous refusal to raise the additional $1,200.

The statement would then be as follows:

Subscriptions promised	$9,500 00
Loan by the Bishop on security and interest.....	5,000 00
Amount which the Committee ought to provide.....	1,263 10
Debt already incurred to the Contractor and Treasurer, of which no further mention is made.....	9,712 00
Making a total requirement of.....	$25,475 10

Spendthrifts, and those who live at other people's expense, are usually regardless of "debts already incurred," and care only for the ability to incur more; but I refused to believe you would advocate such a course, and that whilst negotiating a loan in your own name for half the amount, with security and interest, you would leave out of sight an amount due contractor and Treasurer, for $9,712.

But beyond this, you indulge in strong language towards myself and my colleagues, because we would not take the money of your friend in London, upon terms which could only be attained by the violation of the conditions of the Trustees, and the placing out of sight of $9,712. A few weeks ago one of your proposals was met by the statement that to comply would constitute an indictable offense. I am satisfied that the acceptance of your $5,000 without providing for the $9,712 of debt, would have been similarly characterized. Therefore I was forced to believe that you had blundered, and I still think so.

With regard to your drawing in Mr. Mackintosh's name as having told you I kept the Committee in inaction, I have no controversy with that gentleman—and I respectfully desire to confine myself to what *you* may have said, in the attack from which you did not find it then necessary to dissociate Mr. Mackintosh's name; your qualification of "willingly or unwillingly" comes a little too late.

4. Your memory has, I fear, been unusually hard upon you with regard to the treatment of children. In order to complete the "wedge" argument, it was desirable to ignore the fact that in January, 1884, a few weeks after the Christmas tree of which you speak, an entertainment was given at my residence to your entire school, and to as many other children of the congregation as we could accommodate. You were present, and so were the other clergy; but your memory is equal to the occasion, and a piece of evidence which a candid man would have gladly used to defeat the "wedge" argument, is suppressed in its favour.

I have now dealt with the four mis-statements, but I ask permission to introduce one more topic.

I confess that I did alter one word in my open letter. You sent me an intimation that if I used the word "originator" I should be attacking the King. You knew that whether I used "originator" or "instigator," I meant the Bishop, but it has suited your purpose to hold up His Majesty's name to be shot at, as a leader of a partisan movement in the Church. It was my humble duty to do what I could to defend the King's name from such an indignity in any correspondence to which I was a party. Your Lordship is aware that no Bishop in England would dare to drag the name of his sovereign around, as the organizer of any Church party, and I humbly thought that what the Bishop of

London dare not do in England, the Bishop of Honolulu might well abstain from doing in Hawaii. I was successful in conveying to your Lordship my real meaning, but I regret to say that I did not succeed in keeping His Majesty's name out of the way of your chariot wheels.

My Lord, I protest once more against this scandalous correspondence; against the adoption of such unworthy weapons;—and against the mockery of introducing the sacred name of friendship, where you have first banished every trace of human faith, hope and charity.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,
Your obedient servant,
THEO. H. DAVIES.

Honolulu, January 28th, 1886.

[COPY.]

HONOLULU, January 28th, 1886.

THE REV. ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH:

MY DEAR SIR:—I am so grieved at the continued publication of this correspondence, that I make another effort to prevent it. Surely now the Bishop will consent to place the matter before the tribunal I proposed, and abide by the verdict. If he will do so, and notify me to-morrow to that effect, I will suspend the general circulation of my second letter, two copies of which I now enclose.

I will go a step further, and say that if the Bishop will courteously request me not to circulate my letter, and will at the same time agree to forward a copy to each person abroad who shall have received a copy of his last letter, I will then prevent the circulation beyond one copy to be given to the King, and six copies to be retained under my own control.

I am very sorry to trouble you again with what cannot be an agreeable office, but I know no other satisfactory means of placing before the Bishop the renewed opportunity of putting an end to this unfortunate controversy.

I am, my dear Mr. Mackintosh,
Yours very faithfully,
THEO. H. DAVIES.

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[COPY.]

HONOLULU, January 22nd, 1886.

THE REVEREND ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH,

Secretary of the Cathedral Building Committee,

&c., &c., &c.

SIR:—I beg to draw the attention of the Committee to the recent official publication by the President, of a statement regarding the condition of the finances of the Committee.

The impression conveyed in this publication is entirely erroneous, and is at variance with the representations which I have made to subscribers and others making enquiries regarding the condition of the Fund.

The President has given out the idea that the only difficulty, of any moment, in the way of proceeding with a new contract, is the necessity for providing an additional sum of twelve hundred dollars; and he has used this assertion as a basis upon which to found most offensive charges against the members of this Committee, against the Canvassing Committee, and especially against the Treasurer.

The President has further, in his official capacity, made odious charges of wilful falsehood, and other dishonourable accusations against me.

I have replied to these statements with great meekness; and instead of retaliating upon the President, I have given explanations which are quite inconsistent with the truthfulness of his allegations, leaving him to infer how far I believe or expect others to believe the statements to which I have referred.

In the spirit of charity, I have preferred to treat the President's statements and insinuations as mere mistakes, and especially I have endeavoured to regard the misleading figures put forth, as blunders. I learn, however, that the President now admits that he was fully aware of the actual figures when he put forth his statement; and that when he alleged that the additional sum necessary for the completion of the two bays was only $1,263, he was aware that there was a sum of $9,712 required, for which

absolutely no provision was made. This latter amount I have described as "placed out of sight."

I presume the officers and members of the Committee will take steps to defend themselves against the charges which have been publicly and officially laid upon them; but I am unwilling to permit such unauthorized interference with the duties of my office, as the emission by the President of financial statements, without the knowledge of the Treasurer—so long as I am Treasurer. I beg, therefore, that a meeting of the Committee may be called, at which the President's official statement may be considered; and I beg to hand you herewith a copy of my reply to said statement, for presentation to the Committee.

I beg further to request that the Committee will either vindicate my position and conduct as Treasurer, or accept my resignation of that office.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

THEO. H. DAVIES,
Treasurer.

A copy of the foregoing letter is being sent to each member of the Committee.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

[COPY.]

The Committee of signers of the Schedule beg to acknowledge receipt of a communication from the Bishop of Honolulu dated December 4th, conveying the Bishop's permission for the organization of the Second English-speaking congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral.

The Committee are instructed to state that the Reverend George Wallace has been invited to assume the charge of this congregation, and respectfully to request that the Bishop will be pleased to intimate his approval of this appointment in accordance with the conditions of the said permission.

HONOLULU: December 7th, 1885.

[COPY.]

The Bishop of Honolulu hereby expresses his approval of the nomination of the Rev. George Wallace to the charge of the Second English-speaking Congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral, and is ready to license him to the said charge as soon as the antecedent condition is fulfilled.

(Signed), ALFRED HONOLULU.

December 8, 1885.

[COPY.]

(February 27th, 1886.)

The undersigned Committee beg to state that they are informed by the Treasurer of the Cathedral Building Committee of the discharge of all liability by the said Building Committee to the Con-

tractor, in the terms of a receipt signed by the Contractor, the tenor of which is as follows:—

"HONOLULU, Feb'y 26th, 1886.

"Received from Theo. H. Davies, Treasurer of the Cathedral "Building Committee, the sum of two thousand, nine hundred "and ninety-five dollars, being in full of the balance due me on "the contract for erecting the Chancel of said Cathedral.

"I further hereby declare that I have deducted the sum of "seven hundred dollars from said contract as an allowance for the "non-completion of the woodwork of said Chancel, and that I "will at any time complete said woodwork, as per contract, on "demand of the Committee, and will then accept seven hundred "dollars as complete payment therefor.

(Signed), "ROBERT LISHMAN."

The undersigned Committee now respectfully ask that the Bishop of Honolulu will license the Rev. George Wallace to the charge of the Second English-speaking Congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral, in accordance with the Bishop's letter to them of December 8th, 1885.

RICH'D F. BICKERTON,
T. MAY,
THOS. R. WALKER,

The Right Rev.
THE BISHOP OF HONOLULU,
Iolani College.

The Bishop of Honolulu begs to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from the Committee of Signers of Memorial of August 25th, 1885, requesting that the Rev. Geo. Wallace may be appointed Minister of the Second English-speaking Congregation in accordance with the Bishop's letter of December 8th, 1885.

1. The Bishop begs leave to point out to the Committee that at the date of the Bishop's letter of December 8th, 1885, the Rev. Geo. Wallace had committed no overt act against the Bishop of the Diocese.

2. But on January 28th, 1886, a letter containing distinct accusations of the Bishop was printed and circulated by Mr. Theo. H. Davies, Treasurer of the Building Committee.

3. And on Jan. 30th, 1886, the Rev. Geo. Wallace attended a meeting at which all the previous acts of the Treasurer were approved, without offering any protest, and thus became a party to the said accusations.

4. In the absence of any Provincial Court, the Bishop has requested the Archbishop of Canterbury to investigate the charges.

5. And, therefore, under these circumstances it is necessary for the Bishop to suspend all action in regard to the appointment of the Rev. Geo. Wallace until the judgment of the Archbishop has been received.

ALFRED HONOLULU.

Honolulu: March 1, 1886.
R. F. BICKERTON, ESQ.,
T. MAY, ESQ.,
THOS. R. WALKER, ESQ.

OPEN LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND ALFRED WILLIS,

BISHOP OF HONOLULU,

AND

PRESIDENT OF THE CATHEDRAL BUILDING COMMITTEE.

in my relation with the Anglican Church, during all the years that I have been honored with your confidence, the gravity of your present reference cannot be very great.

I will now proceed to notice your numbered clauses.

1. You say that it is not to be denied that the condition of the Anglican Church has been of late one of stagnation; but you state that three years ago things were very different; and in words and hints, which I read with more than pain, you point your finger at the faithful men who have had such charge of the work as you may have delegated to them. Last month you announced that one great bar and hindrance was the appropriation of seats. Now you attribute it to the removal of Mr. Blackburn. You say: "But Mr. Blackburn had to leave. At the "end of 1881, I was plainly told by Mr. Davies, that if Mr. "Blackburn remained, the subscriptions on which his stipend "depended would be witheld. It was a humiliating position in "which I was placed, to have to recommend an earnest clergy- "man, devoted to his work, to send in his resignation * * * "and the stagnation complained of to-day is the practical result "of the freezing machinery set in operation by Mr. Davies in "1882." My Lord, I regard the foregoing remarks with perfect amazement. Had it been possible for me to make and you to listen to such a communication, it must at least have been made in confidence—and not even three years of absolute silence could justify a violation of that confidence now. If it was not worth your while to caution Mr. Blackburn against his enemies then, it seems almost cruel to rob him of whatever little gratification his belief in my friendship may yield him now. I spent about five weeks at the end of 1881 in Honolulu, and when I returned here a year afterward, Mr. Blackburn had left. During those five weeks of 1881, I had a conversation with you regarding the condition of the Church, and I beg to append a letter written then by me to Mr. Walker, embodying pretty fully what I had said to you. I especially emphasized to you my friendship for Mr. Blackburn. I said that my subscription would continue for a year to come, but I think I added that unless more life were developed, I should not feel bound to continue it longer than a year. You suggested some provision for traveling expenses if Mr. Blackburn should leave or some one else come, to which I responded. I did not say one word to you or to anyone else, about any one else's subscription.

You were good enough to express your approval of the manner in which I treated the subject; and of the entire propriety of my saying that after a year I should not feel bound to continue my subscription.

I am now asked to believe that I, who had "no claim to a voice in the affairs of the body"—who could neither enter nor vote for the Synod, who was in residence in England during the whole time, had yet sufficient influence or power to dictate to your Lordship—and to set in operation "freezing machinery" to be carried out under your sanction and care!—If all this was possible, one thing I trust was not possible; I cannot think that you would so far omit the protection due to your clergy, as to allow any one, especially a "revolutionary person" like myself, to direct their movements. My Lord, the position you now say you had to accept was so humiliating as to be incredible,—and to refresh your memory, and to show what actually did occur, I will here insert the only letter written by me on the subject, and written in pursuance of a promise to you.

Honolulu, Nov. 13th, 1881.

Dear Mr. Walker:

I think I ought not to leave again without speaking to you of the thoughts produced in my own mind by the condition of affairs as they appear to me in connection with St. Andrew's Church.

It has been for years a cause of much solicitude that so little spiritual interest seems to be awakened amongst the members of our congregation; and especially do I now feel the marked absence of young Englishmen from the services, and from any apparent sympathy with religious life.

Whilst I would not seek to shelter myself or any other layman from the responsibility which we undoubtedly incur by our own lukewarmness in manifesting the life of Jesus in our own lives, and by our silence in regard to the great truths we profess to have learned, I still feel that in providing for the spiritual wants of Honolulu, sufficient study has not been given to the claims of the busy minds and active energies which make up so large a class both of our permanent and transient fellows.

It is useless to blink the fact that many if not most of those whom we would fain see active in Christian work, display an utter apathy in such matters, and I see no likelihood of their being reclaimed, unless some vigorous step be taken with a view to gaining or regaining a religious influence over them.

OPEN LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND ALFRED WILLIS,

BISHOP OF HONOLULU,

AND

PRESIDENT OF THE CATHEDRAL BUILDING COMMITTEE.

MY LORD:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of your reply to a statement made by me at a recent meeting of members of the Congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral.

In perusing this document, I have found it necessary to bear constantly in mind your announcement, made recently through the public papers, to the members of the Cathedral Church, to the effect that to you it was "a very small thing to be judged" of them, "or of man's judgment."

I am unwilling to adopt in my letter what you would no doubt admit to be (in the judgment of men) the intemperate and undignified character of your publication; for I confess that I am always glad to receive the approval of my fellow men, and to shew that I can conduct a correspondence without sacrificing the respect due to either myself or to others.

In meeting your assertions I promise that I will not lose my temper, and that I will use only such expressions as seem necessary to make clear my meaning.

In your opening sentence you apparently mistake "a statement of the Treasurer" for "a report by the Treasurer," and consequently, when the Treasurer makes a statement in correction of your published attack on the members of the Building Committee (which attack you did not think it necessary to communicate to the Committee) you are surprised, and betrayed at the very outset, into appealing to the "man's judgment" of your reader.

You proceed to comment on the "curious" feature of my ineligibility as a member of or voter for the synod, although you are aware that many years ago, you wrote me a letter stating that my being a communicant made me "an *ipso facto* member "of that church, and of no other." And since you have never pointed out to me a single instance of disloyalty or impropriety

When I see so much religious activity in other churches, and especially working in and around the Young Men's Christian Association, I feel saddened at thinking that the Anglican Mission neither countenances that association, nor supplies anything in its place that promises success;—and I am more than ever convinced that if we would stir from that state of apathy which seems to enfold our church life, we must seek some such development as I have indicated.

Ties of personal friendship are very strong, and I should be indeed grieved if this letter were to be construed into a breach of those ties in any direction, but my conscience tells me that I must seek the welfare of my countrymen, with so many of whom I am so pleasantly and so intimately connected. I ask that means be taken to draw them to church, to win their confideence not only as sinners, but as men, to teach them that there are activity and life in Christian work, as well as green pastures and still waters for the tired souls.

To do this I feel that a man specially adapted to this work must be introduced, not necessarily as a substitute, but perhaps as a supplement to present workers.

As far as I am concerned, I frankly say that I desire for my children, should they return here, warmer early Christian Associations than I have found at St. Andrew's, and that to insure such, I would joyfully and gratefully increase my contribution towards the expenses incurred.

I will say then that if early steps be taken to make spiritual provision for the classes I have named, (and regarding not only their wants, but the tastes and education which may seem to them part of their religion), I shall be glad to increase my annual subscription to $250, on condition that the steps taken are generally concurred in by the members best known to me.

I will further contribute $250 toward any extra travelling expenses this may necessitate. I may add that I leave these proposals open for completion within a year from this date, and that I trust you may be able to make such use of them, as shall result in that Christian progress which I am sure you as well as myself truly desire.

Praying that the great Head of the Church may direct and guide us all to the paths where we may best serve Him,

I am, dear Mr. Walker,

Yours very sincerely,

THEO. H. DAVIES.

Thomas Rain Walker, Esq., Churchwarden.

That letter will doubtless excite your scorn, as being another of my feeble "schemes for the salvation of the Church"—but it is a strange comment on your present report of the vigor that the Church was manifesting three years ago. It is stranger still that at the time, you did not rebuke my false statements, nor stand by the man I was so cruelly persecuting.

2. Your next point is to combat my statement of the lack of sympathy shown by the Anglican Church towards other Christian Societies. You meet this by showing that a prominent member of the Congregationalist body had made some liberal proposition, which however does not appear to have been accepted. You have overlooked the somewhat important fact, that the lack of sympathy of which I ventured to complain was not that shown *to* us, but that shown *by* us;—generous enough offers have been made, as for example the instance you refer to, but how have they been met, or acknowledged ?

3. I now come to the extraordinary statement regarding the financial report of the Treasurer made Aug. 4th, when this despotic individual "forced" his own views upon the Committee, in spite of the protest of the President.

You say that my statement showed a sum required to complete the chancel of $9,712, and to complete in addition two bays of the nave $16,975, and you add "so that to take a fresh contract for the two bays only called for $6,263 in excess of the sum ($9,712) required to discharge existing liabilities"!

This extraordinary result appears to be arrived at by deducting the debt on the chancel, from the contemplated debt on the bays, and by making another mistake of $1,000 in the process you arrive at the conviction that $6,263 will be all that is required to erect the two bays. I am bound to believe that you considered this an accurate result, but I am at a loss to know how any scheme could be carried to success on such a system of accounts. The fact is that you have placed out of sight $9,712, in addition to the said $1000, and have estimated what the Treasurer reported as $16,975 as only requiring $6,263. You then proceed to visit the blunder upon the heads of the Committee who you had believed were "dealing honestly" with you, and in an utterly groundless and reckless ebullition you show how the Committee and notably Messrs. Cleghorn, Davies and Mackintosh were bent upon promoting the revolutionary

scheme of Mr. Davies. But your figures were all wrong and your astonishing hypothesis falls with them.

May I at this late hour endeavor to show you the financial position that was reported to your Lordship officially on the 4th of August,—and which left you with the impression that $1,200 added to the $5,000 which the Trustees had arranged with you to borrow would complete the bays.

I stated that the amount required to complete chancel and bays was		$22,871 55
And I was under advance		2,603 55
Making the total requirement		$25,475 10
The unpaid subscriptions were	$ 4,000 00	
The conditional subscriptions were	3,000 00	
Final donation from the London society	2,500 00	
	$ 9,500 00	
Deficiency after exhausting all known funds	15,975 10	
		$25,475 10

It was distinctly stated that your loan of $5,000 was to be conditional on its serving to complete the bays. You state unequivocally that $1,263 extra was alone required, and yet you had the above figures at your command if you had thought it worth while to make sure of your ground before bringing such a disgraceful charge as dishonest dealing against your whole committee. It is clear that had you been permitted, you would have paid over your $5,000 under the belief that no more than $1,200 extra was required. If the finances had been in any such state as you represent, the loan would have been made available. The loan was not to the Committee, but to the Trustees and it was not ignored. The amount has entered into all the calculations I have made, and if it were now to be withdrawn it would not be in consequence of either the blunder or the dishonest dealing of the Committee.

4. We now reach the subject of the first memorandum. You are perfectly aware that it was prepared by Mr. Walker, as Church Warden. You might have said it was prepared by members of the choir or of the Chamber of Commerce. I should have replied that it was not prepared by members of either body as such. Would you still have enquired, "Why this shuffling?" or would you have recognized the impropriety of mixing up official and non-official acts as you did in the circular?

The appropriateness of adopting the simile of a "herd of cattle"

to illustrate your dealings with your congregation, is a point which I will not argue. But I think respect for some of the members might have kept such an illustration out of print.

5. This clause is a long one, but the point is very concise. You introduce the official designation of the British Vice-Consul, in order to give point to your declaration that he made "a statement " which is untrue, knowing it to be untrue."

My Lord, I take the liberty of telling you that you must not introduce my official position into any unofficial discussion.

I further reiterate that until you published the counter-memorial in the daily papers, I was entirely ignorant of its contents, as I still am of the object of the signers. That is the statement which you declare to be untrue, and the only proof you present in support of your outrageous accusation is that as Mr. Walker knew the *purport*, I must have known the *contents*. You are sufficient master of language to know that *purport* is no more identical with *contents* than I am identical with Mr. Walker, and I think a little wholesome respect for "man's judgment" would have made you hesitate in your choice of weapons.

It is true that the counter-memorial was circulated in such a way that it was probably my own fault that I did not know the contents, but the fact is simply that I did not know; and it is hardly worth your while, I think, to give me a flat contradiction to gain such a small point as you would make even if you proved that I had really composed the document. There is little doubt as to the object of the *instigator* of the counter-memorial, it being presumably an endeavor to drive a wedge between "natives and the poorer class of foreigners" on the one hand, and the memorialists of August 15th on the other, and especially to punish the latter for asking the liberty which you inform us you have so freely accorded.

I believe that ladies and clergymen are usually protected from such rough usage as you accord me, by their position and office, and that it is a point of honor on their part not to take advantage of the sanctity of this privilege. Gentlemen who are not clergymen, I assume, abstain from making such allegations simply because they are gentlemen, but they would always perhaps stand in awe of the human tribunal for which you express no such reverence.

6. You ask with reference to my expressions of regret at your absence from the meeting of December 15th, if a chair was placed

for your use. I will theretore re-write the clause referred to and say, "I regret that although the Bishop had officially sanctioned "what he now describes as a revolutionary scheme, and had, as "he states, freely accorded us the liberty of adopting a plan for "'rending in two' the body of the Church, he has deprived us of "any hope that we could look for either his co-operation or good-"will in carrying out the scheme of which he has been repeatedly "asked to take the direction." The logic is your Lordship's.

7. There is evidently some insinuation conveyed in the words: "They have not my permission to try and make others dissatisfied and to draw them away from the Cathedral services or Cathedral Sunday School." What this means I know not, unless it is an attempt to "take over" the fable of the wolf and the lamb which you had on the same page attempted to fit on to me. I believe your Lordship is aware that there has been for some years a Sunday School in connection with St. Andrew's, although it has probably never been seen by you. There were about 15 or 20 children previous to the change in the services. The father of some of these children came to my office and said that a member of your household had been to him asking him to take the children from this school and send them to the Bishop's Sunday School, and he wanted my advice. The parents of two of my own scholars told me the same story, and one of the boys has been taken. If that is the practice that Your Lordship condemns in the clause referred to, I cannot complain.

In conclusion I regret that you can find any diversion in the idea of my wringing my hands at the melancholy spectacle which this correspondence presents.

Surely it is unusual to see a General after a campaign of 12 or 14 years, turn round in the moment of either victory or defeat, and publicly denounce the officers and troops, most of whom at any rate, whatever their faults, have followed his lead, whether they approved of his generalship or not.

When I regard Mr. Blackburn's success in Adelaide, and the improved condition of congregation and schools here since the adoption of the proposals of the memorialists, I am not ashamed or sorry for the humble part in both movements which you ascribe to my influence,—but I deeply regret that in administering castigation to me, you should have found it impossible to select one solitary name for either approbation in the past, or hope in the future.

Is it not just possible that the accusations which you have so freely flung around upon clergy and laity have arisen from your having followed upon a large scale the mistakes and miscalculations which are so patent in your treatment of the finance statement? I have been so wantonly accused that I claim the right to say this much.

There is certainly much that should be apologized for. But I fear that persons who indulge in this kind of expression are not readily inclined to apologize. In the absence of an apology, I shall make no further replies except to correct mis-statements.

The impression produced by your statement on persons who know neither you nor me will doubtless be that I actually did come to your presence, and announce myself as a dissenter, and that I have either bought or bullied myself into the position of importance which you, and not I, represent myself as occupying.

It is also to be inferred that you have tacitly sanctioned this state of things for years without rebuke to me, warning to your clergy, or abstention on your own part from such moral support as I was able to render.

It is a pleasure to me to enjoy as I do the relations of friendship with all the clergy here, as well as with most, if not all, of those who have left the diocese. That will compensate me for some of the loss I may sustain if I decline to follow too exactly the recommendation with which you close your reply.

My Lord, assurances of friendship or regret are not always either credited or appreciated by you, but for my own sake I will state the profound sorrow with which I send this letter to the press,—and I solemnly protest against the manner in which by your own want of self control, you have forced me into such an attitude of defence—not of myself alone but of the large majority of those of your countrymen who have been for twelve years your supporters, disciples and friends.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,

Your obedient servant,

THEO. H. DAVIES.

Honolulu, January 15th, 1886.

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1886

Thos. M. Davies

SECOND OPEN LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND ALFRED WILLIS,

BISHOP OF HONOLULU.

My Lord:

In my letter dated the 15th inst. I stated that in the absence of an apology, I should make no further replies, except to correct misstatements. This will relieve me from the necessity of characterizing generally your letter of January 21st, or of dealing in detail with its sophistries. A man whose self-respect neither teaches him when he ought to apologize, nor permits him to submit to any tribunal, the question of his own imperfections, must be left to gratify himself with the use of such ammunition as his own unbridled temper, or an uncivilized vocabulary may afford.

I am bound to make one admission in regard to my own compositions, which is that they are sadly wanting in that—shall I call it brutality—of expression, to which many of your correspondents must be accustomed. For this reason, I value your admission that you do not ordinarily keep copies of your letters, and that matters easily slip from the memory; and in my correction of your misstatements, you will kindly bear in mind that I do not attribute them to intentional inaccuracy, but to the unhappy failures of habit or mind to which you have drawn my attention in the above admission. Permit me however to say that you would find it profitable in future to keep not only copies of your letters, but notes of your conversations.

The incidents regarding which there are misstatements to be corrected, are reduced to four, as you have with more or less grace dropped out your other principal accusations.

1. My position in the Church.
2. The negotiations regarding Mr. Blackburn.
3. Criticisms of the Treasurer's figures, and justification of your own.
4. The additional drive you give to the wedge, which is so persistently hammered in, between natives and foreigners.

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HAWAIIAN
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

HONOLULU, January 15th, 1886.

The Rev. Alexander Mackintosh:—

MY DEAR SIR:—I have found it necessary to employ very plain terms in acknowledging receipt of the Bishop's latest publication. My answer is now in print, and ready for circulation.

I am however so convinced of the grievous scandal which has already been occasioned by the publicity given to these unseemly disputes, that I should be glad of any steps which could justify me in withholding my open letter from circulation, without injury to myself or to the other gentlemen who have been associated with me in the Bishop's sweeping accusations.

I therefore beg to enclose to you, as a friend of the Bishop, two copies of my said letter, with a request that you will hand one to the Bishop. I will further say, that if I receive to-morrow an assurance that all the charges made against myself and others, in the recently issued reply of the Bishop, will be immediately, absolutely and publicly retracted, and that the said reply, with my open letter shall be submitted to a tribunal of gentlemen, to be nominated by, and to include Mr. Justice Preston (who has already been selected by the Bishop as umpire in another matter), with the understanding that the decision of said referees as to any apology which may be required shall bind both the Bishop and myself, I will in that case prevent the circulation of my said open letter and will only retain six copies under my own control.

Should copies of the Bishop's statement have left the Kingdom, I wish to make the proviso, that in event of my receiving the assurance I have named, the foreign recipient of such copies shall receive the same notice of retractation as shall be given to those who are resident here.

I am, my dear sir,

Yours very faithfully,

THEO. H. DAVIES.

1. My position in the Church. Are you aware that some weeks after your assertion that I was an *ipso facto* member of the Church, you in 1872 forbad my coming to the Communion, telling me at the same time that the Rev. C. J. Williamson was a *traitor to his faith* for ever having admitted me? Are you aware that several years afterwards, the Rev. T. Blackburn came to me and assured me that it would be a gratification to the Bishop if I would resume my place as a communicant, and that thereafter I came with your sanction?

Is it not clear therefore, that the "mistake" for which you now apologize to the "whole Anglican Church in Hawaii," is one which you made deliberately, years after you had denounced the Rev. C. G. Williamson as a traitor to his faith for doing the same thing? Your memory on this point has altogether betrayed you, and your apology should be either withdrawn or greatly extended, the "mistake" having been committed by you twice, with an interval of years.

2. Your mis-statement regarding Mr. Blackburn is no less glaring; and since you will not be satisfied with my shewing that the communication you allege, *could not* have taken place, permit me to say flatly, that it *did not* take place.

Have you forgotten your coming to me in the street in 1880, and consulting me as to whether you should send a bill of exchange by that day's mail for the outward expenses of a clergyman who was then, I think, in Canada? Have you forgotten that in the same year you asked my opinion about your proposal to invite the Rev. R. Wainwright to come out, because he had such a good reputation for building up dead churches, and reviving slumbering places? You added that he would be glad to come, as he had a daughter married in the diocese, and that you thought you could leave him in charge of your college for a year, and so ascertain his suitability for work in Honolulu, without exciting other clerical jealousy.

How does all this compare with your present declarations on success as a test? It is unfortunate that you do not keep copies of your letters, for it might have saved you from the difficulty of having to reconcile some of your correspondence of that date, with your present theory that the Church was so flourishing. Mr. Wainwright came, and he would not stay in Honolulu, and consequently when the end of 1881 came, you were still uncertain about the

HAWAIIAN
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

place you had expected him to fill. It will surely baffle your mathematical skill to shew how what I said about Mr. Blackburn in 1881, set in motion all your previous activity regarding Mr. Wainwright in 1880. It is singular, too, that whilst you had to be reminded of your expression of approval of my treatment of Mr. Blackburn, you remember distinctly the course of thought which led you to that expression, and how the understanding that the paltry power of the purse was to be the weapon, awed you into accepting, "with as good a grace as possible," what you ought, if your account be true, to have spurned with indignant contempt. I must, however, inform you that your memory is entirely at fault, in what you now say, unless you were entirely misleading me then. Do you still assert that I have not refuted a single statement?

3. And now the figures. My Lord, I am prepared to admit that your arithmetic, (with the exception of what you term, with singular *naiveté*, the "typical" error of $1,000,) is correct—but if I had a clerk who would descend to such a misuse of figures he should have no more figures of mine to sport with. I hoped that it was a blunder when you made the following statement:—"It is "the opinion of the Trustees that the best interests of the "Church will be served by the acceptance of the loan, provided "that the additional sum necessary for the completion of the two "bays can be obtained." (That is the vote of the Trustees.)

"That additional sum was only, as has been stated, $1,263." (That is the declaration of the Bishop.)

My comment was: "You have placed out of sight $9,712—"and proceed to visit the blunder upon the heads of the Com-"mittee."

My Lord, if you were willing to admit, as you do now, that you were aware that you had left out of sight $9,712, you might have saved yourself the elaborate statistics which appear in your last letter.

It now appears that your plan was, to take the promised subscriptions upon which alone the Committee relied to meet their liabilities to the contractor, and apply them to a new contract, leaving the sum due the contractor out of sight, under the head of "debt already incurred," and of which, apparently, nothing more was to be heard. You would next negotiate a loan in your own name for $5,000, to be secured with interest, and then you

are free to reproach the Committee for their treacherous refusal to raise the additional $1,200.

The statement would then be as follows:

Subscriptions promised	$9,500 00
Loan by the Bishop on security and interest	5,000 00
Amount which the Committee ought to provide	1,263 10
Debt already incurred to the Contractor and Treasurer, of which no further mention is made	9,712 00
Making a total requirement of	$25,475 10

Spendthrifts, and those who live at other people's expense, are usually regardless of "debts already incurred," and care only for the ability to incur more; but I refused to believe you would advocate such a course, and that whilst negotiating a loan in your own name for half the amount, with security and interest, you would leave out of sight an amount due Contractor and Treasurer for $9,712.

But beyond this, you indulge in strong language towards myself and my colleagues, because we would not take the money of your friend in London, upon terms which could only be attained by the violation of the conditions of the Trustees, and the placing out of sight of $9,712. A few weeks ago one of your proposals was met by the statement that to comply would constitute an indictable offense. I am satisfied that the acceptance of your $5,000 without providing for the $9,712 of debt, would have been similarly characterized. Therefore I was forced to believe that you had blundered, and I still think so.

With regard to your drawing in Mr. Mackintosh's name as having told you I kept the Committee in inaction, I have no controversy with that gentleman—and I respectfully desire to confine myself to what *you* may have said, in the attack from which you did not find it then necessary to dissociate Mr. Mackintosh's name; your qualification of "willingly or unwillingly" comes a little too late.

4. Your memory has, I fear, been unusually hard upon you, with regard to the treatment of children. In order to complete your "wedge" argument, it was desirable to ignore the fact that in January, 1884, a few weeks after the Christmas tree of which you speak, an entertainment was given at my residence to your entire school, and to as many other children of the congregation as we could accommodate. You were present, and so were the other clergy; but your memory is equal to the occasion, and

a piece of evidence which a candid man would have gladly used to defeat the "wedge" argument, is suppressed in its favor.

I have now dealt with the four mis-statements, but I ask permission to introduce one more topic.

I confess that I did alter one word in my open letter. You sent me an intimation that if I used the word "originator," I should be attacking the King. You knew that whether I used "originator" or "instigator," I meant the Bishop, but it has suited your purpose to hold up His Majesty's name to be shot at, as the leader of a partisan movement in the Church. It was my humble duty to do what I could to defend the King's name from such an indignity in any correspondence to which I was a party. Your Lordship is aware that no Bishop in England would dare to drag the name of his sovereign around, as the organizer of any Church party, and I humbly thought that what the Bishop of London dare not do in England, the Bishop of Honolulu might well abstain from doing in Hawaii. I was successful in conveying to your Lordship my real meaning, but I regret to say I did not succeed in keeping His Majesty's name out of the way of your chariot wheels.

My Lord, I protest once more against this scandalous correspondence; against the adoption of such unworthy weapons;—and against the mockery of introducing the sacred name of friendship, where you have first banished every trace of human faith, hope and charity.

I have the honor to be, My Lord,

Your obedient servant,

THEO. H. DAVIES.

Honolulu, January 28th, 1886.

[COPY.]

HONOLULU, January 28th, 1886.

THE REV. ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH:

MY DEAR SIR:—I am so grieved at the continued publication of this correspondence, that I make another effort to prevent it. Surely now the Bishop will consent to place the matter before the tribunal I proposed, and abide by the verdict. If he will do so,

and notify me to-morrow to that effect, I will suspend the general circulation of my second letter, two copies of which I now enclose.

I will go a step further, and say that if the Bishop will courteously request me not to circulate my letter, and will at the same time agree to forward a copy to each person abroad who shall have received a copy of his last letter, I will then prevent the circulation beyond one copy to be given to the King, and six copies to be retained under my own control.

I am very sorry to trouble you again with what cannot be an agreeable office, but I know no other satisfactory means of placing before the Bishop the renewed opportunity of putting an end to this unfortunate controversy.

I am, my dear Mr. Mackintosh,

Yours very faithfully,

THEO. H. DAVIES.

81

CONSTITUTION . .
AND BY-LAWS . .

OF THE

Hale Naua or . . .
Temple of Science



CONSTITUTION : : :
AND BY-LAWS : : :

OF THE

Hale Naua or . .

Temple of Science

Ancient Secret Society of the Order of Nauas, or
Order of the Temple of Science

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. . . THE . .

CONSTITUTION. . .
AND BY-LAWS. . .

OF THE

Hale Naua or Temple of Science

✝

PREAMBLE . . . .

The foundation of the Hale Naua is from the beginning of the world and the revival of the Order was selected and the base levelled, the outer and inner pillars erected, the beams and scantling attached, the rafters bound with cord, the roof plated and thatched, the erection of the Iku Hai's mansion completed in the month of Welo (September), on the night of Kane, in the reign of His Majesty Kalakaua I., the 825th generation from Lailai, or 24,750 years from the Wohi Kumulipo (the beginning) and Kapomanomano (the producing agent), equivalent to 40,000,000,000,024,750 years from the commencement of the world and 24,750 years from Lailai, the first woman, dating to the date of present calendar, the 24th of September, A. D. 1886.

ARTICLE I . . . . .

The object of this Society is the revival of Ancient Sciences of Hawaii in combination with the promotion and advancement of Modern Sciences, Art, Literature and Philanthropy.

ARTICLE II . . . . .

The number of its membership shall not exceed to the number of One Pokini (40,000) for the Grand Body and, if desired, the extension to more.

ARTICLE III . . . . .

The Officers shall consist of a Iku Hai or Sovereign as Presiding Officer sitting on the Moi (or Throne), a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Orator, a Guard, a Master of Ceremonies, an Annointer with Oil, an Annointer with Fire and a Keeper of the Sacred Fire, an Almoner, a Priest and an Astrologer (Astronomer). The Council being termed a Sanctuary.

ARTICLE IV . . . . .

The Iku Hai or Presiding Officer shall be styled the Sovereign and shall preside on all occasions of the Sanctuary, either at regular or special sessions. Failing being present, the Secretary shall preside, and the Secretary failing, the Treasurer shall preside. These three failing to be present, there will be no session of the Sanctuary.

ARTICLE V . . . . .

The Secretary shall keep a record and strict account of all proceedings of the Society and all business arising; assisting the Iku Hai or Presiding Officer in all matters

pertaining to his or her office. He or she also shall have the charge of the Seal, which seal is impressed upon the diplomas of each member and for validation of shares to the beneficiary or for the Orders of Assemblage, Certification of Demits, Applications, Petitions, etc.

ARTICLE VI . . . . .

The Treasurer shall keep the account, check books, monies and all the property belonging to the Society and to assist the Iku Hai or Secretary when his services are so required.

ARTICLE VII . . . . .

The entrance fees are paid in advance, when he or she shall receive his or her fish, mat, magic cane and cord. At the second course or Lolo, he or she is admitted. A delinquent after due hearing is fined $1.00. A delinquent or transgressor if stubborn and obstinate and who refuses to comply and is defiant in all cases of immorality, defamation of character, after due trial and hearing, shall be expelled and deprived of all his or her habiliments, such as Malo, the oracle, the magic cane, the cord and mat, the helmet, spear and fan, with the feathered cape and other ceremonial capes of the Order which will be consumed by fire, and non-compliance to the rules of the Order. With long penance will be again admitted. All entrance fees and fines shall be placed upon the altar of gifts to defray the expenses of the Society, but the monthly dues shall be placed to the credit of each member and paid out to his or her need for distress, illness or other necessities. A beneficiary entirely their own.

ARTICLE VIII . . . . .

The monthly session of the Hale Naua or Temple of Science shall take place at the night of Kane, if not,

deferred to some other nights, which nights are those of Hua, Akua, Hoku, Mahealani and Lono. All special sessions of the Sanctuary will sit on the following nights: Hilo (new moon), Hoaka (second night), the four *Ku* nights, the nights of Huna, Mohalu, the three nights of Laau and three nights of Kaloa.

ARTICLE IX . . . .

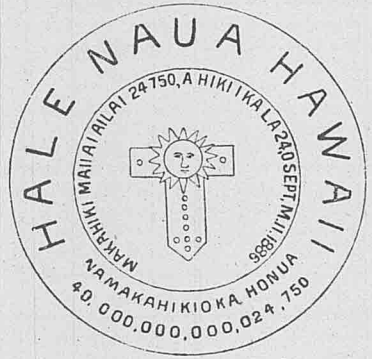
Each officer is selected annually. The announcement of the election is made by the presentation of the black pebble for the negative and the white for the affirmative. If both stones are exhibited, the sign is doubtful. The member doubting can cast his or her vote to whatever side he or she chooses to vote. A majority of black or white stones exhibited will decide the member or officer elected for the next ensuing year. The votes are first brought to the knowledge of the Iku Hai or presiding officer who will pronounce the same to the members in a loud and audible voice.

ARTICLE X . . . .

Each member should be posted with the ritual and to understand the moral lessons and the principles it inculcates, after commitment to memory to burn its contents; all oaths are kept and not desecrated until the oracle is closed.

ARTICLE XI . . . .

The Seal of the Order or Society shall be same in every respect with that of the Banner. Having the figure of the sun, the cross, the motto and the additional words of Hawaii, date, month and year of its establishment in the ancient idiom of the Order. The seal is represented as follows, viz:



ARTICLE XII . . . .

No member is eligible to hold a diploma unless he or she has passed the Fifth Degree of the Order.

ARTICLE XIII . . . .

All important cases of irregularities are fairly tried and heard before the Iku Hai or Presiding Officer, who will preside as Chief Arbitrator in the cases of disagreement among its members, or trial for all offenses and misdemeanor.

ARTICLE XIV . . .

No member is allowed to attend the meeting if he or she is in any way indisposed. Such as are indisposed

and unable to attend for the payment of his or her dues, fines or penalties, shall have the privilege of being represented by proxy, who will state the cause and reason for the absence or ailments of the member absent.

ARTICLE XV

The diploma shall certify his or her membership, age and character, signed by the Iku Hai or Presiding Officer, and countersigned by the Secretary. The charges on diplomas shall be two dollars ($2. 00), made upon parchment, and delivered on his or her taking the degree of membership.

ARTICLE XVI

This Constitution is amendable to change at the regular session or meeting of the Society mentioned in Article VIII.

BY-LAWS

OF THE

Hale Naua or Temple of Science

SECTION I

There are nine degrees of the Order and are marked in the following order.

1st. Preliminary.
2d. Instructive.
3d. Preparatory.
4th. Operative.
5th. Pass to membership and eligible to receive diplomas.
6th. The signs of the Aliis or chiefs.
7th. The close or conclusion of the Ancient degree.
8th. Christian Degree.
9th. Order of the Golden Ribbon or Temperance degree.

SECTION II

No person can become a member if he or she is over 65 years of age, and not in vigorous health. Children under 10 years of age are admitted in the Preliminary degree; but the parents shall hold themselves responsible for their good conduct, behavior and standing.

SECTION III . . .

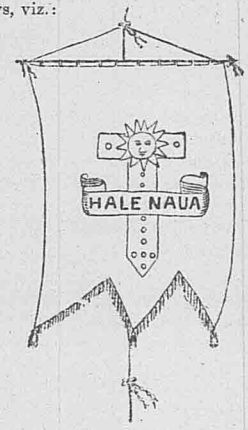
At regular and special sessions only those of lawful age and who have attained their degree of membership are allowed to attend.

SECTION IV . . .

At all public ceremonials of the order, the Grand Honors are only given to the Iku Hai or Presiding officer, and those who have passed the Presidential Chair.

SECTION V . . .

The Banner of the Society with those of the members, the field is Yellow, edged with Red; and the figure of the Sun mounted upon a Cross, with the name of the society, "Hale Naua," affixed thereto. The Banner of the Society and those of the members is represented as follows, viz.:



SECTION VI . . . .

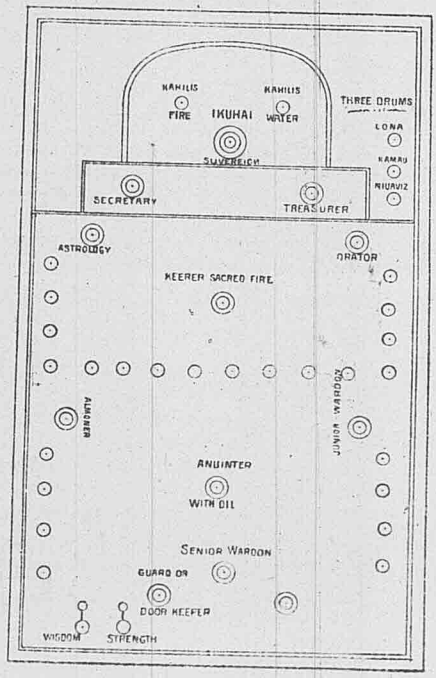
The Flag of the Order shall be White, Red and Yellow Colors, alternately of equal stripes; the device of the Banner with the motto being placed in the center as is placed in the Banner of the Order. The Pennant is of a similar pattern with colors on the head of the pennant, and each member is entitled to a Banner of ancient devices and placed at the back of his or her seat. On the back of his or her seat his or her feather cape is placed, the apron or malo and other paraphernalia in which he or she is to clothe before they take their seats are in the room of the Sanctuary.

SECTION VII . . . . .

At the second entrance of the room are two Puloulou which are named Kialoa and Kiaakapoko, signifying wisdom and strength. Two Kahilis on each side of the throne are emblematic of fire and water, the two greatest emblems of purification.

SECTION VIII . . . . .

On the northern corner which is designated the House of Papa, are placed three Drums, their names are Kamau, Lono, and Niuaola. The session of the Sanctuary is represented as follows, viz.:



SECTION IX . . . . .

All Honors of Dignity and Orders are invested, bestowed and conferred by a special dispensation granted by the Iku Hai or Sovereign of the Sanctuary, called for that specific purpose.

SECTION X . . . . .

All persons contributing $50.00 are entitled to Honorary life membership, and rank in the Fifth Class of honors, and are entitled to Decoration of that class. At $100 they are entitled to the same privilege and receive decorations of the Fourth order, and so forth up to the higher degrees of rank. The Kahilis and Puloulou and the Malo or cordon are only granted under dispensation by the Iku Hai. All honorary members are expected to send contributions upon any subject of Scientific interest, Art and Literature. There shall be two standing committes: One on the Investigation of the character of the applicant and the other for the approval of admittance after the Investigation Committee had reported.

SECTION XI . . . . .

The Heralds shall lead the procession unless otherwise ordered to the center or rear. The band or drums and trumpets (coock shells) following their movements unless otherwise ordered.

SECTION XII . . . . .

The Master of the Ceremonies shall marshall and direct all ceremonials and shall assign duties to those who have obtained their membership to his assistance.

SECTION XIII . . . .

It shall be the duty of the Stewards to assist the Treasurer in the care of property of the Society and to assist in preparation of all ceremonials connected thereto.

SECTION XIV . . . .

The Almoner, in collecting and receiving the fees, dues, fines and penalties, shall immediately pass the amount to the Treasurer who will take account of the same and apply the same to the immediate requirements of the Society or the assistance of the members in illness, sickness, and in distress and need of help; rendering an account of all disbursements to the Treasurer, to be approved at the regular meeting of the Order.

SECTION XV . . . .

It is the duty of the Chaplain Kahuna or Priest to open and close the session in prayer, after the ceremonies of opening the Sanctuary have been duly performed, and attend to the duties of the Altar on all ceremonial occasions, to offer thanks and blessings at the Altar. All free contributions made for the benefit of the Society are delivered to the Treasurer.

SECTION XVI . . . .

These By-Laws are amendable to change and additions added thereto at the regular or special session of the Society, mentioned in Article VIII of the Constitution.

SECTION XVII . . . .

. . . THE ENTRANCE FEE OF THE

First Degree, embracing two classes of Degrees or Astronomical and Meteorological Knowledge	$ 2 00
Second Degree, Agricultural Sciences	2 00
Third Degree, Initiation in the Secrets,	2 00
Fourth Degree, Mechanical Science	2 00
Fifth Degree, the Soldiers' Degree	5 00
Sixth Degree, the Signs of Aliis	50 00
Seventh Degree, Ancient Priesthood	30 00
Eighth Degree, Christian Order of Knighthood	50 00
Ninth Degree, Order of the Golden Ribbon	25 00
Monthly Dues	25
Ordinary Fines	1 00

SECTION XVIII . . . .

No member of the Hale Naua shall be permitted to wear or receive from any Order or Society of Foreign Nations without first submitting the same for the approval of the Iku Hai or Sovereign of the Hale Naua, on approval will be gazetted in due order from the Society.

SECTION XIX . . . .

All members receiving Orders of Knighthood shall be officially gazetted in due form and shall from thence be entitled to wear and enjoy the privileges thereunto belonging.

SECTION XX . . . .

ORDER AND PROCEEDINGS OF BUSINESS

1. Reading of the Minutes.
2. Reports of Committees.
3. Unfinished Business.
4. New Business.
5. Election of Members.
6. Collections of Fees, Dues, Fines and Penalties.
7. Initiation or Degrees.

SECTION XXI . . . .

The members shall have in memory the ancient designation of the nights of the different phases of the moon of each month, which are as follows, viz:



ANCIENT NAMES OF THE NIGHTS OF THE WEEKS, OF MONTHS IN THE YEAR

1st Week	1. Hilo	4th Week	17. Kulu
	2. Hoaka		18. Laaukukahi
	3. Kukahi		19. Laaukulua
	4. Kulua		20. Laaukupau
	5. Kukolu		21. Olekukahi
	6. Kupau		
2d Week	7. Olekukahi	5th Week	22. Olekulua
	8. Olekulua		23. Olekupau
	9. Olekukolu		24. Kaloakukahi
	10. Olekupau		25. Kaloakulua
	11. Huna		26. Kaloapau
3d Week	12. Mohalu	6th Week	27. Kane
	13. Hua		28. Lono
	14. Akua		29. Mauli
	15. Hoku*		30. Muku
	16. Mahealani		31. Mukuili is added sometimes

* { Hokuili
{ Hokupalemo

ANCIENT HAWAIIAN NAMES OF THE MONTHS OF THE YEAR, AND NIGHTS FIGURATIVE OF DAYS WITH

1. Nana	31 nights or po.	1. August	31 days
2. Welo	30 " "	2. September	30 "
3. Ikiki	31 " "	3. October	31 "
4. Kaaona	30 " "	4. November	30 "
5. Kaulua	30 " "	5. December	31 "
6. Ikuwa	32 " "	6. January	31 "
7. Hilina	30 " "	7. February	28† "
8. Hilinehu	30 " "	8. March	31 "
9. Hinaiaeleele	30 " "	9. April	30 "
10. Kaelo	30 " "	10. May	31 "
11. Welehu	30 " "	11. June	30 "
12. Makalii	31 " "	12. July	31 "

Equivalent to 365 nights or days in the year.

†29 days, Leap Year.

THE TWELVE ANCIENT HAWAIIAN SIGNS OF ZODIAC

EXPLANATION OF THE ANCIENT TWELVE SIGNS OF ZODIAC

NOS.	MONTHS.	PROVERBS CONNECTED WITH EACH MONTH	SIGNS	MEANING OF SIGNS	APPLICATION TO THE HUMAN SYSTEM	Common Months	
1	Nana.....	Fisherman's lines and tackles are constantly wet from frequent use and fishing.		A ball of fish-line signification of Patience.	Heart and Intrail	Aug.	Virgo
2	Welo.....	The tides and currents are turning. (Autumnal Equinox.)		Endurance and Perseverance—A Virgin	The Abdomen	Sept.	Libra
3	Ikiki.....	The heavens are impatient.		See saw.	Kidneys and Waist	Oct.	Scorpio
4	Kaaona.....	The sugar-cane tops are stained by smoke.		The Apron or Malo of the deity Kane.	Private Parts	Nov.	Sagitarius
5	Kaulua.....	Pause the sun and pause the rain. (Winter solstice.)		Thrusting and guarding Spear.	The Thighs	Dec.	Capricornus
6	Ikuwa.....	The heavy and constant peal of thunder.		Knees of the deity named the Four-eyed electricity of Heaven.	The Knees	Jan.	quarius
7	Hilina.....	The winds are variable.		Long necked gourd calabash of water.	The Knee Joint and Legs	Feb.	Piscis
8	Hilinehu.....	The season of white bait or similar species.		The white bait.	The Foot and Toes	Mar.	Aries
9	Hinaiaeleele	The gigantic Platypus.		Platypus.	Face and Head	Apr.	Taurius
10	Kaelo	Month or season of ensaring-plover.		The Plover ensnaring net.	The Neck	May	Gemini
11	Welehu.....	The month that buried and preserved food is due. (Summer solstice.)		The twin deities Ku and Kane.	The Hands	June	Cancer
12	Makalii.....	The hot and warm days of Makalii.		The wandering of Ocean crabs "Kukuau" on shore or land.	The Breast	July	Leo

Calendar of the Temple of Science

FOR

1891

JAN. 1891	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	..	..	..	..	1	2	3
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31

FEB.	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28

MAR.	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	29	30	31	..	..	..	..

APRIL	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	..	..	..	1	2	3	4
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	26	27	28	29	30	..	..
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

MAY. 1891	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
	31	..	..	..	..	..	..

JUNE.	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	..	1	2	3	4	5	6
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
	28	29	30	..	..	..	..

JULY.	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	..	..	..	1	2	3	4
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	26	27	28	29	30	31	..

AUG.	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
	30	31	..	..	..	..	..

SEPT. 1891	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	27	28	29	30	..	..	..

OCT.	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	..	..	..	..	1	2	3
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31

NOV.	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	29	30	..	..	..	..	..

DEC.	SUN.	MON.	TUES.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.	SAT.
	..	..	1	2	3	4	5
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	27	28	29	30	31	..	..
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

HALE NAUA . . . .

PROGRAMME OF PROCESSION

On ceremonial occasions or conferring of honors of the Royal Arch and sacred Cord of Ahaula.

The procession being formed by the Marshal and the Stewards in the Temple or another place will move at the appointed hour, and march toward the place designated for ceremony, whether the Temple or otherwise, where the Ancient Grand Honors will be given.

On reaching the locality, the Commander of the Escort will command.

HALT? - - Prove Distance

The procession passing between the entrance and aisle; the Escorts will move to their seats. At the approach of the Iku Hai or Sovereign, the Commander of the Escort will command

GRAND HONORS?

ESCORT FORM ARCH?

When the Iku Hai is passing the Arch, the signal by the Herald is given to

TABU? - BOW?

The Iku Hai crosses the Sacred Cord of Ahaula being previously lowered to the ground and the Cord raised as soon as the Iku Hai passes over the Cord. Those that have

privilege to pass over the Cord with the Iku Hai, are the Cup Bearer and Kahili Bearer, provided their rank in blood allows them the privilege.

The Sacred Cord is then raised and no one is allowed to pass.

The Iku Hai (Sovereign), Iku Lani (Secretary), Iku Nuu (Treasurer) will then take their seats in front of the Arch. The Cup Bearer and the Kahili Bearer will take their places behind the Iku Hai, to resume their places again on the return of the procession.

The Opening Prayer is then read.

The Secretary's Report.

The Treasurer's Report.

The Report of the Scientific Committee.

After which . . .

The members will pass in order to pay their offerings and contributions to whatever the contribution is devoted to.

PRAYER

The procession will then return to their place of rendezvous. The Iku Hai leading the procession, passing the Arch and the line of Escort to the Hall where the Iku Hai will remain until the procession has passed. The Iku Hai taking position as designated in the Programme.

PROGRAMME OF PROCESSION

SIGNALS

STEWARDS

MARSHAL

TRUMPETERS AND DRUMMERS

YOUTHS

JUNIOR MEMBERS

SENIOR MEMBERS

ASSISTANCE . ORATORS OF THE DAY . ASSISTANCE
Hawaiian and English

ASSISTANCE . . STANDARD BEARER . . ASSISTANCE

JUNIOR OFFICERS

SENIOR OFFICERS

CUP BEARER

TABU STICK BEARER . IKU HAI . TABU STICK BEARER

KAHILI BEARER

FORM OF
Funeral Procession

1. The Undertaker.
2. Society and Associations that the deceased is a member of.
3. The Marshal.
4. The Stewards.
5. The Choir.
6. The Male Members.
7. Female Members.
8. The Guards.
9. Almoner and Orator.
10. Annointer and Keeper of Ancient Fire.
11. Annointer of Oil and Annointer of Fire.
12. Secretary and Treasurer.
13. Senior and Junior Wardens.
14. Sovereign.
15. Priest or Chaplain of the Sanctuary.
16. Priest and Clergy of Religion.
17. The Sarcophagus.
18. Chief Mourners.
19. Relations and friends.
20. Sympathizers.

Of Demises and Penalties

FIRST

On the death or demise of any of the Mamo, their beneficiaries or share in the Association are to be sold at auction before the members of the Association, at a meeting called by the majority for that special purpose; the Secretary being empowered to sell the shares offered, after the publication and gazetting in some of the local newspapers giving the hour, date and the month of the sale of the above-named shares.

SECOND

All monies derived from such sale of shares shall be given to the heirs at law of the deceased, but in case of the deceased dying intestate, the Association will decide whatever disposition the Association may think proper; whether to the widow or to the lawful children of the deceased and the defrayment of his funeral expenses.

THIRD

All paraphernalia connected with the Order belonging to the members shall be sold at the same time. Their shares are offered and all receipts from the same source shall go to the benefit as described in Section II, and said paraphernalia and oracle shall revert to the Association and placed in some conspicuous place of the Temple to mark his memorial.

FOURTH

If any junior member or Mamo or the grade of Ikualealea's, or those of the Aliis of the Sanctuary commit any offense enumerated herein; first, destroying and, second,

burning by fire or, third, malicious intent and desecration without cause; fourth, or oath or by the advice or instigation of another or others. Their oracles or any of the paraphernalia belong thereto, they will be fined by the rules of the Hale Lau and Imu Loa, as follows, viz:

A.	1st	Degree	equivalent to	Twenty	Dollars	fine....	$20 00
B.	2d	"	"	" Thirty	"	"	30 00
C.	3d	"	"	" Fifty	"	"	50 00
D.	4th	"	"	" Sixty	"	"	60 00

The degrees of punishment in accordance to the nature of the offense committed, under the ancient manner and style are as follows:

Ancient Penalties

A. 1st degree, two hogs. The male at a yard length and the female sow and one bundle of awa and a Kumu.

E. 2d degree, two hogs. The male and female each a yard's length and one bundle of awa and a Kumu.

I. 3d degree, two hogs. The male at four feet length; a female sow, one dog and two bundles of awa and two Kumu.

O. 4th degree, to impose upon the aliis or chiefs of the Sanctuary, three hogs, length at four feet and two sows of same length, three bundles of awa and three Kumu.

The offenses thus enumerated are as follows, viz:

1st degree. For destruction.
2d degree. Burning by fire.
3d degree. Malicious intent, etc.
4th degree. Oath, etc., etc.

FORM OF

Application for Admission

Honolulu, 18

To the IKU HAI,
Aliis of the Sanctuary and
Mamos of the Temple of Science.

Salutation:

The undersigned respectfully apply for admission to your Honorable Order, and represents Him-Herself as being of lawful age, of humble disposition and a law-abiding subject, and is desirous of entering thereof, and to abide by the Rules and Regulations of your Order. I am,

Yours very respectfully,

(Signature)

COMMITTEE OF APPROVAL .....

COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION AS TO THE CHARACTER OF THE APPLICANT .....

FORM OF

Application for Acceptance

"Temple of Science"

Honolulu,.....18

.....

(Sir or Madam)

On the night of.....of the month of .....your application to become a member of this Order was received, and upon recommendation of Investigable Committee, and due deliberation taken by them, have been accepted. You are advised to pay to the Secretary in advance Two Dollars, ($2.00) with the assurance that you are provided with the following articles:

1. *An Oracle*
2. *A Kauwila Wand*
3. *A Ball of Olona Cordage*
4. *A Fish (Maka-a)*
5. *A single Root of the "Lauloa" taro*
6. *Uniform. (White Suit or Dress)*

When prepared with these materials, the Order will then initiate you in the Two preliminary degrees.

Signed.....

SECRETARY

FORM OF NOTICES

TO THE

Mamos of the Temple of Science

Honolulu,.....18

.....

Salutation:

You are hereby notified that.....meeting of the Mamos of the Temple of Science will be held at their Sanctuary on the night of .....corresponding to the.....day of.....in the month of.....at.....P. M.

Respectfully yours,

.....

You are hereby notified that your Beneficiary Dues to date amount to.....dollars.

APPLICATION

TO BE

Raised to the Fourth Degree

✣

Honolulu,.....*18*

To the IKU HAI

The Aliis of the Sanctuary and
Mamo of the Temple of Science

Greetings to You:

The undersigned do hereby petition and apply for acceptance to be raised to the Fourth Degree of Maturity and to the Sacred Precincts of the Temple of Science. He-She has been born anew and has lived a good and meekly life during the past year and has abided faithfully to the Rules and Regulations of the Order, and now presents Him-Herself for further advancement in the Mysteries of the Higher Degrees that will enable him-her to be favored with the Beneficiary and be entitled to the High Honor and privileges thereunto belonging.

Respectfully submitted,

.....

NAME OF CANDIDATE

Summons for Witness

IN THE TEMPLE OF SCIENCE OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

.....
.....
VS
.....
.....

IKA HAI

To the Marshal of the Temple of Science or his Deputy:

Greeting:

You are requested to summon.....

.....

as a witness to the case of.....

.....

and have you then this Writ with return proceedings thereon.

Witness *IKU HAI of the Temple of Science, at Honolulu, this*.....
day of.....*18*

.....

SECRETARY IKU LANI

I Certify *that this summons has been complied with*

.....

Honolulu,.....*18* MARSHAL

This Diploma

Grants the Right and Privilege to.....

.....

the rights of Honorary Membership to the Scientific Branch of the "Hale Naua" (Temple of Science) as an appreciation for the services rendered by him to the Society in the Cause of Science and is enjoined the privilege to receive the Honors thereof without form and ceremony, and is entitled to wear the Insignia of merit of this degree.

Given *and delivered under the signatures of the Aliis of the Sanctuary and under the Seal of the "Hale Naua" this*.....
day of.....*A. D.*.....
at Honolulu, Oahu, H. Is.

.....
IKU LANI SECRETARY

.....
IKU HAI SOVEREIGN

.....
IKU NUU TREASURER

This Diploma

Signifies *the certification of*.....
as a rightful and actual membership of the Order of the "Hale Naua" or Temple of Science, that it is.....*privilege to enjoy the rights and honors thereto belonging, and is entitled to be styled* IKU LEALEA, *and is privileged to wear the insignia of this degree.*

Given *and delivered under the signatures of the Aliis of the Sanctuary, and under the*
[SEAL] *Seal of the "Hale Naua," this*.....
.....*day of*.....
A. D., 18.....*at Honolulu, Oahu, H. I.*

.....
IKU LANI . SECRETARY

.....
IKU HAI . SOVEREIGN

.....
IKU NUU . TREASURER

. . KALAKAUA . .

KING OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

To All who shall see these presents—Greeting:

KNOW YE, That.....

We have appointed and commissioned, and by these presents we appoint and commission.....

.....

to be .....

of our Royal Order of The Star of Aliis of Hawaii, *to exercise and enjoy all the Honors, Rights, Preeminences and Privileges to the same of right appertaining, and to wear the insignia as by decree created.*

In Testimony Whereof, *we have caused these Letters to be made Patent and the Seal of the Order to be hereunto affixed.*

[SEAL.]

Given Under Our Hands, *at our Palace, in Honolulu, this.....day of..... in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety*.....

By the King, *the Chancellor of the Royal Order of the Star of Aliis of Hawaii.*

FORM OF

Application for Demit

Honolulu,.....*18*

To the IKU HAI
The Aliis of the Sanctuary and
Mamos of the Temple of Science

Greetings:

The undersigned, being a member of the Temple of Science, respectfully pray and apply that a demit from the Honor of Membership of your Honorable Order, be granted to him–her. That his –her motive for so doing is from pure feeling and love, and tendering his–her resignation under the sign, pledge and peace of the virtues of the Oracle. Under this resignation he–she remits and disclaims all privileges and Beneficiaries and given as a consideration for the benefit of the Temple of Science and all Honors due him–her in the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Degrees, are here, by this application restored and returned to the Order and the Oracle and all paraphernalia connected therewith.

With peace I subscribe myself under my own name and signature.

[SEAL]

.....

FORM OF

Demit From the Sanctuary

*

Honolulu, ...*18*

This Certificate

Certifies that on this.....
day of.....*A. D., 18*.....*on the night of*
.....*and month of*.....
Mr.–Mrs......
a Mamo of the Temple of Science, having applied for a Demit, and said Demit granted, on the day, month and night as stated in his–her application, is now accepted by the Sanctuary, to take effect on the date and night above mentioned.

[SEAL]

.....
IKULANA OR SECRETARY

Summons for Trial

.....
.....
vs. } Before the Iku Hai, the Aliis of the Sanctuary and Mamos of the Temple of Science
.....
.....

To the Marshal of the Temple of Science or his Deputy

Greeting:

You are hereby Commanded *to summon*

.....
if.....*can be found in this District, to appear before the Sanctuary of the Temple of Science, at their Temple in Honolulu, upon*.....*the*
.....*day of*.....*18*....., *at*
.....*o'clock*.....*to show cause why*.....*should not plead*.....*case of offending a Mamo of the Order:*
That .....
Notify the offender that if.....*fails to attend at the above-named time and place, judgment will be rendered against*....., *ex-parte, by default of appearance and showing defense.*

Given under our hands this.....*day of*.....*18*

.....
IKU HAI

B
D158H

[EDITORIAL.]

[When the story of Father Damien's life first attracted general attention, we joined with others of all religious denominations in praising his heroism. When it appeared from private letters and published statements that much of what we, with others, had accepted was untrue, unjust to the Hawaiian Government, and falsely represented the work of Protestant missionaries at the islands, we corrected the misstatements as far as we were able on reliable authority. For this the *Congregationalist* has been severely criticised by Roman Catholic papers, and by certain individuals whose communications have appeared in the daily press. A personal attack on Dr. Hyde by Robert Louis Stevenson, who virtually admitted most of the charges against Damien's character, also found wide circulation. Dr. Hyde's unquestioned integrity, his prominence as a Congregational minister, sent out and indorsed by the American Board, and at the head of the North Pacific Institute, should be a sufficient guaranty of the correctness of the statements made in this final communication on the subject on our second page, and it will satisfy fair-minded people who desire, apart from all controversy, to know the facts, and to give honor to whom honor is due.]

FATHER DAMIEN AND HIS WORK.

BY REV. C. M. HYDE, D.D.

So many and various have been the demands on my time that I have had no leisure till now to prepare a reply to the many long articles sent me from the office of the *Congregationalist* which were published some time ago in the Boston papers, the *Pilot* and the *Transcript*. Under the circumstances of the case I trust I shall be pardoned for trespassing on the patience of your readers if my reply should seem prolix and personal.

The attempt made to glorify Father Damien, the leper priest, who died at Molokai, April 10, 1889, and to magnify the work he did among the Hawaiian lepers segregated at the settlement on that island, is not merely an exaggeration or perversion of the facts, but many statements made in his behalf are in direct contravention of the truth. I was not aware, when I wrote my letter to Rev. H. B. Gage, Aug. 2, 1889, in answer to certain inquiries from him, that he had

FATHER DAMIEN

AND

His Work for the Hawaiian Lepers.

A CAREFUL AND CANDID ESTIMATE

BY

REV. C. M. HYDE, D. D.

Reprinted from *The Congregationalist*
of August 7, 1890.

for sending me the pamphlet which he published in Sydney in relation to Father Damien, with special reference to the statements I had made on Damien's character and work. But I am sorry that he should have written his own condemnation as one indifferent to truth and justice, not to say Christian charity, in such a philippic against me, without making any inquiry as to my personal knowledge of Hawaiian leprosy, or the concurrent testimony I could cite for my statements in regard to Father Damien. His invective may be brilliant, but it is like a glass coin, not golden, shivered into fragments of worthless glitter when brought to the test of truthfulness. He has been in hot haste to condemn me for keeping aloof from Hawaiian lepers, for knowing nothing of Father Damien, and for being ignorant of the geography of Molokai. I beg your indulgence for a brief statement of facts, personal to myself, yet pertinent to the question at issue.

When I began, in 1877, my assigned work for the A. B. C. F. M., the charge of the North Pacific Institute, for the training of Hawaiian pastors and missionaries, this matter of leprosy confronted me as a most direct and personal question. Accustomed as I was to the purity of a New England home, there yawned before me, in Hawaiian social and family life,

an abysmal depth of heathen degradation, unutterable in its loathsomeness. Obscenity takes the place, among Hawaiians and other heathen nations, of the profaneness that pollutes our Christian civilization. Hawaiian home life, apart from Christian life, is abominably filthy. Of the five students in the first class I taught, one has been for years a confirmed leper, one has a daughter in the leper home, one had a leper brother, and the other two were sons of a leper father. Could I safely hold intercourse with such a set? I investigated the question for myself. I found that in many cases of supposed leprosy one physician would declare it to be that disease (not the leprosy of the Bible, but in medical parlance called *Elephantiasis Græcorum*); another would say it is only an aggravated form of syphilis. I wrote to various countries where leprosy prevailed, and received varying replies as to its origin and contagiousness. I consulted all accessible medical authorities, finding the preponderance of medical opinion against its contagiousness (as that word is popularly understood), but admitting its hereditary character. Day after day I sat in the Honolulu dispensary, and saw the cases of leprosy treated, and the improvement manifest. I visited the lepers at their homes, and cared for them in their sickness. I went regularly

himself published statements of a similar tenor derived from other sources. But it appears that in the "Herald and Presbyter" of Cincinnati Mr. Gage had published an article, dated Feb. 20, 1889, giving facts which during his visit to the islands he had learned from the resident government physician and others in reference to "the work of the Romish priest among the lepers of Hawaii." That article was read before the Ministerial Association of Riverside, Cal., Mr. Gage being the pastor of the Presbyterian church in that town. It was reprinted in the *Occident* of San Francisco, with the addition, as a postscript, of my letter to Mr. Gage. That letter took its form from his specific inquiries, and being clear, positive, brief, has, for these reasons, been widely published. Many other private letters, of the same general tenor, have been written from the islands by others, in answer to similar inquiries. Many more replies, evasive and non-committal, have also been written by those who fear lest they also may be deluged by such a torrent of abusive language as has been let loose upon me for presuming to make the statements given to the public over my name.

In view of this outburst of scurrility and denunciation from those who have no personal knowledge of the facts, and

are ignorant of the evidence that can be cited in corroboration of the testimony I have given, it is plain that I cannot ask my friends even to attest my competency and veracity, unless I am willing to see them in the same predicament in which I find myself—exposed to all the malodorous and scarifying missiles any blackguard may use who has access to the public press. I have no desire to push this matter further into public notoriety, any more than I have to withdraw or modify any statement formerly made, based on facts which had gradually come to my knowledge in the course of thirteen years' residence at the islands.

Very few people, even in Honolulu, have visited Molokai as I have, or had any personal knowledge of Father Damien, his character and his work. In answering the courteous inquiries of a friend as to my estimate of Father Damien and his work, I fail to see that I have transgressed the limits of personal duty in any measure. I believe that the God of holiness and justice requires a merciful spirit in those who would trust in His mercy; but I do not believe that the God of truth and love has ever commanded us to give admiration and approval to one whose principles and actions are in violation of the morality He enjoins.

I am indebted to Mr. R. L. Stevenson

to drop a student each year, because of developed leprosy. I can never forget the last instance. The boy was one whom I had learned to love and admire. Never had a foul word been heard to pass his lips, a remarkable testimony in regard to any Hawaiian. I believed it to be my duty to say to him that he must be dropped from the school, and could not expect to be a minister of the gospel. When, after a night of sleepless sorrow, I told him so, he smiled in my face, and said, "All right. There is work yet, other work, that I can do for Jesus." If my belief in the origin and nature of this disease is an erroneous one, I may yet be myself a victim to its alleged contagiousness, for I have never shrunk from ordinary social intercourse with Hawaiian lepers, though I have not been negligent of such precautions as every prudent man would be careful to take.

Interested as I have been, from the very first, in this question of Hawaiian leprosy, and what was to be done for its extirpation or alleviation, I was specially interested in the children; for the saddest cases, among the numberless sufferers whom I have seen, were the children, in whom leprosy begins to show itself at dentition, with a second outburst at the age of puberty. If neglected, as these children too often are by the careless,

ignorant Hawaiian parents, the sores and distortions are frightfully hideous. I published, in the Honolulu newspaper, an appeal for contributions for a Children's Home, and secured about $2,500, with good prospect of more. Mr. Gibson, who was at that time the head of the Cabinet, invited me into his office one day, and told me that he would like to have part also in such a commendable work of charity. My reply was, "If you take hold of it, I shall drop it." I wished to keep aloof from all entangling alliance with one whose motives and methods I had abundant reason to distrust. He was making of this national calamity a lever to hoist himself into place and power, as well as what politicians call "a pull," to force men into acquiescence with the schemes he wished to push forward. He was afterwards ignominiously sent out of the country for his insidious treachery to the best interests of the community.

Under the manipulations of such a man the result was what might have been expected. Mr. Gibson, who was a Roman Catholic, having built at Honolulu the Kapiolani Home for Leper Girls, largely through gifts solicited from members of Evangelical sympathies, put it in charge of Franciscan sisters whom he invited from New York. Their sweet

to the Receiving Hospital, paying friendly visits to those with whom I had become acquainted, acting as executor and guardian in the care of their property and their relatives, holding religious services with them Sunday afternoons. I went to Molokai more than once, visited the homes, the hospital, the schools, stores, and other buildings. I was introduced to Father Damien, rode with him through the settlement, visited at his house, and talked with him about his work. I have kept up a constant correspondence all these years with individuals at the Leper Settlement. In regard to Mr. Stevenson's brilliant invective, I have only to say that, so far as I am concerned, it lacks the essential elements of truthfulness.

By all that I saw and heard and read, I was soon convinced of this one fact, that leprosy is one of the results of licentiousness. It is a disease, symptomatic of nervous exhaustion, like the blowing out of the tubes, or the accumulation of mud in the boiler when one is running a steam engine.*

*It takes on two forms—either suppurating sores, or anæsthetic patches. Like every other epidemic, it decreases both in its virulence and in its spread. Domestication, as does also Pasteur's cultivation, diminishes the intensity of the virus. Hawaiian leprosy, as an epidemic, has passed the extreme point, and the new cases are both less numerous and less virulent. Any one who knows the Hawaiian habit of promiscuous intercourse will acknowledge that segregation is necessary and must be enforced.

Since the law enforcing segregation was passed by the Hawaiian Legislature, Jan. 3, 1865, the total number of lepers segregated has been, up to date, 4,218, of whom 2,893 have died. There are now resident at the settlement 1,159. Of this total perhaps thirty have been Chinese: fifteen have been white men, all of notoriously immoral lives. The disproportion between the number of white men segregated and the number of Hawaiians is surely an indication that leprosy is not so eminently contagious as has been alleged; while the fact stated in regard to the character of the white men who have contracted the disease is a marked testimony as to its probable origin and nature. I find no record, in all the publications I have examined, of any nurses, or physicians, having contracted the disease from their personal care of lepers. The Moravians have had many missionaries at work among lepers in various parts of the world, but not one has ever had the leprosy. There have been several government physicians, with their wives, resident at the Leper Settlement. In no instance has there been any development of the disease. One feature of its slow morbific tendency is the extremely low vitality and sluggish development of the characteristic *bacillus*. For the first seven years of my connection with the institute it was my painful duty

tlement at that time was a regularly organized Hawaiian Evangelical church, under its Hawaiian pastor, and regularly visited by the A. B. C. F. M. missionary, who had for some years resided on the other side of the island. In those early years there was great difficulty in even ordinary communication with Molokai, and the government was hampered in its management by want of men as well as means. It is to the government, especially since its emancipation from the Gibson misrule, that credit is due, not to the Catholic priesthood, for the generous and systematic provision for the care of the lepers. That government was established through the influence of the American missionaries, but of late years has been more or less under the control of those inimical to their principles and their methods. In the adoption and administration of the various measures of the government for the improvement of the lepers' condition, Father Damien has been a hindrance rather than a help. According to the last biennial report, the Board of Health spent $201,176 for the Leper Settlement, and $65,000 additional expenditure may properly be put to the account of expenses for leprosy. The whole expenditure, as nearly as it can be computed for the entire period of governmental segregation, is $937,507. It is be-

cause so much has been done by this little community of 80,000 people for these 4,000 sufferers that public attention has been called to it. Great Britain, with its millions of untold wealth, has done almost nothing for its 135,000 lepers. At the settlement on Molokai the lepers have built and own 235 houses—that does not look like incurable poverty; 196 buildings are owned by the government, including schools, jail, hospital; ample weekly rations are served out to an average of 1,035 resident lepers (who own 786 horses), besides an allowance of ten dollars to each leper annually for clothing.

Not all has been done that could be desired or suggested; but there has been no reluctance nor unwillingness on the part of our Evangelical community to do whatever was possible. Money, time, thought, systematic and sympathetic efforts have been freely rendered. In the annual conference of the Evangelical churches, as in every biennial session of the Legislature, much time for earnest discussion has been given to the question, "What more can we do for the sufferers at Molokai?" Just before the first Sunday in April last, one of the leper girls wrote to me, asking me to get for her to wear at the approaching Sunday school concert "a dress of white nun's veiling [which she wished Mrs. Hyde would make

patience, loving care and skillful fidelity no one can honor more than I do. The Bishop Home, built afterwards at the Leper Settlement with funds contributed by Hon. C. R. Bishop, one of the trustees of the Central Union Church, is also under their care. The Boys' Home, for which Hon. H. P. Baldwin, son of one of the A. B. C. F. M. missionaries, has recently given $5,000, is under the charge of the Catholic priests. The Catholic bishop has just demanded the proportionate distribution to Catholic schools of the $120,000 appropriated by the Legislature for the educational department of the government. In the development of the Catholic Church at the islands, the priests have simply done what they have done elsewhere, appropriated to themselves institutions founded at public expense, or even by the generosity of Protestant Christians. Suffice it to say that every boy in the Leper Home, some of them children of our Hawaiian Evangelical pastors, has been baptized by the priests, and, much to the grief of their Hawaiian parents, is claimed by them as belonging, body and soul, to the Roman Catholic Church. The girls of Protestant parentage were for a time forbidden to read their Bibles, or to attend Protestant worship. Under Father Damien's administration many gifts, contributed by the

community and by liberal Protestants from other countries, were withheld from Protestant lepers, and lavished, injudiciously, too, on Catholics, or those who might be bribed to become so. Remonstrances and warnings, if not threats also, were necessary to make Father Damien comprehend that such exclusive and supercilious treatment, however proper it might seem to a Catholic priest, was not considered by other people as the policy of common honesty.

In order to enhance Father Damien's work for Hawaiian lepers, Catholic writers have falsely represented their condition as "purely bestial; without nurses, schools or church; a scandal to the community, and to the Christian charity of those islands; a living grave, a leper hell." But the fact is that at no time have the lepers on Molokai been any worse off than the average Hawaiian, and during these recent years they have been far better housed, clothed and fed than the people outside of the settlement. The Catholic lepers told the bishop when he took Damien to them: "We are very well off here. The government takes good care of us. The one thing that has failed us is the residence of a priest." There was only a little chapel, dedicated to Saint Philomena. That was eight years after the work of segregation had begun. At the Leper Set-

that is Hyde's palace for his Kanaka boys."

The statements I have made, however true, are distasteful also, I am aware, to those in sympathy with the prevailing humanitarian sentiment that would send any villain, or ruffian, straight to heavenly glory, if only he has been kind to others in suffering, or rescued those in peril, at the cost of his own life or great personal loss, like Bret Harte's Jim Bludsoe. There is an enthusiasm of humanity which bases salvation on some supposed meritorious acts. It has small regard for historical verities, but says that, "no *matter whether true or not*, the story of Father Damien is calculated to draw us up into a purer and nobler atmosphere, and such hero-worship is beneficial to the human race." To give a correct estimate of this alleged saint and martyr is ruthlessly to shatter such an ideal.

If any one will take the pains to read carefully the statements published, contradictory of the estimate I have given, it will be noticed that such apparent contradictions are either official generalities, or evasive replies, or the utterances of a partisan sympathy, or written by those who have no personal knowledge of the facts. But no proof is given that Damien was other than I have represented him to be. Mr. Edward Clifford made no

inquiries of those persons, whose testimony would have confirmed all that I have said. With the credulity, not the charity, that believes all things, he asked no questions that would disturb his preconceived ideal. His imaginary portrait, profanely adored by some female writer as "the Hawaiian Christ," is no more like the Father Damien that figures as the frontispiece of the Catholic biography than the picture of Hawaiian volcanoes in that book is like anything to be seen on the islands. Vice-Consul Hastings would have been more guarded in his language, and less effusive in his praises, if he had known who it was in the circle of his own acquaintances at Honolulu, holding the same opinions that I do, who made the statement published in the *Congregationalist* of Sept. 12, 1889, but not over my signature. Captain Palmer denies the name of Christianity to the faith which his fathers held, and says that the Christian religion was first introduced to the Sandwich Islands, August, 1819, when the chaplain of the French frigate Uranie baptized Boki, the Hawaiian chief, then acting as Governor of Oahu. Mr. Stevenson, educated like myself in the tenets of Calvinistic Orthodoxy, has departed so widely from the faith of his parents that he has come to regard Evangelical doctrines and methods as an outrage on

for her], eight yards of pink ribbon, one and one-half inches wide, and a white straw hat trimmed to match." Through the kindness of friends the articles requested were furnished, and several other dresses sent for other girls. In fact, every Christmas season, and at frequent intervals, year after year, boxes of toys, clothing, books, papers and other acceptable gifts are sent to the lepers by our benevolent people. Constantly special favors are done for individuals among the lepers by friends interested in their welfare. There are two churches for the lepers of Evangelical faith, with a pastor supported by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. Two new church buildings have been built, largely through funds contributed by members of our churches. It must be remembered that since 1863 the American Board has withdrawn from the islands as no longer one of its mission fields. I was sent out in 1877 for a definite work at Honolulu, almost the only representative of our Congregational churches for forty years. The Catholic Church has never ordained a single Hawaiian to the priesthood, but has maintained and increased its large staff of priests, teachers and nurses by constant additions from abroad. Our Hawaiian churches, with one exception, have all been under the care of Hawaiian pastors. The lepers at Molokai

have been treated, as every other Hawaiian community has been treated, as an independent church organization under its own Hawaiian pastor.

I have not the slightest desire to enter into any sort of rivalry with the Roman Catholic priesthood in the objects they seek to accomplish, the political and religious supremacy of the Papal Church, nor the methods they pursue, based on unquestioning obedience to its priesthood. I believe the true object of foreign missionary work is to lift up a people out of their superstitious practices and heathen degradation. In carrying out this object, the Christian home life of the missionary is an important factor. Mr. Stevenson is pleased to criticise the modest house which the generosity of friends in Honolulu has furnished for my occupancy. He holds up to ridicule the good judgment and unpretentious taste of the missionary's wife which has made the home so attractive and restful. He puts this in comparison with "the pig-sty" in which he says he found Father Damien, whom he thereupon lauds, as if there were superior sanctity in dirt. The same spirit of detraction I have heard recently venting itself in a similar way over the new buildings which the further generosity of friends at the islands has enabled me to build for our students. "That big building? Oh,

It has been anything but pleasant to write, as I have done, in regard to one who has passed beyond the reach of our praise or blame. I have not rushed into print in the statements which I have made. But to refuse personal testimony, when asked as I have been, to tell the truth in regard to him, would have been despicable poltroonery, not kindly forbearance. The exposure of fraudulent pretense is sometimes the unpleasant duty of a servant of the truth. No one in this world can know with what stress of pain I have taken the stand I have maintained as a witness for the truth, assailed on the one hand by the arrogant pretentiousness of the Roman hierarchy, and betrayed on the other by the fanciful falsities of a sentimental humanitarianism. I have written what I have at the suggestion and desire of friends, whom I thank most heartily for defending me when my competency and veracity have been assailed. I have written this reply in deference to these friends' opinion that the silence, which I myself had no desire to break, would only be construed as a concession to the truth of the invective with which I have been assailed. I leave it to any candid mind to judge on which side lies the calumny and the slander. There let it lie.

human nature, and an insult to the God whose honor he is proud to defend against the misrepresentations of the Calvinistic faith. Mr. Stevenson himself says, what yet he contends that I have no right to say, of Father Damien, that Damien was, to use Mr. Stevenson's own language, "a man of the peasant class, certainly of the peasant type, shrewd, ignorant, bigoted, rough in his ways, indiscreet, officious, domineering, unpopular with the Kanakas, with a mania for doctoring, with slovenly ways and false ideas of hygiene, adhering to his errors with perfect obstinacy."

I submit that such testimony from such a source, confirming what I have said of Father Damien, is presumptive proof that I had equally good reason for saying what else I said in regard to him. That testimony came to me, not as gossip that I heard in some bar-room, but in the course of many years' correspondence and conversation with residents, white and native, on Hawaii and on Molokai, government physicians, agents, and other officials. Father Damien was a loyal Catholic, a zealous, hard-working priest. He was not close, sour, secretive; but headstrong, bluff, impulsive in his temperament. He had no thorough education, could not even write his own mother tongue correctly. He was ordained at

Whitsuntide, 1864, at Honolulu, *in partibus infidelium*, as a member of the Society of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, better known as the Picpus Fathers, from the name of the house where their headquarters were first established in the Faubourg St. Antoine. To this society the Sandwich Islands were specially assigned by Pope Leo XII in 1825. When Joseph de Veuster became "religious," he took the name of Damien, after the second of two brothers, Cosmos and Damien, both physicians, martyrs, saints in the Roman Catholic category. Before going to Molokai he had charge of two other parishes, where it is believed he contracted the disease, and left behind him an unsavory reputation. There is no doubt about his zeal and activity in his work, but the mere circumstance of his being a leper, or taking up his residence at the settlement, gives him no claim to the position assigned him as pre-eminent among those who have done good to their fellowmen. Other Catholic priests have had the leprosy and gone to Molokai, but they could not live with Damien. They quarreled, threw stones and cursed each other in the public road. Damien did not die from some fatal development of leprosy. The immediate cause of his death was an attack of pneumonia, for which he refused to take the remedies prescribed by the physician.

JUDGMENT

OF THE

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

UPON THE APPEAL OF

THE BISHOP OF HONOLULU.

M. D. MONSARRAT,
HONOLULU,
H. I.
SURVEYOR.

HONOLULU.

1886.

[COPY.]

In accordance with the request of the Bishop of Honolulu I have given the most earnest consideration to the facts referred to and the circumstances leading up to the voluminous correspondence which has passed between the Bishop of Honolulu and Theophilus H. Davies, Esq., with regard to the Honolulu Church Building Committee.

In this consideration I have been aided by a committee of Bishops, consisting of their Lordships the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, the Bishop of St. Albans and the Bishop of Southwell and also by my legal adviser.

The conclusion that I have arrived at with the assistance referred to is as follows:

FIRST.

As regards the questions submitted by the Bishop of Honolulu in his letter to me of the 11th February, 1886, viz:

1. Had I not a perfect right to refuse to summon a meeting on requisition No. 2 until requisition No. 1 was withdrawn.

It was optional to the Bishop to summon or to refuse to summon a meeting but the fact of his refusing to summon would not necessarily imply that a meeting could not be summoned.

2. Am I not perfectly justified in refusing to recognize the meeting of January 30 as a meeting of the Building Committee.

The Bishop is not justified in refusing to recognize the meeting of January 30 as a meeting of the Building Committee for it was I think a meeting of such Committee.

3. Are not all the members of that committee partners with the Treasurer in his accusations of the Bishop in that they passed a resolution approving of all his acts as Treasurer after his accusations were in circulation: and is it to be expected that a Bishop should consent to meet a committee with his accusers until their accusations are proved or withdrawn.

There is nothing to shew that the members of the committee are or should be considered partners in the so-called accusations of the Treasurer. That being so there is no reason why the Bishop should decline to meet the Building Committee.

4. Have they or have they not forfeited their right to be a committee for such a purpose as the erection of a Cathedral.

There is nothing to shew that they have forfeited their right to be a committee for such a purpose.

SECONDLY.

As regards the controversy itself I am of opinion

(a.) That it was unhappily called out by the first letter of the Bishop for which some excuse owing to antecedent circumstances may fairly be pleaded.

(b.) That the imputation of dishonorable conduct of the part of the Bishop rests upon what Mr. Davies with apparent justification deemed to be a blunder in calculation.

(c.) That the official position of Mr. Davies does not under the circumstances require any communication to be addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

THIRDLY.

That with regard to the question of the licensing of Mr. Wallace it does not appear that Mr. Wallace was privy to the offensive statements supposed by the Bishop to have been communicated to the meeting.

(Signed) E. CANTUAR.

LAMBETH PALACE, June 18th, 1886.

M. D. MONSARRAT
SURVEYOR
855 Kaahumanu Street
Tel. 3005 HONOLULU, T. H.

Collection
Rec'd 193

LEPROSY AND LIBEL.

THE SUIT OF

GEORGE L. FITCH

AGAINST

THE SATURDAY PRESS.

HONOLULU, H. I.
SATURDAY PRESS PRINT.
1883.

LEPROSY AND LIBEL.

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THE SATURDAY PRESS.

HONOLULU, H. I.
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THE SUIT.

At the request of several citizens, and in order to preserve in a convenient shape the record therein contained, the proprietor of the Saturday Press has published the following account of the libel case of the Crown vs. Thomas G. Thrum, brought at the instance of George L. Fitch. A brief review of the circumstances of the case is all that seems necessary at this writing. All the important points at issue, in which the community has an interest, have been more or less fully brought out by the evidence, the speeches of counsels and the judge's charge.

Briefly, then, the libel suit against the proprietor of the Saturday Press was brought by Mr. Fitch ostensibly as a defense against the language of that journal. In reality, the suit was an effort to crush or at least to silence the Press for its plain, direct, unsparing and convincing exposure of the criminal mismanagement of leprosy in these islands by the Hawaiian Board of Health, of which body Mr. Gibson and Mr. Fitch were the officials chiefly responsible. The history of leprosy on these islands was fully brought out during the trial. Never in the history of medicine has the sworn evidence of reputable physicians been so full, so unanimous and so convincing in clearing away the doubts that had enveloped a debatable question. There is no medical testimony in the following pages—save the quasi-medical testimony of Mr. Fitch—which does not confirm the positions of the Saturday Press: that leprosy is dangerously contagious, that it is a distinct disease, that the strictest segregation is the only rational method of dealing with it.

This community had little concern that Mr. Fitch should call himself "Doctor," or propounded theories contradictory to the common sense and experience of the whole medical world; or that he should endeavor in any legitimate way to experiment with a view to their establishment: but, when the same shallow impudence that would openly dogmatize against the experience of ages and the united opinion of all medical men, was allowed by a frail and corrupt administration to play with life and health in such a wholesale manner as to endanger the very being of the nation, it became altogether another affair. The Press believed that Mr. Fitch's method of dealing with the momentous question of segregation, if taken alone, as compared with the published statement of his views upon the subject, afforded sufficient warrant for the use of such language as gave rise to the suit before mentioned. The promptly rendered verdict of a jury has justified the writer of the article which provoked the suit in the view he had taken, while the hearty applause of an unprecedentedly large audience, which immediately greeted the announcement of the verdict, left no room to doubt that both "libel" and verdict were fully in accord with the sentiment of the community.

The result of the case of alleged libel against this paper has been all that was hoped for and all that it should have been. The full justification of the Saturday Press' discussion of leprosy has been established to the satisfaction of ten out of twelve jurymen. We think we will be sustained in saying that ten out of every twelve intelligent citizens uphold the Press in its every utterance on the topic which this libel suit has brought so pointedly to the consideration of the community. Doctor Fitch and his absurd pretentions would have been unworthy newspaper notice if he had not represented the executive power of a knot of men who are playing with human life in this kingdom, and whose responsibility is so much greater than that of Doctor Fitch that the temptation is to forget the infatuated theorist, who has so recently been punished, in resentment against the power that has made the unfortunate Fitch the tool of its terrible trifling with the life of a whole nation.

THE OPENING OF THE CASE.

The libel case against this journal, brought by Doctor Fitch, came up for trial before a foreign jury on the 13th instant, his honor Chief Justice Judd on the bench. Mr. John

Russell and Mr. F. M. Hatch for the crown, Mr. S. B. Dole for the defense. The following gentlemen were called to serve as jurymen: S. Magnin, D. McCartney, J. Spear, W. Wenner, E. Kistler, S. Selig, G. West, W. Lishman, J. B. Castle, Julius Asche, J. H. Bruns, Jr., J. C. Cluney. Before being sworn Mr. McCartney, one of the jurors, was excused, as he was a witness in the case, and Mr. C. R. Scarborough took his place in the box.

Neither side making objections to the jurymen thus empanelled, Mr. Hatch, for the prosecution, read the indictment as follows:

In the name of His Majesty, the King of the Hawaiian Islands, Oahu, to wit:

At a term of the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Islands, began and holden at Honolulu, in the Island of Oahu, within and for the said Hawaiian Islands, and more especially with and for the said Island of Oahu, on the second day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three, and continued by adjournment from day to day, and from time to time until the seventh day of said July.

The attorney-general of the kingdom, by William Austin Whiting, his deputy, lawfully appointed, on and in behalf of our sovereign lord the king, upon his official oath presents that, Thomas G. Thrum, a foreigner, of Honolulu, in the Island of Oahu, and within the jurisdiction of this honorable court, on the fifth day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-three, unlawfully and maliciously intending to vilify, disgrace and defame one George L. Fitch, a physician and doctor of medicine, and an officer of the Hawaiian Government, to wit, government physician for the District of Kona, in the Island of Oahu, unlawfully and maliciously did make, print and publish, and cause to be printed and published in a certain newspaper, entitled the Saturday Press, published at Honolulu aforesaid, and of public circulation within the Hawaiian Islands, and within the jurisdiction of this honorable court, a certain false, scandalous and malicious defamatory libel of and concerning one George L. Fitch aforesaid, a physician and doctor of medicine and officer of the Hawaiian Government as aforesaid, which said libel is as follows, that is to say:

When in the progress of newspaper conduct it becomes necessary to unmask a knave, to uncloak a charlatan or to expose a quack, the favorite refuge of the pilloried rogue is to call the journal which has undone him "a libelous sheet." (Meaning by said words "quack," "knave," "charlatan," and the "pilloried rogue" the said George L. Fitch.) The Press has recently been instrumental in convincing the intelligent readers of Honolulu that one of the most important offices in the gift of the government (meaning said office of government physician for the District of Kona aforesaid) is held by a comparatively ignorant pretender (meaning the said George L. Fitch.) This action was the direct result of conflicting causes. There has long been a belief among physicians here that Dr. Fitch (meaning said George L. Fitch) is not a satisfactory practitioner; that his (meaning said George L. Fitch) theories are absurd; that his (meaning said George L. Fitch) scheme of cure is a delusion and a snare. But it has also been held by many that Dr. Fitch (meaning said George L. Fitch) has the interest of the natives at heart; that he (meaning said George L. Fitch) is kind, faithful and an indefatigable worker. Zeal and honesty of intention cover a multitude of sins. It has been for this last belief that the Press has invariably treated Dr. Fitch with courtesy. When he (meaning said George L. Fitch) could not get his recent letter published elsewhere, the Press opened its columns to him, with the understanding—which Dr. Fitch may not truthfully deny—that the right to answer and refute his arguments was reserved, and would certainly be exercised. Three weeks ago appeared a reply to Dr. Fitch, written and signed by one of the ablest non-professional medical writers in the kingdom. It was as respectful in tone as the absurdity and contradiction and gross misstatement of Dr. Fitch (meaning said George L. Fitch) made it possible for any reply to be. To the letter of Mr. Albert Smith Dr. Fitch made no reply. He (meaning said George L. Fitch) visited neither the proprietor nor the editor of this paper, and made no request for space in which to answer his (meaning said George L. Fitch) critic. But on the street and in public resorts he (meaning said George L. Fitch) has charged this paper with the crime of incompetence in criticism and the infamy of libel. His (meaning said George L. Fitch) slander is a public reproach. It provokes retaliation in kind. It shall receive early attention. (Meaning and intending thereby to injure the fame, reputation, and good name of said George L. Fitch) to the manifest great injury and damage of the fame, reputation, and good name of the said George L. Fitch, and tending directly to bring him into disgrace, odium, contempt, scandal and ridicule. And so the attorney-general aforesaid, by his deputy aforesaid, upon his official oath aforesaid, doth say and present that the said Thomas G. Thrum, at the time and place aforesaid, in manner and form aforesaid, is guilty of the offense of libel against the peace and dignity of our sovereign lord the king, and contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided.

WALTER MURRAY GIBSON, Attorney-General,
(By his deputy,) WILLIAM AUSTIN WHITING.

A true bill, found this 7th day of July, A. D. 1883.
A. Francis Judd, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court presiding at the term.

The trial of the case was then proceeded with, the first witness called by the prosecu-

tion, Albert C. Smith, stated that T. G. Thrum was publisher of the Saturday Press on date of May 5th, containing article of alleged libel, which appears above in the indictment. [Paper offered in evidence by prosecution.]

Doctor Fitch was then placed on the stand and testified in substance as follows:

After stating the various positions held by him as a government officer, he said also that he held a license to practice medicine in the kingdom. Also had a license to practice in California, dated 1870. Had a diploma from Bellevue College, New York, was appointed government physician, October 26, 1881, by Hon. H. A. P. Carter, also superintendent leper hospital at Honolulu, and appointed as medical superintendent at Kalawao. Saw the article published in the Saturday Press, May 5th. Refered to him. No other Doctor Fitch in this country to his knowledge. Remembered the malpractice case in which Doctor Rodgers and himself were sued by Mr. Hinckley. Remembered his testimony relating to receiving his education. Said received diploma at Bellevue Hospital. Did not remember all. Entered Bellevue College, October, 1869; did not remember the day of the month, was there 4½ months before receiving diploma. Attended the regular course of lectures at that college.

Never studied at Philadelphia. Commenced the study of medicine March 29, 1865, in Eldorado County, California, with Dr. M. F. Clayton, was there 13 months and money gave out, then went to San Jose and San Francisco, there continued to study. Was night clerk in hotel there some time. Studied with Dr. W. Lyndorf at that place, then worked at dentistry. Studied at San Leandro, in 1867, under Doctor Coleman. Clayton was a county practitioner, and also practiced dentistry. In June, 1869, was at the Toland Medical College, San Francisco. Have not practiced dentistry since 1870. Took no special instructions in dentistry. About 5 months is the time used as a regular course in a medical college. All colleges have the same term)positively). Had not studied leprosy especially before coming here, nothing more than a general knowledge. Never attended a case of leprosy before he came here. But helped to cut off the leg of a leper, in order to get him in his coffin, in the city and county hospital, San Francisco. Leprosy is not thoroughly curable, can make it disappear but is convinced that it is not thoroughly curable. Never wrote otherwise; think leprosy is a recurrent disease.

Never told any patients could cure leprosy, except in the way mentioned. Told them, could make spots disappear. Theory of leprosy is that it is the last stage or form of syphilis; came to that conclusion by examining case after case by the hundreds. Doctor Enders, of Maui, did advocate the fourth stage theory, but, do not think he does now. No text book writers support that view. Does not regard syphilis as basis of all the diseases of Hawaiians. There are many skin diseases. [Here the witness being asked to enumerate them said: "Land of love! I can't go through them all; believe almost all that flesh is heir to may be found here"]. Do not believe leprosy to be contagious under ordinary circumstances; think the disease incubates in 25 or 26 days. H. V. Carter, one of the best authorities does not know the length of time but believes it to be very short.

There are fully 1,600 cases of leprosy in the kingdom. Practically all natives have syphilis. [Here followed details of cases intended to show that leprosy was not contagious in certain cases. Husbands having the disease and wives not, and vice versa.] In most cases leprosy is not contagious. The proportion of natives who take leprosy is very small; 600 of the 1,200 may have leprosy for all he knew. Lepers in the kingdom, June 27th of this year, were 750 at Kalawao and about 200 at Kakaako. The outside estimate of those who may or may not be contagious is about 300. There are not many cases of confirmed lepers at large. Did not know of a single case. There are many cases that may be become lepers if not treated. Could not tell where syphilis ends and leprosy begins. The

confirmed cases are easily distinguishable. Early stages are difficult to distinguish. Regards segregation as emphatically necessary. There are a great many cases at large which would lock up if had the power. Is not, however, interfered with by the board of health. Is not a policeman, is a doctor, and pass judgment upon patients brought before him. [Witness had previously read a commission from the board of health empowering him a special agent of the board of health to segregate lepers.] In small-pox and scarlatina a comparatively few cases are contagious, nothing like the number that are so in this disorder.

Have not read the law regarding leprosy and its segregation. There are some persons would not segregate, even if they had the leprosy. In old persons it has passed the contagious period. Thinks the line may be drawn firmly and distinctly. Thinks letter to Doctor Emerson agrees with present position. Have never said that leprosy was contagious in eating, drinking and sleeping. Said what he did about syphilis. [Mr. Dole then read from the board of health report of March, 1882, page 61: "But licentiousness alone is not to blame for the spread of this disorder. Passing the tobacco pipe from mouth to mouth is a not uncommon cause, and I fully believe the custom of numbers eating poi out of the same dish with their fingers also come in under the same head." Witness said: Meant by this syphilis and not leprosy.]

Persons discharged from hospital last June had passed contagious period. No doctors approved of their discharge except myself. No other doctors were present. Thought Sumner a safe man to allow out. Dr. Trousseau said Sumner would be a leper all his life. Sam Kamoahakau was also safe when he left. Did not have a sore finger when he left the hospital. No other doctors saw them. Does not remember asking Doctor Stangenwald about Sumner.

As to syphilis preparing the community for leprosy—the fourth stage of syphilis, partaking of the nature of the late second and early tertiary stages—the time has not yet come for the disease to have run its course. It is a questio of centuries, not of years.

Dr. Rogers is assistant in dispensary; took charge when was gone. Had not closed dispensary twice; had not advertised it closed. [Objection to prove allegation sustained by the court.]

In treating leprosy, he had made many symptoms disappear. [Objection to naming a lady witness until put upon the stand sustained by the court.]

The noon recess was then taken until 1:30 P. M.

AFTERNOON PROCEEDINGS.

On the reassembling of the court, at 1.30 P. M., Dr. Fitch again took the stand and continued his testimony as follows: Mr. Dole, cross-examining, witness said he had served eye cases in practice here, five of cataract, one middle cataract, one rigid. Some of the cases treated had been successful, others not. Did not use the opthalmiscope. Knew the catoptric test; did not use it. Mr. Grunwald had a cataract. I do not know of any cases of leprosy at large that ought to be locked up. If there are any, don't know where they are. Of the one thousand and six hundred lepers estimated to be on the islands, one hundred and fifty have died, four hundred and fifty have been arrested, and about seven hundred and fifty segregated. I know of a great many cases in town, but they are all light. Sam, the native released, had not passed the age which I considered dangerous. I recommended his discharge, because the disease had nearly disappeared from him. In the majority of cases, leprosy is neither infectious nor contagious. [Mr. Dole quoted from Dr. Fitch's report to the board of health.] The witness then qualified by saying, in "a majority of cases." Asked that Doctor Rodgers be appointed. Recommended that a resident physician at Kalawao be appointed. When I asked Mr. Gibson to appoint Dr. Rodgers to position as assistant, Mr. Gibson objected, saying, "that man is personally repulsive to me." My request was at last granted. Afterwards, had disagreement with Dr. Rodgers; found he had

applied for position as resident physician at Kalawao. Did not object to Rodgers on professional grounds. The lepers at the settlement objected. I have not visited the other portions of the Island of Oahu, being told I would receive an order when desired to go. I was not the directing manager. Did not consult Dr. Rodgers regarding lepers discharged. The board of health signed the papers letting the cured lepers go. By Mr. Hatch: The attendance at the dispensary varied, the average during six months being about thirty-five per day. At the time of the discharging of the lepers cured, there were present his majesty, Messrs. Gibson, Moanauli, Cleghorn and Widemann. The order was signed by Messrs. Gibson, Moanauli, Cleghorn and Widemann. I also signed it. Cross-examined by Mr. Dole. Largest number of patients at dispensary on any one day, was 323. I prescribed for all. I was all used up, and went home and slept for thirteen hours. Was at the dispensary on the day mentioned for six hours, and attended all; did not have time enough, and work was not done properly.

Major Charles T. Gulick was called, but not arriving, the defense, to save the time of the jurymen present, admitted the authenticity of the license. The prosecution then rested.

Mr. Dole, for the defense, moved judgment, arguing that the prosecution had failed in showing any malice in the publication which would be necessary to show to cause libel.

Mr. Russell, for the prosecution, stated that full malice had been shown by the wilful publication, and quoted from chapter 32, sections 3 and 4, of the penal code.

The court, after reading the authorities presented by Mr. Dole, and listening to the arguments on both sides, overruled Mr. Dole's motion, which decision was excepted to, and the defense proceeded with their case.

Dr. Trosseau stated that he was a practicing physician; had been here twenty years; was familiar with leprosy; was familiar with syphilis; said no affinity existed between the two. Leprosy is as old as the world; syphilis is a comparatively new disease. The leprosy of to-day, in bible lands, is identical with that mentioned in bible times. The date of the first epidemic of syphilis is rather obscure. Leprosy is reported to have been introduced into Europe after the return of the Crusaders. The first epidemic of syphilis occurred in Italy, about the time of the discovery of America. Anti-syphilitic treatment has failed in leprosy; is bad treatment for leprosy proper. Iodide of potash is good for reducing tubercles. Believed leprosy to be contagious, fully as much, if not more so than syphilis. When first came here doubted the contagious qualities of leprosy, but observations caused him to change opinions. Easy to define the two diseases. Held the same position that Dr. Fitch now holds as special superintendent for several days, but not at the same salary. [Laughter.] Had sent, during that time, some 700 lepers to Kalawao and found his diagnosis of the cases had been quite correct, other physicians having examined the cases afterwards. Was, and is, a member of the examining board who send lepers to Molokai. Was not present at the hospital when the nine lepers were discharged. Dr. McKibbin, another member of the board, was in England. Had known Sumner for the last twelve years; had seen him since his return and consider him in a bad condition, affected with leprosy. A week before Sumner was discharged visited Kakaako at request of Fitch, an unofficial visit; Fitch spoke of Sumner and about letting him go. Witness expressed surprise, as he considered him as bad a leper as ever. Consider anti-syphilitic treatment good to decide doubtful cases. When had doubts regarding people being leprous, sent them to the branch hospital at Kakaako, to give the public the benefit of the doubt. In syphilis, by the treatment there, they get better in three months, in leprosy, not. Doctors McKibbin, Brodie and witness generally agreed on leprous cases. Leprosy is contagious by absorption or inoculation. Leprosy may be contracted by the contact of the abraded portions of a person's body. It may also be contracted by imbibition by the lips in using a pipe, by the mouth in eating poi, or by sexual intercourse. Would regard anything but segregation as dangerous. Very little leprosy now in Europe; it is thought that the disease is being eradicated there by segregation; leprosy is worse in the extremes of heat and cold. Doctor Gross, of Philadelphia, corresponded with witness for years on the subject of syphilis and leprosy. Doctor Gross had never seen a case of leprosy. Witness showed one of Doctor Gross' letters on the subject of leprosy to his fellow physicians of this city and was authorized to answer that there was no connection between syphilis and leprosy, and that on these islands it was deemed contagious. Did not consider Sumner a safe man to be at large. Thought the idea the day that he was at the branch hospital was simply to view the worst cases. When Fitch mentioned letting Sumner go, he said: "Surely, Fitch, you would not do that." Was acquainted with eye practice, but did not pretend to be an oculist. Eye operations are regarded as very difficult. Cataract is not one of the most difficult operations.

By Mr. Russell: Indiscretion of the patient may injure the effect of the operation. Have visited the branch hospital five or six times for the purpose of sending people (lepers) to Molokai. Told Fitch that he removed the syphilis but stuck on the leprosy. Whenever witness had doubt regarding a subject, he sent him to Kakaako, giving the public the benefit of the doubt. He thought at one time that Sumner was going to die. When witness last saw Sumner, he was well in health but still a leper. Certain drugs have the reputation of curing leprosy. Witness had been among lepers here twelve years, and had read nearly everything written on leprosy, and have yet no knowledge of a well authenticated case of a cured leper. Had on arrival in this country the same idea that Doctor Fitch has, that he could cure leprosy. Had, however, never published his opinion. Do not believe the contagious character of the disease, can be destroyed by medical treatment. Leprosy takes a long period to incubate, probably six or seven years, the proof being that no young children have it, although suckled by leprous mothers, the disease appearing after a lapse of about this number of years.

William Sumner, one of the nine "cured and discharged lepers," a half-white, apparently about seventy years of age, was the next witness. He showed many of the symptoms popularly believed to indicate leprosy. Witness said he thought board of health ordered his release. Had been allowed to go free for a certain time. Was now living with his daughter on makai side of Hotel street, opposite Hawaiian Hotel. First few days after being released, lived on Fisherman's Point, then went to live with daughter. [Witness here sat down on the floor, and taking off the shoe and stocking from his right foot, showed to the jury three sores—one on ankle, one on sole of the foot and one on great toe.] Said was about sixty years old. Went to Molokai about six years ago, partly through own desire. At first was worse, then better, then very much worse; then got medicines from Dr. Fitch and improved. [Juror Magnin asked when sores broke out. Witness answered, just after he was released from the hospital.]

Miss Agnes Aylet, for some time past a teacher in a school for native children on Fort street, was the next witness. She testified that she had been treated by Dr. Fitch for over a year for leprosy.

Doctor Brodie was the next witness. He said he had been in Honolulu about three years, and had practiced all the time. Had not paid a great deal of attention to leprosy, but had treated several cases, about five in all, some of which had been under continuous treatment for over two years. Said leprosy and syphilis were entirely different diseases. It was not difficult, as a rule, to distinguish between them. When not complicated with other diseases, there was no trouble about telling the difference between them. Medical treatment for syphilis was not often good for leprosy; sometimes did harm. Never saw any medical authority supporting the theory that the two diseases were identical. Diplomas sometimes fix standing, sometimes do not.

With young men diplomas do in a measure, give a certain standing. After thirteen years of practice the reputation is made by success and treatment. [Referring to the fact that Fitch had practiced that long.] Have not been associated with Dr. Fitch in any cases. All authorities agree that leprosy cannot be cured, and that leprosy is contagious. The period of incubation in syphilis is from twenty-six days to three months; in leprosy, from one to ten years, or even longer. The two diseases do not select or prefer the same parts of the body. Iodide of potassium is used in syphilis, the average dose is from five to ten grains; ten grains is a large dose. Could not prescribe for from two hundred to three hundred patients in one day. Would not attempt it. Have had practice in eye diseases. Saw Grunwald before he was operated upon by Fitch; made opthalmic examinations of his eye several times and treated him for several weeks. He then had atrophy of optic nerve. Had no cataract. No operation could have benefited him. Would not operate upon the eye for cataract without using the opthalmoscope. Had seen a leper in London before coming here. Doctor Johnathan Hutchinson, senior surgeon of the London Hospital, was treating this leper. Doctor Hutchinson considered the case hopeless.

On cross-examination Dr. Brodie said that he had performed no operation on Grunwald's eye. Doctor Pontoppiden examined Grunwald's eye a few days after he did. Doctor Pontoppiden was a Dane, a specialist, an occulist, and stood well in his profession; he was the author of several articles and medical journals which he (Doctor Brodie) had read.

Doctor Hagan was the next witness. Said he had studied in Starling Medical College, in Ohio, and in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York. Had been one year in Honolulu. Had seen Doctor Fitch perform four operations, for cataract, three of which were failures. One may have been a success. Had not known of the case since the operation. Would not himself attempt to perform an operation without the use of the opthalmoscope. Fitch admitted that he had no experience in eye operations, but said he wanted to become a practiced operator. I assisted at the operation on Grunwald's eye; but did not examine the eye before the operation. At Fitch's request I held the eye open, and he removed the lens. The fact that he could not see afterwards showed that the disease was amarousis and not cataract. In cataract, the successful operations were about ninety per cent. Fitch had told him that leprosy and syphilis were the same disease. Fitch classed leprosy sometimes as second, sometimes as third, and sometimes fourth stage of syphilis. Apparently he debated the question in his own mind. In his dispensary practice Fitch seemed to think that syphilis covered everything. He (Doctor Hagan) thought, from the history of the disease on these islands, from the history of the cases he had studied, and from the testimony of natives with whom he had talked, that leprosy is contagious. It is contagious, and so far as evidence goes, it is incurable. Syphilis, on the other hand, is one of the most satisfactory diseases with which a physician has to deal; it can almost certainly be cured in all its stages. It is just the reverse with leprosy. As to the contagion of leprosy in all its stages or in all cases, witness would not dare to answer. Should say that if a physician did not know how to make a test for albumen in urine, a part of his education had been neglected. It was a question whether the average physician had a right to make eye operations. In cases where the services of a specialist could not be secured, it was of course necessary that general practitioners should attempt such cases, but they ought to make the most careful study possible, before attempting an operation, and should make strict examinations of the eye with the ophalmoscope. Witness said it was impossible to do justice to the number of cases treated in daily practice at the dispensary by Docter Fitch, as they were hastily and imperfectly examined; and it was impossible in so short a time to make a thorough examination of so many

patients, or decide as to the nature of their diseases.

Mr. Henry Grunwald,—in answer to Mr. Dole—said:

I am blind of both eyes; lost sight of one some years before I lost sight of other. More than a year ago I consulted Doctor Brodie; also Doctor Pontoppidan; they both told me mine was a hopeless case; that my disease was one of the optic nerve. Afterwards showed my eyes to Doctor Fitch. He told me I had cataract, and thought he could cure it. After he operated I could see a little more light. He told me I would probably be able to see in three months after operation. He performed a second time by running a needle into the eye. I have not been able to see. I think Doctor Brodie and Doctor Pontoppidan told me my case was hopeless because I told them I was a poor man and had no money. During recess, Doctor Fitch put some money into my hand.

No cross examination.

Court adjourned to next day.

SATURDAY MORNING.

On Saturday morning Doctor Emerson was the first witness called. He testified as follows: Am in regular practice here. Received my education in Boston and New York. The course of study at the Harvard medical school was three years when I attended; it is now four. The course at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, is three years. [In answer to Judge Judd:] When I was in New York the course at Bellevue was three years. Have practiced here between four and five years. Have given special attention to leprosy. Consider it (not in etymological sense) contagious; by inoculation, assuredly so. It is contagious in about the same degree as syphilis and under similar conditions. Any absorbing surface may take in the virus of syphilis or of leprosy. There are necessarily cases in which ignorance of the cause of contagion is inevitable; but do not consider the operation of any natural law mysterious. Hawaiians generally, because of their habits, are more liable to leprosy than whites. As a rule, Hawaiians lack proper fear of leprosy, though many have pronounced fear of it. There is no identity between leprosy and syphilis. Know of lepers at large here; saw one this morning. Cannot say how many are at large, but, from the fact that I frequently meet them, should say there are a considerable number. I cannot say if they do or do not report at the dispensary. The face of the leper I saw this morning was new to me. Am not sure that I have seen more than two unmistakable lepers in the last sixty days. From my knowledge of medical colleges I should say that one reputable school would give credit for the time spent at another reputable school; that is, if college "A" were a school in first class standing, it would give credit for time passed at college "B," always provided that college "B" was of equally good standing. Bellevue Hospital is one of the best medical colleges in the United States. In any first class college it is absolutely necessary that students should be examined in everything contained in the curriculum. As a rule, it is neccesary that previous study should have been in a regular medical school, in order to be credited on the regular course of another regular school. I doubt if Bellevue would grant a diploma for an irregular course of study. In the Boston medical school, the term is eight months; ordinarily, from three to five months is a term; but pupils are supposed to study outside of regular terms. There are two terms in each year, a summer and a winter term; but it is not necessary that a student should attend the summer term if he is prepared to pass the examination of the winter term. I do not know of a reputable college that would grant a diploma for less than a three years course.

Leprosy is contagious under the same limitations as syphilis. Syphilis is less contagious in its late stages than in its earlier stages. In leprosy, the degree of contagiousness is different in different external manifestations. When leprosy is manifested by macula spots, or by anæsthesia only, it is not so contagious as when it takes the tubercular form, as manifested by mucuous patches or ulcers. It is difficult to say when leprosy is or is

not contagious, because there are great gaps in our knowledge. In considering the [hypothetical] cases, "A," "B" and "C," "A," is the anæsthetic form, "B," the tubercular form, with ulcers and patches, and "C," the form in which ulcers have disappeared, and spontaneous amputation has been followed by apparently healed fingers, toes or limbs. I do not think that a leper could continue in the state "C" for ten years. It is certainly improbable. If any leper had undergone great improvement for over five years, it would certainly be a remarkable case; but I should not believe he was cured until I had watched him to the end of his life. A eper continuing in the condition "C" for five years would be indeed a *rara avis*. In the condition "C," a leper would be less dangerous than if he were in the condition "B." In either of the conditions "A" or "C," a leper would be less dangerous than if in the condition "B;" but the tubercular form of leprosy when in the condition "C" is continually breaking out again. I have heard about a pamphlet announcing the cure of lepers in Norway, but have not seen the pamphlet. Have heard of reported cures in India, but think those cures were afterwards denied. Had charge of the leper settlement at Molokai, I should say for the greater part of eighteen months off and on; of the forty or less natives (not lepers) at the settlement, only two developed leprosy while I had charge. I developed no formula for the cure of leprosy. My efforts were tentative. I tried to find out what would do good in each case; sometimes a remedy that would relieve one case would do nothing for another. It is difficult to state the exact period of the incubation of leprosy. My personal belief is, that the period is quite long; I should say that five years was an average period and considerably under the maximum. I do not known of a case of continuous improvement for five years—treated or untreated. Sometimes macula spots disapper of themselves; sometimes spontaneous amputations heal of themselves; both may take place while the disease remains in the body.

David McCartney, the next witness, stated that he had been an apothecary for about ten years. Was not a graduate of pharmacy, but had been under the tuition of a man of large experience. Knew Doctor Fitch. Had put up prescriptions for him frequently in private practice. Had put up various combinations. Most of them contained iodide of potassium. Could not recall a single instance in which a prescription for internal use has not contained iodide of potash. Had heard Doctor Fitch talk about leprosy. Had heard him say he could and would cure leprosy. Heard him say this shortly after he came to Honolulu from Kauai. His exact words were: "I can cure it and I will cure it." Fitch had him test urine for the presence of acid and albumen. He brought urine to the store frequently; once he brought a vial to be tested for acid; said he had either forgotten or did not know how to use litmus paper, a very simple test, one with which every doctor should be familiar. Did not remember of ever having tested urine for any other doctor.

On cross-examination, the witness said he might have dispensed a prescription of Doctor Fitch's within the last week which did not contain iodide of potash. If he did, he had no recollection of it.

A. C. Smith testified: I was born on these islands and have always lived here. Have not been educated at a medical college, but have read medicine for over twenty years. Have had a great interest in leprosy, and have read everything I could find on the subject. Have studied leprosy generally, and in special cases. Have seen and treated it in the outer districts. Have been associated with regular physicians in the treatment of diseases; I know Doctor Fitch. Have talked with him about leprosy, syphilis and cataract. Began to have conversations with him soon after he came from Kauai. Fitch said leprosy and syphilis were one and the same disease. He said he could cure it. He did not explain that cure meant temporary improvement. Fitch said that Doctor Daniellsen, of Norway, claimed to be able to cure leprosy, and held that incipient stages could be cured always. Fitch said that he knew more about leprosy than any other man in the world. Fitch told me that he believed in segregating every case of syphilis. Fitch has rarely spoken to me about anything else than syphilis, leprosy and one or two cases of cataract. It was difficult to get him to talk of any other subject than leprosy and syphilis. I have been two or three times to the dispensary. The method of examination was almost always based on the supposition that every one who came there was either syphilitic or leprous. On no occasion did he do much more than look at the tongue. If the tongue was fissured, he said it was diagnostic of syphilis. His prescriptions generally contained iodide of potassium, according to what Doctor Fitch said; some of the medicines contained bi-chloride of mercury. He had seven prescriptions; the bottles used were filled by referring to numbers; the bottles were sent to the druggist who filled them according to the numbers. When I was present both rooms were full. Fitch took half a minute, a minute or two minutes to each case. I do not remember having seen Fitch examine the chest or feel the pulse of a single patient. He generally asked each patient if she or he had had syphilis before. I discussed with Fitch his peculiar style of diagnosis. In one case, a man appeared with chest trouble, having shortness of breath, with eyes puffed out, probably indicative of heart disease. Fitch asked the man to let him see his tongue. Fitch said the tongue showed fissures, distinctive of syphilis. I asked Fitch why he did not diagnose the case for chest trouble or heart disease, and he said he had no time. I said that the disease might be something which would be injured by the medicines given. Fitch said he had no time to make an examination. Fitch pronounced several persons leprous that I did not think were so—clean, tidy women that showed no external signs of leprosy. Fitch showed the arms of several women on which he said spots had disappeared. I asked if the spots were anæsthetic. Apparently he did not know, I remarked that it might be kane (a disease which resembles in appearance morphœa alba), the spots, not anæsthetic, resemble anæsthetic spots of leprosy. I know one or two persons that Fitch pronounced lepers that showed no signs of the disease at the time, and have not since. I talked with Doctor Fitch about cataract in the case of Grunwald. Mr. Grunwald was an old acquaintance of mine. He told me he had been to a Doctor Kraft, who had advised him to raise funds and go to New York for treatment. I doubted that he had cataract, and advised him as a friend to go to other physicians to have his eyes examined before taking the step advised by Doctor Kraft. I adviced him to go to Doctor Stangenwald or Doctor Brodie. He went to Doctor Brodie. On the advice of his wife, Mr. Grunwald afterwards went to consult Fitch. According to Grunwald's statement at the time, Fitch asked him if he would like to have an operation performed. Fitch told me that he had performed several operations here—seven or eight, I think. He said that some of the cases had recovered sight for a time, but that inflammation has prevented perfect restoration. I think he said vision was destroyed by inflammation from syphilitic iritis in every case. I think he said he had no experience till he came here. I went to Kakaako Hospital with Doctor Fitch in March or April of this year; went all round with him, saw all the rooms, saw his dispensary room, his photographing apparatus and his photographs, and learned his methods of treatment. While there I saw Sumner. Doctor Fitch said he wanted to show me a man I must know, an old timer. I did not recognize Sumner at first. Doctor Fitch asked me in Sumner's presence if I did not consider him a cured leper. Out of delicacy, wishing not to hurt Sumner's feelings, I gave him an evasive answer—to the effect that if he had improved under treatment, as Fitch said he had, it would be well to keep him there until the cure might be assured. I did not consider Sumner a cured leper, and did not so tell Fitch. I saw Sam Kamoahakau, the Lahaina leper, on board the Likelike, on the Tuesday following

his discharge from the hospital. Sam's name was mentioned in a newspaper article as a leper that had been cured. As I believed him to be still a leper, I went to see him in company with Doctor Hagan. He had a tubercle under one eye, and a sore finger. I knew Sam in Lahaina ten or eleven years ago. First discovered that he had leprosy about a year ago. When I was at the hospital, Doctor Fitch asked me about a leper boy who had apparently no skin disease, and wanted to know if there was any reason why he should not be allowed to leave the hospital. I said that his hands were paralyzed, the muscles next to useless, and that he was unmistakably a leper. Doctor Fitch said, that segregation at Kakaako could not be strictly enforced, as the lepers climbed over the fence whenever they pleased. Fitch then said that he wanted to build a fence outside the present fence, but that he was thwarted by Mr. Gibson and outside influence. He told me that certain lepers were allowed to go out on an order of the president of the board of health, against his wish. When Doctor Fitch talked of the identity of syphilis and leprosy, he based his belief upon similarity in sores, aching bones, anæsthesia, etc. He mentioned as his principal authority a French writer named Fournier, (quoted by Bumpstead and Taylor.) Shortly after Doctor Fitch came here from Kauai, he talked about his plans for the medical supervision of the islands. He proposed a bill to be introduced in the legislature making him medical director of the whole group, at a salary of $7,000 a year. Doctor Rodgers, or Doctor Hagan, was to be his assistant. He asked me to use my influence with the native members of the legislature in behalf of the bill. A bill of that sort was introduced, I believe. I think by Kaunamano of Hamakua, and think it was not passed. As to the theory of identity, he said it was his own discovery. When I asked him how it was possible that such dematologists as Erasmus Wilson and Tilbury Fox, who had studied such questions so closely and over so great an extent of years, should have missed the discovery if it were so; he remarked that: The world had not found out how to stand an egg on end, until that old fool Columbus had showed them how. After Fitch published his letter in the Saturday Press, he asked me what I was going to say in answer. I said I did not know, if at all. He told me that if I did answer him, he would come back at me. He said Fournier was a big authority, and that he had plenty of ammunition left. He said many people had congratulated him upon his article. He said Doctor Damon and Mr. E. O. Hall had taken him by the hand and told him, that the last paragraph suited their views entirely. That par agraph was to the effect that none but licentious persons could receive the disease. I asked him what he meant by that paragraph, and he said, "Oh, that was molasses to catch flies." I said something disparaging of the remark, and he said that it did not do to be quarreling all the time. He said he was tired and wanted to go home to California. I told Doctor Fitch that he had thrown down the gauntlet and no one was to blame but himself for the treatment he had received. The only new points brought out in cross-examinations were, that the witness knew of at least one man who had been cured of leprosy by Hillebrand. And that the witness recommended Sam to go to Dr. Fitch, as *at that time*, he believed the doctor to be enthusiastic, energetic and conscientious.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

The court assembled at 1 P.M.

Mr. Gerke called: Am a dealer in live stock. Have lived on the islands five years, first at Honolulu, then at Hanalei, Kauai; know Dr. Fitch; have heard him say that leprosy was the fourth stage of syphilis, and that he was prepared to cure it; that he had the cure in his pocket, that it came from Norway. Doctor Fitch said he thought he could better his condition by earning the reward of $200 offered for the cure of each case of leprosy; he went to Honolulu, and returned and stated that he had been appointed physician to the branch hospital: he examined several cases at Hanalei; one man (Kuku) taken as a leper to Honolulu by order of Doctor Fitch; Mr. Koelling said the man was not a leper; Kuku came back to Kauai; he is now fireman on Princeville plantation; his nose is flat; all his children have flat noses; the man had always done his work on the plantation; I was bookkeeper on the plantation; I know of another case, a man sick with consumption; Fitch said the man was well enough to work; the man's contract was cancelled, and he was sent to China; when two days at sea the man died.

Cross-examined by Mr. Russell: Heard of the Chinaman's death at sea from a companion who returned from the trip. I distinctly remember about the case of the fireman sent up to Honolulu as a leper. Am sure Fitch ordered the man Kuku to be taken. Mr. Koelling offered to bet Fitch that the man would return. He did return. Fitch said Kuku was cured.

Mr. Mehrtens called: Am a police officer in Honolulu; know Doctor Fitch; had conversation with Fitch when he first came to Honolulu; he said that he could cure leprosy; he examined persons at the station house; he looked at the tongues of some of the police officers and said they had leprosy in their systems; said that cracks in their tongue showed it; they were not treated that I know of; they are there yet; he examined my tongue; he said I might have leprosy; in my opinion this was a joke.

Cross-examined by Mr. Russell: Fitch did not say anything about syphilis when examining officers; this was some time ago.

Dr. Rodgers sworn: Am a physician in practice in Honolulu; heard Dr. Fitch's testimony in regard to dispensary during his absence on Molokai; I think his testimony a gross perversion of facts; am still assistant at the dispensary; in February last, Dr. Fitch went to Molokai; had no notice of his departure until I read it in the newspapers. I went to the dispensary in the morning, found the dispensary gate locked, reported in person to the secretary of the board of health; the secretary said he knew nothing regarding it; I then wrote a note to the secretary of the board, February 7, 1883. The next morning the dispensary was open; I made certain inquiries, the result was that I wrote another note to the secretary, dated February 8th; the purport of the note was that from information I was satisfied that the closing of the dispensary was in consequence of Dr. Fitch's orders. I applied for the position as assistant physician at Kalawao leper settlement last December; only heard Fitch say on one occasion that Mr. Gibson wanted him to go to the settlement as resident physician, that he (Fitch) was the only man who knew how to handle a leper; he said he did not know whether to go or not. I advised him to go. What he stated here was directly opposite to that told to me by him up to about April; the number of individuals entered upon the dispensary books as lepers, was one thousand; the books are now missing.

Cross-examined by Mr. Russell: If a physician advertises in a modest way his specialty, it is not considered against the code of ethics. Have a diploma from the medical department of New York University. I had no key to the dispensary; did not think place was ever locked. Dr. Fitch was the chief; I was only his assistant. Do not remember that I went there again the day that I found the place locked; do not know whether the dispensary was open that day or not. I have frequently visited the branch leper hospital; I have not treated patients at the branch hospital independently of Dr. Fitch. A note unsigned was handed the witness and he said regarding it, I wrote the note submitted to me; these are the contents: "My own position to be at $3,000, when your $5,000 commences; also a new commission as physician to leper asylum and branch hospital. I believe Gibson wants to conciliate me. My present position as assistant to the doctor, instead of to the hospital, is not satisfactory." Note must have been written by me after my appointment as assistant. Do not know the date.

W. M. Gibson, premier: My occupation is that of public officer of this kingdom; am president of the board of health; my commission dates May 20, 1883; have been present at the branch hospital on several occasions, when

lepers were discharged; I was present on the occasion of the discharge of patients in June. I am proprietor of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser newspaper; that is, I am one of those chiefly interested. I recognize the article entitled, "Lepers cured and discharged" as having been published in that paper June 5th. I am not the editor of the paper, although I am consulted and give my opinions. Remember the occasion of the discharge of lepers mentioned. His majesty and members of the board of health were present. The patients were discharged on the joint responsibility of the board of health and the physician in charge; they were discharged in consequence of there being no apparent evidence of disease. Remember that I thought at the time that the heading of the article "Lepers cured and discharged" was incorrect, and placed over article by mistake. The witness said he could not give the name of the writer, but Mr. Dole said he did not desire to know. Remember Sumner; it was understood that he was to remain with his family; he was, it may be said, discharged on leave. It was spoken of, but not enjoined on him to stay on the reef. There are printed forms to be filled in, in case of discharge. Some forty or fifty patients were discharged from the leper hospital last year. Only one physician approved of the case and that was Doctor Fitch. The opinion of the physician in charge was on the printed form in use at the branch hospital; I cannot recall the exact wording of the certificate; there was present the physician in charge; another physician who was expected to be present was ill; as there was only one physician present, the members of the board, being laymen, wished to have a chance to examine those about to be discharged. The men were stripped, to show that there was no break nor sore on their bodies. Sumner was so examined; he was clean in body. Understood that it was safe for Sumner to go at large. Remember report being presented in legislature regarding resident physicians at Kalawao. I did ask Dr. Fitch to go to Kalawao about six months ago. He was willing to go and reside there, but thought he could not be spared from the dispensary; he said he was not afraid of leprosy. I knew something about the article (in the newspaper) before it was published. I suggested to one of the writers that something be said about the lepers being discharged. The patients were discharged, because the physician advised that some were cured and safe to be liberated. At one time I told Dr. Fitch that I thought he might have to go to Molokai as medical superintendent; the matter has been left in abeyance; he and his wife seemed to be willing to go; in addition to leaving the dispensary, it was said that nobody was there when Dr. Fitch was not there; that people would leave the dispensary if Dr. Fitch went away.

By Mr. Russell: Leprosy has claimed my attention only partially; I am not familiar with the medical treatment of physicians at leper hospital, prior to Doctor Fitch; I know of no cases of lepers being discharged as cured during Doctor Emerson's administration; I know of some forty who have been discharged from the branch leper hospital, and about twenty from the leper settlement since Doctor Fitch's administration. I think Doctor Fitch's treatment has been favorable, whatever his medical skill may be; he has inspired confidence in the mind of the natives.

By Mr. Dole: The people mentioned were discharged on Doctor Fitch's statement and signature only. Mr. Dole read the article headed "Lepers cured and discharged," which had appeared in the Advertiser, and Mr. Gibson continued: Thought article incorrect at the time, and after publication had said so to one of the writers, and suggested the preparation of an article that would correct the impression of "cured lepers." Neither myself nor the members of the board regarded the patients discharged as cured lepers. Have not understood that Doctor Fitch asserted in any case that the people discharged were lepers, and had been cured. Doctor Trousseau was the physician who was expected to be present; I think his name will appear on one or more certificates of discharge.

Doctor Brodie recalled; Fixed the date of his treatment of Grunwald as August, 1881, for six weeks.

Doctor Hagan was recalled on a point relating to the man Sam, described by Mr. A. C. Smith, but his testimony was objected to, objection being sustained by the court.

T. G. Thrum sworn: Am publisher and proprietor of the Saturday Press; published the article on which the libel is based for the public good; have published articles on the subject of leprosy several times; the article published April 22, 1882, appeared with my knowledge. It was published during my absence in San Francisco, but I was aware of the contents before publication. I consider the matter of leprosy as of vital importance to this community, on account of the numbers of lepers at large. Consider it the duty of the press to be correct on the subject.

Mr. Dole, for the defense, here rested his case, and, after a short recess, the following rebuttal testimony was introduced by the prosecution:

George Smith, examined by Mr. Hatch: Am engaged in the drug business; have tested urine for one other physician in Honolulu besides Doctor Fitch; have put up prescriptions for Doctor Fitch not containing iodide of potassium.

Doctor Stangenwald, examined by Mr. Hatch: Am a physician and chemist in Honolulu; know Doctor Fitch; have visited the branch hospital once; spent half a day there. I saw a number of cases that seemed to be very much improved from their former condition; in some cases I consider Doctor Fitch's treatment legitimate; have acquaintance with leprosy in India. Leprosy can be improved by treatment, in many cases, but it is incurable. It is not equally contagious in all stages. The standing of Bellevue Hospital, New York, is good.

By Mr. Dole: I do not think I know the case of a cure by Doctor Hillebrand; I should be very cautious how I accepted statements of supposed cured cases. I saw Mr. Sumner at the branch hospital before his discharge; I examined him; he appeared very much improved, still he was a leper; the fact is acknowledged everywhere that it is not safe for lepers to mingle with the community; think that the disease has remained in abeyance as long as ten years, in India; leprosy is essentially a blood disease; it may remain latent for many years; anything that tends to lower vital power tends to develop the disease. Syphilis could no more produce leprosy than a cocoanut could produce an apple tree.

William Phillips, a half-white, examined: Have been under Doctor Fitch's treatment for leprosy; I did not think I had leprosy, but Doctor Fitch told me I had; I am now quite well.

Kaao examined: Have been at the branch hospital for lepers; was sent there because the doctors said I had the leprosy; my condition was very much improved by Fitch's treatment since I first went there; I am not yet discharged; the photograph produced is of me when I first went there. (The picture shown represented the subject with greatly swelled arms and face.)

Mr. Dole objected to the testimony as not rebuttal. Mr. Russell said that the defense had endeavored to prove the truth of charges made against Doctor Fitch in the article, to prove that he was a quack, charlatan, etc., and these lepers were produced to show that Doctor Fitch's treatment was beneficial.

Mr. Dole's objection was overruled by the court.

[Proceeding, Mr. Dole, for the defense, desired the witness to take off his shirt and expose his back. There seemed to be some reluctance on the part of the patient to do so, but he finally removed the covering and exposed a back which told a story in itself, being covered with macules and tubercles, a most repulsive sight. *En passant*, it is proper to mention that his honor told the prosecution to keep the witnesses suspected of a taint of leprosy out of the witness pox proper, Mr. Sumner, Miss Aylett, this witness and the three following being sworn standing in front of the clerk's table.]

Kepaaina, examined by Mr. Hatch: Am

living at the branch leper hospital under Doctor Fitch's treatment, for leprosy. I was arrested and sent there as a leper [photograph shown to the jury as he was upon entering]. By Mr. Dole: There is some disease in my left hand yet.

At request, the witness unrolled the covering on the diseased hand, and rolled up his sleeve, showing hand and arm to the jury.

Mary Pinau examined: Am living now at Kawaiahao, at the house of a man named Kaua; have been under treatment by Doctor Fitch for leprosy, at the branch leper hospital; was benefited by the treatment; there is a great change in my appearance; was sent to the branch leper hospital by the government. Doctor Fitch said I was to go to the settlement at Kakaako. Doctor Trosseau afterwards examined me.

Kamakaoilani examined: Have been under treatment of Dr. Fitch for leprosy; was sent to the branch leper hospital; I went to Dr. Fitch myself, and asked if he would let me go to the hospital; no other doctor examined me; my face was very much worse than it is now; my forehead was overhanging.

Charles Tryer examined: Have been under Dr. Fitch's treatment for leprosy, as I was told; Dr. Brodie told me I had leprosy, and Dr. McKibbin; Dr. Trosseau examined me, but did not tell me what was the matter; the result of Dr. Fitch's treatment was very good; he gave me medicine for one month; I went home and have improved; have been improving ever since; my toe broke out so that I could not get a boot on; was under treatment by Dr. Brodie; he did me no good; the foot is entirely well, except a small hole in one toe; there is no numbness; before it was numb; was not able to work before I went to him; am able now to work.

Cross-examined: Am living at Koolau; the government arrested me as a leper and then sent me home again. [The witness took off his shoes and stockings and showed his feet to the jury.] Have been wearing shoes for three days; no pain from the sores; some of the bones have come out of both of the sore toes.

Witness No. 24 examined: Although the name of this witness was given, he desired through his honor that no publicity be given to it in the papers, and he is therefore known as No. 24, that being his number in the order of witnesses. He said: My wife has had leprosy four years; she is now in the leper hospital; have been married to her eight years; have lived with her up to two months ago.

By Mr. Dole: My wife says she has the leprosy; she has been at Kakaako two months; have lived with her up to that time; have had two doctors attending her; the doctors said my wife had the leprosy about four years ago; Dr. Thompson of Kohala said so; I do not know that I have got the leprosy.

Dr. Fitch, in rebuttal, said: Heard Mr. Mehrten's testimony; some of the native police asked me if there was anything the matter with them; I spoke in a joking way; I told them they all had it bad; I had no litmus paper at the time I asked Mr. McCartney to make the test for me. Witness described his methods of using litmus paper.

With regard to Keku, his wife was a leper, and he asked to come to Honolulu from Kauai with her and be examined. Doctors here said he was not a leper, and he was sent back. Did not recollect speaking to Gerke; did have conversation with Koelling. Had heard portion of Doctor Rodger's statement; did not lock the door, did the drawer.

By Mr. Dole: Carried the key of the drawer in my pocket. Doctor Rodgers never complained to me. First knew of it by drawer being smashed. Did not speak to Mr. Gerke to-day nor yesterday. Have a good memory. I found leaves gone from the record book, and then I locked the drawer. Forgot the proper way to use litmus paper, have to refer to the book.

By Mr. Hatch: Have given Mr. McCartney a prescription lately to put up for me that did not contain iodide of potassium.

This closed the evidence.

MR. DOLE'S ADDRESS.

In his opening address to the jury, for the defense, Mr. Dole spoke in substance as follows: I am sorry that you have been detained so long in a case like this which has presented such disagreeable and painful phases, but the public importance of this case has made it necessary for us to go to the bottom of it. I will be as brief as I can in commenting upon it. The evidence is so great in quantity that it will be impossible for me to refer to it in detail, and unnecessary also, for I am sure that you all remember it well; I need, therefore, but refer to its most salient point: This is a case in which the most important question before the Hawaiian nation is being tried on its merits. The community have from time to time become alarmed on the question of leprosy, and then the rush of business and other interests have driven it aside, and society with its pleasures and its cares has allowed itself to go to sleep in the face of the greatest danger that has ever threatened it. It is well that society should be awakened from this sleep, and I believe that this case of libel you have been so long considering, in which Doctor Fitch is the prosecuting witness and Mr. Thrum the defendant, will accomplish this.

Leprosy is the worst known disease of the present and historic times. It has successfully defied medical skill. Physicians have not been able to say whence it comes or to explain its laws. It has always and everywhere been found to be incurable. It attacks all races, and all classes; no rank in life is safe, adults and children are alike exposed to its ravages. Medical skill can make no limit, no assurance can be given from the lessons of experience against this most terrible, most loathesome and most hopeless of all human diseases. But Doctor Fitch has come, like a new Columbus breaking an egg, to tell the people of this nation that leprosy is identical with syphilis, a disease which is remarkably amenable to medical treatment and is undoubtedly curable. It is for discussing this theory of Doctor Fitch and criticising his statements and methods in applying it, that the defendant is charged with the crime of libel. The subject is one of vast interest to the whole community. Nearly all of the physicians of this country have been studying the disease of leprosy for years; they have not hesitated to expose themselves to its contagion, have patiently investigated its nature, trying to discover some clue that might lead them to some method of treatment which would conquer a disease which has hitherto been found unconquerable. All the physicians here agree, with one exception, and that one exception is Doctor Fitch, that leprosy is altogether distinct from syphilis. All the great medical authorities over the world, without exception, support this view. Upon this question depends the moral, social and commercial future of the Hawaiian Islands.

The law of libel is intended to afford protection against the publication of injurious, false and malicious statements. If criticism of officials is true and published for justifiable ends, it is praiseworthy no matter how damaging it may be to the official referred to. It is right to insist upon the strictest accountability of public officers. Who may as properly and effectively insist upon this accountability as independent journalists? If the laws be administered for other motives than the public good, if ulterior ends be considered, if outside influences are allowed to have weight, the ends of law are defeated. It is the privilege of every newspaper to comment upon the faulty, methods, the improper action, or the bad official character of any public servant. It is not only a privilege but a duty. If the public journals do not spread before us the incompetence, the irregularities, the improper or unlawful conduct of officials, who will? The newspaper that neglects its duty in this respect is not worhty of the name. Now the existing management of this matter of leprosy is more important to this community than any other question. It goes to the pocket of every taxpayer. It is a menace to property, to society, to health and life. It is the great public question, and Doctor Fitch is its principal exponent. The legislature and the government have

given him great powers. He is the chief executive officer in the treatment of leprosy. He is an agent of the board of health, with the law and the police at his back. He has more power for good or ill than any other officer in the kingdom; and though his rank may be lower and his salary less than that of other officers, he holds to-day the most important office under the Hawaiian Government, for on the proper exercise of the authority of his office depends the health, the wealth and the future of the realm; and if he may not be held to a strict accountability, if his methods and professional conduct be not fair subjects of newspaper inquiry and condemnation, then there is no such thing as freedom of the press and free speech in the kingdom. We all know something about leprosy. We have read something of its history here and elsewhere, and we have doubtless gathered from the medical testimony during the trial much additional information about this dreadful disease. We are all familiar with its appearance. No disease was ever so fearful, none so hopeless. It is not a mere matter of life and death, but of worse than death; for in its course death begins years before life ends. Life to the leper is worthless, and worse than worthless. He is loathsome to others, and most loathsome of all to himself. In the middle ages, leprosy extensively prevailed and segregation and nothing else has driven it into the corners of Europe. How is it here? I tell you, gentlemen, the government is playing with this disease. When you see the king and the board of health, all laymen, going on a kind of picnic party to the Kakaako hospital, taking with them one—only one—physician, out of the three medical inspectors of lepers, examining the patients, having them stripped, and, upon the advice of that one physician with his unsupported theories, turning nine of them loose upon the community, and then writing the affair up in a newspaper, I say it is worse than child's play. And they dare to do this when every medical man in the kingdom, except one, says that such action is dangerous to the public at large—and that on is Doctor Fitch, the prosecuting witness in this case. Is it not a comendable thing in a journalist, week in and week out, year in and year out, to fight this kind of thing and to denounce the man who has aided and abetted this outrage, and others like it? If the most influential medical office in the gift of the government is held by a man who is unworthy to hold it, is it not the duty of newspapers to say so? This man is medical superintendent of the leper settlement on Molokai, is in charge of the public dispensary in this city, is physician of the branch hospital on the outskirts of the city, is an agent of the board of health, with power to arrest, imprison and segregate every leper that he can find, and it is his duty under the law to do so. This man can stamp his action for good or ill upon the future of the whole Hawaiian race, and upon all classes of this community. We have had medical testimony that leprosy is seen daily on our streets, is found in public places of resort, and among government employes. It is the clearly defined duty of Doctor Fitch to carry out the law of segregation. How has he done it? We find him with his two theories, that leprosy and syphilis are identical, and that leprosy in certain stages is not contagious, or is not contagious at all, as he says in his printed statements. If he confined his theories to private practice we might have less ground for noticing them. But to experiment with his theories at the risk of the whole community and in defiance alike of medical testimony and public opinion is an outrage. He admits that Mr. Sumner was discharged upon his recommendation. It was said that Sumner was to be isolated at a private house at Fisherman's point. But he was not isolated at that place. He remained there a few days and removed to a house in the heart of the city, near the Hawaiian Hotel; has been to Waikiki; is free, in fact, to go where he likes and to associate with whom he likes. And there is the unfortunate young lady who, I believe, is a fine school teacher, who has been treated by Fitch for leprosy for more than a year. She has been allowed to carry on a large school of little children

for all this time, children who have not the knowledge and discretion of adults in regard to this disease; is not this almost like murder? And yet the prosecuting witness says he believes in segregation. Is not such action worthy of all the condemnation that can be conveyed with types and printer's ink? Does it not call for more severe invective than has yet appeared in any paper?

Taxpayers have a right to inquire into the stewardship of their servants: have a right to know what officials are doing and why. If a defamatory article be true and is published from no unworthy motive, it is not a libel, no damages have been sustained and no punishment ought to follow. This defendant has no ax to grind. He has the same interest that you have in this subject. In the exposure of great wrongs, strong language is necessary; milk and water remarks are useless. Doctor Fitch is not on trial before you, as you may have imagined, from the efforts of the counsel for the prosecution to limit the introduction of evidence on the part of the defense. The liberty of the press is on trial. You are to decide whether it be worthy of praise or blame to try to prevent official abuse. You are to decide whether it is desirable or not to restrict truth. As Anglo-Saxons,—as members of a national stock to whom belief in free speech and a free press is a cardinal principle and for which your ancestors have been ready to fight, to you I appeal to guard this great privilege. What would we be to-day without an independent press? Without it the tendency here would be away from liberalism and toward unconstitutional government; this tendency is alone held in check by the presence here of an independent press representing a healthy public sentiment. There are two or three or four small sheets fighting this battle; but they are independent. Let us keep them so; let us not drown their protest till the offenses of misgovernment are reduced to a minimum, till the nation's life shall be altogether in the hands of honorable men.

The physicians of the world, with the single exception of Doctor Fitch, agree that leprosy is contagious. It is not safe to let a single leper associate with those who are uncontaminated. It is Fitch against the world. He has been unable to produce a single medical opinion in favor of his belief. Doctor Trousseau has told you that he fears the possibility of leprous inoculation by means of fleas, mosquitos and flies, and that in France a certain disease is transmitted through a kind of fly. How would it be here, in the years when those purple flies abound, whose bite ordinarily is dangerous, should they become charged with the deadly virus of leprosy? Imagine a south wind to send a hundred million of mosquitos from yonder hospital on the reef to the homes of Honolulu; who can defend himself or his family from such possible messengers of infection? I say to you that the hospital at Kakaako is a standing menace to the safety of every man, woman and child in this city. It is not a detention hospital, but a permanent hospital. And now as to the use of the terms used in the article complained of: The article uses the words "quack," "charlatan," "knave," "rogue" and "ignorant pretender," not absolutely "ignorant pretender," but "comparative ignorant pretender." Now, quack means a boastful pretender to medical skill, and a charlatan means about the same. I leave it to you if the evidence does not show these words to have been correctly used. Knavery means in law dishonesty, not financial dishonesty necessarily, but a slight sense of honor. What about the eye practice? Two witnesses state that Doctor Fitch admitted that he had no experience in eye operations before coming here. He wants to learn, and he takes advantage of his position at the government dispensary to get some experience in this line. He uses no opthalmoscope, and he has put poor fellows to the pain and danger of an operation, when he might have known that there was not the slightest chance of doing good. He performs the operation for cataract on Grunwald when he was incurably blind, as he might have ascertained if he had been a competent physician, and he promises him he will have his sight in three months after the

operation, when he ought to have known, as Doctor Brodie stated, that after an operation for cataract the patient will see immediately, if he is going to see at all. It is painful to think of this man going around recklessly slashing the eyes of trusting natives and others for the sake of acquiring experience. The article charges him with being a "comparatively ignorant pretender." There is his diploma. It is in Latin; I do not know exactly what it says, but it has a respectable look. It is not the diploma referred to in the license to practice in California. It is dated March 1st, 1870, whereas the diploma referred to in that license was dated the 26th of February, 1870. This could not have been a clerical error, as both the month and the day of the month differ. There may have been an honest mistake in regard to this difference of dates, but I submit it to you as it stands. But a diploma simply gives a man's standing at the time of his graduation. Thirteen years afterwards his standing is decided by his success and his methods. Whatever Doctor Fitch has been doing all these thirteen years, he has hardly held to the knowledge required for obtaining a medical diploma. Why should he have come to these islands three years ago at a salary of $75 or $125 a month? The litmus paper test is significant. Mr. McCartney said that Fitch asked him how to use litmus paper in testing for acid and alkali. Doctor Fitch, on the stand, after stating that he thought he had a very good memory, said that he never could remember about using litmus paper and always had to turn to his books to ascertain the correct way. He also spoke of two or three kinds of litmus paper, whereas there can only be two kinds. In the management of the dispensary, Doctor Fitch testified to having on occasions, or on one occasion, as many as three hundred and twenty-two patients in one day, and that he diagnosed the whole of these and prescribed for them in six hours, which allows about a minute and a half for each one. Does not this sound like quackery? He recommends to the board of health that a resident physician be stationed at Kalawao, and when Doctor Rogers—a good physician, as he admits—offers to take the place, he opposes it because it will diminish his own salary, and the poor unfortunates at Kalawao go without a resident physician. It seems to me, gentlemen of the jury, that looking at the evidence in this case, together with Doctor Fitch's published articles and his testimony in the case, we may find that the article complained of as a libel, is substantially correct and appropriate to the occasion. We find Doctor Fitch's own statements often utterly inconsistent with each other, even in the limits of the same article. Over and over again in these articles does he profess to insist upon strict segregation. In practice he cares nothing for it. Sometimes he says leprosy is neither infectious nor contagious, and again shows it to be so easily transmitted that it may be taken by smoking the same pipe or eating poi with lepers. It is apparent that in his published articles he has stated a good deal to catch the eye of the public, but which he never intended to reduce to practice, and which he never has put to practice. At the hospital at Kakaako segregation is a sham. The patients climb over the palisade and escape, and friends communicate through the palings. I believe, gentlemen, that you fully understand the case in all its bearings and its great public importance. I submit to you the interests of the defendant, Mr. Thrum, on trial before you for his liberty, and the interests of the free press and of free speech in the Hawaiian Islands. I thank you for the patience and attention with which you have followed the course of this long trial, and listened to my arguments.

MR. RUSSELL'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Russell then rose for the prosecution and said: The counsel for the defense said the doctors of this country fought this dreadful disease of leprosy at their own risk; if this be true, which one of them has done any more than Fitch; has any one done as much, or half as much? Doctor Fitch tells you, and he is not contradicted, that in the dispensary they come there to be treated for syphilis and leprosy; when the natives knew it was the best thing to do, they flocked there by hundreds. It was his duty as the medical representative of the government to encourage that which he had instilled in the native mind, and which was this, that the better course for them was to come forward and be treated for whatever diseases they had, and more particularly leprosy, and not hide away in caverns and garrets, as had been their custom before the kindly influences of Fitch, which educated them to the standard of offering themselves for treatment; I contend that Fitch performed that which good judgment dictated; I contend that his treatment was just such as to nurse the native mind, and no man has cultivated that principle more than he. Is that reckless treatment? Reference was made to the fact that doctors meet lepers in the street every day; the only evidence on that point was given by Doctor Emerson. He saw two new acquaintances, and they were lepers, in sixty days. It is said that Fitch's theory was his own. I don't pretend that a man's success is a proof of his ability, because hundreds of the ablest men have been failures; the attempt is made to drag Fitch into disrepute in comparing him to Columbus, who discovered America; Jenner was mobbed for his discovery of inoculation as a preventive of small-pox.

A great deal of stress was laid on the case of Miss Agnes Aylett. A year ago she went to Doctor Fitch; he told her he thought she had leprosy and he treated her for it; she is not a private patient; she is a dispensary patient; she told you that the black spots that were on her person have disappeared under the treatment of Doctor Fitch; she has not suspended a single day in her vocation of schoolmistress; would any of you suppose from her appearance that she was a pronounced leper? Doctor Emerson said in the early stages of leprosy it was less contagious than in its advanced stage. As to the independence of the press, I am at a loss to understand what it is intended to convey. If the "liberties of the press" are meant, that, I understand. If you rank the fourth estate greater than the government, then the government had better collapse. There has been nothing unfavorable presented to you that affects the diploma of Doctor Fitch. The vigor he has shown in his former life, in order to attain his present position, is highly commendable. He went onward and onward until he reached the point that he sought to achieve. Reference has been made to his methods of dispensing. Doctor Hagan told you what occurred at the dispensary during the two or three visits that he made. There was not an instance shown you where a mistake had occurred through the want of attention on the part of Doctor Fitch. A good deal has been said about letting these lepers go from the branch hospital amongst the community; it is not exclusively the work of Doctor Fitch; Doctor Trousseau said he had signed papers allowing five persons to leave the branch hospital; he did not say they were persons that were there by mistake. Allowing these persons to go abroad is not in conflict with Fitch's theory.

If it be true that it is not dangerous for Miss Aylett to be abroad, how could it be said that it was dangerous for Sumner to be at large? Fitch does not say that every stage is entirely non-contagious. Four or five persons were presented here to illustrate Doctor Fitch's theory. The photographs also presented were taken at the time of their entry into the hospital, and I claim it showed a wide gap between their former and present condition. Instead of being a sorry picture, it is a picture of which Doctor Fitch ought to be proud, of which the community ought also to be proud. Can it be said of a man that attains such results that he is a "quack?"

[The learned counsel analysed in detail the various cases that had been presented to the jury during the afternoon, showing that the theories had been carried out and the means had been effectual in removing the previous ghastly appearance of the patients. He also referred to the testimony of Doctor Rogers with regard to the dispensary being closed on a certain occasion; also, to the operation on the eye by Doctor Fitch.]

How far does all that has been shown and told you convince you that Fitch is a "charlatan" and a "quack?" The article in question, instead of representing the liberties of the press, represents the abuse of the liberties of the press. The press is a power. What has Mr. Thrum done towards stamping out this dire calamity from our district? Which of them is the quack, Thrum or Fitch? "By their deeds ye shall know them." Has Thrum presented any tangible evidences of his theory? I agree that if the liberties of the press were muzzled, it would be detrimental to the public interests. Is not Fitch the victim of a despotism of the press, and for which he brings the press before the bar of justice? Mr. Daggett, minister resident of our powerful neighbor, the United States, in his introductory remarks in opening the exercises of the Americans a few days ago, July 4th, was pleased to say: "I see before me representatives of nearly all the nationalities of the world —Germans, Scandinavians, Englishmen, Irishmen and the gentle Hawaiian, who comes here with his kindly *aloha* to welcome the stranger within his gates." If Mr. Daggett had ransacked the vocabulary, he could not have found a more appropriate word than "gentle," to describe the native character. Shall not we, as strangers within his gates, extend our kindly aid, our heartiest *aloha* to him, and endeavor by every act to aid and succour him, and exert our every energy to ward off and finally stamp out this dire disease which threatens his national existence? I take it that it is a duty incumbent on every one of us to do so. Has not Doctor Fitch done this? What has Mr. Thrum done looking to this conclusion? Comparatively nothing, save the writing and publishing of such articles as these from the comfortable editorial room, while Doctor Fitch exposes himself to many inconveniences of travel, and the risk of being poisoned himself by this terrible malady. I ask you to consider the whole subject, not only from a personal standpoint, but from a national stondpoint, and there is nothing left for me but to add my thanks for you patience and attention, and I leave the case with you.

In the midst of Mr. Russell's speech, about 7 o'clock, a recess for supper was had. After Mr. Russsell's close, came the charge.

CHARGE TO THE JURY.

At the conclusion of Mr. Russell's address, Judge Judd charged the jury (in brief) as follows: He spoke of the case as one of national importance and said that great interest was shown in it, greater than had been evidenced in many murder trials. The court-room had been filled with spectators during the past two days. He said to the jury that if they found a verdict of guilty, it must be of first or second degree. Criminal action for libel was justified by the usage and experience of all nations. Since the first penal code of this kingdom, made in 1850, there had been a libel law on the statue books. The whole of the article must be considered. The first issue was: could the article fairly be considered as applying to Doctor Fitch; the second, were its applications true or false; the third, was it published for justifiable ends. If true, and published maliciously and without justifiable ends, it would still be libelous; but, if true and printed for motives of public good, or if it could not be found to apply to Doctor Fitch, then the defendant must be found not guilty. It was not necessary to prove the literal accuracy of every epithet used; but if the general scope of the charges stand proved by the evidence, and the general intention of the publication be proven to be good, then the accusation of libel is not sustained, The importance of the office held by the prosecuting witness could not be overestimated. If, by any means, these islands should become a plague spot, the effect would be more important upon the future of the nation than the withdrawal of the reciprocity treaty. If the medical man in charge of all those supposed to be afflicted with leprosy should assert and believe that leprosy is not contagious, and succeed in producing a general acquiescence in this belief, the public fears would be lulled, and persons be less likely to be careful in keeping themselves from contagion. The injury which such a course of conduct might entail is untold. And the Saturday Press could not sustain its character as a leader or as an exponent of public opinion, or a guardian of the welfare of the country, if it did not expose the falsity of such an opinion—that is, if leprosy is in fact contagious. So also, if the medical superintendent and the agent of the health, who has by law almost unlimited powers, shall by his published reports to the legislature, or by his other printed articles or spoken words, induce a general belief that leprosy and syphilis are identical, the result would be, that those who are living pure and moral lives would become careless as to the exposure of themselves or their children by mere contact with lepers—believing sexual intercouse, by which syphilis is commonly taken, to be the only way in which they could take leprosy, and keeping themselves free from that. So, if Doctor Fitch should persuade people generally that leprosy is curable, people would become indifferent, and say: "I have the means of employing a physician; it matters not if I take leprosy. I can be cured." It has been often stated that among people where leprosy is less feared, it spreads with greater rapidity than where it is more feared. Now, you have heard the testimony of all the other physicians, except Doctor Fitch, and quoting from medical authorities all over the world, that leprosy is not identical with syphilis, that it is incurable, and that it is in a certain sense contagious; and if they have proved this to your satisfaction, the defendant was justified in what he said of Doctor Fitch. Doctor Fitch has said that he believes in a policy of segregation of lepers. If he allows lepers to be discharged, who, by the weight of testimony, are not cured, would this be adhering to a policy of segregation? The physicians who have testified for the defendant say that leprosy may be ameliorated by treatment and by improved diet and hygenic conditions. Therefore, the introduction by Doctor Fitch of lepers from the hospital whose condition is improved was not strictly rebuttal; but I admitted this proof because it is difficult to show whether leprous patients are merely improved or cured; Doctor Fitch is in one sense himself on trial, but only so far as to test the truth of the terms applied to him by the Saturday Press; and not whether he is not doing a great deal of good to the native Hawaiians in treating them for syphilis. The question is, does he not do more harm than good? The testimony that refers to Doctor Fitch's conduct in the dispensary in prescribing for three hundred patients in six hours, his operations for cataract, and in his use of litmus paper is all to be considered by you in regard to the language used in the Saturday Press concerning him whether he is an ignorant pretender with theories that are a snare and a delusion. And you will not forget the fact that the diploma presented in evidence to-day, bears a different date to that of the diploma referred to in Doctor Fitch's certificate to practice in the State of California. The law gives the press great latitude, but holds it to a strict accountability; and it is necessary for the jury to decide, not only whether the article is defamatory, but whether, although defamatory, it is justified by facts and was published with good motives. You can have but little reason to doubt that defendant's motives were good, if the facts he has published concerning Doctor Fitch are true—for his motive was to advance public welfare.

After the charge, the jury retired, and, after an absence of between ten and fifteen minutes, returned with a verdict of "not guilty," two dissenting.

Mr. W. O. Smith assisted Mr. Dole for the defense during Saturday.

The interest of all classes in the trial was manifest from the first, and increased in intensi y as the trial progressed. Almost, if not quite the entire bar of Honolulu, including the attorney-generals, *de jure* and *de facto*, were present at the close of the trial. The verdict was greeted with applause, and the defendant congratulated on all hands.

10052

WITH MR. R. L. STEVENSON'S COMPLIMENTS

The Rev
J. Francis Jones
with the best wishes of
Robert Louis Stevenson

FATHER DAMIEN:

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE REVEREND DR. HYDE
OF HONOLULU FROM
ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

SYDNEY.
1890.

53-6759

R
HB
D 184 St
Facsim

Sydney, February 25, 1890.

SIR,

It may probably occur to you that we have met, and visited, and conversed; on my side, with interest. You may remember that you have done me several courtesies for which I was prepared to be grateful. But there are duties which come before gratitude, and offences which justly divide friends, far more acquaintances. Your letter to the Reverend H. B. Gage is a document which, in my sight, if you had filled me with bread when I was starving, if you had sat up to nurse my father when he lay a dying, would yet absolve me from the bonds of gratitude. You know enough, doubtless, of the process of canonisation, to be aware that, a hundred years after the death of Damien, there will appear a man charged with the painful office of the *devil's advocate*. After that noble brother of mine, and of all frail clay, shall have lain a century at rest, one shall accuse, one defend him.

Gift of Mrs Gedeon 10/13/53

The circumstance is unusual that the devil's advocate should be a volunteer, should be a member of a sect immediately rival, and should make haste to take upon himself his ugly office ere the bones are cold ; unusual, and of a taste which I shall leave my readers free to qualify ; unusual, and to me inspiring. If I have at all learned the trade of using words to convey truth and to arouse emotion, you have at last furnished me with a subject. For it is in the interest of all mankind and the cause of public decency in every quarter of the world, not only that Damien should be righted, but that you and your letter should be displayed at length, in their true colours, to the public eye.

To do this properly, I must begin by quoting you at large : I shall then proceed to criticise your utterance from several points of view, divine and human, in the course of which I shall attempt to draw again and with more specification the character of the dead saint whom it has pleased you to vilify : so much being done, I shall say farewell to you forever.

Honolulu, August 2, 1889.

"REV. H. B. GAGE.

"Dear Brother :

"In answer to your inquiries about Father Damien, I can only reply that we who knew the man are surprised at the extravagant newspaper laudations, as if he was a most saintly philanthropist. The simple truth is, he was a coarse, dirty man, headstrong and bigoted. He was not sent to Molokai, but went there without orders ; did not stay at the leper settlement (before he became one himself), but circulated freely over the whole island (less than half the island is devoted to the lepers) and he came often to Honolulu. He had no hand in the reforms and improvements inaugurated, which were the work of our Board of Health, as occasion required and means were provided. He was not a pure man in his relations with women, and the leprosy of which he died should be attributed to his vices and carelessness. Others have done much for the lepers, our own ministers, the government physicians, and so forth, but

never with the catholic idea of meriting eternal life.

"Yours, etc.,

"C. M. HYDE."*

To deal fitly with a letter so extraordinary, I must draw at the outset on my private knowledge of the signatory and his sect. It may offend others; scarcely you, who have been so busy to collect, so bold to publish, gossip on your rivals. And this is perhaps the moment when I may best explain to you the character of what you are to read: I conceive you as a man quite beyond and below the reticences of civility: with what measure you mete, with that shall it be measured you again; with you at last, I rejoice to feel the button off the foil and to plunge home. And if in aught that I shall say, I should offend others, your colleagues, whom I respect and remember with affection, I can but offer them my regret; I am not free, I am inspired by the consideration of interests far more large; and such pain as can be inflicted by anything from me must be

* From the Sydney *Presbyterian*, October 26, 1889.

indeed trifling when compared with the pain with which they read your letter. It is not the hangman, but the criminal, that brings dishonor on the house.

You belong, sir, to a sect—I believe my sect, and that in which my ancestors laboured—which has enjoyed, and partly failed to utilise, an exceptional advantage in the islands of Hawaii. The first missionaries came; they found the land already self-purged of its old and bloody faith; they were embraced, almost on their arrival, with enthusiasm; what troubles they supported came far more from whites than from Hawaiians; and to these last they stood (in a rough figure) in the shoes of God. This is not the place to enter into the degree or causes of their failure, such as it is. One element alone is pertinent, and must here be plainly dealt with. In the course of this evangelical calling, they—or too many of them—grew rich. It may be news to you that the houses of missionaries are a cause of mocking on the streets of Honolulu. It will at least be news to you, that when I returned your civil visit, the driver of my cab

commented on the size, the taste, and the comfort of your home. It would have been news certainly to myself, had anyone told me that afternoon that I should live to drag such matter into print. But you see, sir, how you degrade better men to your own level; and it is needful that those who are to judge betwixt you and me, betwixt Damien and the devil's advocate, should understand your letter to have been penned in a house which could raise, and that very justly, the envy and the comments of the passers-by. I think (to employ a phrase of yours, which I admire) it "should be attributed" to you that you have never visited the scene of Damien's life and death. If you had, and had recalled it, and looked about your pleasant rooms, even your pen perhaps would have been stayed.

Your sect (and remember, as far as any sect avows me, it is mine) has not done ill in a worldly sense in the Hawaiian Kingdom. When calamity befell their innocent parishioners, when leprosy descended and took root in the Eight Islands, a *quid pro quo* was to be looked for. To that prosperous mission, and to you, as

one of its adornments, God had sent at last an opportunity. I know I am touching here upon a nerve acutely sensitive. I know that others of your colleagues look back on the inertia of your church, and the intrusive and decisive heroism of Damien, with something almost to be called remorse. I am sure it is so with yourself; I am persuaded your letter was inspired by a certain envy, not essentially ignoble, and the one human trait to be espied in that performance. You were thinking of the lost chance, the past day; of that which should have been conceived and was not; of the service due and not rendered. *Time was*, said the voice in your ear, in your pleasant room, as you sat raging and writing; and if the words written were base beyond parallel, the rage, I am happy to repeat—it is the only compliment I shall pay you—the rage was almost virtuous. But, sir, when we have failed, and another has succeeded; when we have stood by, and another has stepped in; when we sit and grow bulky in our charming mansions, and a plain, uncouth

peasant steps into the battle, under the eyes of God, and succours the afflicted, and consoles the dying, and is himself afflicted in his turn, and dies upon the field of honour—the battle cannot be retrieved as your unhappy irritation has suggested. It is a lost battle, and lost forever. One thing remained to you in your defeat—some rags of common honour; and these you have made haste to cast away.

Common honour; not the honour of having done anything right, but the honour of not having done aught conspicuously foul; the honour of the inert: that was what remained to you. We are not all expected to be Damiens; a man may conceive his duty more narrowly, he may love his comforts better; and none will cast a stone at him for that. But will a gentleman of your reverend profession allow me an example from the fields of gallantry? When two gentlemen compete for the favour of a lady, and the one succeeds and the other is rejected, and (as will sometimes happen) matter damaging to the successful rival's

credit reaches the ear of the defeated, it is held by plain men of no pretensions that his mouth is, in the circumstance, almost necessarily closed. Your church and Damien's were in Hawaii upon a rivalry to do well: to help, to edify, to set divine examples. You having (in one huge instance) failed, and Damien succeeded, I marvel it should not have occurred to you that you were doomed to silence; that when you had been outstripped in that high rivalry, and sat inglorious in the midst of your well being, in your pleasant room—and Damien, crowned with glories and horrors, toiled and rotted in that pigstye of his under the cliffs at Kalawao—you, the elect who would not, were the last man on earth to collect and propagate gossip on the volunteer who would and did.

I think I see you—for I try to see you in the flesh as I write these sentences—I think I see you leap at the word pigstye, a hyperbolical expression at the best. "He had no hand in the reforms," he was "a coarse, dirty man;" these were your own

words ; and you may think it possible that I am come to support you with fresh evidence. In a sense, it is even so. Damien has been too much depicted with a conventional halo and conventional features ; so drawn by men who perhaps had not the eye to remark or the pen to express the individual ; or who perhaps were only blinded and silenced by generous admiration, such as I partly envy for myself—such as you, if your soul were enlightened, would envy on your bended knees. It is the least defect of such a method of portraiture that it makes the path easy for the devil's advocate, and leaves for the misuse of the slanderer a considerable field of truth. For the truth that is suppressed by friends is the readiest weapon of the enemy. The world, in your despite, may perhaps owe you something, if your letter be the means of substituting once for all a credible likeness for a wax abstraction. For, if that world at all remember you, on the day when Damien of Molokai shall be named Saint, it will be in virtue of one work : your letter to the Reverend H. B. Gage.

You may ask on what authority I speak. It was my inclement destiny to become acquainted, not with Damien, but with Dr. Hyde. When I visited the lazaretto, Damien was already in his resting grave. But such information as I have, I gathered on the spot in long conversations with those who knew him well and long : some indeed who revered his memory ; but others who had sparred and wrangled with him, who beheld him with no halo, who perhaps regarded him with small respect, and though whose unprepared and scarcely partial communications, the plain, human features of the man shone on me convincingly. These gave me what knowledge I possess ; and I learnt it in that scene where it could be most completely and sensitively understood—Kalawao, which you have never visited, about which you have never so much as endeavoured to inform yourself : for, brief as your letter is, you have found the means to stumble into that confession. "*Less than one-half* of the island," you say, "is devoted to the lepers." Molokai—"*Molokai ahina*," the "gray,"

lofty and most desolate island—along all its northern side plunges a front of precipice into a sea of unusual profundity. This range of cliff is, from east to west, the true end and frontier of the island. Only in one spot there projects into the ocean a certain triangular and rugged down, grassy, stony, windy, and rising in the midst into a hill with a dead crater: the whole bearing to the cliff that overhangs it, somewhat the same relation as a bracket to a wall. With this hint, you will now be able to pick out the leper station on a map; you will be able to judge how much of Molokai is thus cut off between the surf and precipice, whether less than a half, or less than a quarter, or a fifth, or a tenth—or say, a twentieth; and the next time you burst into print, you will be in a position to share with us the issue of your calculations.

I imagine you to be one of those persons who talk with cheerfulness of that place which oxen and wainropes could not drag you to behold. You, who do not even know its situation on the map, probably

denounce sensational descriptions, stretching your limbs the while in your pleasant parlour on Beretania Street. When I was pulled ashore there one early morning, there sat with me in the boat two sisters, bidding farewell (in humble imitation of Damien) to the lights and joys of human life. One of these wept silently; I could not withhold myself from joining her. Had you been there, it is my belief that nature would have triumphed even in you; and as the boat drew but a little nearer, and you beheld the stairs crowded with abominable deformations of our common manhood, and saw yourself landing in the midst of such a population as only now and then surrounds us in the horror of a nightmare—what a haggard eye would you have rolled over your reluctant shoulder towards the house on Beretania Street! Had you gone on; had you found every fourth face a blot upon the landscape; had you visited the hospital and seen the butt-ends of human beings lying there almost unrecognisable, but still breathing, still thinking, still remembering; you would

have understood that life in the lazaretto is an ordeal from which the nerves of a man's spirit shrink, even as his eye quails under the brightness of the sun; you would have felt it was (even to-day) a pitiful place to visit and a hell to dwell in. It is not the fear of possible infection. That seems a little thing when compared with the pain, the pity and the disgust of the visitor's surroundings, and the atmosphere of affliction, disease and physical disgrace in which he breathes. I do not think I am a man more than usually timid; but I never recall the days and nights I spent upon that island promontory (eight days and seven nights), without heartfelt thankfulness that I am somewhere else. I find in my diary that I speak of my stay as "a grinding experience": I have once jotted in the margin "*Harrowing* is the word"; and when the *Mokolii* bore me at last towards the outer world, I kept repeating to myself, with a new conception of their pregnancy, those simple words of the song:

"'Tis the most distressful country
That ever yet was seen."

And observe: that which I saw and suffered from, was a settlement, purged, bettered, beautified; the new village built, the hospital and the Bishop's-Home excellently arranged; the sisters, the doctor, and the missionaries all indefatigable in their noble tasks. It was a different place when Damien came there, and made his great renunciation, and slept that first night under a tree amidst his rotting brethren: alone with pestilence; and looking forward (with what courage, with what pitiful sinkings of dread, God only knows) to a lifetime of dressing sores and stumps.

You will say perhaps, I am too sensitive, that sights as painful abound in cancer hospitals and are confronted daily by doctors and nurses. I have long learned to admire and envy the doctors and the nurses. But there is no cancer hospital so large and populous as Kalawao and Kalaupapa; and in such a matter every fresh case, like every inch of length in the pipe of an organ, deepens the note of the impression; for what daunts the onlooker, is that monstrous

sum of human suffering by which he stands surrounded. Lastly, no doctor or nurse is called upon to enter once for all the doors of that gehenna ; they do not say farewell, hey need not abandon hope, on its sad threshold ; they but go for a time to their high calling ; and can look forward, as they go to relief, to recreation, and to rest. But Damien shut to with his own hand the doors of his own sepulchre.

I shall now extract three passages from my diary at Kalawao.

A. "Damien is dead and already somewhat ungratefully remembered in the field of his labours and sufferings. 'He was a good man, but very officious,' says one. Another tells me he had fallen (as other priests so easily do) into something of the ways and habits of thought of a Kanaka ; but he had the wit to recognise the fact, and the good sense to laugh at" [over] "it. A plain man it seems he was ; I cannot find he was a popular."

B. "After Ragsdale's death" [Ragsdale was a famous Luna, or overseer, of the

unruly settlement] "there followed a brief term of office by Father Damien which served only to publish the weakness of that noble man. He was rough in his ways, and he had no control. Authority was relaxed ; Damien's life was threatened, and he was soon eager to resign."

C. "Of Damien I begin to have an idea. He seems to have been a man of the peasant class, certainly of the peasant type : shrewd ; ignorant and bigotted, yet with an open mind and capable of receiving and digesting a reproof, if it were bluntly administered ; superbly generous in the least thing as well as in the greatest, and as ready to give his last shirt (although not without human grumbling) as he had been to sacrifice his life ; essentially indiscreet and officious, which made him a troublesome colleague ; domineering in all his ways, which made him incurably unpopular with the Kanakas, but yet destitute of real authority, so that his boys laughed at him and he must carry out his wishes by the means of bribes. He learned to have a

mania for doctoring; and set up the Kanakas against the remedies of his regular rivals: perhaps (if anything matter at all in the treatment of such a disease) the worst thing that he did, and certainly the easiest. The best and worst of the man appear very plainly in his dealings with Mr. Chapman's money; he had originally laid it out [intended to lay it out] "entirely for the benefit of catholics, and even so not wisely, but after a long, plain talk, he admitted his error fully and revised the list. The sad state of the boy's home is in part the result of his lack of control; in part of his own slovenly ways and false ideas of hygiene. Brother officials used to call it 'Damien's Chinatown.' 'Well,' they would say, 'your Chinatown keeps growing.' And he would laugh with perfect good nature, and adhere to his errors with perfect obstinacy. So much I have gathered of truth about this plain, noble human brother as father of ours; his imperfections are the traits of his face, by which we know him for our fellow; his martyrdom and his example

nothing can lessen or annul; and only a person here on the spot can properly appreciate their greatness."

I have set down these private passages, as you perceive, without correction; thanks to you, the public has them in their bluntness. They are almost a list of the man's faults, for it is rather these that I was seeking; with his virtues, with the heroic profile of his life, I and the world were already sufficiently acquainted. I was besides a little suspicious of Catholic testimony; in no ill sense, but merely because Damien's admirers and disciples were the least likely to be critical. I know you will be more suspicious still; and the facts set down above were one and all collected from the lips of Protestants who had opposed the father in his life. Yet I am strangely deceived, or they build up the image of a man, with all his weaknesses, essentially heroic, and alive with rugged honesty, generosity, and mirth.

Take it for what it is, rough private jottings of the worst sides of Damien's

character, collected from the lips of those who had laboured with and (in your own phrase) "knew the man";—though I question whether Damien would have said that he knew you. Take it, and observe with wonder how well you were served by your gossips, how ill by your intelligence and sympathy; in how many points of fact we are at one, and how widely our appreciations vary. There is something wrong here; either with you or me. It is possible, for instance, that you, who seem to have so many ears in Kalawao, had heard of the affair of Mr. Chapman's money, and were singly struck by Damien's intended wrong-doing. I was struck with that also, and set it fairly down; but I was struck much more by the fact that he had the honesty of mind to be convinced. I may here tell you that it was a long business; that one of his colleagues sat with him late into the night, multiplying arguments and accusations, that the father listened as usual with "perfect good nature and perfect obstinacy", but at the last, when he was persuaded—

"Yes," said he, "I am very much obliged to you, you have done me a service; it would have been a theft." There are many (not catholics merely) who require their heroes and saints to be infallible; to these, the story will be painful; not to the true lovers, patrons and servants of mankind.

And I take it, this is a type of our division; that you are one of those who have an eye for faults and failures; that you take a pleasure to find and publish them; and that having found them, you make haste to forget the overvailing virtues and the real success, which had alone introduced them to your knowledge. It is a dangerous frame of mind. That you may understand how dangerous, and into what a situation it has already brought you, we will (if you please) go hand in hand through the different phrases of your letter, and candidly examine each from the point of view of its truth, its appositeness, and its charity.

Damien was *coarse*.

It is very possible. You make us sorry for the lepers, who had only

a coarse old peasant for their friend and father. But you, who were so refined, why were you not there, to cheer them with the lights of culture? Or may I remind you that we have some reason to doubt if John the Baptist were genteel; and in the case of Peter, on whose career you doubtless dwell approvingly in the pulpit, no doubt at all that he was a "coarse, headstrong" fisherman! Yet even in our Protestant bibles, Peter is called Saint.

Damien was *dirty*.

He was. Think of the poor lepers annoyed with this dirty comrade! But the clean Dr Hyde was at his food in a fine house.

Damien was *headstrong*.

I believe you are right again; and I thank God for his strong head and heart.

Damien was *bigoted*.

I am not fond of bigots myself, because they are not fond of me. But what is meant by bigotry, that we should regard it as a blemish in a priest? Damien believed his own religion with the

simplicity of a peasant or a child; as I would I could suppose that you do. For this, I wonder at him some way off; and had that been his only character, should have avoided him in life. But the point of interest in Damien, which has caused him to be so much talked about and made him at last the subject of your pen and mine, was that, in him, his bigotry, his intense and narrow faith, wrought potently for good, and strengthened him to be one of the world's heroes and exemplars.

Damien, *was not sent to Molokai but went there without orders.*

Is this a misreading? or do you really mean the words for blame? I have heard Christ, in the pulpits of our church, held up for imitation on the ground that his sacrifice was voluntary. Does Dr. Hyde think otherwise?

Damien *did not stay at the settlement, &c.*

It is true he was allowed many indulgences. Am I to understand that you blame the father for profiting by these, or the officers for granting them? In either case, it is a

mighty Spartan standard to issue from the house on Beretania Street; and I am convinced you will find yourself with few supporters.

Damien *had no hand in the reforms, etc.*

I think even you will admit that I have already been frank in my description of the man I am defending; but before I take you up upon this head, I will be franker still, and tell you that perhaps nowhere in the world can a man taste a more pleasureable sense of contrast, than when he passes from Damien's "China Town" at Kalawao to the beautiful Bishop-Home at Kalaupapa. At this point, in my desire to make all fair for you, I will break my rule, and adduce catholic testimony. Here is a passage from my diary, about my visit to the China-town, from which you will see how it is (even now) regarded by its own officials: "We went round all the dormitories, refectories, etc., dark and dingy enough, with a superficial cleanliness, which he" [Mr. Dutton, the lay brother] "did not seek to defend. 'It is almost decent,' said he, 'the

sisters will make that all right when we get them here.'" And yet I gathered it was already better since Damien was dead, and far better than when he was there alone and had his own (not always excellent) way. I have now come far enough to meet you on a common ground of fact; and I tell you that, to a mind not prejudiced by jealousy, all the reforms of the Lazaretto, and even those which he most vigorously opposed, are properly the work of Damien. They are the evidence of his success; they are what his heroism provoked from the reluctant and the careless. Many were before him in the field; Mr. Meyer, for instance, of whose faithful work we hear too little; there have been many since; and some had more worldly wisdom, though none had more devotion than our saint. Before his day, even you will confess they had effected little. It was his part, by one striking act of martyrdom, to direct all men's eyes on that distressful country. At a blow, and with the price of his life, he made the place illustrious and public. And that, if you will

consider largely, was the one reform needful; pregnant of all that should succeed. It brought money; it brought (best individual addition of them all) the sisters; it brought supervision, for public opinion and public interest landed with the man at Kalawao. If ever any man brought reforms, and died to bring them, it was he. There is not a clean cup or towel in the Bishop-Home, but dirty Damien washed it.

Damien *was not a pure man in his relations with women, etc.*

How do you know that? Is this the nature of the conversation in that house on Beretania Street, which the cabman envied, driving past?—racy details of the misconduct of the poor, peasant priest, toiling under the cliffs of Molokai?

Many have visited the station before me; they seem not to have heard the rumour. When I was there I heard many shocking tales, for my informants were men speaking with the plainness of the laity; and I heard plenty of complaints of

Damien. Why was this never mentioned? and how came it to you in the retirement of your clerical parlour?

But I must not even seem to deceive you. This scandal, when I read it in your letter, was not new to me. I had heard it once before; and I must tell you how. There came to Samoa a man from Honolulu; he, in a public-house on the beach, volunteered the statement that Damien had "contracted the disease from having connection with the female lepers"; and I find a joy in telling you how the report was welcomed in a public-house. A man sprang to his feet; I am not at liberty to give his name, but from what I heard, I doubt if you would care to have him to dinner in Beretania Street. "You miserable little ——," (here is a word I dare not print, it would so shock your ears) "You miserable little ——," he cried "if the story were a thousand times true, can't you see you are a million times a lower —— for daring to repeat it?" I wish it could be told of you that when the report reached you in your house, perhaps after family worship,

you had found in your soul enough holy anger to receive it with the same expressions ; ay, even with that one which I dare not print ; it would not need to have been blotted away, like Uncle Toby's oath, by the tears of the recording angel ; it would have been counted to you for your brightest righteousness. But you have deliberately chosen the part of the man from Honolulu, and you have played it with improvements of your own. The man from Honolulu—miserable, leering creature—communicated the tale to a rude knot of beach-combing drinkers in a public house, where (I will so far agree with your temperance opinions) man is not always at his noblest ; and the man from Honolulu had himself been drinking—drinking, we may charitably fancy, to excess. It was to your "Dear Brother, the Reverend H. B. Gage," that you chose to communicate the sickening story ; and the blue ribbon which adorns your portly bosom forbids me to allow you the extenuating plea that you were drunk when it was done. Your "dear brother"—a brother indeed—made haste to deliver up your

letter (as a means of grace, perhaps) to the religious papers ; where, after many months, I found and read and wondered at it ; and whence I have now reproduced it for the wonder of others. And you and your dear brother have, by this cycle of operations, built up a contrast very edifying to examine in detail. The man whom you would not care to have to dinner, on the one side ; on the other, the Reverend Dr. Hyde and the Reverend H. B. Gage : the Apia bar-room, the Honolulu manse.

But I fear you scarce appreciate how you appear to your fellow men ; and to bring it home to you, I will suppose your story to be true. I will suppose—and God forgive me for supposing it—that Damien faltered and stumbled in his narrow path of duty ; I will suppose that, in the horror of his isolation, perhaps in the fever of incipient disease, he, who was doing so much more than he had sworn, failed in the letter of his priestly oath —he, who was so much a better man than either you or me, who did what we have never dreamed of daring—he too tasted of our

common frailty. "O, Iago, the pity of it!" The least tender should be moved to tears; the most incredulous to prayer. And all that you could do, was to pen your letter to the Reverend H. B. Gage!

Is it growing at all clear to you, what a picture you have drawn of your own heart? I will try yet once again to make it clearer. You had a father: suppose this tale were about him, and some informant brought it to you, proof in hand: I am not making too high an estimate of your emotional nature, when I suppose you would regret the circumstance? that you would feel the tale of frailty the more keenly, since it shamed the author of your days? and that the last thing you would do, would be to publish it in the religious press? Well, the man who tried to do what Damien did, is my father, and the father of the man in the Apia bar, and the father of all who love goodness; and he was your father too, if God had given you grace to see it.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

"Father Damien," by Robert Louis Stevenson (1890). Printed in facsimile for William Andrews Clark, Jr., by John Henry Nash in San Francisco, California, in the year of Nineteen Hundred and Thirty. The edition consists of two hundred & fifty numbered copies. This copy is Number

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Life of A. L. C. A. —
Aug. 23 — 1911

A LETTER

HAWAIIAN MISSION CHILDREN'S SOCIETY
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ADDRESSED TO

THE MEMBERS OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN HAWAII, AND ALL OTHERS WHOM IT MAY CONCERN,

BY

THE BISHOP OF HONOLULU.

HONOLULU:
P. C. ADVERTISER COMPANY.
1886.

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TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN HAWAII, AND ALL OTHERS WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

My Dear Friends,—The appearance in the *Hawaiian Gazette* of Mr. Davies' letter, asking for the publication of the reply of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Appeal I made to His Grace has made clear that the "part" sent to him is a copy of the "part" which was forwarded to me, so that I am now at liberty to break the silence I have hitherto maintained on the subject.

The document that is now before the public contains replies to certain other questions on which I sought His Grace's counsel in a letter dated February 11th.

To these it is only necessary to refer so far as they touch the matter which was brought before the public in my pub-

lished Appeal, dated February 19th. First, the Archbishop having expressed his opinion that the resolution of the Cathedral Building Committee on January 30th, approving all Mr. Davies' past acts as Treasurer, is not to be regarded as a formal approval of his letter of January 28th, I have sincere pleasure in withdrawing the contrary opinion expressed in my Appeal to His Grace. Secondly, the necessity I had felt for delay in the appointment of the Rev. Geo. Wallace being removed by the third section, his license has been granted.

I now proceed to the matter of my published Appeal, dated February 19th. Here let me remind you that, on January 15th, Mr. Davies charged me with an error in calculation, in consequence of my statement, to the effect that had a contract for the two bays of the nave been taken in August, 1885, and a loan of $5,000 accepted, the sum required to meet the liabilities of the Committee to the contractor would only have been increased by $1,263, the total deficiency to be met on the two contracts being $15,975, and the liabilities to the contractor at that date $9,712; for 9,712+1,263+5,000=15,975.

Mr. Davies, seizing upon one sentence in my statement, and detaching it from a previous one to which it referred (p. 71), endeavoured to make it appear that I had maintained that a sum of $6,263 would alone suffice to complete the two contracts. My reply (p. 79) was so convincing that Mr. Davies was obliged to admit that my arithmetic was correct (p. 87), and then proceeded to impeach my integrity in the following terms:

"*It now appears that your plan was to take the promised subscriptions upon which alone the Committee relied to meet their liabilities to the contractors, and apply them to a new contract, leaving the sum due the contractors out of sight under the head of 'debt already incurred,' and of which, apparently, nothing more was to be heard*"—(p. 88).

The imputation contained in these words was of so serious a

nature that I could see no alternative, but to appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury to investigate the charge here laid against me.

In a long letter to the Archbishop, Mr. Davies attempted to deny that any imputation of dishonourable dealing was to be found in his words, while claiming that I had *purposely* made "an inaccurate presentation of figures"—(p. 5).

The opinion which the Archbishop has given, and which has now been published, is as follows:

"*That the imputation of dishonourable conduct on the part of the Bishop rests upon what Mr. Davies, with apparent justification, deemed to be a blunder in calculation.*"

The above opinion distinctly asserts (1) that an imputation of dishonourable conduct *is* contained in Mr. Davies' words, and (2) that there is no foundation for such imputation, but what Mr. Davies, with apparent justification, deemed to be a blunder.

In other words, the imputation is declared in the Archbishop's opinion to have no ground to rest upon. If Mr. Davies had apparent justification for charging me with a blunder, he could have no justification for charging me with a dishonourable intention—a "plan" for shelving a debt, with "a misuse of figures" (p. 88), "an inaccurate presentation of accounts" for an ulterior purpose. An error could furnish no possible justification for the expressions contained in Mr. Davies' letter of January 28th. Yet a supposed error in arithmetic, which Mr. Davies has admitted to be correct, is the only foundation that the Archbishop can find for the imputation, which is thus demonstrated to be frivolous and unfounded.

With reference to the supposed blunder, those who have perceived that sums on which Mr. Davies asserted that the Committee *relied* to meet their liabilities to the contractor not only could *not* be relied on, but *but were not available* till the new con-

tract was taken, are already aware that the appearance of justification set up for the charge of error is an illusion. Those who think that "I left out of sight," or that it was possible for me to leave out of sight, a sum due on a contract which I myself had signed, which entered into the condition on which the permission asked in the memorial of August 25, 1885, was granted, and for payment of which the contractor was, at the date of the correspondence, making constant applications to me personally will not be convinced by any further argument.

The second point, on which I appealed for investigation, not being a direct charge, has for that reason, no doubt, not been considered at Lambeth. But the following words were not the less damaging to my reputation because no *direct* charge is contained in them:

"*A few weeks ago one of your proposals was met by the statement that to comply would constitute an indictable offense*"—(p. 89).

This sentence is distinctly libellous. It leaves in the mind of the reader, first of all, the presumption that the statement was true, and could be sustained in law; and, secondly, the nature of the offense not being stated, the reader is at liberty to suppose that I had been guilty of proposing the commission of any indictable offense that his imagination may select. This second attempt to undermine my character not having received any investigation from the Archbishop, which, at this distance, it was difficult to make, I have the permission of a high legal authority to state that the proposal alluded to was a reasonable one, and perfectly admissible in law; and that the statement that compliance would have constituted an indictable offense is wholly untenable.

These matters being now cleared up, I trust that you will rest assured that there is no ground for whatever in Mr. Davies'

letter of January 28th was calculated to shake your confidence in the integrity and uprightness of your Chief Pastor, and humble servant in Christ,

ALFRED HONOLULU.

HONOLULU, November 8, 1886.

NOTE.—The references are to the pages of *Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury* by Theo. H. Davies.

THE PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT

OF THE

ANGLICAN CHURCH IN HAWAII,

TRACED TO THEIR SOURCE,

FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF

CERTAIN CONTROVERTED QUESTIONS;

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A REVIEW

OF THE

PRESENT POSITION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

IN THE KINGDOM OF HAWAII.

BY THE

RIGHT REVEREND ALFRED WILLIS, D. D.,

FOR EIGHTEEN YEARS

BISHOP OF HONOLULU.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF HIS MAJESTY KING KALAKAUA.

—:o:—

HONOLULU:

ROBERT GRIEVE, STEAM BOOK AND JOB PRINTER, MERCHANT ST.

1890.

INTRODUCTION.

The following pages have been written in compliance with a request contained in the following letter from His Majesty King Kalakaua, and others holding high positions in His Majesty's Kingdom:

To the Right Rev. Alfred Willis, D. D.,

Bishop of Honolulu:

My Lord:—Contrary expressions of opinion existing at present relative to matters of church discipline, order, and government: and certain comments having been made respecting the Bishop's position with reference to the other members of the Board of Trustees of the Anglican Church in Hawaii, We, the undersigned being deeply interested in the welfare of the Anglican Church in this Kingdom, respectfully ask Your Lordship to state, in any convenient manner, your views concerning the matters involved, and especially do we urge Your Lordship to define the principles of church government in the Anglican Communion, and to what extent they are applicable in this realm in view of the fact that the Church Laws obtaining in England are not in force in this Kingdom.

We remain, faithfully yours,

Kalakaua,
C. N. Spencer,
J. S. Walker,
C. P. Iaukea,
Henry Smith.

Honolulu, August 18th, 1890.

TO HIS MAJESTY KING KALAKAUA,

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY:

In compliance with Your Majesty's request, in a letter dated August 18, 1890, which bore also the signatures of His Excellency the Hon. Chas. N. Spencer, Your Majesty's Minister of Interior, of the Hon. J. S. Walker, President of the Legislative Assembly, and a member of Your Majesty's Privy Council, of the Hon. Curtis P. Iaukea, also a member of the Privy Council, and of Henry Smith, Esq., Clerk to the Supreme Court of Judicature, I have given careful consideration to the questions submitted.

The troubles, in which the Anglican Church is involved, are of so grave a nature that it was necessary to deal with the subject exhaustively, at the risk of being tedious.

The more I considered the matter, the more convinced I became that an entire misapprehension, in the minds of some of the trustees, of the purpose and essence of the Charter of Incorporation, is the source of the troubles which are disturbing the harmony and peace which should prevail.

If the reply I now submit to Your Majesty clears away that misapprehension for the future, the labor bestowed upon it will not have been in vain.

For the sake of those who, in their ignorance of the Church's Constitution, may consider that, in what is laid down as belonging to the Episcopal office, I have arrogated too much to myself, I may be permitted to state here that as in the State, it is not his own, but the dignity of his court that every judge is bound to maintain, so in the Church,

not himself, but his "office" every bishop is bound to "magnify." †

And that none may suppose that I have presented the "views" of one section, or school of thought in the Church of England, allow me to quote the following passage written in 1829, before the first stirrings of the so-called "Tractarian" movement had begun, by one who belonged to the school of Simeon and Venn, styled "Evangelical"—"A separate order of men were consecrated to the great work of laying the foundation, and raising the superstructure of Christ's Church. Twelve only were included in the original commission. The great Mediator delegated the power of His own commission to His faithful labourers. Thus invested with plenary authority, they.....entrusted the power of ordination successively to others, for the continuance of the function—according to the special promise—*unto the end of the world.*" *

If the Anglican Church is to be established and maintained in Your Majesty's realm according to the wish and desire of Your Predecessors on the throne, it can only be so established and maintained according to those principles of church government, which lie at the very root of the constitution, that the Anglican Church in Hawaii derives from the Mother Church of England.

It has been my object in the following pages to show that to this branch of the Anglican Church within Your Majesty's Kingdom there is given a guarantee of perfect liberty to

† Rom. XI. 13.

* Bridges' Christian Ministry; Seeleys, Part 1, Chap. 1.

adhere to those principles, and upon it also there is imposed a stringent obligation not to depart from them, by the Charter of Incorporation.

That Your Majesty may long live to see the branch of the ancient Church of England planted in Your Kingdom at the earnest request of Your Royal Predecessors, but now in danger of withering through the coldness and indifference to spiritual things of those who yet claim and enjoy its privileges, rescued from the dangers that threaten it, again "taking root downward and bearing fruit upward" ‡ in the promotion of religion and piety amongst Your people, is the prayer of,

Sire,

Your Majesty's most faithful
and obedient servant,
ALFRED WILLIS,
Bishop of Honolulu.

Iolani College, August 30, 1890.

‡ Isaiah xxxvii. 31.

THE PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT

OF

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN HAWAII,

TRACED TO THEIR SOURCE,

FOR

THE SETTLEMENT OF CERTAIN CONTROVERTED QUESTIONS.

By a Charter of Incorporation granted to Bishop Staley and his associates on Nov. 6, 1862, and amended Nov. 7, 1872, the corporation so created was empowered to "take and receive, have and hold in fee simple and otherwise ..... real and personal estate, WHICH SAID REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATE SHALL BE FAITHFULLY APPLIED TO THE PURPOSE AND USE OF ESTABLISHING AND MAINTAINING THE CHURCH OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION WITHIN THE KINGDOM OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, ACCORDING TO THE DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AS THE SAME ARE EXPLAINED AND CONTAINED IN THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, AND IN THE FORM AND MANNER OF ORDAINING BISHOPS, PRIESTS, AND DEACONS, AND IN THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES."

In the above sentence the Charter granted by His Majesty the King, by and with the advice of His Privy Council of State, has secured absolute freedom to the Anglican Church in regard to its Faith and Practice within the Kingdom of Hawaii for all time.

The State of the Hawaiian Kingdom does not assume any right to determine or define what are the doctrines of the Church of England. At the same time the State holds the Board of Trustees responsible to apply whatever real and personal estate is entrusted to them for the maintenance of the Church of the Anglican Communion *according to those doctrines, and none other.* Whence it is clear that if at any time the Trustees should allow any land or building which they hold in trust to be used for the inculcation of other doctrines than those of the Church of England, as for instance, the doctrines of Unitarians, or Deists, or Anabaptists, or should fail to exercise their Trust in accordance with the principles of the Church of England, they would violate their Trust, and the Courts of the Kingdom would have a right to interfere even to the confiscation of property already alienated from the purposes of the Trust.

As a Church we are permitted to acquire and hold land in this Kingdom; and this right is secured to us *on condition of our fidelity* to the doctrines of the Church of England as explained and contained in certain Books referred to.

Before proceeding further, I may be allowed to remark, that during the quarter of a century and upwards that has elapsed since the first granting of the Charter, the freedom guaranteed by the Charter has been fully enjoyed. On no single occasion has the State attempted to encroach on the liberties thus granted. Nor during the eighteen years of my Episcopate has the Anglican Church had any cause to complain of the attitude towards her of those who through the unhappy divisions of Christendom are separated from her. The troubles by which her progress has been and is retarded have arisen entirely from within, and seem to spring from an inability on the part of many who enjoy the privileges of her communion, to understand and embrace the doctrines subject to which they are permitted by the Charter to have and hold the privileges they enjoy.

The nature and the condition of the Trust created by the Charter having been clearly stated above, the ground is cleared for entering upon the consideration of the questions submitted by His Majesty the King, and persons holding high positions in His Majesty's Kingdom. Of those questions, the first relates to the Bishop's position with reference to the other members of the Board of Trustees; the second asks for a definition "of the principles of Church government in the Anglican Communion, and to what extent they are applicable in this realm in view of the fact that the Church Laws obtaining in England are not in force in this Realm." If at first sight these questions appear independent of one another, they are not really so. And in proceeding to discuss the second, the first will be answered in the course of the discussion, and it will be easy for the reader to determine whether the position of the Bishop in regard to certain matters, which have given rise to "the comments" referred to, is or is not in accordance with the Laws laid down by the Anglican Church in Hawaii for its own government, and with those principles of Church government which, as I shall show, lie at the foundation of the liberty we enjoy under the Charter.

Upon the Trustees there lies a sacred obligation to apply all estate entrusted to them for the purpose of maintaining the Anglican Church according *to the doctrines of the Church of England.* By the "Doctrines" of the Church of England must be understood not only her Articles of Faith, but the entire system under which that Faith is maintained. This is clear by the reference to the Ordinal as well as to the Book of Common Prayer. For whilst, to speak generally, the Faith and Worship of the Church of England are to be learnt from the Book of Common Prayer, the Church's system of government, and the functions of her Threefold Ministry are set forth in the Ordinal.

To the Ordinal then we must turn to ascertain the principles of

Church government as held in the Anglican Communion. There is no need for a long search. The opening words of the Preface are these: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures, and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." From this it is clear that neither the Church nor State of England created these orders of Ministers, but that the Church of England regards them as belonging to the essential constitution of the Church which was planted in England very early in the history of Christianity, and is "so intimately blended with the State, that if you attempt to separate them you will tear up the very roots of the constitution itself."(*a*) Hence it is that every Priest at his ordination is asked whether he "will give faithful diligence always so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as *this Church and Realm hath received the same*."

Thus the Ordinal is witness that the Doctrines of the Church of England do not rest on the authority either of the Church or State of England, but are the Doctrines of the One Holy Catholic Church, which the English people in the early stage of their history, by the authority of their Kings, acting with the consent of their nobles and the council of the nation, *received* as the basis of the National Church, which is known as the Church of England.

It becomes clear then, that, the Doctrines of the Church of England having been received by the Church and State of England, we must look to the sources whence they were received in England in order to arrive at a full understanding of any point at issue in a system which is not the creation either of the Church or State of England, but was received and established in England as a Divine Institution, a "Kingdom" (*b*) "not of this world," but organized and governed according to the will of its Founder Who reigns in Heaven above.

(*a*) 'Our Established Church' by Morris Fuller, Chap. 1, p. 26.
(*b*) Dan. ii, 44. St. John xviii, 36.

Now the first question referred to me touches the relation of the Bishop to the Board of Trustees of which he is President *ex officio*. It is not perfectly clear whether it is desired to consider this relation generally, or with reference to particular cases which have given rise to "the comments" referred to. But in either case it is clearly necessary to determine first what does and what does not belong *de jure* to the "Office" committed to every Bishop by the Laying on of Hands, in respect of administration.

The following passage from a standard work of the Church of England will give a *general* view of the office of a Bishop in the Church of God in respect of administration—"As in the special subject of discipline, so generally in the affairs of the Diocese, the Bishop had the primary administration of them, *with the power of veto*, but (as throughout) with the counsel and consent of his presbyters, and of the Diocese at large." (*c*) In this connection I would point out that in order to administer the affairs of this Diocese on the principle here laid down, it became my early endeavour to form a Diocesan Synod on the lines laid down in 1867 by the Lambeth Conference, (*d*) and that it is by a Diocesan Synod so formed that the *functions* of the Board of Trustees have been determined according to a provision made in the amended Charter.

To come to the *particular* case on which an infinite amount of unnecessary trouble has been made, the question at issue between some of the Trustees (not the Board) touches the power of the Board over land which they hold in TRUST for a specified ecclesiastical purpose. The question is this: Is the power claimed by these members of the Board in accordance with the principles of the Church of England? If not, then it is not in accordance with the Charter.

(*c*) Dict. Christ. Ant. Art. 'Bishop', p. 232.
(*d*) See 'Lambeth Conferences' p. 73.

By a Deed, dated April 29, 1863, His Majesty Kamehameha IV conveyed to the "Synod of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church," by which name the corporation was then known, all that piece of land on which the Cathedral is being built.

This conveyance was made in pursuance of a distinct promise made by His Majesty to the Church of England, as is recorded by Mr. Manley Hopkins in "Hawaii"—"On the 5th of December, 1859, Mr. Wyllie communicated to His Majesty's representative in London, the desire of the King and Queen to have a Church erected in their capital, towards the support of which the King offered on his own behalf and that of residents who desired the Church's Services a certain income. *His Majesty devoted a piece of land for the Church, and to erect a house.* (*e*)

In the spring of 1861, the London Committee for promoting the establishment of a Church in Honolulu issued a circular in which a similar statement occurs: "The King offers on his own behalf and that of his subjects and residents who desire the establishment of the English Church, a yearly payment of £200, *and to give the site for a Church, parsonage, etc.* It is also probable that a grant of land may be made for the future support of the mission." (*f*)

It thus becomes clear that this piece of land was conveyed to the Trustees, and that they hold it in TRUST for the specific purpose of erecting thereon *a Church and a residence for the clergyman.*

I now proceed to show that, according to the Doctrines of the Church of England, the power of the trustees over this piece of land, both as regards their power of sale and of determining the use to which it may be put, was limited from the moment the foundation of the Cathedral was laid, if it had not been already so limited by the donation itself.

(*e*) Manley Hopkins 'Hawaii,' p. 345.
(*f*) Staley's 'Five Years in Hawaii,' p. 16.

The Ordinal, as has been observed, is one of the sources referred to in the Charter for an explanation of the Doctrines of the Church of England. But the Ordinal again refers to 'the Holy Scriptures,' to 'ancient authors,' and again to 'the ancient canons' for its authority. All these, therefore, must be taken into the field of research in explaining the principles of the Church of England.

In the matter of church building, it is a fundamental principle of the Universal Church that "no Church regularly could be builded without the licence or consent of the bishop in whose diocese it was erected." (*g*) This was expressly provided for by the fourth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, one of the undisputed Œcumenical Councils, which subjects both monasteries and churches so to the bishop's care, that neither of them might be founded without his consent and approbation."

The principle thus laid down at the Council of Chalcedon in October, 451, that the bishop was to be consulted before the work of building a church was begun, was declared to be a principle of English Canon Law at a National Synod held in St. Peter's, Westminster, under Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1102, at which it was enacted—"that new chapels should not be built without the Bishop's consent." (*h*) (Can. XII). This principle enunciated at Chalcedon in 451, affirmed at Westminster in 1102, and also in 1138 (*j*) is an abiding one. In 'The Book of Church Law of the Church of England' revised by Sir Walter G. F. Phillimore, D.C.L. it is laid down as "*a principle of the Canon Law that no Church can be erected* without the permission of the bishop of the Diocese in which it is to be situated." (*k*) The writer then goes on to show the

(*g*) Bingham's Ant. of Christ. Ch. Bk. viii, Sect. 4.
(*h*) Collier 'Eccles. Hist. of Gr. Brit.' Vol. i, p. 287.
(*j*) A Canon passed at Westminster in 1138 forbids "any man to build a church or oratory upon his own estate without the bishop's licence." *Johnson's Eccl. Laws.*
(*k*) Book of Church Law, 1882. Bk. V. Chap. 1, p. 304.

great importance of this principle from the following considerations:—

That "the law takes no notice of a Church until it is consecrated."

That "there is no means by which a bishop can be compelled to accept a building for sacred use and consecrate it."

That "he can only so accept it for consecration on certain conditions to which he is bound by law and custom," and

That "the law forbids the clergyman to officiate publicly in any building which is not either consecrated or licensed for Divine Service by the bishop." (*l*)

The relation of the Trustees as well to the particular site on which the Cathedral is being built, as to all sites of Churches in the Diocese, will now be apparent. In the first instance, the land was conveyed to the Trustees for the purpose of erecting on it a Church and a house, either for the Bishop or the principal clergyman. On one portion leave was granted to Miss Sellon to erect buildings for an Educational Institution known as St. Andrew's Priory, to be conducted by the Sisterhood of which she was Mother Superior. The rest remained as a site for the Cathedral and a house.

With the consent of the Bishop the foundation of the Chancel of the Cathedral was laid at the eastern side of the lot, and on the western side a temporary house was erected for the clergy. Plans were drawn and accepted for the Cathedral, and a design for the Bishop's residence to be built in the future was also made. From that time the relation of the Trustees to the site was analogous to that held by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in England to Church sites. Such sites are conveyed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners not that they may deal with such sites as the owners, but in order *that the purpose for which they are given may be secured forever*, and the incumbent enjoy undisputed possession of the free-

(*l*) Ibid. p. 305.

hold. I maintain that the site was then *virtually* set apart for God's service as it will be *actually* when the Cathedral is consecrated, and that the duty of the Trustees towards it, the purpose for which they are incorporated, is to hold the land in TRUST for the purpose for which it was given.

There can be no room for controversy here, when it is understood in what consecration of a Church consists, and what it involves. The following passage from the "Book of Church Law," with regard to consecration, deserves very careful attention:

"The Consecration of a Church consists of three acts; *first*, the Oblation of the land and buildings by the founder or founders; *secondly*, the Benediction of them by the Bishop with the service appointed; *thirdly*, the solemn Sentence of Dedication and Consecration.

1. "*The Oblation by the founder or founders* is made before the service begins. After assenting to the petition made to him, that he will consecrate the Church, the Bishop walks in procession to the altar, the 24th Psalm being sung. As soon as he has seated himself in his chair before the altar, the instruments of conveyance, donation, or endowment are presented to him by the founder, or his substitute. These deeds are then laid upon the altar by the Bishop, as the representatives of the material land and fabric; a similar ceremony having been used from the very first ages of the Church in the Oblation of gifts which could not themselves be laid there.

2. "The *Benediction of the land and buildings* so offered to God then takes place, the service consisting partly of special prayers relating to the occasion, and partly of the ordinary service of Morning Prayer and Holy Communion.

3. "The *Sentence of Consecration* is pronounced after the Offertory, including the offering represented by the deeds upon the altar, has been made. . . . . When it has been read, the Bishop signs the instrument before the notary public, and orders it to be

enrolled by his registrar, and preserved amongst the muniments in his registry." (*m*)

Now, it is indisputable that when the Cathedral is consecrated, and the Deed of Conveyance originally executed by Kamehameha IV has been offered upon the altar, all power of the Trustees over it whether of alienation or of exchange, or of altering the purpose for which it has been set apart ceases entirely. "When a Church has been consecrated, it ceases absolutely and entirely to be the property of the donor, and he has no longer any legal interest in it whatever. That which would have been his property, has now become the House of God, belonging neither to him nor to the parishioners for whose use it is intended, *but to God*. That which is so transferred to God cannot be alienated from Him without sacrilege." (*n*)

The effect then of the consecration of the Cathedral will be that the land on which it stands will be set apart forever to furnish a residence either for the Bishop or one or more of the clergy, and to provide a suitable surrounding for the House of God.

The position I maintain and believe to be unassailable according to the principles of the Church of England is that, from the moment the foundation of the Cathedral was laid with the consent of the Bishop, the relation of the Trustees to the land had become *virtually* and by *intention* the same as it will become *actually* when the Church is consecrated. For consent was given to erect the Church on the understanding that the site as given by the King was given for the Church and House. Such was the full belief among the promoters and supporters of the Mission in England. When the present incumbent of the Episcopal office was asked to take the oversight of this Missionary Diocese, he was told that a house already stood on the Cathedral site for his use. Knowing that the land had been conveyed to *Trustees*, he was fully persuaded that the land and buildings thereon were as *secure* as Church sites and Parsonages are in England. My contention is that they are so by virtue of the *trust* created by the Charter, and that on the several occasions on which the Trustees have dealt or attempted to deal with Church property as if they were *owners*, and not *Trustees*, they have acted in disregard of the principles which lie at the foundation of the Charter.

(*m*) Book of Church Law, Bk. V. Chap. 1, p. 314.
(*n*) Book of Church Law, Bk. V. Chap. i, p. 318.

The first of these occasions occurred in 1882, when the Bishop was in England raising funds for the erection of the Cathedral, and supervising the printing of the new edition of the Hawaiian Prayer Book. Seven years before, in the full belief that the building above referred to, known as the Clergy House, was held by the Trustees for the use of the Bishop and clergy, he had spent no less than $820 of a fund raised in England for the purposes of the Church in Hawaii, towards repairing, adding to, and greatly improving the said house, so as to make it suitable for the residence of the Rev. T. Blackburn, M. A. During his absence Mr. Blackburn left the diocese. The house being vacant, the Trustees suddenly met, and condemning the building as only fit for firewood, sold it to a bakery for $100, without even waiting to communicate with him. Such was their haste to consign it to the oven that, though he sent a telegram as soon as the first intimation reached him of the intention, the sale was complete, and the building removed before the telegram arrived. Thus, by the hands of those to whom the property of the Church is committed for *safe keeping*, was the Church in Hawaii deprived of a house of residence, which was largely the donation of the Mother Church of England, humble no doubt according to the extravagant notions entertained in this luxurious city, but fully sufficient for the messengers of Him, Who, when on earth, had not where to lay His Head. So far from the whole building being in a state of decay as was pretended, the sound portion was removed in sections, rebuilt, and has ever since brought in to the purchaser a rental of $144 per annum.

His absence from the Diocese in 1888, in obedience to the call of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Lambeth Conference, was again made the occasion of an arbitrary setting aside of Church principles with regard to the Cathedral site. In the previous year, the Trustees had leased for ten years an adjoining piece of land connecting the Cathedral site with Beretania Street. In disregard of this lease and under colour of danger of the right of way to Beretania Street being lost, an instrument was drawn up, purporting to be a Memorandum of Agreement between the Trustees and the owner of the lot to give a certain part of it to the Trustees in exchange for a certain piece of the Cathedral site, that approaches at its eastern termination to the position that will be occupied by the West Front of the Cathedral when finished. Whilst some who signed their names to this instrument did so on the distinct understanding that they did not finally bind themselves to enter into any such agreement, the owner of the said lot believed that a valid agreement of exchange had been entered into, which would be completed as soon as the Bishop returned to sign the necessary Deed. He was naturally much annoyed to find that he had been deceived. That the aforesaid instrument was wholly invalid, and not worth the paper it was written on, is clear from the Charter itself, which provides that Deeds in order to be valid require no signatures but those of the President, Treasurer, and Secretary. When the question of exchange finally came before the Board, it was negatived, "the concurrence of two-thirds of the Trustees" as required by the Charter for sales of real estate not being obtained, and so the original gift of Kamehameha IV to the Church remains intact.

The question was then settled under the clause of the Charter which permits the sale of Real Estate "with the concurrence of two-thirds of the Trustees at a meeting specially called for the purpose of deliberating upon the advisability" of such sale. It is now clear to me, and I hope to make it clear to the whole Church

in Hawaii, that the power thus granted to the Trustees is granted them with reference to lands which have not been set apart for specified ecclesiastical purposes. For where they have been so set apart the power is limited by the principles of the Church of England subject to which the Charter is given. It has been shown that after consecration all power of sale and alienation ceases. The Trustees hold such land in TRUST for the purpose for which it has been set apart. They are *Trustees*, not *owners*. With regard to the Cathedral site, although the Cathedral has not yet been consecrated, a portion has been built on the understanding that the land on which it stands belongs to it. According to the principle already laid down, the consent of the Bishop to the erection of the Church upon it with a certain understanding makes it incumbent on the Trustees that that understanding should not be departed from, and that neither alienation nor exchange of one foot of land should be made without his consent, even after two-thirds of the Trustees have concurred in the proposal. For if, after the consent of the Bishop has been given for the erection of a Church on any particular site, it should still remain in the power of the Trustees to deal with that piece of land, as they might with estates held in Trust for the endowment and support of the Church, *no security for Church property in this country remains*. If, without the Bishop's consent, it was in the power of the Trustees to sell *a single foot* of the Cathedral site, after it had been set apart for God's service, it was and is in their power to sell *the whole*. If it was in their power to exchange a piece on the south-west, it is equally in their power to sell a section on the north-west, and so to go on selling and exchanging, until the land is sold up to the very doors and walls of the building itself. It will be said there is no fear of this being done. Perhaps not by this generation. But if what was proposed in 1888 was *within* the power of the Trustees, such proceeding is also within their power, and may be taken in hand by a future Board. I maintain that it is not within their power. As after the consecration of a Church, the alienation of any portion of the site

by the Trustees is *ultra vires*, and cannot be made even with the Bishop's consent, so, when a site has once been set apart for the erection of a Church, no alienation is within their power unless it be with the Bishop's consent. And this only in exceptional cases. As a rule, I believe it to be entirely contrary to Church principles to alienate any land once donated to the Church of God. The following weighty words of Richard Hooker cannot be lightly set aside: "Of service to God the best works are they which continue longest: and for permanency what like Donation, whereby things are unto Him for ever dedicated? That the ancient lands and livings of the Church were all in such sort given into the Hands of God by the just lords and owners of them, that unto Him they passed over their whole interest and right therein, the form of sundry the said donations as yet extant most plainly sheweth. And where time hath left no such evidence as now remaining to be seen, yet the same intention is presumed in all donors, unless the contrary be apparent." (*o*)

I now come to the case which is the immediate cause of the request to which this paper is the reply. The position which the Bishop has taken is that of defence of the authority of the Diocesan Synod, and of the principles already laid down. Briefly, the Chinese Congregation of St. Andrew's Cathedral, who enjoy the privilege of worshipping in a part of the Pro-Cathedral building, and of conducting a school therein, being badly advised, placed in the hands of one of the trustees for presentation to the Board a request signed by the assistant curate of the Cathedral, who is also Missionary to the Chinese, asking that the cottage, standing on the lot given by Her Majesty Queen Emma, might be moved back, and a school room built between it and the Church now being erected for the Chinese. Now, the said land and buildings being placed by the authority of the Diocesan Synod under the control of the

(*o*) Hooker: Eccles. Pol. Bk. VII, Chap. XXII, 6.

Cathedral authorities, it was not in accordance with the Statute by which the trustees are governed that they should receive the said request, and take the initiative in the matter. A requisition, however, was got up and signed by several of the trustees calling upon me as President to call a meeting for the consideration of the said request, to which I replied that the matter had not reached a stage in which it could be considered agreeably with the Statute. Not satisfied with this, five of the trustees again called upon me in writing to summon a meeting in accordance with the clause of the Charter which states that "it shall be the duty of the said President to call a meeting on receiving a written request so to do from one-third of the whole body." To this the substance of my reply was that it is clear from the preceding clause that the purpose for which any meeting is called must fall within the "functions" of the trustees as determined by the Diocesan Synod. Granting that the words "said President" mean the Bishop or his commissary, which is open to argument, I understand those members of the Board who signed the second requisition to maintain that the sentence beginning, "it shall be the duty &c.," is to be taken absolutely, and that the Charter leaves the President no discretion in the matter. If this is the interpretation of the clause in question, it is well that the Hawaiian Government should clearly recognise the power which this Charter puts into the hands of any four of the trustees. According to the contention of the gentlemen who have signed the requisition, if the President should at any time receive a request from a third of the Trustees to call a meeting to consider a proposal from some person or persons engaged in a conspiracy against the Government, it would be the duty of the President to call it. But if there is no room to question that the duty of the President would be to decline to call a meeting for any such purpose, it is admitted that the sentence is not to be taken absolutely. And it being admitted that the intention of the clause is that the subject matter for which the meeting is called must fall within the proper sphere within which the

Trustees exercise their power under the Charter, it follows by parity of reasoning that the subject matter for which any meeting is called must fall within the "functions" of the Trustees as determined by the Diocesan Synod. In my reply to the second requisition of the Trustees, *(p)* I confined myself to showing that it was not within the functions of the Trustees to consider a request touching the disposition of land or buildings set apart for definite ecclesiastical purposes, unless it came from those to whom the control and management of the said buildings had been by statute committed.

But the consideration of the said request is further barred by the principle I have already laid down. For were the request for the consideration of which the meeting is desired granted, it would be necessary for the cottage now standing on the lot given by Queen Emma to be moved on to the Cathedral site given by Kamehameha IV, and now for over 20 years reserved for a House for the Bishop or one of the Clergy, in order that a school room may be built between it and the Church for the Chinese. And so the original intention with which that land was given, and for which the Board hold it in *Trust*, would be departed from, and the provision made by Kamehameha IV to meet the spiritual needs of his own people, and the English speaking residents, would be handed over for the support of a mission to a new race of immigrants, a mission which it is the duty of the Church to carry on with all earnestness, but not at the expense of inflicting a lasting injury on the Cathedral Church, which must first be maintained according to the intention of its founder, as the centre from which all religious effort, and all missions to the heathen around must flow.

I have thus, I trust, made it clear that in every case where the Bishop has been unable to agree with some of the Trustees, the Trustees have been at no pains or trouble to acquaint themselves

(*p*) See Appendix.

with the principles of the Church of England, according to which they are solemnly bound to discharge the Trust committed to them. It now remains to show that whatever powers and responsibilities are inherent in the office of a bishop, they are as much his when he presides over the Board of Trustees, as when he presides in the Diocesan Synod. Some have hitherto supposed that on the Board of Trustees the bishop is merely the President of a Trust created by Hawaiian Law, and that for the time being the Episcopal office is in abeyance. It is impossible that this should be the case. For the Charter provides that the Trustees should be presided over by the Bishop or his Commissary. A commissary is one to whom certain powers and functions are committed. It is not necessary for the commissary to be one of the Trustees. Nevertheless in the bishop's absence he presides. Why? Because of the functions committed to him by the bishop. The office of a bishop is entirely unknown to Hawaiian Law. It has been shown that it was created neither by the Church, nor State of England, but was received by England as part of the Ministry of the Church which Christ left on earth, and was handed on to the Hawaiian Kingdom; and, wherever the office is referred to in the Charter, it can only be referred to as possessing those rights, powers, and responsibilities, with which the office has been invested from the beginning.

Do any seriously suppose that a Charter granted in the 19th century, by a Kingdom not a century old, can in any way alter or modify the functions of an office which England throughout her history has maintained according to its original institution? "A thousand five hundred years and upward" writes Richard Hooker, who died in 1600, two centuries before these Islands were discovered, "the Church of Christ hath continued under the sacred regiment of bishops. Neither for so long hath Christianity been ever planted in any kingdom throughout the world but with this kind of government alone; which to have been ordained of God, I

am for my part even so resolutely persuaded as that any kind of government in the world whatsoever is of God. In this realm of England, before Normans, yea before Saxons, there being Christians, the chief pastors of their souls were bishops. At the arrival of Augustine the monk, whom Gregory sent hither to reclaim the Saxons from Gentility about six hundred years after Christ, the Britons he found observers still of the selfsame government by bishops over the rest of the clergy; under this form Christianity took root again, where it had been exiled. Under the selfsame form it remained till the days of the Norman conqueror. By him and his successors thereunto sworn, it hath from that time till now by the space of five hundred years more been upheld." *(q)*

But here it may be said that no one disputes either the antiquity or the Divine origin of the Episcopal office, but that the office, being a spiritual one, has no inherent right or responsibility touching the lands, revenue, or temporal affairs of the Church. Now if this be so, how is it to be explained that in the beginning of the Gospel, when many who were "possessors of lands or houses sold them" for the benefit of the Church, they should have "brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the *Apostles'* feet" *(r)* If it is not according to Church principles that the bishop should have the *primary charge* in the administration of Diocesan affairs, how comes it that among the canons which are entitled 'Apostolical' we should find the following, "We appoint that the bishop have care of those things which belong to the Church."*(s)* With regard to the bishop's care in the disposition of the goods of the Church, the following passage from an ancient writer will show that a responsibility rested on the bishop of which he could not divest himself. "It was necessary for one to be troubled herewith to the end that the rest under him might be freer to attend quietly their spiritual businesses," and lest any man should imagine that

(*q*) Hooker's Eccles. Pol. Bk. vii, Chap. i, Sect. 4.
(*r*) Acts IV. 34, 35.
(*s*) Can. 40.

bishops by this means were hindered themselves from attending the service of God, "even herein," he says, "they do God service; for if those things which are bestowed on the Church be God's, he doth the work of God, who not of a covetous mind, but with purpose of most faithful administration, taketh care of the things consecrated unto God." *(t)*

There are then attached to the office of a bishop inherent responsibilities touching the administration of the temporal affairs of the Diocese, as well as its spiritual government, of which he cannot divest himself, and which remain the same in every part of the world, and under every form of civil government.

"All Christian Churches" says the learned Barrow, "are one by a specifical unity of discipline, resembling one another in ecclesiastical administration, which are regulated by the indispensable sanctions and institutions of their Sovereign.

"They must uphold that sort of order, government and ministry in all its substantial parts, which God did *appoint* in the Church, or *give thereto*, as St. Paul expresseth it; it being a temerarious and dangerous thing to innovate in those matters which our Lord had a special care to order and settle.

"In lesser matters of ceremony or discipline (instituted by human prudence) churches may differ, and it is expedient they should do so, in regard to the various circumstance of things, and qualities of persons to which discipline should be accommodated; but *no power ought to abrogate, destroy, or infringe, or violate the main form of discipline constituted by Divine appointment."(u)*

That which this learned writer here states ought not to be done, it ought to be unnecessary to show that there was no desire on the part of the Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom to do. That the King with the advice of His Ministers should have invited the Church of England to send out a branch of the Anglican Com-

(*t*) Prosper de Vita Contempl. l. ii. c. 16, quoted in Eccles. Pol. Bk. vii, Chap. xxiii. 9.
(*u*) Barrow 'Unity of the Church,' vii. Vol. iii, p. 212.

munion to his realm, and when in response to that invitation a Bishop was consecrated to be the chief pastor of the Church in the Hawaiian Kingdom, the church of which he is the head was only permitted to hold lands under a Charter which infringed and limited the administrative functions, which have been inherent in all ages in the office of a bishop, is a supposition, the untenableness of which becomes apparent on the mere mention of it. The Church of England having sent a bishop and clergy of her communion to found in this realm a branch of the Anglican Communion, the Government granted a charter enabling the said Church to acquire and hold lands for the maintenance of the Church of the said Communion, according to the Doctrines of the Church of England, and in providing that the Bishop should be the President of the Board of Trustees, no other interpretation of the Charter is possible, but that the Bishop, sitting as President of the Board, sits with all the administrative functions inherent in the office of a bishop as received by the Church of England, and handed on to the Kingdom of Hawaii.

By the creation of a Diocesan Synod provided for in the Charter, the Government of the Anglican Church in Hawaii is conducted on the basis laid down at the Lambeth Conference in 1867, and adopted throughout the rest of the Anglican Communion in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, and elsewhere. On this basis there is no room for arbitrary action on the part either of the Bishop or of the Laity. The concurrent consent of Bishop, Clergy, and Laity is obtained to all legislative action. By such concurrent consent have the "functions" of the Trustees been determined, and it is by the Synod that any question, that may arise respecting those functions, must be settled. In the matter that has caused all this agitation in the smallest branch of the Anglican Communion, the Bishop has been guided entirely by the plain regulations formulated with the concurrent consent of the Bishop, Clergy, and Laity in Diocesan Synod.

And, if in the United States it has been decided with regard to the Anglican Church, that the courts' "have no right and therefore will not exercise the power to decide ecclesiastical law. The Church should . . . . . enact and construct its own laws;" *(v)* surely in the Kingdom of Hawaii, the Diocesan Synod of the Anglican Church will be permitted to interpret its own enactments made for the government of the Church.

In other matters, in which the Diocesan Synod has as yet passed no statutes, nor could prudently proceed to legislate for the Anglican Church in Hawaii, this Church, as a branch of the Church of England, is bound by the laws and canons of the mother Church of England. If it be not so, the Church cannot be established and maintained according to the "Doctrines" of that Church as required by the charter. In this kingdom the Anglican Church is a voluntary association, and every member of that association, as long as he is a member, (I quote the words of the judgment above referred to,) "and having a full share in all benefits resulting therefrom, should adhere to its discipline, conform to its doctrines and mode of worship, *and obey its laws and canons.* If reason and conscience will not permit, the connexion should be severed. 'The only remedy which the member of a voluntary association has when he is dissatisfied with the proceedings of the body with which he is connected is to withdraw from it. *(Foster v Eden.)*'" *(w)*

(v) Chase v Cheney. Sup. Court of Ill., Eccles. Courts Com., Vol. ii, p. 639.

(w) Judgment of Sup. Court of Ill. *Chase v Cheney.*

PART II.

A REVIEW

OF

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

IN THE KINGDOM OF HAWAII.

It will be to little purpose to have thus made clear the position of the Bishop in regard to questions which have arisen respecting the tenure of land set apart for definite ecclesiastical purposes, unless a full and impartial consideration of the present position of the Anglican Church in Hawaii is given by those in authority, who are to-day the representatives of those by whom the Anglican Church was invited to the Islands.

This branch of the Anglican Church established in the Hawaiian Islands occupies a unique position among the Churches of the Anglican Communion which is now represented by duly organized dioceses in every part of the globe. For, whereas all other sees had their origin either in the solicitude of the Mother Church of England to provide for the spiritual wants of her own children in the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain, or in the sending out of a Mission for the evangelisation of heathen nations, the

Anglican Church in Hawaii was planted in this Kingdom at the earnest request and solicitation of the reigning Sovereign. No Mission of the Church of England in modern times has been sent out with such high expectations as that to which Bishop Staley was consecrated on Dec. 15, 1861, by Archbishop Sumner, assisted by the Bishops of London and Oxford. The mind of English Churchmen was carried back to the Mission of Augustine to the Saxon Kingdom of Ethelbert in 596. It was not unreasonably argued, if the Mission sent by Gregory, uninvited, to the King of the Saxons, was well received and immediately supported, what may not be looked for when at the earnest request of an independent Sovereign, the Church of England sends forth a Bishop and Clergy to establish her Faith and Worship within his realm. History records that from the moment that Augustine and his companions landed in the Isle of Thanet, they were furnished with all conveniences, and after their first audience with the King at Canterbury, he "furnished them with houses in Canterbury, the capital of his Kingdom, and supplied them with other conveniences."(*x*) There is no reference in history to their being henceforth dependent for food and raiment on funds supplied by the Church in Italy. As the messengers of the Kingdom of Heaven, the Kingdom to which they were sent maintained them, and finally by a Deed, which is still extant, King Ethelwulf granted (*y*) the tithes of the West Saxon Kingdom to the Church. In referring to this interesting page of English history, it is right to state clearly that it was perfectly understood in England that on the part of the Government of Hawaii no discrimination could be made in favor of the support of the English Church. The Church of England has no claim on the revenues of the State of Hawaii. But, if the earnest solicitation, in response to which the Church of England sent a Bishop and Clergy to establish the Faith and Worship of the Anglican Communion, for the benefit alike of foreigners and

(*x*) Collier, 'Eccles. Hist. of Gt. Britain,' Bk. II. Vol. 1, p. 64. (*y*) Id. p. 760.

natives, within the realm of the King of Hawaii, constitutes no claim for the continued fulfilment of the promises with which that solicitation was accompanied, it would seem that different ideas as to the nature of a covenant must be held in the Sandwich Islands, to that which has prevailed among the rest of mankind, among heathen and Christian nations alike.

The promise with which Kamehameha IV accompanied his request to the Archbishop of Canterbury has already been stated. That the Mission received liberal assistance outside of the amount stipulated by the King is well-known, though no record of his gifts remains. His brother, Kamehameha V, on succeeding to the Throne, continued to fulfil the obligations entered into by his predecessor, and in addition expended another $1,000 per annum on the educational institutions established by the Mission.‡ In 1871, after Bishop Staley had found himself obliged to retire from the oversight of the Mission, the King wrote an autograph letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tait), asking that another Bishop might be sent out, and pledging an annual contribution of $2,000. The influential Committee of which the Archbishop of Canterbury was President, that then had the management of the affairs of the Mission in England, appropriated this contribution of the King towards the stipend of the Bishop by a resolution passed at Winchester House on Jan. 10, 1872. It was with this promise of support the present incumbent of the Episcopal office was called to and undertook the oversight of the Mission. Within six months of his arrival, the King died, and with his death, the Bishop was deprived of two-thirds of the income of the See. It was not till two years afterwards, that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, by increasing their grant to this Diocese, raised the stipend of the Bishop to £450 per annum, i. e. $187.50 per month, at which it has remained ever since.

‡ Five years in Hawaii, p. 56.

The question to be considered by all who are interested in the maintenance of the Anglican Church in this Kingdom is whether the Kingdom was released from all obligation for the maintenance of the Bishop and the Church by the death of the King, by whom, not acting without the consent of his Ministers, the obligation had been undertaken. It was not undertaken on his own personal account. It was for the sake of his Kingdom, and in recognition of the value of services rendered to his people by the Anglican Church‡ that Kamehameha V. renewed the application to the Church of England, accompanying it with the above mentioned assurance of support. Is it to be supposed that he made it, or that the Heads of the Church received it, as dependent on the thread of a single life, "that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away?"*

The Church of England, on her part, has done all and more than was originally undertaken. During the eighteen years of the present Episcopate, the amount contributed by the Church of England towards the maintenance of the Anglican Church in these Islands has never been less than $5,000 per annum, rising in some years to $6,000. This does not include large sums given for building purposes, the English contribution towards the Cathedral being upwards of $20,000, Miss Sellon having spent $7,000 in establishing St. Andrew's Priory, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge having, besides its gift of $2,500 to the Cathedral, given at various times grants, which exceed $2,000, to assist the building of Churches, or Church work at Lahaina, South Kona, Kohala, Makapala, and lastly, the Church for the Chinese in Honolulu.

And now what is the return made to-day for the benefits thus

‡ See the King's letter to the House of Bishops of the Church of the United States, August, 1866, published in "Five Years in Hawaii," p. 72.
*S. James iv, 14.

showered upon the Kingdom by the Church of England. On the Bishop, to whom the charge of the mission is entrusted, there rests a *personal* responsibility to every clergyman that he has invited to take part in the Mission. No clergyman who has come here during the last 18 years has received his whole stipend from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The whole sum placed in the Bishop's hands annually by the Society for the support of the clergy in the Diocese is $1,250. This has to be dispensed according to the following wise regulation: "The allowance from the society to each missionary with a Christian congregation will in no case exceed £100, nor exceed twice the amount of the contributions of parishioners, nor exceed one half of his whole professional income." It will be clear that no clergyman would ever come to these Islands, unless he has a guarantee of something more than the Society's grant. In nearly every case the Bishop has given a guarantee to those whom he has invited, relying on the subscriptions and offerings of the parishes or congregations to which they are appointed to enable him to fulfil his guarantees. Passages have been paid and deficits supplied out of a special fund raised in England, the subscribers to which are many of them poorer than the majority of people in these Islands. Under such circumstances what other expectation could be formed than that the parishes and congregations would make every effort to render themselves self supporting, and to relieve their chief pastor of the burden undertaken on their behalf? It is difficult to conceive a deeper state of religious indifference than one in which professing Christians give next to nothing for the ministrations of religion, and are wholly careless as to the source from which they are supplied. But the state is worse, when knowing this, they enter into a combination not to support the ministrations provided for them, absent themselves from the House of God, and withhold offerings from His service, to the ruin of their own church, and the involving in financial embarassment, their chief pastor whose personal ministrations have never cost them one cent, and who has

entered into a personal guarantee on their behalf. And, as if this was not enough, the reproach of stagnation of church work is raised by the very persons who have done their best to cause it. Stagnation! how can there be anything else? In the days of Nehemiah the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem went on slowly, because the builders had only one hand free for their work, having to keep the other on their weapon of defence. They were surrounded by adversaries who were bent on causing the work to cease. In their case their adversaries were from without. Alas! that I should have to write it, the hindrance to the work of the Anglican Church comes from within. Instead of my hands being free for the work to which I have been sent, the pen that should be employed in the promotion of true religion, and arresting the ungodliness that overspreads the land like a flood, has been constantly engaged in warding off the petty attacks of those who seem to take delight in hindering the work of the church, to which they profess to belong.

And what is the immediate cause of the present antagonism? It has arisen from the recent appointment made by the Bishop to the Cathedral Church of a Priest of blameless life, of theological attainments, and ministerial qualifications, as high as possessed by any who have been sent to this country in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, one whose services would be highly appreciated in any diocese in England or the colonies. The appointment injured no one, while it placed the Cathedral on a better footing, than it has ever before reached. But the busy tongue of detraction and misrepresentation poured its venom into listening ears, and stirred up a belief in the existence of wrongs, which had no existence except in imagination, redress for which was sought in a memorial composed by one who never took the pains to ascertain the truth of statements to which signatures were solicited, a great number of those that were obtained being of persons who, whilst nominally members of the Anglican Church, are living in almost total neglect of religion.

Now this wave of antagonism, directed at one against whom no allegation affecting his ministerial character has been or can be made, unites with a wave previously set in motion,* in sweeping over the Bishop, and does not stay its onset until it dashes itself against the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Mother Church of England, through whose tender care it is that a Bishop and Clergy have been sent here, and the ministrations of religion have so long been maintained without interruption.

What is the end to be? Is the Anglican Church, after laboring for upwards of a quarter of a century to promote true religion and piety in the Kingdom to be permitted to wither and die under the eyes of those who, while they claim the ministrations it offers, and expect a Clergyman to be here to bury them when they die, withhold the means for his support. and rob the House of God of its proper maintenance.

To-day, the members of the Anglican Church in this city, though

*NOTE.—On the first of April, 1889, a Committee of twelve was appointed to draw up an indictment against the Bishop. This was done in a document occupying nine sheets of foolscap, the authors of which state that they represent the views of "*the intelligence, the devotion*, the means and the material in general upon which the carrying on of Church work in the diocese has largely depended, and must continue to depend." The indictment is summed up in the following words:

"We cannot but feel that the difficulties we have alluded to proceed from the Bishop's unwillingness to encourage the voluntary efforts in temporal matters upon which the Anglican Church in Hawaii is compelled to rely unless such efforts are exactly in the form which recommends itself to his unaided judgment, unless in fact they are practically in obedience to his dictation."

Which means, that the Bishop being in the final resort responsible for what is done in the diocese, he has declined to be swayed by the opinions of persons whose experience and study has not lain in directions which enabled them to aid his judgment in matters ecclesiastical and diocesan.

This document, though dated April 4, was not mailed till about Sept. 19, and is now lodged at Lambeth Palace to be a perpetual witness to the intelligence and devotion of its authors, one copy being sent to 19 Delahay Street, the office of the S. P. G., and another to Northumberland Avenue, the office of the S. P. C. K., two Societies which extend their operations through the whole Anglican Church, and which, during a period of eighteen years, have never turned a deaf ear to any application for the benefit of the Islands presented by the Head of the Mission for the assistance of voluntary efforts which the authors of the indictment charge him with discouraging.

they may know it not, are being weighed in the balance, and who can tell that the sentence will not go forth, "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate."

Does any hope remain? I call back the promises of the Kamehamehas. Are they to be forever forgotten? Is the covenant made with the Church of England to be regarded as annulled?

I cannot think that it will be so considered by those at whose request this paper has been written. The history of the chosen race will furnish an illustration of the position. In the year 536 B. C., when Cyrus issued a proclamation for the return of the children of Judah to their own land, he also made a decree for the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem, "the expenses to be given out of the King's house."† "But the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building, and *hired counsellors against them*, to frustrate their purpose,"‡ and so a reversal was obtained of the decree of Cyrus." "Then ceased the work of the house of God which is at Jerusalem."‖ It was stopped for some sixteen years, until in the second year of Darius the prophets Zechariah and Haggai stirred up the heart of the people to resume the work,† and a letter‡ was sent to the Emperor Darius praying that search might be made in the King's treasure house for the original decree of Cyrus. The decree was found, and enforced in true Persian style by a fresh decree of Darius.*

Following this example, I make request that search may be made among the records of the Kingdom for Mr. Wyllie's letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to Earl Russell, and to the Hawaiian Consul in London, also for a copy of the autograph letter of Kamehameha IV to Queen Victoria, all of which had reference to the first sending out of a Bishop and clergy of the Anglican Church to

† Ezra vi, 4. ‡ iv, 4, 5. ‖ iv, 24. † v, 1, 2. ‡v, 6–17. * vi, 8—13.

this Kingdom, and also a copy of the letter of Kamehameha V to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1871. And, if the promises therein contained be found to be as I have stated, I further request that some method be adopted by which the modest sum of $2,000 per annum may be assured towards the maintenance of St. Andrew's Cathedral, as the See of one of the Bishops of the Anglican Church. This will give a degree of permanence to its maintenance until it is endowed. It is due to the Mother Church of England which, for upwards of a quarter of century, has furnished half the support of the clergy who have ministered in the Islands, that the maintenance of the Cathedral should be placed on a sure foundation. For it is important to bear in mind that it was not for the sake merely of the residents in Honolulu that such liberal contributions have been given in England towards its erection, but in order to found in the Hawaiian Islands a *Cathedral* Church of the Anglican Communion.

APPENDIX.

REQUEST OF FIVE OF THE TRUSTEES FOR A MEETING OF THE BOARD,

WITH THE BISHOP'S REPLY.

HONOLULU: July 29th, 1890.

MY LORD:—We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of July 9th, replying to our respectful request of July 2nd, that you would call a meeting of the Trustees of the Anglican Church in Hawaii.

We have now the honor to request that you will forthwith call a meeting of the said Trustees, in accordance with the terms of the Charter of the Anglican Church in Hawaii, for the consideration of the matter mentioned in our previous letter, and of any other necessary business; and, should your Lordship not comply with this request, we shall feel it to be our duty to take immediate steps for ascertaining what is our legal position as Trustees under the Charter of Incorporation.

We remain, my Lord,

Your obedient servants,

T. MAY,
THOS. R. WALKER,
MARK P. ROBINSON,
GEO. S. HARRIS,
H. W. MIST,

Trustees of the Anglican Church in Hawaii.

[Reply.]

Honolulu, July 31, 1890.

To T. May, Esq., and others,

Trustees of the Anglican Church in Hawaii.

Gentlemen:—I have the honour to acknowledge your comunication of July 29, requesting me to call a meeting of the Trustees "for the consideration of the matter mentioned in our previous letter, and of any other necessary business."

Permit me to observe that in my reply to the said "previous letter" I pointed out to you that I was debarred from complying with your request by the circumstance that the matter, for the consideration of which you desired the meeting to be called, could not "be considered by the Board agreeably with the Statute by which the Trustees are governed," in other words, that the matter for which you requested me to call a meeting lay outside the "functions" of the Trustees as determined by the Diocesan Synod, in a Statute entitled "a Statute for Regulating the appointment and functions of the Trustees."

The letter I have now received from you takes no notice of the weighty objection raised in my reply to compliance with your request, but briefly demands that I proceed to fulfil *your* behest regardless of the laws which the Church has made for her own government in this Kingdom. It accordingly becomes necessary for me to point out somewhat more at length that the matter is one which cannot be so easily disposed of.

By the constitution of the Anglican Church in this Kingdom, the Diocesan Synod is its legislative body. By it the Trustees of its property are elected, and by it the functions and duties of the Trustees are determined. The Charter creating the corporation to hold in trust the property of the Anglican Communion for the purposes of that Communion recognizes the Diocesan Synod as possessing these powers.

It is a principle accepted by the Anglican Communion throughout the world, that the members of that Communion in countries

where the Church is not established by law are bound *in foro conscientiæ* by the rules of the Diocesan Synod. This principle is enunciated in the following words:

"By the Diocesan Synod the cooperation of all members of the body is obtained in Church action, and that acceptance of Church rules is secured which in the absence of other law, usage, or enactment gives to those rules the force of laws "binding on those who expressly or by implication have consented to them." (Lambeth Conferences Report under Res. V., 1867.)

This is your position as members of the Anglican Church. But it is not only in *foro conscientiæ* that the Rules of the Diocesan Synod are binding upon you as Trustees, by virtue of your membership in the Church. As Trustees incorporated by the State for the purpose of holding property in trust for the purposes of the Anglican Communion, we are responsible to the State for discharging our Trust in accordance with the functions committed to us by the Diocesan Synod, and not otherwise, nor in any other manner.

By no fair and reasonable interpretation of the Charter can it be maintained that by the clause in the Charter beginning, "the Trustees etc.," it becomes the duty of the President to call a meeting for a purpose which not only does not fall within the functions of the Trustees, but the consideration of which by them would set aside clearly defined rights and privileges granted and secured by the Diocesan Synod.

I have further to point out to you that the communication now before me not only repeats a request to me to call a meeting in disregard of the Statute regulating our functions, but adds a further request compliance with which would violate the By-Laws made by the Trustees themselves and ratified by the Synod.

If, as you state, you feel it be your duty to ascertain whether the Laws of the Kingdom will sanction your requiring your President to summon a meeting for the consideration of a matter which must pass through other stages before it comes within the functions of the Board as determined by the Legislative body of our communion,

and further, whether in summoning such a meeting you may call upon him, and compel him to obey your call, to set aside the By-Laws of the Trustees themselves, this duty should be discharged. For my part, I also have a duty to fulfil. Eighteen years ago, in July, 1872, I promised before God and the assembled congregation in the Pro-Cathedral to "maintain and defend the rights, privileges, and liberties of the Church" in this Kingdom. With that promise registered in Heaven it is my plain duty to decline to summon a meeting according to the terms of your letter, seeing that I cannot call it except in arbitrary violation:

First, of the Constitution of the Anglican Church in this country;

Secondly, of the Statute of the Diocesan Synod regulating the functions of the Trustees;

Thirdly, of the Charter of Incorporation; and

Fourthly, of the By-Laws of the Trustees.

The request of members of the Board for the meeting cannot release me from the responsibility of such violation..

In conclusion, I have only to ask that in taking the steps referred to in your letter for discharging what you feel to be your duty, you will file this letter with any application you may make to the Court, as an outline of your President's position.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Yours very faithfully,

ALFRED HONOLULU.

PART III

ECONOMIC: SUGAR, RECIPROCITY AND LABOR

C. H. HYDE
Honolulu.

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Prepared for the Finance Committee of the Senate,

By FREDERICK H. ALLEN,

His Hawaiian Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires (ad interim.)

Thomas McGill & Co., Law Printers, Washington, D.C.

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Commercial Aspect of the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty.

By Frederick H. Allen,

His Hawaiian Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires (ad interim.)

Increase of Trade.

One of the advantages of the treaty has been the great stimulus it has given to business.

The total amount of exports and imports between Hawaii and the United States—

In 1875 was	$1,922,555
In 1876 was	2,191,845
In 1877 was	4,092,225
In 1878 was	4,524,779
In 1879 was	5,632,856
In 1880 was	6,692,614
In 1881 was	8,373,075
In 1882 was	10,997,067

Showing that in each period of three years since the treaty went into effect the volume of trade has doubled.

But it is contended that the Islanders are getting the best of the bargain.

The export and import tables are quoted, and it is said that the balance of trade is largely in favor of Hawaii:

Imports from Hawaii in 1876	$1,376,681
Imports from Hawaii in 1877	2,550,335
Imports from Hawaii in 1878	2,678,830
Imports from Hawaii in 1879	3,130,273
Imports from Hawaii in 1880	4,464,663
Imports from Hawaii in 1881	5,517,737
Imports from Hawaii in 1882	7,621,690
Exports to Hawaii in 1876	$724,267
Exports to Hawaii in 1877	1,109,429
Exports to Hawaii in 1878	1,683,446

Exports to Hawaii in 1879	2,288,178
Exports to Hawaii in 1880	1,985,506
Exports to Hawaii in 1881	2,694,538
Exports to Hawaii in 1882	3,272,272

This certainly looks as if the United States were a loser, but it can be shown that the *gains of* the *trade* are *really almost* equally distributed.

As the Island commerce is almost entirely confined to this country, the Hawaiians sending nearly all their exports here and never having bought in any one year much more than $1,000,000 worth of goods elsewhere, and generally buying less, it seems clear that were there a balance of trade of some two or three millions a year in favor of the Islands that the shipments of gold and silver to Hawaii must have been very heavy. It is in this way only, or by giving the Islanders bills of exchange on other countries for goods bought there, that the United States could pay their indebtedness. What as a matter of fact has been the movement of gold and silver to Hawaii?

Value of gold and silver coin and bullion imported and exported since treaty.

	Exports.	*Imports.*	*Excess of Exports.*
1877	$187,595	$81,424	$106,085
1878	100,250	9,600	90,650
1879	134,980	6,626	128,354
1880	468,561	8,910	459,651
1881	202,685	45,400	157,285
1882	102,499	1,100	101,399
Total			$1,043,424
Yearly average			173,904

But how account for the fact that in the fiscal year 1882 (taking the year in which the balance of trade against this country is apparently the largest) Hawaii sent the United States $7,621,690 worth of her products, and the United States returned $3,272,172 in goods, $102,499 of coin, and less than $1,000,000 of bills of exchange on foreign countries? If these were all the figures it certainly would not be matter for complaint that Americans should buy for about

$4,450,000 worth of merchandise, coin and bills of exchange, goods valued at $7,621,690. No trader or merchant would object to exchanging something worth $4 for something worth $7.

We must go below the surface to explain this apparent discrepancy, and here *three* points are to be noted of great importance:

I. That the treaty has opened a field for the profitable investment of American capital.

II. That a large amount of American money has been loaned in Hawaii.

III. That all the carrying trade, commission business, insurance, etc., etc., is done by Americans.

The returns on these investments, the interest on these loans, and the sums necessary to liquidate them, and whatever is paid for freights, commissions, etc., are paid by rice, sugar, etc., shipped to San Francisco. The price they bring appears in the import tables, and swells what is called the exaggerated balance of trade in favor of Hawaii; but the money got from their sale is paid into the hands of the people of California, Boston and New York, who have invested, loaned, or are running ships there, and is used by them and not by Hawaiians. That is to say, $4,251,673 worth of sugar, rice, etc., the difference between the value of our exports (coin and merchandise) and that of the Hawaiian imports, was paid to Americans or expended in bills of exchange on London, Paris, or Australia. The amount of bills so bought was, in 1882 about $958,000, (being the amount paid for goods bought in countries other than the United States, for as nearly all Hawaiian products are sent to America, Hawaiians can only pay this indebtedness elsewhere by bills of exchange drawn upon foreign countries, and Hawaiian importations from countries other than America must give us the exact amount of such bills.) So that of the $7,621,690 worth of Hawaiian products something over $3,251,673 *must* have gone into

American pockets, being the returns received upon their investments, loans, shipping, agency and other commercial business. For it can be accounted for in no other way.

Profits of Americans in the Island Business.

The profits of Americans in this Island business are very great. Estimates have been made with care of the amount of capital invested in sugar plantations by Americans living in the States, of what has been loaned in Hawaii and invested in shipping. These investments amount to about $15,000,000. Of this $3,200,000 is in ships and wharves, $3,300,000 in loans, and about $8,500,000 in plantations. The average return on plantation investments was, in 1882, 12½ per cent. This would amount, on $8,500,000, to $1,060,000. The rate of interest on loans is 10 per cent.; on $3,300,000, therefore, $330,000. The price paid for commissions, freights, insurance, handling of goods in port, comes to about 16 per cent. of the invoice value of all goods. This on the $11,000,000 worth of exports and imports handled in 1882 would amount to $1,760,000. The approximate correctness of this last estimate can be shown in another way. The returns on capital invested in the shipping business are about 20 per cent. On $3,200,000 the profits would be $640,000. The commissions are 7½ per cent. This on $11,000,000 worth of exports and imports would be $825,000, which gives $1,465,000 for commissions and freights, leaving $295,000 for insurance, handling of goods in port, &c.; a total, therefore, of over $3,000,000, thus showing the reason for the fact that the imports to this country exceed the exports to Hawaii, as they must do so in order that Hawaiians can pay their debts, and in order that Americans can get returns on their capital. The principle of the American trade with the Islands is exactly the same as that shown by England's trade with foreign countries. England's imports every year

greatly exceed her exports, I believe generally to the amount of over £100,000,000. The reason is that she does the carrying trade of the world and has immense amounts of capital invested abroad. As Americans do the Hawaiian carrying trade, and have invested there largely, imports to America must exceed exports, or else Hawaiians would be running into debt and Americans making no profits on their business.

Per capita consumption of exports from U. S. by Hawaiians.

But if it still be objected that exports are too small, consider for one moment the *per capita* consumption of American exports by Hawaiians. It is *four* times that of any other nation. England stands next on the list, the British provinces third.

In 1882 the United States exported to United Kingdom		$404,248,031 00
Population	36,000,000	
Exports per capita, therefore		11 23
Exported to British provinces		35,289,859 00
Population	3,900,000	
Exports per capita		9 00
Exports to Hawaiian Islands		3,272,172 00
Population	72,000	
Exports per capita		45 44

This is certainly not a bad showing.

Hawaiians take manufactured goods for raw material.

Leaving, then, this part of our argument, which shows that the Hawaiians are not the only gainers from this trade, let us consider some of the benefits that have accrued from the kind of business transacted under the treaty. Hawaii has no manufactures. She raises sugar, rice, &c., which the United States do not save in small quantities. She takes in exchange manufactures, dry goods, &c.; *i. e.*, she exports raw material and receives the products of skilled

labor. The policy of the United States has always been through her protective tariffs to build up a diversity of industries. The Island demand generated by the treaty is of just this diverse kind.

For example, among the articles of American produce and manufacturing are the following for 1881:

Animals	$85,867
Bread and breadstuffs	223,716
Cotton, and manufactures of	179,902
Drugs	44,090
Fruits	35,175
Hay	30,811
Iron and steel, and manufactures of	580,782
Leather, and manufactures of	114,623
Oils	67,069
Paper and stationery	41,010
Provisions	255,558
Tobacco, and manufactures of	77,756
Wearing apparel	43,758
Wood, and manufactues of	394,168

To show the increase of the Island demand, both in quantity and number of products, I quote from the Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco for 1882, p. 8:

Barley, centals	for 1876	894	for 1881	28,807
Boots and shoes, cases	"	424	"	1,611
Bran sacks	"	4,672	"	44,315
Bricks, number	"	74,000	"	1,482,415
Shingles, number	"	5,663,000	"	12,216,500
Dry goods, packages	"	84	"	1,115
Machinery, packages	"	76	"	22,206
Laths	"	0	"	64,000
Canned meats, cases	"	0	"	3,510
Oil, China nut, cases	"	0	"	547

Navigation Interest, (Carrying Trade; Ship Building.)

I have adverted to this trade already. It is a redeeming feature in the navigation interest. Twenty-five years ago 75 per cent. of the imports and exports of the United States was carried in American vessels. Last year but 15 per cent. was so carried. (U. S. Bureau of Statistics Reports.) Even now efforts are making in Congress to

adopt legislation which shall build up American shipping. But if our relations with Hawaii could extend to other countries it would seem our ship-owners and ship-builders would have nothing to fear, for nearly all this business is done by Americans.

Of interest as showing the increase in the carrying trade, I quote a statement of the Hawaiian consul in San Francisco:

Calendar Year.	*Arrivals.*	*Departures.*
1875	45	49
1876	48	42
1877	52	64
1878	68	74
1879	97	91
1880	110	96
1881	127	111

The following extract from a report made by Mr. Comley, minister resident at Honolulu, dated April 11, 1881, to the Secretary of State, gives additional information on this subject:

"The showing for American shipping is gratifying. Not only have our ship-builders furnished nearly all the new steamers and other vessels introduced, and our owners also transferred most of the bottoms which have changed register to the Hawaiian flag under Hawaiian owners, but the bulk of all the trade between the two countries has been carried under the American flag. Excluding whalers, out of 235 merchant vessels and steamers visiting Hawaiian ports, 179 were American, leaving 60 only of all other nations. Total tonnage, 141,906. American, 99,619; all others, 42,302. These statements include also all Hawaiian vessels sailing foreign. The Hawaiian flag covers coasting sail vessels, 42; steamers, 8; sailing, foreign, 13; tonnage, 10,148. Nearly all these vessels are of American build."

He writes again, June 6th, 1881:

"The influence of the reciprocity treaty upon the increase of our carrying trade between the Hawaiian Islands and the Pacific coast, and upon the still larger increase of our ship-building for Hawaiian owners, has been one of its most gratifying results. * * * Three years and a half ago, when I first reported for duty at this post, there was but one island steamer; now there are eight, and more ordered, every one of them but one American built. The increase in sailing vessels has been still larger. * * *

It is but fair and just to admit that probably all this increased demand for American ships and ship-building grew out of the reciprocity treaty, and would never have existed except for its generative power. This generative power is reflex as well as direct. It creates a magnificent increase of island products; this creates both demand and capacity for a large increase of the import trade from the United States; and these combined create the demand for carriers under the American flag and for American factors, agents, bankers, insurers, and producers of almost every kind.

"The trade with the islands is but a drop in the bucket. But compare the total amount of her exchanges between the Hawaiian Islands with those between all other countries and the United States; then apply to this last the same ratio of increase in our carrying trade and ship-building which we have gained here, the result, it seems to me, would show that, under like conditions of prosperity everywhere, all fear of the American flag disappearing from the sea might be abandoned. * * *

"If our commercial policy with the Sandwich Islands is to be taken as only part of a great system intended to take in and bind together all the two great continents and their adjacent islands on our side of the world, it seems to me that there are such grand possibilities to the near future of the United States in such a scheme as would make the reciprocity treaty with these islands a conspicuous land-mark in our commercial history."

The number of inter-island steamers since this writing has increased to ten.

Between San Francisco and Honolulu there were, before the treaty, two lines of sailing vessels; now there are five, and an additional line of steamers has also been put on, and there are now building in Philadelphia, for this very line, two steamers of 2,500 tons each, at a cost of $500,000 apiece.

In addition to this, a line of packets has been established between New York and San Francisco, occasioned solely by the influence of the treaty, and it is doing a handsome business.

Commerce with other sugar-growing countries.

But to lay out of consideration the arguments which have been adduced to show that the trade with the Islands is of as much advantage to the United States as to them, look for a moment at the condition of our commerce with other sugar-growing countries, as drawn from the report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, for the fiscal year 1881–1882:

CUBA.

Value of sugars imported	$60,770,027
Value of other articles imported	9,080,625
Total value of imports	$70,450,652
Total value of exports	11,775,073
Balance of trade against United States	$58,675,579

PORTO RICO.

Value of sugars imported	$5,403,873
Value of other articles imported	313,101
Total value of imports	$5,716,874
Total value of exports	1,838,214
Balance of trade against United States	$3,878,660

FRENCH WEST INDIES.

Value of sugars imported	$2,418,366
Value of other articles imported	6,389
Total value of imports	$2,424,755
Total value of exports	1,556,393
Balance of trade against United States	$868,362

SAN DOMINGO.

Value of sugars imported	$691,287
Value of other articles imported	216,773
Total value of imports	$908,060
Total value of exports	904,149
Balance of trade against United States	$3,911

BRAZIL.

Value of sugars imported	$8,447,027
Value of other articles imported	40,354,848
Total value of imports	$48,801,878
Total value of exports	9,035,452
Balance of trade against United States	$39,766,426

BRITISH GUIANA.

Value of sugars imported	$3,220,146
Value of other articles imported	8,296
Total value of imports	$3,228,442
Total value of exports	1,976,586
Balance of trade against United States	$1,251,856

DUTCH GUIANA.

Value of sugars imported	$295,724
Value of other articles imported	168,426
Total value of imports	$464,150
Total value of exports	382,639
Balance of trade against United States	$81,511

SPANISH POSSESSIONS OTHER THAN CUBA AND PORTO RICO.

Value of sugars imported	$5,195,700
Value of other articles imported	4,774,455
Total value of imports	$9,970,155
Total value of exports	145,105
Balance of trade against United States	$9,825,050

DUTCH EAST INDIES.

Value of sugars imported	$992,730
Value of other articles imported	3,130,150
Total value of imports	$4,122,880
Total value of exports	3,020,093
Balance of trade against United States	$1,102,787

BRITISH WEST INDIES.

Value of sugars imported	$2,902,845
Value of other articles imported	3,741,542
Total value of imports	$6,644,387
Total value of exports	7,824,293
Balance in favor of the United States	$1,179,905

Recapitulation.

Value of importations from sugar-producing countries to the United States:		
Value of sugars	$90,337,725	
Value of other articles	61,794,629	
Total value of imports		$152,132,324
Total value of exports		38,457,997
Balance against the United States in favor of sugar-producing countries		$113,674,356

Moreover, with none of these countries do we gain the advantage of having capital invested among them, or of doing the carrying trade, etc.

Objections Against the Treaty.

I. The loss of revenue.

II. Causes injurious competition with Louisiana planter.

III. Pacific refiner, by getting free sugar, can undersell Eastern refiner, and will drive him from the market.

IV. Treaty creates a monopoly.

V. Better processes used to make sugar since treaty, and smuggling allowed.

I. The loss of revenue for the fiscal year 1882 is estimated at $3,539,293. This sum on the amount and quality of sugar imported amounts to a duty of 3.15 cents a pound. But to get at the real loss of revenue we must consider what would have been the course of trade if there had been no treaty. Every one knows that the trade with Hawaii would have remained very much as it was—certainly would not have improved. That is, Americans would have been exporting to the Islands about $600,000 or $700,000 of goods. The Pacific coast would have imported most of her sugar from the Philippine Islands. The average duty on foreign sugars is 2½ cents a pound. (Report of Supervising Special Agent of the Treasury.)

This is as high an average grade as can be imported under our tariff, the duty on higher grades being practically prohibitory. The California importer, when he buys sugar in the Islands, pays this sum, 2½ cents a pound, above the sale price of sugars in Manilla as shown by telegram. This is the highest price he can afford to pay. It would be cheaper to import from Manilla than to pay more, and he can pay no less, for if he should try to, the planter would take his best brown sugars and compete with the low-grade refinery sugars in the open market in San Francisco. The refiner, to avoid this, will pay a good price for all the planter's sugar, and the planter prefers to sell all his sugar to the refiner than to compete with his best brown sugars in the open market with the refiner and be left possibly with his No. 2 and No. 3 on his hands.

It results also from this that low-grade refinery sugars are kept down in San Francisco; for if the refiner were to put up the price to a high rate, it would pay the planter to throw his best sugars on the open market. Do away with the treaty, and you only strengthen the refiner's hands on the California coast, for then, all sugars having to pay duty, he could put up his price on his low-grade refined sugars and not fear the competition of the Hawaiian planter.

Taking, then, this duty of 2½ cents a pound as what would have been collected, we have a remission of duty on 106,181,958 pounds (the amount of sugar imported in 1882) of $2,654,548. I have already shown how much more than counterbalanced this loss to the revenue is by the gains of your people. On exports to Hawaii a duty of 10 per cent. ad valorem is remitted, amounting to $327,217; $1,062,000 is paid to Americans as dividends on plantation stock; $1,760,000 paid for commissions, freights, insurance, etc.; $330,000 for loans. Besides, there are the profits on $3,272,172 worth of exports instead of $600,000 or $700,000 worth which we should have sent there if there had been

no treaty. For if these sugars had come from Manilla, as they would have done, the sum paid for them would have gone entirely into foreign hands. Americans have no capital invested there. They send practically nothing to the Philippine Islands in the way of exports, and the carrying trade, commission business, etc., would have been done entirely by British ships and by foreign commission agents.

II. Objection that Island sugars compete injuriously with those of Louisiana. The absurdity of this idea is shown by these facts:

Dutiable sugars in 1882.....	936,773	short tons
Produced in Louisiana.....	79,937	" "
Hawaiian sugar.....	53,091	" "

Hawaiian sugars not .05 per cent. of total.

III. As to the objection that the Pacific refiner by getting free sugar can undersell the Eastern refiner and will drive him from the market, it has been shown already that the refiner of the western coast pays as much as if there were a duty and cannot sell as high. As to the fear of being driven from the market which troubles the Eastern refiner, look for a moment at these figures, which show what part of the sugar consumed in this country the Pacific refiners handled:

In 1882 refiners of San Francisco handled—		
From Hawaii.....	53,091	tons
" Manilla.....	1,215	"
Total.....	54,306	"
In 1882 refiners of the East handled—		
Of dutiable.....	936,773	tons
From Louisiana.....	79,937	"
Total.....	1,016,700	"

Refiners of San Francisco handled about .05 of total. Certainly the Eastern refiners should not cry out so loudly when they supply .95 of the whole market.

IV. *Monopoly.*—The idea that the treaty has anything to do with creating a monopoly is absurd. The monopoly of the San Francisco refiner is his geographical position. Far removed from other manufacturers, he can keep the price of his sugars up to a point equal to the sale price of sugars in the East plus the price of freight from New York to San Francisco. It is the same with other business on the Pacific coast. If the refiners of California get the Pacific Railroad to charge a high freight on sugars from New York, the treaty does not cause or aid the agreement. Were the Islands sunk to-day it would not vary a hair the conditions under which the refiners of the East and West compete and fight with each other. Sugars from other countries would immediately supply the deficiency at no greater cost to the refiner, as has been shown.

V. Charges of smuggling and importation of higher grade sugars by the use of improved processes, vacuum pans, and centrifugals. The majority of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs express the opinion that this result has been obtained by imparting an artificially debased color to the finer qualities of sugar. Before the treaty Island sugars ranged up to No. 24 Dutch standard. No. 20 was set as the limit of duty-free sugars by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1877. At such a limit there is no inducement to color sugars artificially. Under the ordinary process they do not come out more than No. 16 or No. 18. What possible inducement, then, to debase the color? It would only reduce the market value of the sugar, and be just so much loss to the planter.

The minority report gives expression to the idea that frauds upon the United States Government have been committed by Hawaiian and American officials and sugar men, both by smuggling Manilla sugars into Hawaii and then sending them to this country, and by importing better sugars than those intended by the treaty. The Hawaiian Government, and I feel sure the people of the Pacific coast, would court the investigation of a commission authorized to look into these charges. The Islands are so much of a terra incognita that such an investigation might be the best thing to settle these slanders.

General Comly, within a year the United States minister resident at Honolulu, has authoritatively denied the charge of smuggling. If people would reflect that every ship leaving Manilla with sugar is known, its departure telegraphed to Lloyds, and if they knew that there are but six ports of entry in the Islands, and that the Hawaiian duty on sugar is $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound, this charge would be less easily believed.

The allegation that centrifugals and vacuum pans have been introduced into the Islands since the treaty, is equally false. In 1875, the year before the treaty, all the plantations had centrifugals, and two-thirds vacuum pans. In fact, Mr. Weston, the inventor of centrifugals, lived at the Islands for a time, and put up his first machine there in 1851.

It must be remembered that the merely commercial aspect of this treaty is here dealt with. As it is upon this side only that it is attacked, I wished to show that, if a fair view were taken of its workings, the reasons of its abrogation, even in this aspect, fall to the ground, as the advantages gained by citizens of the United States fully equal those of the Hawaiians. The political reasons for its continuance are, however, those that are paramount. If the United States were a loser by the trade, it would still be for their interest to hold the supremacy over the Islands that the treaty gives them, to the exclusion of all other nations. Do away with the treaty, and you drive the Islands into commercial relations with some other country of a similar character to those now existing with the United States. What nation this will be is well known. England would only too gladly gain the last point that would make her supreme in the Pacific. Break the treaty, and a virtual American colony is stamped out of existence.

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IN SUPPORT OF THE

HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY.

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IN SUPPORT OF THE

HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY.

Forty years ago the Hawaiian Islands were the rendezvous of the whaling fleets of the Pacific. A large and profitable business was then transacted in refitting and supplying whaling-ships and in shipping their oil around Cape Horn to Atlantic ports. The introduction of petroleum and the exhaustion of the whale fisheries, were followed by a decline in the commerce and prosperity of those islands. Finding their former business growing less profitable, the merchants employed their capital in opening sugar plantations and in cultivating them. The heavy duties imposed by the United States upon sugar, and the relatively high price of labor in the islands, rendered this industry generally unprofitable, notwithstanding the exceptional fertility of the soil and its remarkable adaptability to the growth of sugar cane. From 1865 to 1875 many efforts were made to improve the condition of this industry, and the discussion of the subject among the islanders took two directions and narrowed their projects down to two widely different alternative plans. The first plan, and the one very much preferred, was to obtain, if possible, a reciprocity treaty with the United States. This, however, after many fruitless attempts, seemed to grow more and more hopeless, and the more enterprising people of the kingdom were gradually forced in the direction of the second alternative. This was cheap labor.

In other tropical countries, where sugar-cane is largely cultivated, the laborers consist of the most degraded class of Asiatics imported as coolies. The white people of the

islands, who form the dominant class, were mostly of American origin and viewed the subject with the sentiments ordinarily entertained by Americans. The coolie system, being simply a contract system, does not necessarily involve those repulsive features which have made it even more abhorrent to civilized men than slavery. The objections to it arose from its abuses and not from the essential nature of the system. It was known to the islanders that England, while laying an interdict upon the abusive forms of the coolie system, was in the habit of deporting large numbers of her East Indian subjects but only to her own colonies, or to places where they would be under the protection of English law. Shorn of its repulsive features, the system was, on the whole, humane and wise and greatly improved the condititon of the deported laborers. There is reason to believe that the islanders, despairing of a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, had received encouragement to their hopes of being able to obtain cheap labor from British India subject to those conditions which Great Britain, in conformity to her own wise and just policy, might see fit to propose. It is needless to say that the adoption of this plan would have supplanted the American ascendancy in those islands, revolutionized the whole state of society, making it akin to that of Jamaica and Trinidad, and would ultimately have made the island a colony of Great Britian.

In the year 1875 Congress increased the duties upon sugar 25 per cent. The agriculture of the islands, feebly struggling before, would have been completely abandoned had not the reciprocity treaty, in the year following, come to their relief. This treaty at once put a new face upon the industrial condition of the islands. New plantations were gradually opened, and old ones expanded. Large amounts of capital were obtained in the United States, and invested in plantations and in loans upon the crops. Under the treaty the prosperity of the islands has been very great; the American ascendency has become complete, and the entire population is, in all its sympathies and instincts, as truly American as any part of New England. Hundreds

of American citizens have gone thither to reap wealth in the most honorable way in which wealth can be obtained, and have very generally found an ample reward for their industry.

Within the past year energetic efforts have been made by those engaged in the refining and wholesale internal commerce of sugar in the Eastern States to secure the abrogation of this treaty. They urge the following objections to it:

First. That the benefits of the treaty accrue to the foreign population of those islands, and not to the people of the United States.

Second. That the Treasury sacrifices at present about three and a half millions of revenue annually without any corresponding benefit to the people of this country.

Third. That the treaty fosters and sustains an oppressive monopoly of sugars upon the Pacific coast.

Fourth. That by reason of remission of duties the Pacific coast refiners obtain an unfair advantage, which enables them to undersell the eastern refiners and merchants, and seriously damage their business in the Mississippi valley.

It is believed that all of these objections to the treaty can be shown to be unfounded, mistaken, and untenable.

With reference to the assertion that the benefits of the treaty accrue chiefly to the islanders and not to the United States, it is urged that in 1881–2, (the last year for which statistics are at hand,) the islands exported to the United States products valued at $7,646,294, while they exported from the United States products valued only at $3,272,172. The implication is that a balance of trade against the United States existed, June 30, 1882, of $4,374,122, which the United States must liquidate in money or in exchange on foreign countries.

But this implication is quite impossible, for by the Hawaiian fiscal accounts it appears that the total imports into that kingdom from countries other than the United

States for the same period, amounted to only $958,266, while the imports of coin over and above exports was only $103,000. It is well known that no money, except small quantities of silver, is sent from the United States to Honolulu. Putting the two accounts together, and deducting all the Hawaiian imports from all their exports, there remains to their credit in San Francisco about $3,400,000. How is this credit disposed of? *It is wholly consumed in the payment of dividends and interests on loans to United States creditors, and in the payment of freights, commissions and agencies to the American merchant marine trafficking with those islands.* Nearly 90 per cent. of this balance is net profit to the United States, and in these profits the entire commerce, whether domestic or marine, of the State of California, and nearly every bank in the city participate, as well as many hundreds of stockholders and capitalists of the Eastern States and California. This balance of trade never goes back to the islands at all, but remains in the form of profits in this country.

A more detailed idea of the distribution of these profits may be obtained as follows: The amount of American capital invested in the commerce and industry of these islands is estimated by competent Hawaiian authorities at $15,300,000, of which about $3,200,000 consists of ships, warehouses, docks, and wharves; $3,300,000 is in the form of loans advanced upon crops; about $8,700,000 is permanently invested in the fixed capital of the plantations and improvements thereon, and in other accessory forms of real estate.

Commerce with the Islands.

It is well known at the islands that the cost of sending their produce to the San Francisco market is about 16 per cent. of its invoice value. This includes freights, commissions, insurance, and minor fees, of which by far the largest are the commissions, and on their total exports of $7,646,294 the aggregate payments amount to $1,223,407. Similar payments made upon $3,272,172 of imports at

20 per cent. amount to $654,434, or a total of $1,877,841 paid in one year to American mercantile and shipping houses on commerce alone. This commerce is clear gain to the United States. Before the treaty, most of the sugars used on the Pacific coast came from the East Indies, were paid for in gold coin, and were brought in British vessels. The effect of the treaty has been to transfer this commerce from countries which consume little or no American produce, to a country which consumes little else; from countries where it would be handled and shipped by foreign merchants and vessels, to a country where it is handled and shipped by American merchants and vessels. Before the present year is closed not a vessel will run between San Francisco and the islands which does not carry the American flag. With a total population of about seventy-two thousand people, the islands consume per capita $45.44 of American produce, while Great Britain and Ireland consume less than one-fourth as much per capita ($11.23), and the Canadas consume less than one-fifth as much per capita ($8.14). Relatively to population, there is no foreign country in the world with which America has so large a commerce; and it is the only trans-oceanic country with which even so much as half the commerce is carried in American vessels.

Loans and Investments.

About $3,300,000 of American capital is invested in the form of loans advanced upon the Hawaiian crops. This money is borrowed from the United States by the local bankers, who, with one exception, are American citizens. It is considered the safest form of investment, and the ruling rate is 10 per cent. compounded quarterly. The interest returned is about $340,000. The amount invested in plantations and other forms of fixed capital is estimated about $8,700,000, and the dividends returned last year averaged about 12½ per cent. This represents American capital alone, and the return in dividends was about $1,080,000. Altogether the net profit to the United States consid-

erably exceeded $3,000,000, which was diffused among many hundreds of stockholders, and mortgagees, to numberless merchants in San Francisco, to manufacturers of machinery in the Eastern States, and to the shipping-houses and commercial agencies engaged in the island trade.

This result of the treaty is precisely what might have been expected. The United States has furnished at once the capital and the market, and by the most inexorable of natural laws governing production and trade, the United States *must* receive the great bulk of the profit. The islanders universally complain that their profit, which promises always to be so large, becomes in the end very small or moderate, and that the merchants, traders, and money lenders, get nearly all of it.

Duties Remitted.

The letter of the Secretary of the Treasury to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs states that the amount of duties remitted under the treaty was $3,400,000, nearly the whole of it being estimated upon the sugar imported. Although this represents, with unquestioned correctness, the amount of the remission upon the qualities or grades of sugar actually imported, it does not represent, by any means, what the Treasury would have collected had there been no treaty. The Hawaiian sugars now imported are mostly of high grades. Had there been no treaty the sugars which would have been imported in place of them would have been almost wholly of low grades, paying a greatly diminished duty. In the report of the special supervising agent of the Treasury for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1882, it is shown that over 93 per cent. of dutiable sugars were of a standard not exceeding No. 10, and that the average duty was $2.45 per hundred weight, while of the duty-free Hawaiian sugars 94 per cent. were above No. 10, with an average ratable duty of $3.15 per hundred weight. The Secretary of the Treasury has taken this latter rate ($3.15 per hundred weight) as the basis of his computation. But the real loss to the Treasury ought, in all fairness, to be

computed at a rate not exceeding the average for dutiable sugars, to wit: $2.45 per hundred weight. Thus computed the total loss to the Treasury on all Hawaiian imports would amount to about $2,700,000, which is less than the net profit to the United States.

In pursuing the investigation as to what becomes of the duty thus remitted, it will ultimately appear that it is paid by the refineries into the San Francisco banks to the credit of the agents of the plantations, where it is lost sight of as a distinct item, but is ultimately paid over again by those agents, mostly in the form of profits to American capital and commerce. The Hawaiian planter realizes, in the end, only a small part of it.

Monopoly of Sugars.

The following considerations will show that the treaty does not and cannot foster or aid any tendency to a monopoly of sugars upon the Pacific coast. The two refineries of San Francisco purchase very nearly the whole of the Hawaiian sugar crop. They agree to pay for it upon what is known as the Manilla basis; that is to say, they pay for it at such rates that it shall make no difference to the refiners whether their sugar comes from Manilla or Honolulu. The following is the method of computing the price to be paid for Hawaiian sugars. Since they are mostly of high grade, while those imported from Manilla are of low grade, the former are subjected to the polariscope, and a computation is made to ascertain what quantity of No. 10 Manilla sugar corresponds to a given quantity of Hawaiian high-grade sugar. The Manilla price is telegraphed to San Francisco, and the value of the Hawaiian sugar is then rated in terms of No. 10 Manilla sugar. To this is added the cost of freights from Manilla to San Francisco, the cost of insurance, and the banking account. To this again is added *an allowance of two and a half cents per pound for duty*, and the total makes the price which the refinery pays for Hawaiian sugar. It will thus be seen that

that the refiners actually pay the full amount of duty for Hawaiian sugars, and get no benefit whatever from the remission of duties. The cost of their raw material is regulated entirely by the cost of laying down in San Francisco sugars imported from Manilla.

As before stated, the duty thus paid by the refiners is passed to the credit of the Hawaiians in San Francisco, and is paid over again chiefly in the form of profits to American commerce and capital. The Hawaiian ultimately receives only a small share of it which is proportional to his profits as compared with those of the American merchant and capitalist.

This price the San Francisco refiners are literally compelled to pay; and here is a point well worth noting, for it involves the key to some of the most important features of the sugar trade of the country. The refineries are compelled to pay a maximum price for Hawaiian sugar, because fine raw sugar can be put at once upon the open market in competition with the refinery sugars. In order to avoid this the refinery is compelled to do two things: First, to offer the highest price for the entire Hawaiian crop; and second, to place the lower grades of refined sugars upon the market at such a low rate that there will be every inducement to the Hawaiian planter to sell to the refinery, and no inducement to put his crop upon the open market. So far, therefore, is the treaty from aiding a monopoly, that it really acts as a check upon it, compelling the refineries to pay a maximum price for their raw sugar, and to sell poor peoples sugar at a minimum price. It was for this reason that the refiners opposed the treaty while its negotiation was pending. They foresaw this very difficulty, and knew that it would entail upon them the necessity of adopting some means of preventing a ruinous competition. They must either master the entire crop, or else it would master them, and break up their business. This they were enabled to do in spite of the treaty, and not by virtue of it, through their enormous capital and the undisputed control which they had long

possessed of the Pacific coast market. If the treaty is abrogated, the San Francisco refiners will be able to purchase their sugars cheaper than at present, and to sell them dearer.

The exclusive control which the San Francisco refiners possess over the western markets is one which they enjoyed long before the treaty existed, one which they have maintained in spite of rather than by virtue of the treaty, and one which they will maintain even more exclusively than now, if the treaty is abrogated. Their ability to do so has its foundation in the nature and methods of business upon the Pacific coast, in the comparative isolation of California from other populous countries, and, above all, in the enormous capital of the refineries. The last factor is, by far, the most potent. The eastern refiner is compelled to sell his sugar the day it is made. The margin of profit is so small and the aggregate value of product is so large that the eastern refiner cannot afford to carry his product even for a single day. The great sugar supplies, both raw and refined, have to be carried by the importers and wholesale merchants, who receive much larger profits than the refiner, who is almost entirely in their hands. The California refineries can carry an indefinite amount of sugar from year's end to year's end, and in this way control not only the market, but also the commission and importing houses.

Competition with Eastern Refiners.

The assertion that the treaty gives an unfair advantage to the California refineries in competing with the eastern sugar trade in the Mississippi valley is also incorrect. It has already been shown that the former are compelled to pay a maximum price for Hawaiian sugar. Their ability to undersell eastern refineries in the Mississippi valley arises first, from their immense capital, and second, from the extraordinary cheapness with which they are enabled to obtain Manilla sugars. They keep at Manilla a trusty agent, with a large letter of credit, who watches the market and buys

low-grade sugars at the lowest price. Since the tariff laws practically prohibit the importation of high-grade sugars, the demand of the Eastern States for these sugars in the West Indies is generally in excess of the supply. At Manilla the reverse is the case, and the supply of low-grade sugars is generally in excess of the demand, and they are therefore very cheap. These sugars are bought at a minimum figure and held until an opportunity occurs to send them at extremely low rates of freight to San Francisco, and the refinery ultimately receives them, duty paid, at a cost considerably below the average at which similar sugars can be laid down in New York. The price of Hawaiian sugars in San Francisco is on the average somewhat greater, since it follows the Manilla prices from day to day, while the sugars imported from Manilla are always bought at the very minimum price; and since the refineries are practically able to control the commission houses, they possess still another advantage which the eastern refineries do not possess. Hence their ability to undersell the easter refineries arises, not from the Hawaiian sugars, but from the extraordinary cheapness of Manilla sugars and from abundant capital.

Alleged Debasement of Sugars.

The House Committee on Foreign Affairs, in their report to the House of Representatives, express the belief "that the intent of the treaty has been violated by the introduction of grades of sugar under the Dutch standard of color which are not within the description of the treaty, and that this result has been accomplished by recent processes introduced for imparting an artificially debased color to the finer qualities of sugar." It would seem from this that the House committee have been impressed with the idea that the limit of duty-free sugars under the treaty had been fixed at a grade lower than the ordinary products of the sugar-making process, and that the Hawaiian planters have colored their sugars to bring them within this limit; but the committee have been misled in this matter. The

treaty specifies as duty free "muscavado, brown, and all other unrefined sugars, meaning hereby the grades of sugar heretofore commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands, and now (1875) known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugar." The so-called Sandwich Island sugar imported into San Francisco prior to 1876, and sold under that name in the markets, ranged all the way from No. 16 to No. 24, Dutch Standard. The Secretary of the Treasury in 1877, being called upon to interpret this clause of the treaty, limited the term "Sandwich Island sugars" to "No. 20, Dutch Standard," and all sugars from the islands not exceeding that grade have been allowed to enter duty free. As a matter of fact, the normal process of sugar making yields products never higher than No. 18, (unless they are "washed," which would immediately subject them to the highest duty,) and rarely above No. 16, which come notably below the duty-free limit. What possible inducement therefore could the islanders have for debasing the color of their sugars when their very best products are duty free. The question as to the standard at which the duty free limit should be placed has been twice adjudicated by the Treasury Department, and fixed in both cases at not above No. 20. Any debasement of the color of their sugars by the Hawaiians would simply have diminished their market value, resulting in a direct loss to themselves and in no possible gain. Since the treaty went into effect the debasement of sugars has been wholly unknown in the Islands, and it cannot be possible that it has been resorted to. It could only result in loss to them and not in gain.

A modification, reducing the duty-free limit, from No. 20 to No. 12, Dutch standard, would have the following effect: All the sugars manufactured at the islands would be of a color or fineness below the duty-free limit and the planters would receive a diminished price for their sugars for the following reasons. The San Francisco refineries would be able to say to the planters: "Hitherto we have been compelled to pay you a maximum price for your sugar, in order to induce

you to sell to us instead of putting your sugars upon the open market. You are now prohibited from importing grocery sugars, and can sell to us alone. Hereafter we shall pay you a reduced price for your products." To the sugar trade of California the refiners would also be able to say: "Hitherto we have been compelled to sell our low-grade refinery sugars at a minimum price, for fear of competition by duty-free Hawaiian sugars. That danger is now removed, and hereafter the price of our low-grade refinery sugars will be from a cent to a cent and a quarter per pound higher than heretofore." In brief, the effect of such a modification would be to enable the refineries to purchase their raw material at a lower figure than at present, and to enable them to increase the price of poor people's sugar upon the Pacific coast.

Effect of Abrogation.

If the treaty is terminated the consequences will be as follows:

1. The present commerce with the Islands will greatly diminish and the greater part of it pass out of American control to that of other nations. In proportion to its extent it is now the most profitable and most exclusively American of any portion of the foreign commerce of the United States.

2. It will gradually diminish and render less profitable the sale to those Islands of many Californian products—provisions, machinery, boots and shoes, canned good, animals, lumber, and hardware, as well as many products of the Eastern States. This trade is now highly prized in California.

3. It will practically ruin the permanent investments now owned by many hundreds of American citizens in those islands and bankrupt those who have gone thither and acquired valuable and promising interests in the island industries and in its commerce. These investments are very large

and valuable, certainly exceeding $12,000,000, and increasing in ualue every year.

4. It will strengthen instead of weaken the so-called monopoly of the sugars on the Pacific coast, by excluding from the market all the high-grades of raw sugar which now can compete with the refinery products. If it be said, that the prices of sugar are now higher in California than in the Eastern States, the reply is, that they were higher still before the treaty, and will again be still higher if the treaty is abrogated through the abolition of the only possible competition.

5. If the duties are restored on sugar, then the islands must have cheap labor. They can obtain it only from British India, and Great Britain does not allow her Oriental subjects to go out as cheap laborers except under the protection of her flag. What Great Britain might do in this matter may be judged of by what she has recently done at Samoa and in the Fijis.

6. If the limit of duty-free sugar should be reduced from No. 20 to No. 12 the effect would be to reduce the profits of the islanders and of American commerce, while the price of sugar would rise in the San Francisco market. The refiners would buy sugar cheaper and sell it dearer. This modification is precisely what the San Francisco refiners want. It would make the duty prohibitory on competing fine raw sugars, and place the planters completely at their mercy. The Treasury would gain nothing, for all sugars thereafter made would be of standards sufficiently low to escape the duty limit. The refiners alone would be benefited. The planter would get somewhat less for his crop, while the poor people of the West would pay more for their coffee sugar, and the refiners would pocket what the planter and consumer lose.

TABLE I.

Showing the total trade between the Hawaiian Islands and the United States, from 1875 to 1882, both inclusive, (from Statistics of the U. S. Treasury.)

Year ending June 30th.	U. S. exports.	U. S. imports.	Total trade.
1875	$662,164	$1,127,191	$1,789,355
1876	769,662	1,376,681	2,146,343
1877	1,272,949	2,550,335	3,823,284
1878	1,736,099	2,678,830	4,414,927
1879	2,374,918	3,257,938	5,632,856
1880	2,086,170	4,606,444	6,692,614
1881	2,778,072	5,533,000	8,311,072
1882	3,350,775	7,646,294	10,997,069

TABLE II.

Movement of coin and bullion between the United States and Hawaiian Islands.

Year ending June 30th.	U. S. coin exports.	U. S. coin imports.	Balance exported from U. S.
1875	$33,200		$33,200
1876	39,595	$5,911	33,684
1877	187,513	81,428	106,075
1878	100,250	9,600	90,650
1879	134,980	6,628	128,354
1880	459,650	8,911	450,739
1882	103,599	1,100	102,499

TABLE III.

Imports of the Hawaiian Islands from all countries.

[From statistics of the Hawaiian Finance Department.]

Year ending December 31.	Free by Treaty from United States.	Dutiable from United States.	Total from U. S., except such as are free by local law.	Total imports from countries other than the United States.	Free by local law, mostly from the United States.	Total imports.
1875		967,006	967,006	538,664	176,800	1,505,670
1876	343,830	767,224	1,111,054	442,784	247,930	1,801,770
1877	1,100,642	664,521	1,765,163	662,974	126,216	2,554,356
1878	1,619,987	433,738	2,053,727	880,072	112,570	3,046,369
1879	1,820,355	485,914	2,306,269	1,287,069	149,639	3,742,978
1880	2,026,557	645,266	2,671,823	874,829	126,615	3,673,268
1881	2,646,577	594,153	3,240,730	1,151,969	155,277	4,547,978

NOTE.—The Hawaiian statistics are, so far as concerns American commerce, made up from the same invoices as the United States Treasury Statistics. But their fiscal account is reckoned on the 31st of December instead of June 30th.

TABLE IV.

Settlement of balance of trade between Hawaiian Islands and the United States.

Year ending June 30th.	Balance of trade against the U. S.	Balance of coin exported from the U. S.	Bills of Exchange, (see Note A.)	Available for payments to American creditors and commerce.	Deficiency.
1875	$465,027	$33,200	$538,664	-------	$106,837
1876	607,019	33,684	442,784	230,551	
1877	1,277,386	106,075	662,974	508,337	
1878	942,731	90,650	880,072	-------	27,991
1879	883,020	128,354	1,287,969	-------	532,403
1880	2,520,274	450,739	874,829	1,194,706	
1881	2,754,928	-------	1,151,969	1,602,959	
1882	4,295,519	102,499	958,000	3,235,020	

NOTE A.—In the column "Bills of Exchange" are entered the amounts of Hawaiian imports from countries other than the United States. These must be paid for in bills of exchange drawn on Europe, China, and Australia, against Hawaiian credits in the United States. Since the entire Hawaiian exports are sent to the United States, the entire amount of such payments must be deducted from their credits.

NOTE B.—In the foregoing table is indicated the fact that in 1878 and 1879 very large sums of American capital went to the islands, and were employed in opening new plantations, and extending and re-equipping old ones. The outlays for those years were greater than the product. In the years following, 1880, '81, '82, these outlays diminished, and the products greatly increased.

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A BRIEF STATEMENT of the POLITICAL VALUE OF THE HAWAIIAN TREATY TO THE UNITED STATES.

1882?

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THE POLITICAL VALUE OF THE HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY TO THE UNITED STATES.

At this late stage of the debate on the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty of 1875, it is unnecessary to enter into any statistical details respecting its operation as a commercial convention. The subject has been fully discussed, and it is conceded by its advocates that the advantages, in a financial point of view, have been and still are with the Hawaiian Kingdom, even after the most liberal concessions have been granted by its opponents. It is therefore necessary to refer now to its political value to the United States, and ask the question "IS IT WISE POLICY FOR THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO TERMINATE IT AT THE PRESENT TIME?"

During the past few years there has been an extraordinary and growing desire on the part of European Powers to acquire territorial possessions in the Pacific Ocean, which may be plainly termed an "annexation fever," and this desire appears to be increasing rather than subsiding. The recent contention for the possession of the Island of New Guinea, lying near Australia, raised by the Australian Colonies and England with Germany will not be forgotten. Though the question is not yet definitely settled, it will probably be done amicably by a partition of the Island among the claimants. France, already possessed of the Society Islands and New Caledonia, now lays claim to one or two of the Hebrides Islands, and some of the still more important islands of the

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group west of Tahiti, known as the Leeward Isles, to say nothing of the large island of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean, peopled with four millions of natives.

The recent half-suppressed emeute between Spain and Germany, relative to the ownership of the Caroline Islands in the Central Pacific, which excited an angry war-like spirit on the part of the Spanish people, and was settled by the arbitration of the Pope, will be remembered by all. The Carolines were awarded to Spain, while the German flag will protect the Marshall Islands. Both these groups lie about 2000 miles west of Hawaii, in the North Pacific. Germany is also understood to have taken the initial steps, which will result in a "protectorate" of Samoa.

The outline map of the Pacific Ocean which accompanies this pamplet will illustrate better than anything else the relative position of the various harbors and islands now in the possession of European Naval Powers, and also show the central and wonderfully strategic position occupied by Hawaii, which is the nearest land to the American coast.

The possessions of Great Britain are the following: the continent of Australia, including the magnificent harbors of Sydney and Melbourne; New Zealand, with its fine harbor of Auckland, part of New Guinea, and the Fiji Group, with its cluster of 200 islands,—all the foregoing being in the South Pacific. She also holds Hongkong and Singapore on the Asiatic coast, and Victoria on the American coast—in all at least eight or ten naval stations of great natural strength and importance. The acquisition by her of Hawaii would render almost impregnable her cordon of naval stations stretching in a straight line from Melbourne on the South to Vancouver's Island on the North.

France holds the Society Islands, with their fine harbor of Tahiti, the Marquesas Group lying North of Tahiti, some of the Leeward Islands, New Caledonia near Australia, one or two of the New Hebrides Islands, and Hue on the Cochin-China Coast.

Germany lays protectoral claim to the Marshall Islands, Samoa, part of New Guinea, and one or two islands near the Equator.

Russia holds undisputed possession of the Asiatic coast, from Bhering's Straits and Kamschatka to Corea and China.

Spain owns the Phillipine Islands with the spacious harbor of Manilla, and about one hundred islands of the Caroline Group.

The Dutch Netherlands have long held naval or trading stations in Java, Sumatra, Borneo and New Guinea.

Portugal owns the Ladrone Islands with the commodious harbor of Guam, a well known resort for American whaleships.

Thus it will be seen that the principal European nations have already secured the strongest strategic points in the Pacific Ocean, where trading, coaling and naval stations have been or can be located; while the United States does not possess a solitary coaling station beyond her coast line, and is already flanked by strong French, German and English stations, where in case of war SHE WOULD BE COMPELLED TO SEEK THE PRIVILEGE OF COALING HER SHIPS.

The termination of the existing treaty may have a more important bearing on the future status of Hawaii than any one can now anticipate. Who can predict what secret rivalry for territorial acquisition in the Pacific may accomplish during the next twenty years? It is more than a mere probability that the relation now sustained by the United States to Hawaii may very soon be filled by the progressive Dominion of Canada, which may be said to be only waiting her opportunity. Or if we turn to the westward, it should not be overlooked that both China and Japan are becoming largely interested in the domestic policy of Hawaii, by reason of the rapid migration of their people thither. It may not be an idle conjecture that the time will soon come when either of these powers, which posses navies of thirty to forty vessels each, some of them ironclads, will make demands on Hawaii which cannot be refused by her except at the peril of losing her independence, backed as these demands can be by a naval force more powerful than that maintained by any other nation in the Pacific. Japan or China will soon be able to plant

colonial outposts in the Central Pacific, as readily as England, France or Germany, and people them far more readily.

Whatever may be said to the contrary, the influence of the treaty has been to steadily encourage the growth of American commerce in the Pacific Ocean, and with it to strengthen American prestige and influence. The recently published statistics of the Hawaiian Custom-house show most conclusively that of the foreign commerce of Hawaii, over 92 per cent. has been with the United States; while of its carrying trade about the same percentage was done by American vessels. This is not a mere accident attending the Reciprocity Treaty, but the legitimate result of a well-matured measure, designed to foster American commerce, and which is accomplishing the design to a greater extent than is generally known.

From a paper prepared by the writer, and published in 1882, having a direct bearing on the treaty, the following extracts are inserted, as equally appropriate now:

"Having referred to the treaty in its commercial aspects, it must not be forgotten that it possesses a political feature as important as its commercial. When it was under discussion in Congress in 1875, its supporters made no claim that the pecuniary advantages would be equally shared by both nations, but frankly conceded that they would preponderate in favor of Hawaii. Nor was the treaty granted by the United States so much for any supposed commercial advantages to her as for national purposes. Her chief design and purpose were to encourage a nation in the Central Pacific that might become a sugar-growing field for her Pacific States and Territories—a nation regarded as almost a kin to her — that it might become an independent people, free from foreign complications or control, and still attracted to her by the natural ties of kinship and protector. Secretary Blaine, in his letter to Gen. Comly, late American Minister, Resident at Honolulu, briefly and clearly states the whole case in the following extracts:

"The situation of the Hawaiian Islands, giving them strategic control of the North Pacific, brings their possession within the range of questions of purely American policy, as much so as that of the Isthmus of Panama. Hence the necessity, as recognized in our existing relations, of drawing ties of intimate relationship between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, so as to make them practically part of the American system, without derogation of the absolute independence" * * * "In a word, Hawaii is, by the wise and beneficent provisions of the treaty, brought within the circle of the domestic trade of the United States, and our interest in its friendly neutrality is the same that we feel in the guaranteed independence of the Isthmus of Panama. On the other hand, Hawaiian interests must inevitably turn towards the United States in the future as the present, as their natural and sole ally in conserving the dominion of both in the Pacific trade. This government has on previous occasions been brought face to face with the question of a protectorate over the Hawaiian groups. It has, as often as it arose, been set aside in the interest of such commercial union and such reciprocity benefits as would give Hawaii the highest advantages, and at the same time strengthen its independent existence as a sovereign State. In this I have summed up the whole disposition of the United States toward Hawaii in its proper condition."

When the discussion of the treaty in the Senate turned on the pecuniary advantages that would be derived from it by the Hawaiian Islands, that body sought and obtained a political concession, in the shape of a pledge, as an offset to any pecuniary loss, and the following stipulation was inserted in Article IV:

——"that so long as this treaty shall remain in force, he "(His Majesty the king) will not lease or otherwise dispose of, "or create any lien in any port, harbor or other territory in his "dominions, or grant any special privileges or rights of use "therein to any other power, state or government, nor make any "other treaty, by which any other nation shall obtain the same "privileges relative to the admission of any articles free of duty "hereby secured to the United States."

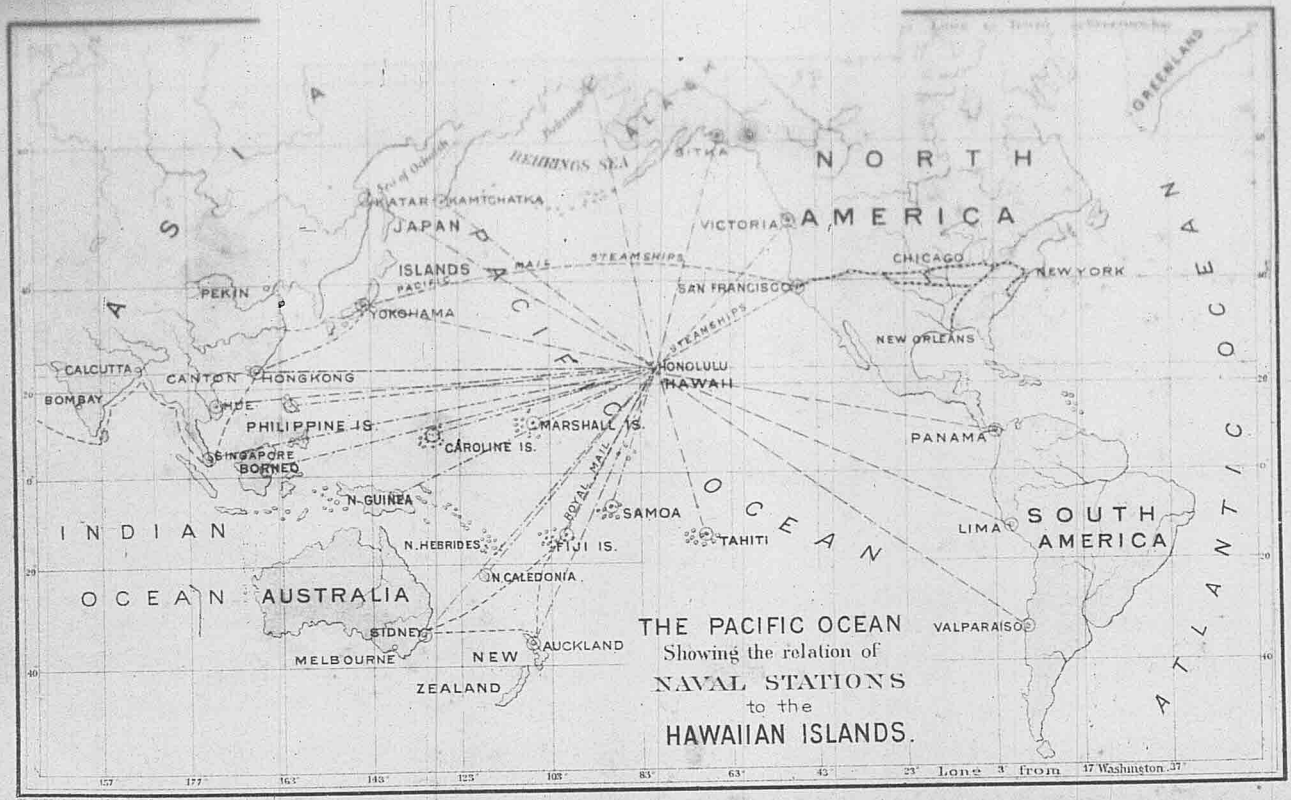
The astute and far-sighted statesmanship which secured such extraordinary political advantages as these, amounting almost to a pre-emption right in Hawaii—which some Hawaiians have thought should never have been asked or granted—cannot reasonably consent to the abrogation of the treaty on account of a pecuniary advantage gained in the bargain, by her insular neighbor. The higher aims of national policy and not any claims of sectional interest were consulted in granting it; and the clamor of sectional or private interests will not set it aside. Little Hawaii has kept

faith with her great benefactor, even enacting laws to protect the interests of the Treaty and preserve its faith, and it stands before the world for honorable treatment and the maintenance of a carefully-considered Treaty. Can a few partisans, spurred on by an interested hostile discussion, or yielding to other influences, compromise the interests of the great Republic towards this little State? We will not believe it!

ABROGATE THE TREATY — and some other nation may hasten to secure the extraordinary concessions made by it, and thus acquire a claim in, and power over our archipelago, which from its position is the key to the future commerce of the Pacific, which may steam from the Atlantic via the Panama Isthmus, to oriental ports, and to the numberless groups scattered over this ocean. PRESERVE THE TREATY—and so long as it lasts no nation will violate its provisions, or meddle with Hawaii's independence. While it remains in force, it is a standing notice to all that Hawaii shall be independent and free from foreign control. Where is the American, who, when he considers the vast wealth of his country, with her treasury overflowing with an annual surplus of one hundred millions--can begrudge the comparatively small loss under the treaty, or who can show a better way to maintain her supremacy in this ocean, or, perhaps more strictly speaking, to prevent the supremacy of every other power?

American ideas and the spirit of American institutions are spreading over the world, silently but powerfully influencing every European and Asiatic government and people. They have taken root in Hawaii and raised her to her present condition of unexampled prosperity. And from this central group of the Pacific, which under the Treaty is practically an American Colony, the seeds of American enterprise, American industry, American civilization, with all the ennobling influence of her political and religious institutions, are being scattered over this ocean, permeating the masses that people its continents and islands. With such a record of the past, and a grander future before her, American statesmen should hesitate before surrendering the precedence which this Treaty secured to her in this group and

throughout this ocean; especially at a time when her industries are calling so loudly for the opening of new avenues for the disbursement of the surplus products and manufactures from her Western prairies and her Eastern and Southern workshops. The extraordinary growth in the demand for these products in this group, will soon extend to those lying beyond us, till the millions of Polynesia and Oceanica will learn to rely on America for subsistence, to be fed and clothed by American industry, as Hawaii now is.



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

ADDENDUM TO ANALYSES

OF

HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY BLUNDERS

AND THE

BRITISH-HAWAII TREATY OF 1851-'52.

FEBRUARY 7, 1887.

JUDD & DETWEILER, PRINTERS.

Magna est Veritas, et Prévalebit.

HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY BLUNDERS

AND THE

BRITISH-HAWAII TREATY OF 1851-'52.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February* 7, 1887.

To United States Senators and Representatives in Congress assembled:

In my letter of January 31st ultimo to Congress, a plain exhibit was presented of Hawaiian Treaty Blunders, and the commercial and industrial results against us of 10 years' trade under the Treaty between the United States and Hawaiian Islands, showing an aggregate loss to American consumers and taxpayers of $70,314,537, a loss of $13,785,614 in the single year ended June 30, 1886, and a large annual increase of these losses, without any adequate commercial or political return for the money thus squandered.

Said letter to Congress January 31st ult., also exposed the various pretences of advocates of the Hawaiian Treaty, and the sophistries of Hawaiian sugar monopolists and their allies who swarm the Capitol, in regard to bartering the industries and revenue of this country for pretended but impossible privileges in those Islands. The nonsense of such pretences and the impossibility of obtaining any political or other special much less any exclusive advantage in the Hawaiian Islands by any form of treaty therewith is made evident in the following extract from a perpetual—

"Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation between Great Britain and the Sandwich Islands, signed at Honolulu, July 10, 1851. Ratified May 6, 1852."

"ARTICLE 2. There shall be, between all the Dominions of Her Britannic Majesty and the Hawaiian Islands, a reciprocal freedom of commerce, the subjects of each of the two contracting parties, respectively, shall have liberty freely and securely to come, with their ships and cargoes, to all places, ports, and rivers in the territories of the other,

where trade with other nations is permitted; they may remain and reside in any part of the said territories, respectively, and hire and occupy houses and warehouses, and may trade, by wholesale or retail, in all kinds of produce, manufactures, and merchandise of lawful commerce, enjoying the same exemptions and privileges as native subjects, and subject always to the same laws and established customs as native subjects.

"*In like manner the ships of war of each contracting party, respectively, shall have liberty to enter into all harbors, rivers, and places within the territories of the other, to which the ships of war of other nations are or may be permitted to come, to anchor there, and to remain and refit, subject always to the laws and regulations of the two countries, respectively.*"

In view of article 2, quoted above from the aforesaid perpetual convention or treaty of 1851–'52, it is not surprising that the Hawaiian Government cannot grant exclusive privileges or rights of occupation to this or any other Nation. Neither can Hawaii ratify any treaty with the United States except it be a treaty which, like that of 1875–'76, cedes everything of value to the Hawaiian Islands and obtains absolutely nothing of value in return.

Any attempt of the Hawaiian Government to lease or otherwise dispose of or create any lien upon any port, river, harbor, or place, or grant any special privileges or rights of use in the Hawaiian Islands, would violate the terms of the Webster-Hawaii treaty of 1849, the British-Hawaii treaty of 1851, and the German-Hawaii treaty. In fact, the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty of 1875–'76 was a commercial fraud upon the people of this country, and the results have been singularly disastrous to American interests at large.

Beginning its career in 1876 with a loss to consumers and taxpayers of about $2,250,000 for the year ended June 30, 1877, the treaty of 1875–'76 already levies an annual tax of nearly $15,000,000 upon American consumers and taxpayers for the support of Hawaii and the enrichment of Hawaiian sugar monopolists, and its immediate abrogation is a National requirement.

HENRY A. BROWN,

Ex-Special Treasury Agent, Saxonville, Mass.

Address in Washington, D. C.:
1408 Eighth Street N. W.

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1887

ADDENDUM No. 2 TO ANALYSES

OF

HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY BLUNDERS

(Depicted to Congress Jan. 31, Feb. 7, 1887.)

THE TREATY OF 1875-76 A COSTLY AND DANGEROUS FRAUD

POLITICALLY, COMMERCIALLY, FINANCIALLY,

AND A FARCE IN VIEW OF

THE WEBSTER-HAWAII TREATY OF 1849,

THE BRITISH-HAWAII TREATY OF 1851,

THE GERMAN-HAWAII TREATY OF 1879,

AND THE EFFORTS OF

DISINTERESTED HAWAIIAN SUGAR MONOPOLISTS,

WHO SPEND MONEY TO PERPETUATE THIS TREATY FRAUD.

HENRY A. BROWN.

FEBRUARY 17, 1887.

HAWAIIAN
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ADDENDUM No. 2 TO ANALYSES

OF

HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY BLUNDERS.

The Treaty of 1875–'76 *a Costly and Dangerous Fraud,*

POLITICALLY—COMMERCIALLY—FINANCIALLY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February* 17, 1887.

To Senators and Representatives in Congress assembled:

Having, in my letter to Congress January 31st ult., clearly depicted our enormous losses by the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty of 1875–'76 during ten years of its existence, and in my letter of February 7th instant briefly explained that we are barred from all exclusive rights of possession in the Hawaiian Islands, this writer desired to know upon what grounds or pretence it is presumed that the Treaty of 1875–'76, which has cost the American people a loss of at least $70,314,537 in ten years, is desirable or necessary to this country.

Credible official information touching this point confirms this writer's statement that no valid reason exists for continuing the Treaty. The Administration and disinterested advocates of the Treaty—if there be any such—have been led to imagine that because we buy and admit duty free their sugar, molasses, and rice products, we thereby secure some exclusive quasi-complimentary political advantage or right of possession in the Hawaiian Islands.

That the tenure of such imagined exlusive rights in the islands is, if possible, far more precarious than the tenure of office in this country under the rules and conduct of our world-renowned Civil Service masquerade, and that we are barred from securing any special or exclusive rights in the future, and that prior to the commercial fraud of 1875–'76 we already possessed all the rights we have ever enjoyed in the Hawaiian Islands, under the Webster-Hawaii Treaty

of 1849, which is still in force, is proved by the following extracts from existing treaties:

"Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, concluded at Washington December 20th, 1849, proclaimed November 20th, 1850."

"Article VI. Steam vessels of the United States, which may be employed by the Government of the United States in carrying their public mails, &c., shall have free access to the ports of the Sandwich Islands, therein to stop and refit, to refresh, &c.; and by Article VII whale ships of the United States shall have access to the ports of Hilo, Kealakekua, and Hanalei, in the Sandwich Islands, as well as to Honolulu and Lahaina, which only are ports of entry for all merchant vessels, for the purposes of refitment and refreshment, and shall enjoy in all respects whatsoever all the rights, privileges, and immunities which are enjoyed by or shall be granted to the whale ships of the most favored foreign nations; the like privilege is also guaranteed to all the public armed vessels of the United States."

"*Perpetual Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation between Great Britain and the Sandwich Islands, signed at Honolulu, July* 10, 1851. *Ratified May* 6, 1852."

"ARTICLE 2. There shall be, between all the Dominions of Her Britannic Majesty and the Hawaiian Islands a reciprocal freedom of commerce, the subjects of each of the two contracting parties, respectively, shall have liberty freely and securely to come, with their ships and cargoes, to all places, ports, and rivers in the territories of the other, where trade with other nations is permitted; they may remain and reside in any part of the said territories, respectively, and hire and occupy houses and warehouses, and may trade, by wholesale or retail, in all kinds of produce, manufactures, and merchandise of lawful commerce, enjoying the same exemptions and privileges as native subjects, and subject always to the same laws and established customs as native subjects.

"*In like manner the ships of war of each contracting party, respectively, shall have liberty to enter into all harbors, rivers, and places within the territories of the other, to which the ships of war of other nations are or may be permitted to come, to anchor there, and to remain and refit, subject always to the laws and regulations of the two countries, respectively.*"

"*Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation between Germany and the Hawaiian Islands* (*Berlin, the 25th of March*, 1879; *Honolulu, the 19th of September*, 1879)."

"ART. 7. Men-of-war, ships belonging to the Government, mail-steamers, and whalers of either one of the contracting Powers shall have free access to all those harbors, rivers, or places of the other Power

which are open to foreign commerce; they shall be permitted to stay there to make repairs and to supplement their crew and their provisions; they will be subject to the same taxes, prescriptions, laws, and regulations, and they shall in every regard enjoy the same rights, privileges, and exemptions which exist or shall exist in future or have been accorded or shall be accorded in future to ships of the same kind of any other nation."

No sooner do we hear that English and French ships of war appear near the site of the Panama canal, than we rake up the Monroe doctrine and talk of enforcing it, yet we seek and also expect King Kalakaua to violate solemn treaties between Great Britain and Hawaii, and between Germany and Hawaii, under the pretence that our one-sided and terribly expensive trade with that country entitles us to quasi-complimentary exclusive privileges of occupation; and our consumers and tax-payers are now annually swindled out of $15,000,000—in loss of duty and extra cost of sugar—(see letter Jan. 31 ult.) to enrich monopolists and pay the penalty of grasping at "foreign policy" shadows.

Claus Spreckels, called the "Sugar King," rides leisurely East across the continent in state, ostensibly for rest; in fact to give backbone to treaty advocates at the Capitol, proclaiming *en route*, as reported, that "personally he does not care whether the treaty is abrogated or not;" everybody will greedily swallow Spreckels' statement, inasmuch as the abrogation of the treaty would reduce his present enormous profits of millions per annum to day wages, bring his California refineries into fair competition with Atlantic coast refineries, and relieve consumers from extortion.

Everybody knows that the new Pacific coast combination between the Railroad Companies, the American Refinery and Hawaiian Planters, "don't care whether the treaty is abrogated or not," inasmuch as said combination was formed to compel Spreckels to share his profits with them, albeit they ostensibly organized to destroy the Spreckels monopoly *pro bono publico*, and under that pretence, succeeded in squelching the Sugar King's senatorial aspirations and elected their own candidate; the abrogation of the treaty would virtually destroy the combination and wipe out their 1000 per cent. profits.

It is evident that the Honorable Hawaiian Minister works *con amore*, and has no commercial interest in the treaty, because in his testimony before the Committee on Ways and Means, in February, 1886, he declared: "I am not a member of the C. Brewer Co. (large

Hawaiian Islands sugar merchants); I could not hold my official position if I was;" albeit the following advertisement was at that date regularly published in the "Daily Bulletin," Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, as shown by this writer in June last, and is now copied *verbatim* from the "Daily Bulletin," Sandwich Islands, January 14, 1887:

"C. Brewer Co. (limited), General Mercantile and Commission Merchants. P. C. Jones, Jr., President and Manager; J. O. Carter, Secretary and Treasurer; *Hon. C. R. Bishop, Hon. H. A. P. Carter,* Directors."

These enriched treaty advocates are all "honorable men," who nevertheless find means to tickle the ears of Congress and the administration with vapid sophistry; for greed of gain they ask Congress to continue the reciprocity treaty swindle and to violate sacred treaties between other Nations and Hawaii; they formulate pretended quarrels between themselves and King Kalakaua to hoodwink Congress, yet, as dictators, they reinstate and maintain their own men in office as the king's guardians—they utter bosh in claiming that the treaty of 1875–'76 enables the United States to occupy and fortify in the Hawaiian Islands and command the Pacific Ocean, when, in fact, this country has never had any right of possession there, and never can have, by any form of treaty, nor by any fair or peaceable means.

These disinterested Hawaiian sugar monopolists not only advocate the Treaty of 1875–'76 on untenable political grounds, the fallacies of which are shown in the treaties from which I have quoted, but would have Congress believe—for the people wont—that the treaty is a commercial, financial, and industrial godsend to the United States; but the following exhibit, prepared in the Bureau of Statistics, shows that nearly every article we import from the islands, which are the actual products thereof, are free of duty, and that the trade is dead against us:

Statement Showing the Imports into the United States from the Hawaiian Islands During the Year Ending June 30, 1886.

Articles.	Quantities.	Values.
Free of duty.		
Animals, not elsewhere specified:		
Cattle ..... No.	24	$2,400
Horses ..... No.	1	200
Articles, the growth, produce, &c., of the U. S., returned	.....	35,536
Fruits, Ind. nuts, not elsewhere specified:		
Bananas	.....	46,206
Cocoanuts	.....	7,270
Hides and skins other than fur skins	.....	104,554
Household and personal effects, &c.	.....	8,205
Articles admitted free under Reciprocity Treaty:		
Rice ..... lbs.	6,892,900	361,567
Molasses ..... galls.	61,171	7,786
Sugar, brown ..... lbs.	191,623,175	9,166,826
All other free articles	.....	1,374
Total free of duty		$9,741,924
Dutiable.		
Chemicals, drugs, dyes, &c.:		
Opium prepared for smoking ..... lbs.	1,476	$10,980
Coal, bituminous ..... tons.	409	1,027
Copper and manufactures of:		
Pigs, bars, ingots, old, &c. ..... lbs.	186,887	14,962
Fish, not elsewhere specified	.....	1,509
Flax, hemp, jute, and other vegetable substances, manufactures of	.....	3,571
Iron and steel, and manufactures of:		
Ore, iron ..... tons.	1,597	9,747
Machinery	.....	15,000
All other manufactures of	.....	744
Vegetables	.....	1,862
All other dutiable articles	.....	4,381
Total dutiable		$63,783
Total value of imports of merchandise		$9,805,707
Imports of specie		56,017

Our imports of merchandise from Hawaii in the year ended June 30, 1876, amounted to $1,376,681, of which $1,184,610 was dutiable. Our imports of merchandise from Hawaii for the year ended June 30, 1886, were $9,805,707, of which, as seen above, only $63,783 was dutiable, and of that small amount only a part of the dutiable merchandise was the actual product of the Islands. Our exports of domestic merchandise to Hawaii have meanwhile decreased from $3,683,460 in 1883 to $3,115,899 in 1886. We imported $56,017 specie

from Hawaii in 1886, while we exported $697,963 specie to Hawaii in the same year, and only .65 of one per cent. of Hawaiian merchandise imported in 1886 was dutiable.

The following summary of the commercial and financial results for ten years ended June 30th, 1886, is within the mark and approximately correct:

Total imports from Hawaiian Islands, 99.35% free	$61,100,471
Total exports to the Hawaiian Islands of domestic merchandise	25,991,270
Balance of trade against the United States	$35,109,201
Minimum loss of duty on sugar alone, 2.75 cts. per lb	$26,071,684
Extra foreign cost of Hawaiian sugar, 2.16.6 cts. per lb	20,541,327
Extra cost of sugar to Pacific coast consumers, 2.50 cts. per lb	23,701,526
Loss of duty on rice and molasses, estimated	1,000,000
Minimum loss to consumers and taxpayers	$71,314,537

It will be seen that in addition to the balance of trade against the United States, $35,109,201, a direct and indirect loss of $71,314,537 has been entailed in the form of a tax upon the people of this country by the treaty, simply for the enrichment of disinterested Hawaiian sugar monopolists.

Manifold are the pretences of advocates of the treaty of 1875–'76 and the sophistries of disinterested Hawaiian sugar monopolists and their allies and *claquers*, but "*Magna est Veritas, et Prevalebit.*" The Hawaiian reciprocity treaty of 1875–'76 was a commercial fraud upon the people of this country, and the results have been singularly disastrous to American interests at large.

The treaty already levies an annual tax of nearly $15,000,000 upon American consumers and taxpayers for the enrichment of Hawaiian sugar monopolists, and its immediate abrogation is a National requirement.

HENRY A. BROWN,
Ex-Special Treasury Agent, Saxonville, Mass.

Address in Washington, D. C.:
1408 Eighth Street N. W.

May 27 '86

I don't find a copy of my Statements before Com on Foreign affairs will see later H.A.B.

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ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

ADDRESSED TO THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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AGAINST THE

HAWAIIAN TREATY AND DUTY FREE SUGARS,

AND IN REPLY TO THE

HONOLULU MINISTER'S DEFENCE OF SAID TREATY,

MARCH 6, 1882.

By **HENRY A. BROWN**, of Saxonville, Mass.,
Ex-Special Treasury Agent, U. S.

When the Hawaiian Minister came before you and presented his case from the Hawaiian standpoint, I expected to hear some rational excuse or pretence for continuing this Commercial Reciprocity Treaty; instead of which, the inconsistencies in Mr. Allen's statements and the opinions of the *London Times* and interested officials residing at Honolulu, have been set forth as law and gospel, against facts which are palpably felt by consumers of sugars on the Pacific coast, by tax-payers throughout the country, and by every American industry connected with sugar producing and the refining of dutiable sugars.

When Governor Boutwell followed, and in his methodical way called upon the ghosts of departed statesmen, and those now living upon whom their mantles may or may not have fallen, as witnesses in favor of this Treaty, he soared far beyond the matter in hand about which he said comparatively nothing; the men he named who are dead, knew—the men he named who still live know—you, gentlemen, know—the Hawaiian Minister and Governor Boutwell know, and have admitted—that as a commercial transaction, the miserable bargain called a Treaty of Reciprocity with Hawaii has, from its inception to this day, been a dead failure so far as the interests of the people of this country are concerned.

I will not so far traduce the memory of dead statesmen, or disparage the living, as to admit or believe that their acumen as American statesmen is to be measured by this Hawaiian Treaty blunder; whatever statesmen may think or say to the contrary, I am satisfied that the people of this nation do not hanker after new and costly territorial acquisitions outside of this continent.

We hold a substantial key to the Northern Pacific ocean, in our Pacific coast with its base of supplies and open communications three thousand miles in length and depth, and if it were not so, should

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England declare war with this country,—which she never will do alone,—she could seize the Hawaiian Islands any day and hold them against all the forces of our so-called navy.

Neither have we any right of possession in those Islands under this commercial treaty; and if a bill were presented to Congress to-day asking an appropriation for the purchase and fortification of the Hawaiian Islands, no matter how small the sum, it would be consigned to the paper-maker, while any statesman who ventured to negotiate a treaty of offence and defence between the United States and Hawaii, would be laughed to scorn.

The question before the committee is therefore reduced to the single consideration of the treaty as a commercial transaction; precisely as the renewal or termination of the Reciprocity Treaty between the United States and Canada was based on commercial transactions and their general results, so should this question be considered; any deviation from such a course looks rather to hostility than to peace with other nations, and would be so viewed by Mr. Allen's bugbear—the *London Times*.

After hearing Minister Allen and Governor Boutwell's defence of the Hawaiian Treaty, I not only reaffirm the statements contained in my "Concise Resume of Sugar Tariff Topics," and those made by me before your committee, but I now present further evidence in illustration of the pernicious workings of said treaty, which everybody admits to be a costly commercial transaction to this nation.

Governor Boutwell stated in substance that the trifling loss of revenue to this country was unworthy of consideration, and stated the amount of such loss at less than a million of dollars; not only is such a statement wide of the facts, as even Mr. Allen admits, but the statement does injustice to the ex-Secretary of the Treasury's knowledge, and well known and highly commendable astuteness and New England thrift in making money a principal consideration in commercial and professional transactions.

Taking the official records of this Government as authority, the loss of revenue during five years of this treaty exceeds ten millions of dollars; taking the extra price placed upon Hawaiian sugars over those of other countries, which was in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881, $1.98 per 100 lbs., say 2 cents per lb. on 241,212,070 lbs. consumed in five years, the average cost of Hawaii sugars, in 1881, having been $6.40 per 100 lbs., and those from other countries $4.42 per 100 lbs., we have a loss of industry of $4,824,241; and taking the minimum of extra cost of free sugars to consumers on the Pacific Coast, above the cost of dutiable sugars to consumers elsewhere, at 2 cents per lb., we find the former paid $4,824,241 extra for free sugars in five years.

Thus far we find beyond question a cash loss caused by the treaty in five fiscal years made up of duty lost, industry crippled, and consumers swindled, amounting to $19,648,482, as the prime results of the commercial transaction called a Reciprocity Treaty; as Minister Allen and Governor Boutwell do not exhibit a single valuable return to the United States for this drain upon American revenue, industries, and tax-payers, I am not likely to discover any.

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The Hawaiian Minister called your attention to the invoice valuations in the Bureau of Statistics, as conclusive evidence of the great advancement of trade under the treaty, and then denied their accuracy when the same figures were applied to the sugars entered free of duty at San Francisco, as being in substance nearly double the actual value of such sugars, and therefore erroneous.

Thus Mr. Allen admits that the Hawaiian Government and custom's officials, aided of necessity by the American Consul at Honolulu, have systematically falsified all invoices of sugars sent to this country under the treaty, and asks your committee to accept the statements of those officials to prove that only 9,100 pounds of China sugars have been imported to Hawaii, and that no advantage could thus have been taken of the treaty to send China sugars to the United States as Hawaiian sugars, owing to the vigilance of such officials.

Mr. Allen stated in substance that the new plantations of 1877 did not produce anything till 1879, whereas the imports show 20,978,374 lbs. in 1876, and 30,685,142 lbs. in 1877; no doubt the manipulation of Honolulu invoices as interpreted by officials who indite letters, calling upon and replying to each other in regard to their own prearranged transactions, would account for this increased product; as the product in 1875 was only 17,888,000 lbs., and 20,978,374 lbs. were imported in 1876, there could have been little or no surplusage from that year.

Mr. Allen tells us that Hawaiian sugars are sold to us at Manilla prices, plus duty on Manilla sugars; taking the maximum average cost of Manilla sugars at 3 cts. per lb., plus duty 2.18¾cts., the cost of such sugars would be 5.18¾ cts. per lb. in San Francisco, whereas the average invoice value of Hawaiian sugars per 100 pounds was in 1877, $6.88; 1878, $7.49; 1879, $6.74; 1880, $6.72; 1881, $6.40, while sales were made above those prices; and in further illustration of the infallibility of Hawaiian customs invoices, dutiable sugars from Hawaii were invoiced per 100 lbs. in 1867, $5.17; 1868, $5.24; 1874, $5.45; 1875, $5.24; 1876, $5.01.

Thus we find a jump in production in 1877 of 9,706,768 lbs., over 46 per cent., with no new yield, and a jump in cost value of Hawaiian sugars of $1.87 per 100 lbs. in the first year of the treaty; clearly Honolulu invoices were falsified before or since the treaty, and the Hawaiian officials, the American Consul, and the Hawaiian executives, who, as Mr. Allen shows, vouch for their own honesty,—no uncommon thing in this country,—must have sanctioned the fraud.

The Hawaiian Minister tells you in substance that the Hawaiian duty of 2½ cts. per lb. on sugar, prevents the importation of China sugars at Hawaii for reshipment as free sugars to this country, and that the character of China sugars as compared with Hawaiian sugars would enable our officials to detect any attempts to enter China sugars as Hawaiian sugars.

Hawaiian sugars were, as already shown, invoiced and valued at San Francisco in 1877—6.88 cents per lb; 1878—7.49 cents per lb;

1879—6.74 cents per lb; 1880—6.72 cents per lb; 1881—6.40 cents per lb; and as the average cost of China and Manilla sugars does not exceed 3 cents per lb., such sugars can be entered at Hawaii, pay 2½ cents per lb. duty, and cost only 5½ cents per lb. in Hawaii, while by reshipment to this country as Hawaiian sugars free, the average profit of such transactions during the 5 years named, would be 1.34 cents per lb., and the normal character of such sugars can be changed in the vacuum-pans of Hawaii without reducing this profit.

The Hawaiian Minister, and Governor Boutwell tell you in substance that it is absurd to imagine that the moiety of free sugars from Hawaii as compared with dutiable sugars, could affect the cost of sugars to consumers, or disturb Louisiana planters, beet and sorghum sugar producers, and Eastern refiners.

Instance the following comparative exhibit for 1881 of dutiable sugars *versus* Hawaiian free sugars; there entered into consumption in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881:

Dutiable dry sugars, 1,869,173,897 lbs., foreign average cost per 100 lbs.	$4.42
Hawaiian free sugars 76,909,207 " " " " " " "	6.40
Duty received from dutiable sugars in 1881	$45,933,045
Duty lost on Hawaiian sugars in 1881	3,079,388

Instead of cheapening refined sugars on the Pacific coast, or even conforming to Eastern prices of similar refined outturn from dutiable sugars, the free sugar dynasty have prohibited grocer's sugars, and advanced prices of refined grades to consumers in California 2 and even 3 cents per pound beyond the Eastern market, maintaining exorbitant prices by buying and coercing Pacific railroad freight agents to double the California rates of freight on Eastern sugars in a single year.

This moiety of free sugars has enabled the protesters of 1875 against the treaty, to erect a 1,500,000 dollar refinery, with a capacity of 3,000 bbls. per day, or from 234,750,000 lbs, to 275,000,000 lbs. per annum, in addition to the outturn of existing Pacific coast refineries; hence we find that free sugars will enable Spreckels & Co. to import China and Manilla sugars at large advantage over Louisiana and Eastern refiners, and break down the Eastern market from time to time, only to corner for a rise, until this moiety of free sugars from Hawaii shall hold consumers throughout the country, at the mercy of the monopoly which now swindles consumers on the Pacific coast.

If such manipulations as these and the uniform duty to No. 13 D. S. plans of Cuban emissaries, do not affect American sugar producers, consumers, and tax-payers injuriously, then light is darkness, truth a lie, and facts but fictions; the only relief we have from these free sugar monopolists and foreign devices, is to protect home sugar production and the refining industries of the country which are held in check by competition with each other for the benefit of consumers of dutiable sugars, and to abrogate the treaty in order that Eastern competition, having only freight to contend with, may extend to California, and thus materially benefit consumers of sugar on the Pacific coast.

Leaving the committee to reconcile the conflicting statements of

the Hawaiian Minister, I will now show how the treaty has been violated by free importation of manufactured and advanced or semi-refined grades of sugars which are not exempted, covered or even contemplated by the treaty; this relates to the question before you, although a specific bill on this topic offered by Mr. Hardy, of New York, after conference with me, and based upon my statements, has been referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

The classifications, quantity, and value of dutiable sugars entered for consumption from the Hawaiian Islands for the fiscal years ended June 30, 1867, 1868, 1874, 1875, 1876, were as follows:

Grades Dutch Standard. Year, 1867.	*Quantity. Pounds.*	*Value.*
Not above No. 12 D. S.	9,353,230	$443,464
Above 12, not above 15	5,821,172	341,020
Above 15, not above 20	22,659	1,608
Total consumed	15,197,061	$786,092
Average cost per 100 pounds, 1867, $5.17.		
Quality.—1868.	*Quantity. Pounds.*	*Value.*
Sugars not above No. 12 Dutch standard	12,622,159	$579,756
Above 12, not above No. 15	5,591,842	375,247
Above 15, not above No. 20	27,061	1,895
Above No. 20, in all	80	11
Total consumed	18,241,142	$956,909
Average cost per 100 pounds, 1868, $5.24.		

Dutiable Hawaiian Sugars entered into consumption in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1874, 1875, 1876, prior to the Reciprocity Treaty admitting Hawaiian Sugars Duty Free.

Year.	*Dutiable Sugars. Pounds.*	*Value. Dollars.*	*Cost per lb. Cents.*	*Average Grade.*
1874	13,575,674	740,786	5.45	No. 7 to 10 D. S.
1875	17,888,000	988,676	5.24	No. 7 to 10 D. S.
1876	20,978,374	1,051,987	5.01	No. 7 to 10 D. S.
Total	52,442,048	2,781,449	Av. 5.2	Av. 7 to 10 D. S.

Classifications of Hawaiian Sugars entered into consumption in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, under the Dutch Standard.

Classified D. S.	1878. *Pounds.*	1879. *Pounds.*	1880. *Pounds.*	1881. *Pounds.*
Above No. 7 not above No. 10	2,437,920	8,174,146	7,793,349	5,373,005
Above No. 10 not above No. 13	10,805,283	16,615,686	28,416,596	28,486,589
Above No. 13 not above No. 16	12,227,780	15,670,564	23,868,886	43,049,613
Above No. 16 not above No. 20	4,897,345	1,232,673	1,477,493	
Total consumed	30,368,328	41,693,069	61,556,324	76,909,207

Hawaiian Sugars entered into consumption free of duty in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, under the Reciprocity Treaty admitting Hawaiian Sugars Duty Free.

Year.	*Free Sugars. Pounds.*	*Value. Dollars.*	*Cost per lb. Cents.*	*Average Grade.*
1877	30,685,142	2,112,270	6.88	Above No. 13 D. S.
1878	30,368,328	2,274,430	7.49	Above No. 14 D. S.
1879	41,693,069	2,811,192	6.74	Above No. 13 D. S.
1880	61,556,324	4,135,486	6.72	Above No. 13 D. S.
1881	76,909,207	4,927,021	6.40	Above No. 14 D. S.
Total	241,212,070	16,260,399	6.74	About No. 14 D. S.

Average loss of duty in five years, by grades ---------- 3.43¾ cts. per lb.
" " " ad valorem ---------- 4.21 "

As usual with Cuban crystals, Hawaiian vacuum pan sugars are semi-refined, and, therefore, intrinsically of higher grades than indicated in official classifications; as proved by Minister Comly in a letter to me, dated September 24, 1881, "the price of Hawaiian sugar is invariably fixed according to the polariscope test;" hence the loss of duty must be estimated upon value in order to be correct.

The above exhibit also proves that the abolition of duty on Hawaiian sugars did not reduce their cost, which averaged 5.2 cts. per lb. in 1874–5–6, and 6.74 cts. per lb. in 1877 to 1881 inclusive, but has increased the cost of refined sugars to Pacific coast consumers.

Reduction of duty on sugar will never accomplish a reduction of prices to consumers, until this country can produce an adequate supply of sugar food; till then it will be found oppressive and dangerous to reduce duty thereon below 50 per cent. ad valorem on any grade of imported sugars.

In answer to the claim that the sugars imported prior to the treaty were of grades running from No. 7 to No. 16 D. S., and that the sugars imported duty free under the treaty are similar in color, and are, therefore, entitled to free entry, it is only necessary to examine the treaty and then identify the sugars entered before the treaty and the sugars now entering duty free, to find evidence that the treaty is being violated, the revenue defrauded, and the people oppressed by the Hawaiian Treaty.

The Treaty of 1875 with Hawaii exempts only, "muscovado, brown, and all other unrefined sugar, meaning thereby the grades of sugar heretofore commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands, and now (1875) known in the markets of San Francisco as Sandwich Island sugars."

Mark well the fact that the treaty admits nothing but natural drained sugars; indeed, no other sugars were known in the Sandwich Islands prior to the treaty; mark further, that the moiety of sugars above 7 to 10 D. S. in color, which were entered and known in 1875 as Sandwich Island sugars, were Muscovado sugars, a portion of which may possibly have been clayed, which process alone, if continued long enough, produces a moiety of raw white sugar.

The quantity of sugars drained above No. 15 D. S. prior to the treaty does not, however, indicate that such were clayed sugars; neither is there any reliable evidence that a pound of the sugars, then imported from the Sandwich Islands, were clayed; in fact, melada can be drained until the remaining dry muscovado sugar is above No. 16 D. S. in color, and the conclusion is inevitable that Sandwich Island sugars, as designated in the treaty, were natural drained, or muscovado sugars.

Casual observation of the changed classifications of Hawaiian sugars since the treaty,—the knowledge that in those islands sugars are now grained and finished in vacuum pans, after the cane juice has been clarified and inspissated to the consistency of syrup, and

that, instead of the old method of twenty to forty days draining, the vacuum pan sugars, and also melada, are now drained in centrifugals in a few minutes,—together with the statements of Minister Comly and others, that the best of modern machinery is now used, and the highest grades of sugars are now made in the Hawaiian Islands, as well as the sworn cost or invoice value of such sugars, and sales in open market, produces reliable evidence that the great mass of all sugars now entered as free sugars are, in reality, vacuum pan and high grade sugars, superior in color, quality, and value to the "Sandwich Islands sugars" exempted by the treaty.

To what extent this subversion of the treaty has been carried is readily seen in the classifications, which rose, as follows, after the treaty on the single class above No. 13 not above 16 D. S., as entered for consumption in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1877 to 1881, inclusive:

1877, above 13 not above 16 D. S.		10,183,556 lbs.
1878, " "		12,227,780 "
1879, " "		15,670,564 "
1880, " "		23,868,886 "
	Or more than the total imports of Hawaiian sugars in 1876.	
1881, above 13 not above 16 D. S.		43,049,613 "
	Or more than the total imports of Hawaiian sugars in 1879.	

Every pound of these sugars and all of the 10 to 13 grades are undoubtedly dutiable sugars under the law and under the treaty, and every pound of Hawaii sugar of every grade should pay duty.

I have already demonstrated before this committee, and in my "Concise Resumé," the impossibility of the abnormal increase of sugar production in Hawaii, indicated by the imports of sugar from the Hawaiian Islands since the treaty, and shown that it would have required more than two thousand acres per annum of new cane fields, yielding from two to three tons per acre of sugar, to have supplied the increase of importations annually received from those islands; hence China and Manilla sugars must have made up the aggregate of such imports. The average annual Hawaiian sugar imports for consumption having been as follows:

	Pounds.	*Value.*
1868 to 1873, inclusive, 6 years dutiable	15,782,035	$956,710
1874 to 1876, inclusive, 3 years dutiable	17,480,682	910,483
1877 to 1881, inclusive, 5 years duty free	48,242,414	3,252,079

In my judgment, founded upon the evidence produced by the classification of facts and authentic figures, at least seventy-five to eighty (75 to 80) per cent. of the sugars now entered for consumption duty free from Hawaii, are not exempted by the treaty, but under the law are dutiable sugars; and the fact that through official neglect or misapprehension duty upon such new process sugars has not been collected, does not prove to the contrary.

Summing up the commercial results of this treaty abomination as recorded in the official archives of our statistical and revenue bureaus and other authentic records upon which I base my state-

ments, under the treaty in the five fiscal years ended June 30, 1877, to June 30, 1881, inclusive, the exhibit is as follows, sugar constituting 90.81 per cent. of the total consumption of Hawaiian merchandise, duty thereon 62½ per cent. ad valorem:

Total Imports consumption.	Total Exports dom. mdse.	Total Sugars consumed.	Loss of Duty on sugar alone.
$17,905,365.	$9,761,142.	$16,260,399.	$10,162,749.

Thus the palpable losses to this country by said treaty during the five years named were:

1. Balance of trade against the United States	$8,144,223
2. Loss of duty on sugars as above and elsewhere stated	10,162,749
3. Increased cost of Hawaiian sugars as before stated	4,824,241
4. Minimum extra cost of "free" refined sugars to consumers	4,824,241
Total tangible loss to the United States	$27,955,454

Taking the annual average we have lost $5,591,090 per annum by the treaty. Taking the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881, the account stands as follows:

Imports Consumed.	Exports Mdse.	Sugar Imports.	Loss of Duty.
$5,525,670.	$2,694,583.	$4,927,021.	$3,079,388.

Showing a largely increasing annual average loss, as follows:

1. Balance of trade in 1881 against the United States	$2,831,087
2. Loss of duty on sugars as explained elsewhere	3,079,388
3. Increased cost of Hawaiian sugars as before stated	1,538,184
4. Minimum extra cost of "free" refined sugars to consumers	1,538,184
Total tangible loss to the United States in 1881	$8,986,843

Measure this authentic exhibit with what is to follow under the treaty; sugar production is forced in Hawaii only to swindle American consumers and taxpayers, and enrich a few speculators, and at the present rate of increase, the treaty will entail upon this nation in the next two years a loss of twenty millions of dollars, or nearly fifty millions of dollars in the seven years; truly, this treaty with Hawaii must be, as Spreckels claims, a "profound foreign policy," although under the treaty, we have no more right of possession in those Islands than any other nation.

The conclusion is enevitable, that should the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty be allowed by Congress to continue, it must be from sinister motives boding no good to the people of this nation, which will never be sanctioned by them; or as one of the results of Congressional jobbing and lobbying, which will yet destroy American institutions unless speedily suppressed; for there is not a single valid commercial or diplomatic reason that will justify Congress in continuing this Hawaiian Treaty fungus—this "profound foreign policy"—which is doomed ere long in any event.

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ANALYSES

OF THE

SUGAR QUESTION,

COMPREHENDING

CANE AND BEET SUGAR PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION, CLASSIFICATION, COST VALUE, DUTCH STANDARDS, DUTIES, DRAWBACK, REVENUE, REFINING, TARIFFS, TARIFF PLANS, TABULAR EXHIBITS, OFFICIAL STATISTICS, RELEVANT DEDUCTIONS, AND

CONSUMERS' INTERESTS,

BY

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Address, Saxonville, Mass.

1879.

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Magna est veritas, et prevalebit.

SECTION I.

FOREIGN CANE SUGAR—COUNTRIES OF PRODUCTION—METHODS OF PRODUCING—RELATIVE MAGNITUDE OF THE TRADE—CONSUMPTION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES—DUTIES FROM SUGAR COMPARED WITH OTHER ARTICLES OF DUTIABLE IMPORTED MDSE.—OFFICIAL DATA AND DEDUCTIONS THEREFROM—EVASIONS OF DUTY—OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITY—DEMAND FOR MANUFACTURE AND CONSUMPTION, ETC.

History informs us that Sugar Cane was cultivated and the juice used as food in Arabia and China in the beginning of the Christian Era, and that it first found its way into Europe from China, the East Indies and Arabia; the raw juice of the Cane and Syrup made therefrom being the only form in which it was then used; Sugar cane thus introduced to Sicily, was from thence planted by the Portuguese on the island of Madeira and there attained great perfection; the plant was soon afterwards introduced to and cultivated in the West Indies.

Sugar cane is undoubtedly indigenous in Brazil, although it may have been there introduced from the Canary Islands. It is known that Sugar cane was brought from the Brazils and the Canary Isles and planted in the Island of Cuba, and that the Spanish possessions in that neighborhood, encouraged by superior market facilities, soon relatively outstripped other countries in the production of Sugar; in the beginning of the 15th Century the art of properly crystallizing and refining Sugar was discovered, and since that time the culture of the Sugar cane has steadily increased and become a leading agricultural industry in many parts of the world.

Sugar cane was imported from Brazil into the Island of Barbadoes, where Sugar mills were soon established and the negro slave trade introduced, it being found impossible for white people to manage the cultivation of Sugar cane in so hot a climate. The production of cane Sugar probably reached the summit of prosperity in Barbadoes where enormous fortunes were made by planters in a few years. Sugar of cane is still produced in all the countries named: In China, the East Indies, the Mauritius, many islands of the Pacific, and in the United States. London was formerly the great central Sugar market of the world; and the London Sugar mart continues to be recognized as the great regulator of market prices for both cane and beet root Sugars throughout the world.

Sugar of cane or cane Sugar is known as the principal Sugar of commerce; similar Sugar is produced from the beet root in large quantities, and from the maple and palm trees in limited quantities. The annual production of cane Sugar throughout the world is known to exceed 3,750,000 tons, about 8.400,000,000 lbs. at the present time. The principal countries of production report approximately as follows in tons:

India proper	1,500,000	Cuba, Porto Rico, etc.	750,000
Br. W. I. Demerara, etc.	250,000	Java, etc.	220,000
Fr. W. I. Guiana, etc.	160,000	Brazil	130,000
Mauritius	125,000	Philipine Islands	120,000
China, etc.	100,000	Louisiana	100,000
Egypt	75,000	Peru	55,000
Mexico	35,000	Other countries	130,000

Approximate annual production of Cane Sugar	3,750,000
Ditto of Maple, Palm and similar Sugar	120,000
Ditto of Beet Root Sugar in Europe	1,465,000
Total annual product of cane and assimilative Sugar	5,335 000

Of the annual beet Sugar crop, France reports 420,000 tons; Germany, 390,000 tons; Austria, 335,000 tons; Russia, 220,000 tons; Belgium, Holland, etc., 100,000 tons. The production of cane and beet root Sugar is on the increase, and the capacity of production of crystallizable raw Sugar is evidently ample to continue in advance of the utmost capacity of consumption for many decades to come; an apparent short crop of cane Sugar, and a fractional rise in price of raw Sugar, brings forward enormous supplies from India, Egypt, and other remote countries; hence the danger of speculating for a rise in prices of raw Sugars.

Syrup formed from the juice of the Sugar cane or Sugar beet, readily crystallizes when properly treated for the purpose; the saccharine strength of pure raw cane Sugar is from 99 to 100 per cent of its bulk, but the per cent of crystallizable Sugar therein varies materially in different raw Sugars; hence the actual value of raw Sugars used for refining has necessarily come to be measured and determined by the amount of crystallizable Sugar contained in the raw material. This is found by testing the raw Sugar in the polarimeter and by other analyses and expert knowledge.

There are, aside from local names, five general classes of raw cane Sugars—Melado and Concrete, Muscovado or natural drained Sugars, Molasses Sugars, Clayed Sugars, and Centrifugals. With the latter may be classed Derosnes or vacuum pan raw Sugars, which have been largely superceded by Centrifugals. Clayed Sugars have also been mostly superceded by centrifugals and dry Muscovadoes, the process of claying being very tedious and more expensive than natural draining, or the centrifugal process of cleansing raw Sugars.

Melado or concrete is the product of cane juice, concentrated by boiling and evaporating to the verge of crystallization. When cool it forms a mixture of Sugar and Molasses rich in crystallizable Sugar, and is sent in tight casks to market. Muscovado Sugar is the product of cane juice, concentrated and defecated by boiling and evaporation, until the

Syrup will crystallize when cool; lime is added during the process to correct acidity and facilitate defecation; the Syrup is also skimmed from time to time, and ladled from one kettle to another, meanwhile increasing the heat at each remove, until the process is complete. The Syrup is then cooled and crystallized, after which it is packed, and when drained it is ready for market.

The process of draining also raises the color of the Sugar to a light shade, and increases its value proportionately, as the Sugar is almost entirely freed from Molasses, and is therefore virtually pure Sugar. Molasses Sugar is the product of drainings from the Muscovado Sugar, these drainings are boiled, defecated and concentrated to the point of crystallization in the manner already described.

Clayed Sugar is produced by pouring Syrup that has been concentrated as above described, to the point of crystallization, into moulds closed at the apex, where it is allowed to cool and crystallize; after which the apex of the mould is opened and the Sugar drained. A layer of wet clay is then spread upon the surface of the Sugar, the moisture from which leaches and purifies the Sugar. When the clay becomes dry the process is repeated, until the surface of the Sugar becomes white. The cone is then removed from the mould and divided into three grades, as follows: white, from the surface; yellow, from the centre; and brown, from the apex of the cone.

Centrifugal Sugar is raw cane Sugar purged from Molasses by the rapid motion of a revolving cylinder perforated with holes; the wet Sugar is placed in the centrifugal machine, which is then made to revolve about 1,500 times a minute; this action throws off the Molasses and liquid impurities in a few moments, leaving the raw Sugar comparatively clean, dry, and, when not doctored to evade duty, quite light in color. The centrifugal process has been known and, to a limited extent, practiced in Cuba for nearly thirty years; but since 1871 its employment has rapidly increased and been subverted, in order to evade duty under the color standard, as will be shown elsewhere.

The cane Sugar Molasses of commerce is the uncrystallizable Syrup that naturally drains from raw Sugars after crystallization, or is eliminated therefrom by the centrifugal process of leaching; the cane Sugar Syrup of commerce is produced in a similar manner from refined Sugars after recrystallization. Both Molasses and Syrup are also made directly from cane juice and raw Sugar Syrup. Assimilative Syrup is also made from artificial glucose, and sold in large quantities as cane Sugar Syrup. Consumers, who have little knowledge of such devices, often prefer glucose Syrup to that of cane Sugar on account of its peculiar appearance and flavor; glucose Syrup is, however, very inferior to pure cane Sugar Syrup for sweetening purposes.

According to reliable data and official records, more than 1,800,000,000 lbs. (eighteen hundred million pounds) of foreign and domestic raw Sugar is consumed annually in the United States, exclusive of Melado;

upwards of four-fifths of which, as shown elsewhere, is foreign cane Sugar. The exports of refined Sugar, the product of foreign dutiable Sugar, from the United States in 1876–'77–'78, amounted to 4.63 per cent of the volume of foreign dutiable Sugar entered into consumption in this country during the years named; consequently 95.37 per cent of the foreign dutiable Sugar that enters into consumption is eaten by the people of this country. If duty free Sugar and home product be added, the people of this country consume as food about 96.50 per cent of the entire volume of raw Sugar entered annually into consumption in the United States.

Continental Europe, Great Britain and her dependencies, with the United States, annually consume upwards of three million (3,000,000) tons of raw sugars; but for purposes of assimilate comparison, the United States and Great Britain present the essential elements; the people of these countries being the largest consumers of Sugar per capita in the world, the relative consumption being, according to the official data of both countries and deductions therefrom, as follows:

CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA OF RAW SUGAR IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Year.	Population.	Pounds Raw Sugar.	Pounds per capita.
1870	31,100,000	1,492,664,320	48.00
1874	32,200,000	1,912,612,800	59.40
1875	32,400,000	2,111,650,240	65.17
1876	32,700,000	1,909,461,120	58.39
1877	33,000,600	1,869,710,080	56.66
1878	43,800,000	2,103,427,200.	62.25

CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA OF IMPORTED RAW SUGAR IN THE UNITED STATES.

Year.	Population.	Pounds Raw Sugar.	Pounds per capita.
1870	38,558,000	1,183,089,146	30.68
1874	42,856,000	1,511,456,915	35.27
1875	44,060,000	1,575,893,948	35.77
1876	45,816,000	1,561,880,545	34.47
1977	46,624,000	1,486,072,996	31.87
1878	47,983,000	1,583,243,440	32.99

The above tables relate to all dry raw Sugars consumed in Great Britain, which is not a sugar-producing country, but relate only to imported dry raw Sugars consumed in the United States; consequently an average annual consumption of fully (5) five pounds per capita should be added to the latter for Louisiana and Maple Sugars annually consumed, which would make the total consumption of raw Sugars per capita in both countries compare as follows:

Year.	Gt. Britain, per cap., lbs.	United States, per cap., lbs.	Excess Gt. Britain, per cap., lbs.
1870	48.00	35.68	12.32
1874	59.40	40.27	19.13
1875	65.17	40.77	24.40
1876	58.39	39.47	18.92
1877	56.66	36.87	19.79
1878	62.25	37.99	24.26

Doubtless the people of the United States actually eat as much Sugar per capita as do the people of Great Britain; but the latter feed large quantities of cheap raw Sugar to cattle and use Sugar more extensively in brewing than is the case in this country, which partly accounts for the difference in consumtion per capita. But the fact is evidenced that the people of Great Britain are enabled to eat and profitably use more Sugar per capita than the people of this country, simply because they could obtain the raw Sugar without restriction as to grade under a classified tariff, and at present can obtain any quality free of duty. When the duty on Sugar was high in England consumption was small.

For instance, in 1860, under high duty on Sugar in England, her people, numbering 28,984,000, consumed 1,003,676,800 lbs. of raw Sugar, or 34.63 lbs. per capita, while in 1870, under a reduced tariff, the consumption rose to 48 lbs. per capita, and after the abolition of duty on Sugar in 1874, the consumption reached 59.40 lbs. per capita for that year, and 65.17 lbs. per capita in 1875. This too rapid increase has now settled down to about 62 lbs. per capita.

Although not prepared to abolish the duty on Sugar, Congress can readily understand the lesson taught by England in this regard, to wit, that the lower the duty on Sugar the greater the consumption; but so long as duty is levied, a scale of duties should be maintained designed to include several classes of Sugar within each range of duty.

Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish possessions convenient of access to this country have long supplied nearly the whole of the raw Sugars annually imported into the United States; in other words, the relative proportion of dutiable Sugar and Melado imported from the different foreign countries during 1876 and 1877 was as follows:

	From Cuba alone, lbs.	All Spanish possessions, lbs.	All other countries, lbs.	Total declared imports, lbs.
Sugar	1,934,577,513	2,339,011,892	659,405,695	2,998,417,587
Melado	118,573,927	118,758,473	405,463	119,163,935
Total	2,053,151,440	2,457,770,365	659,811,156	3,117,581,522

The extent to which Cuba and adjacent Spanish possessions absolutely depend upon this country for a market for their Sugar crop, will be seen in the following table, accurately compiled from official reports in relation to Sugar exported from Cuba alone, disposition thereof, and per cent exported to the United States during the years 1870 to 1877 inclusive:

Total Cuban Exports.	To the U. S.	To other countries.	Per cent to U. S.
1870..659,792 tons.	346,222 tons.	313,570 tons.	52.47
1871...470,941 "	337,428 "	133,513 "	71.65
1872..624,464 "	401,364 "	223,100 "	64.27
1873..714,960 "	479,373 "	235,587 "	67.04
1874..617,646 "	481,639 "	136,007 "	77.97
1875..661,058 "	469,049 "	192,009 "	70.95
1876..537,747 "	435,174 "	102,573 "	80.92
1877..460,810 "	418,876 "	41,934	90.89

The United States are no longer wholly dependent upon Cuba for an adequate supply of raw Sugar, and unless Spain quickly removes the nearly prohibitory tariff discrimination that exists in Cuba against American mdse. a large portion of our future supplies of raw Sugar will be drawn from Sugar producing countries where we can buy Sugar cheaper than in Cuba and stand some chance of selling our own mdse. on favorable terms in return; the annual beet sugar crop of Europe and increased production in remote countries, has virtually placed the future control of the Cuban Sugar crop in the hands of American importers and refiners.

All future attempts to refine or semi-refine raw Sugar in Cuba and other producing countries, and force them upon consumers in this country will be found impracticable and unprofitable under any tariff; the raw material of all grades is what we must have; Sugar producing countries have natural advantages of production, while we have natural advantages of manufacture; so far as the consumption of Sugar in this country is concerned Sugar of different grades would naturally be produced in foreign countries and be manufactured in the United States, hence the necessity of maintaining a Sugar tariff with a scale of duties assimilating to these natural conditions so long as we require a large revenue from Sugar and cannot produce an adequate supply of raw Sugar in our own country.

India alone cultivates Sugar cane on about 3,750,000 acres of her lands, producing annually an average of nearly half a ton of Sugar to the acre; her annual Sugar crop has been officially estimated at only 8 cwt. per acre, or 1,500,000 tons. This minimum yield, it is well known, can readily be increased to one or even two tons per acre under the stimulus of demand, and India raw Sugar can, without doubt, be laid down in this country quite as cheap, even counting time, as similar grades can be imported from Cuba at the present time. Brazil, China, Egypt, India, the Pacific Isles, Mexico, West Indies, Louisiana, Europe with her beet Sugar and other producing regions, are urgent competitors with Cuba for this market, and will at any time gladly supply our entire demands for raw material of all grades if need be.

Let us now observe the prominent position Sugar occupies as a source of revenue and international commerce, but first a brief explanation in regard to United States official statistics.

The functions of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington are manifold. For the purpose of this work two only need be explained; a current record is kept of all imports and exports of mdse., quantity, value, &c., as declared on Custom House entries and invoices. All such preliminary statements are useful and necessary in order to approximately determine the condition of the current trade of the United States with other countries, but do not furnish reliable data upon which to base tariff legislation.

A final record is compiled in said Bureau, under the title "Home Consumption," from the liquidated accounts of Collectors and other

Treasury Department and Custom House records, which correctly determines the completed transactions of the Government with importers, and vice versa; said record furnishes reliable data upon which honest statements must be based.

It is deeply to be deplored that Treasury officials have done much to mystify and throw doubt upon the necessarily duplicated records of the Bureau of Statistics, notably in statements made by the Department that create false impressions in regard to the balance of trade with other countries, wherein preliminary entries are used, while undervaluations of merchandise and exaggerations in export entries have been entirely ignored, although at the same time Treasury bulletins continually announced discoveries by special agents of losses of "millions of dollars of duty per annum by enormous undervaluations of imported merchandise."

The relative amounts of dutiable imported Sugar and Melado consumed, as compared with all other dutiable imported merchandise consumed, and of the revenue from dutiable Sugar and Melado, as compared with the revenues from all other imported merchandise consumed in the fiscal years 1876-'77-'78, were as follows:

	Dutiable mdse. consumed.	Sugar and Melado.	Ratio per cent
1876	$324 024 926	$67,011,896	20.68
1877	298,989,240	73.772.517	24 67
1878	297.083,409	80.369 552	27.05
Total	$920 097.575	$221,153.965	24 03
	Duty there from.	From Sugar and Melado.	Ratio per cent.
1876	$144,982,442	$39,438,414	27.20
1877	128,223.207	35 268,294	27 50
1878	127.015,185	37,075 427	29 18
Total	$400,220,834	$111.782,135	27 93

Should imported Molasses be added, the difference is largely increased in favor of Sugar, Melado, and Molasses, as against all other dutiable articles imported, and the same as regards duty therefrom, the actual condition being as follows:

	Dutiable mdse. consumed.	Sugar and Molasses.	Ratio per cent.
1876	$324 024 926	$75.724,011	23 36
1877	298 989,240	81,107.711	27.12
1878	297,083 409	87,229,869	29 36
Total	$920.097 575	$244,061.591	26.52
	Duty here from.	From Sugar and Molasses.	Ratio per cent.
1876	$144,982,442	$41 886,072	28 89
1877	128 223.207	36,947 139	28.81
1878	127,015,185	38,887.951	30 61
Total	$400,220.834	$117,721 162	29.41

It thus appears that dutiable Sugar and Melado constituted an average of 24 03 per cent. of all dutiable merchandise entered into consumption during the fiscal years of 1876-7-8, and yielded an average of 27.93 per cent. of the duty received from dutiable merchandise entered

i to consumption during those years while dutiable dry and wet Sugars and Molasses constituted an average of 26.52 per cent. of all dutiable merchandise entered into consumption during the years named, and yielded, under the present tariff, an average of no less than 29.41 per cent. of the entire revenue from Customs duty collected on all dutiable merchandise entered into consumption during the three fiscal years.

There is abundant evidence that had the full duty on the higher grades of dry Sugars been collected during the years named, the revenue, under the present tariff, from Sugar, Melado and Molasses would have exceeded 35 per cent. of the entire revenue from Customs duty on all dutiable merchandise entered into consumption during the fiscal years 1876-7-8.

The inducements to evade duty on high grades of raw Sugar are very great, inasmuch as the evasion of one classification line above 7 D. S. under the tariff would be a clear gain of $3,125 duty evaded on a cargo of 1,000,000 pounds; when Sugar to No. 13 to 16 D. S. actual foreign value is entered as No 7 D S in color, which has repeatedly been done with Centrifugal Sugars, an illicit gain of $6,250 accrues to revenue evasionists on a cargo of 1,000,000 pounds, and with higher grades the inducements to evade are still greater. It will be made evident in these pages that No. 7 D. S. apparent in color has stood for No. 10, No. 13, and even No. 16 D. S. actual in cost, in the principal transactions of the past few years in the entry of dutiable Sugar of a high foreign value, falsely toned in color to evade duty; to burden low grade raw Sugars, which never evade duty, with a high grade tax or uniform duty to No. 13 D. S., in order to legalize the present illicit practice of entering high grade Centrifugals at low grade rates of duty, would outrage consumers and refiners of low grade Sugars merely to put money in the pockets of a few refiners and importers of Centrifugal Sugars.

Evasions of duty are possible on all imported dutiable merchandise. In this country, under any tariff, unusual facilities are provided for the safe practice of such evasions, chiefly through maladministration of the Customs service, not so much at Custom Houses, but at the Treasury Department, from whence all instructions to Collectors and other officers of Customs emanate.

Special agents and bureau officials run the Customs machinery of this country over the signatures of the Secretary of the Treasury and his assistants, and will continue to do so until Congress interferes and enacts that the Customs branch of the Treasury Department shall be conducted on strictly business principles, by a competent and responsible Board of Customs Commissioners, appointed by and accountable to Congress, who will execute existing revenue laws that are not properly enforced; the Customs service has been turned into and employed as a political wire-pulling machine by ambitious executive officials.

Certain Special Treasury Agents claim that the Government loses $25,000,000 of Customs revenue annually by the repeal of the moiety acts,

a large part of which is Sugar duty, and they clamor loudly for the restoration of said acts. If Congress will look up the law under which said agents are appointed, noting the duties required of them by law, and then investigate the facts and official records in regard to their official employment during the past few years, that august body will find that the Government loses at least $50,000,000 of revenue annually by executive subversion of the functions of Special Treasury Agents, and through their incompetency and dereliction of public duties which they are appointed and well paid to perform. Evasions of Sugar duty on high grades are abetted and made easy by such delinquencies.

Low grades of raw Sugars are a necessity to consumers, and constitute a most important factor to be considered in the proper adjustment of duty on raw Sugar approximately in accordance with its actual foreign market value, in order to obtain the raw material of all grades for manufacturing at the minimum cost for the benefit of consumers. The importation of all grades of raw Sugar for refining purposes upon an equal footing as regards cost enables consumers to have a much larger choice of Sugars, and encourages the production of raw Sugar for a market made by the capacity of American refiners. These points are fully unfolded elsewhere in this work.

The classification of facts produces reliable evidence that the natural demand in this country for foreign raw Sugars of *actual natural color* and foreign value, to be manufactured for consumers, has, since 1875, come to be approximately as follows: about 20 per cent not above No. 7, D. S., including Melado; about 25 per cent above 7 and not above 10 D. S.; about 35 per cent above 10 and not above 13 D. S., and about 20 per cent above No. 13 D. S., all of *natural color* and value. This pro rata also coincides with the average foreign cost of the Sugar imported, with the product of refineries, and with abundant sworn testimony officially recorded.

It is, therefore, evident that the nearer we maintain the duty on raw Sugar material in accordance with the above natural classification or trade lines and the actual foreign value, the greater the justice to consumers, importers, producers and refiners. (See Duty Section, IV.) Beyond this the question is simply one of Executive ability to enforce revenue laws, prevent evasions of duty, and collect the proper revenue, all of which is practicable under existing laws, and the proper administration of the Customs service.

SECTION II.

SUGAR STATISTICS—TABULAR STATEMENTS—OFFICIAL DATA—DEDUCTIONS AND EXPLANATIONS—EVIDENCES OF DUTY EVASIONS ON HIGH GRADES COST OF RAW SUGAR—CONSUMPTION—GRADES APPARENT FOR DUTY—GRADES ACTUAL IN VALUE—DETY COLLECTED, DRAWBACK PAID—NET DUTY RECEIVED — RATE PER POUND—RATE AD VALOREM—RELATIVE SUGGESTIONS, ETC.

In order to effectually correct public abuses and evils known to exist, we must discover the why and wherefore of their existence and growth. Too often, from want of reliable data to illustrate the question at issue and unfold the methods of great abuses, and upon which tariff legislation can be safely based, designing tradesmen and political mountebanks, with their official allies, carry the day against public interests, honest merchants, manufacturers, and honorable legislators, who lack the specific information required to defeat chicanists.

The following tables exhibit reliable statistics compiled from official records, and the final liquidated transactions relating to customs between the Government and importers and manufacturers of dutiable raw Sugar entered into consumption in the fiscal years named therein, with deductions and analyses fully explaining and illustrating important topics of the Sugar question. The first tables, I. to VI., inclusive, present accurate data relating to dutiable imported Sugar, Melado, and Molasses, actually entered into consumption, declared value, cost per pound or gallon, duty received, and rate per pound or gallon:

I.	Dutiable Sugars. Entered into consumption.	Dutiable Sugars. Declared value.	Dutiable Sugars. Cost per lb.
1875	1,575,893,948 lbs	$69,292,009	4.3969 cents.
1876	1,561,880,545 lbs	63,860,713	4.0887 "
1877	1,455,387,854 lbs	71,849,089	4.9360 "
1878	1,552,875,112 lbs	78,986,070	5.0864 "
Total	6,146,037,459 lbs	$283,987,881	Av. 4.6206 "

II.	Declared value.	Duty received.	Rate per lb.
1875	$69,292,009	$33,380,643	2.12 cents.
1876	63,860,713	37,625,064	2.41 "
1877	71,849,089	34,337,350	2.36 "
1788	78,986,070	36,387,464	2.34 "
Total	$286,987,881	$141,730,521	*Av. 2.30 "

*Total average for 1876, 1877, 1878, under the present tariff, 2.37 cents.

III.	Melado. Entered into consumption.	Melado. Declared value.	Melado. Cost per lb.
1875	73,145,139 lbs	$2,489,897	3.404 cents.
1876	96,751,914 lbs	3,151,183	3.250 "
1877	49,650,354 lbs	1,923,427	3.873 "
1878	36,691,376 lbs	1,383,482	3.770 "
Total	256,238,783 lbs	$8,947,989	Av. 3.492 "

IV.	Declared Value.	Duty Received.	Rate per cent.
1875	$2,489,897	$1,269,442	1.73 cents.
1876	3,151,183	1,813,354	1.87 "
1877	1,923,427	930,944	1.88 "
1878	1,383,482	687,963	1.87 "
Total	$8,947,989	$4,701,703	Av. 1.83 "

V.	Molasses. Entered into consumption.	Molasses. Declared value.	Molasses. Cost per gall.
1875	$43,220,697 galls.	$10,409,255	24.08 cents.
1876	39,213,804 "	8,712,115	22.21 "
1877	29,000,397 "	7,335,194	25.29 "
1878	26,855,764 "	6,860,317	25.54 "
Total	$138,290,662 "	$33,316,881	Av. 23.91 "

VI.	Declared Value.	Duty Received.	Rate per gall.
1875	$10,409,255	$2,495,189	5.77 cents.
1876	8,712,115	2,447,658	6.24 "
1877	7,335,194	1,812,525	6.25 "
1878	6,860,317	1,678,485	6.25 "
Total	$33,316,881	$8,433,857	Av. 6.05 "

In March, 1875, Congress increased the duty on Sugar, Melado, and Molasses, by adding 25 per cent ad valorem to the 1870 schedule of duties, hence the small amount of duty and low rate per pound in 1875, as compared with 1876; it should also be borne in mind, that in 1876 of the whole volume of Sugars entered into consumption, 56,891,258 pounds of Sugar warehoused prior to March 3, 1875, under the previous tariff was withdrawn for consumption in 1876 at the former rate of duty; the balance consumed in that fiscal year, 1,504,989,287 pounds was imported in 1876, and paid the present duty, amounting to $36,450,698, which increases the rate per lb. of duty paid on 1876 Sugar imports consumed from 2.41 cents per lb. to 2.4219 cents per lb. as against 2.36 cents per lb. in 1877, and 2.34 cents per lb. in 1878; the average of gross duty paid during four years, of 2.30 cents per lb. is therefore below the actual average since the addition of 25 per cent in 1875; the average of duty paid being for the years 1876-'7,-'8, 2.37 cents per lb. as noted under Table II.

Tangible evidences of evasions of duty on high grades of Sugar multiply under truthful and thorough analysis. The above six tables present vivid illustrations in this regard; in tables I., III., it will be observed that the average foreign cost of imported raw Sugar per lb. has regularly increased from 4.0887 cents in 1876, to 4.9360 cents in 1877, and to 5.0864 cents in 1878; indicating beyond question that the average grade of all imports of Sugar consumed in those years, actually increased and was above No. 13 D. S. according to foreign prices current of raw Sugars in the years named, as confirmed by testimony given before the Ways and Means Committee, by samples before me and by official data.

In the official statement in the Bureau of Statistics of average cost of raw Sugars at place of shipment, computed in coin on the basis of prices current in the fiscal years 1876-'7, is recorded as follows:

Sugar not above No. 7 D. S.....	in color, per pound			3 50 cents.
Sugar above 7 not above 10 D. S...	"	"	"	4.50 "
Sugar above 10 not above 13 D. S...	"	"	"	4.75 "
Average cost of low grade Sugars..	"	"	"	4.25 "
Melado and Cane Syrup.....			"	3.50 "

According to the sworn testimony of Importers and Refiners as officially recorded, the prices paid foreign producers for raw Sugars imported in 1877, 1878, average as follows:

Sugar not above No. 7 D. S.....	in color, per pound			3 25 cents.
Sugar above 7 not above 10 D. S...	"	"	"	3.75 "
Sugar above 10 not above 13 D. S..	"	"	"	4 "
Average cost of low grade Sugars.	"	"	"	3.66 "
Melado and Cane Syrup.....			"	2.75 "

The facts are thus established beyond controversy, that the actual grade of imported raw Sugars has regularly increased during the years 1876-7-8 through trade manipulations of Centrifugal Sugars to evade duty; judging from duties paid, the average grade of imported raw Sugars apparently grows lower every year; honest importers have been deceived in this, and led to testify that the bulk of all imported Sugar was cheaper, of lower grade and poorer in quality in 1878 than ever before; confined to individual importations, more actual lowest grades were imported by them, but when covering all transactions in imported Sugars, it is simply impossible to controvert the facts in evidence that such was not the case.

Accepting the reliable evidence that the average grade of imported dutiable Sugar consumed has approximated to above No. 13 D. S. in foreign value, reference to table No. II. above, exhibits for 1876-7-8, the constant decrease of duty rate per lb. in each year, and the continuous increase of actual foreign cost; clearly showing that false sampling, grading and classification of high grades for duty, increased each year; in 1876 the duty per lb. averaged 2.42 cents; in 1877, 2.36 cents; in 1878, 2.34 cents; apparently indicating an average grade of imported Sugars of 8¼ D. S. for the three years named; the difference between this apparent average grade, and the actual average grade established by the foreign cost of the raw Sugar in the years named, and by the quality and value of the raw Sugar in this market, exhibits clearly the approximate amount of duty evaded by color toning, false sampling, grading and classification for duty of Centrifugal and other high grades of dutiable Sugars in those years.

In other words, it appears that the payment of nearly half a cent (44.25) per lb. on 4,570,143,511 lbs. of dutiable Sugar consumed in 1876, 7-8, or about $20,222,885 of duty, has been evaded upon natural grades above No. 7 D. S. and largely above No. 13, and the operators finding the pursuit getting hot, now propose to discriminate against No. 7 and 10 Sugars, in order to legalize illicit transactions amounting to 6,740,961 dollars per annum.

This estimate coincides with the writers former analyses of duty evasions on Sugar, wherein similar conclusions were reached in every instance, all being nearly identical in substance, the following excerpt from the

writers pamphlet on "Sugar Frauds and the Tariff," issued January, 1879, illustrates this fact; drawback is omitted in each case.

"The evidence preponderates, that so far as imported dry Sugars entered into consumption in this country, the actual average grade thereof, measured by the Dutch Standard, is above No. 10; consequently the proper average rate of duty cannot reasonably be fixed at less than 2.8125 cents per lb. The following result, I am satisfied, is below the actual facts as regards duty evasions on dry Sugars imported and entered into consumption in the two fiscal years 1876–1877:

Entered into consumption.	Duty Received.	Rate per lb.
3,017,268,399 lbs	$71,962,414	2.3850 cents.
Entered into consumption.	True Rate of Duty.	Proper Duty.
3,017,268,399 lbs.	2.8115 cents.	$84,860,673
Duty actually liquidated 1876–1877.....		71,962,414
Nett Duty discrepancies 1876–1877.....		$12,898,259

By reference to table No. III above, it will be seen that Melado is quite as valuable in the foreign market of production as dry Sugars grading below No. 7 D. S. natural color; therefore there is no valid reason why Melado should not hereafter pay the same duty as No. 7 D. S. raw Sugars. The falling off in receipts of Melado since 1873 seems to be due to the fact that producers can, by extra boiling and the Centrifugal process, obtain a more profitable yield in Centrifugal Sugar and Molasses from concentrated Syrup, than can be obtained by selling the same as Melado in the market of production; hence but little is imported at the present time.

Having thus exhibited approximately the extent to which the revenue suffers annually by evasions of duty on the higher grades of imported raw Sugar, without entering the field of individual crimination, official collusion, and administrative inanity; I would urgently reiterate the necessity of executing existing revenue laws efficiently, in order to suppress and prevent the recurrence of these public abuses, which reform will never be accomplished through tariff tinkering, special agents' investigations, and the half-way measures hitherto employed by the Government.

Much less can existing evils be remedied through legislating to limit the natural grades of raw sugar material now imported, to Centrifugals and similar high grades, by enacting a uniform rate of duty up to No. 13 D. S., which is the grade line of the principal duty evasions practiced heretofore and at the present time. Such discrimination against actual low grades, which have never evaded duty under the present standard, would be an attempt against the people, to prohibit the importation and use of low grades of raw Sugar now imported to meet and supply the necessary wants of consumers.

The duty topic of the Sugar question is fully analyzed and treated elsewhere in this work, yet it cannot be too often impressed upon Congress and the Government that the importation of raw sugar material, of

every distinctive trade grade, should be encouraged by avoiding all semblance of discrimination against any grade, and levying duty and enforcing its collection upon natural and well-known trade classifications, according to their natural color and actual foreign market value.

The following tables, Nos. VII. to XII. inclusive, compiled from official records, and arranged with deductions and illustrations, exhibit and relate to dutiable imported Sugar and Melado entered into consumption, liquidated duty thereon, declared value, duty received, rate per lb.; refined Sugar exports, value thereof, drawback paid, rate per lb.; nett duty from Sugar, foreign cost of raw Sugar per lb., nett duty received per lb., etc., for the fiscal years named, and furnish reliable data for reference:

VII.	Dry Sugar consumed, lbs.	Melado consumed, lbs.	Total Sugar consumed, lbs.	Declared value.
1876	1,561 880 545	96,751.914	1,658.632,459	$67,011 896
1877	1,455,387,854	49,650,354	1,505,038,208	73,772.517
1878	1,552,875.112	36,691,376	1 589,566,488	80,369,552
Total	4,570,143,511	183 093,644	4,753,237,155	$221,153,965

VIII.	Total Sugar consumed lbs.	Declared value.	Duty received.	Rate per lb.
1876	1,658,632,459	$67 011,896	$39,438,414	2.3777 cents.
1877	1,505,038,208	73,772,517	35,268,294	2.3433 "
1878	1,589,566,488	80,369,552	37,075,427	2.3224 "
Total	4,753,237,155	$221,153,965	$111 782,135	2,3517 "

IX.	Exports refined Sugar, lbs.	Declared value.	Drawback paid.	Rate per pound.
1876	72,713,922	$7,806,159	$2,613,525	3.59 cents.
1877	64,729,899	7,542,823	2,253,959	3.48 "
1878	74,058,920	7,289,207	2,330,083	3.14 "
Total	211,502,741	$22,638,189	$7,197,567	3.40 "

X.	Total Sugar consumed, lbs	Duty received.	Drawback payments.	Net duty received.
1876	1,658,632,459	$39,438,414	$2,613,525	$36,824,889
1877	1,505 038,208	35,268,294	2,253 959	33,014,335
1878	1,589,566,488	37,075,427	2,330,083	34 745,354
Total	4,753,237,155	$111 782,135	$7,197,567	$104,584,578

XI.	Sugar consumed, pounds.	Declared value.	Net duty received.	Rate per pound.
1876	1,658,632,459	$67,011,896	$36,824,889	2.2201 cents.
1877	1,505,038,208	73,772,517	33,014,335	2.1935 "
1878	1,589,566,488	80,369,552	34,745,354	2.1858 "
Total	4,753,237,155	$221,153,965	$104,584,578	2,2002 "

XII.	Sugar consumed, pounds.	Declared value.	Cost per pound.	Net duty per pound.
1876	1,658,632.459	$67,011,896	4.0401 cts.	2.2201 cents.
1877	1,505,038,208	73,772,517	4.9017 cts.	2.1935 "
1878	1,589,566,488	80,369,552	5.0560 cts.	2.1858 "
Total	4,753,237,155	$221,153,965	4.6527 cts.	2.2002 "

Established facts are beyond controversy. In tables VIII. and XII., presented above, the declared value or foreign cost of imported dutiable Sugar is seen to have largely increased each year, and the duty received therefrom has decreased inversely each year. It is sheer nonsense for anybody to claim, and beyond the power of sophistry to maintain, that in 1878, including Melado, 1,589,566,488 lbs. of Sugar costing and valued in the market of production $80,369,552, or 5.$\frac{056}{1000}$ cents per lb., was not of a far higher natural grade than No. 8 D. S., upon which average classification $37,075,427, or 2.3224 cents per lb., duty was paid in 1878, when it is an indisputable and well-evidenced fact, that Sugar costing an average of 5.056 cents per lb. in the market of production would naturally grade 13 to 16 D. S.

Omitting Melado from the estimate, the case stands as follows for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878: consumption, 1,552,875 112 pounds dry Sugar, costing and valued in the foreign market (see table I.) $78,986,070 or 5.$\frac{086}{1000}$ cents per pound, paid a duty of $36,387,464, or only 2.34 cents per pound on an average grade equal to No. 8½ D. S., while the actual foreign cost and value of the Sugar consumed, evidenced in the declared value and confirmed in the home market, clearly prove that the quality, and natural grades have been on the average between No. 13 and 16 D. S., individual trade experiences, theories and testimony of interested sugar merchants to the contrary notwithstanding.

Tables VIII. IX. and X., above given, also throw light upon the subject of sugar drawback. It will be seen that during the past three years importers have been paying an average of only 2.3517 cents per pound duty on grades of raw Sugar, including Melado costing (see table XII.), 5.056 cents per pound in the foreign market of production, from which an average of fully 90 per cent. of refined product can be obtained, while refiners have been paid during the same time an average drawback on refined Sugar exports of 3.40 cents per pound. Although a reduction of drawback rates was made in 1877, the average per pound paid in the fiscal year 1878 was 3.14 cents, as against an average duty paid in that year of only 2.3224 cents per pound on dutiable raw Sugar, costing 5.056 cents per pound; the drawback rate may not be too high, but the proper duty has been evaded.

By mixing duty-free Sugars from Hawaii and Glucose with dutiable Sugar in refining, and destroying cargo identity, refiners might, if so disposed, obtain drawback in excess upon exports of refined Sugar; but this is of trivial importance compared with evasions of duty on Centrifugals entered as No. 7 D. S. by toning down the color. It is, however, useless for this Government to subsidize American sugar refining with the view of enabling refiners in this country to compete with European refiners in foreign markets; but a prohibitory duty on refined Sugar is an imperative necessity for the reasonable protection of American refiners in the prosecution of their needed industry, and should be continued for

that purpose; and in the interests of consumers, who would otherwise be cornered by foreign refiners the moment such had secured the monopoly of this market.

It has been said that if the duty on Sugar was abolished American refiners could supply the world with refined Sugars, "because they can refine Sugar cheaper than it can be refined in Europe." That such assertions are premature is apparent in table IX., wherein it appears that an average drawback bounty of 3.40 per lb. on refined exports has not enabled refiners to compete successfully with European refiners in any foreign markets, except that of our immediate neighbor, Canada.

The exports of refined Sugar from the United States to all other countries except Canada have fallen from 52,618,879 lbs. in 1876, to 37,502,662 lbs. in 1878. In 1876, 31,349,825 lbs. American refined Sugar were exported to Great Britain, while in 1877 only 26,620,574 lbs. American refined Sugar were exported to that duty free country. To compete successfully with Europe we must produce the Sugar in this country. Meanwhile American consumers will sustain American refiners; both interests being to a degree identical.

Tables X., XI., XII., exhibit plainly the actual nett amount of revenue received from duty on Sugar and Melado, after refunding a portion of said duty in drawback payments; the duty received from Sugar and Melado amounted to $111,782,135 in the three fiscal years 1876-'77-'78, of which sum $7,197,567 was refunded in drawback, leaving a nett revenue from duty on Sugar and Melado of $104,584,578, or an average of 2.2 cents per lb. in those years. This important fact is exhibited clearly in table No. XII. above given.

The following tables, XIII. to XVI. inclusive, present a comple exhibit of the grade classifications for duty of dutiable raw Sugar entered into consumption in the fiscal years 1876, 1877, 1878; declared value thereof, cost per lb., liquidated duties, and significant comparisons, wherein the modus operandi of evading duty on Sugar of high grades by color toning, false sampling, and under classification, is again made vividly evident. Full explanations follow the tables, which are compiled and deduced from official records and arranged with relevant illustrations.

Grades of dutiable Sugar entered into consumption.

XIII. Sampled and classed not above 7 D.S.		Declared value above 10 D.S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated duty received.
1876	534,822,824 lbs.	$20,344,048	3.80c.	$11,654,445
1877	757,946,855 "	37,501,481	4.94c.	16,580,087
1878	860,287,182 "	41,516,497	4.82c.	18,818,782
Total	2,153,056,861 "	$99,362,926	*4.61c.	$47,053,314

*Testimony of importers and refiners, No. 7 Sugar costs 3.25 cents.
*From estimates of experts, No. 7 Sugar costs 3.50 cents per lb.
*Average estimate of experts, No. 7 D. S. Sugar costs 3.375 cents

XIV. Sampled and classed above 7 N.A. 10 D.S.		Declared value above 13 D.S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated duty received.
1876	869,785,687 lbs.	$36,593,778	4.20c.	$21,628,823
1877	604,317,151 "	29,748,890	4.92c.	15,107,928
1878	618,019,876 "	33,232,883	*5.37c.	15,450,497
Total	2,092,122,714 "	$99,575,551	*4.75c.	$52,187,247

*Testimony of Importers and Refiners, No. 10, costs 3.75 cents.
*From testimony of other Experts, No. 10 costs 4.00 cents.
*Average estimates of Experts, No. 10 Sugar costs 3.875 cents.

XV. Sampled and classed above 10 N.A. 13 D.S.		Declared value above 13 D. S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated Duty received.
1876	150,107,868 lbs.	$6,543,106	4.36c.	$4,092,846
1877	88,462,336	4,371,003	4.94c.	2,488,003
1878	72,316,574	4,110,502	5.68c.	2,033,904
Total	310,886,778	$15,024,611	*4.83	$8,614,753

*Testimony of Importers and Refiners, No. 13 costs 4.00 cents.
*From estimates of other Experts, No. 13 costs 4.25 cents.
*Average estimates of Experts, No. 13 costs 4.25 cents.

XVI. Sampled and classed above 13 N.A. 16 D.S.		Declared value Equals 16 D. S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated Duty received.
1876	6,127,732 lbs.	$318,830	5.20c.	$207,593
1877	4,536,195	218,943	4.82c.	155,931
1878	1,474,118	73,831	5.01c.	50,673
Total	12,138,045	$611,604	5.03c.	$414,197

XVII. Sampled and Classed above 16 N.A. 20 D.S.		Declared Value Equals No. 20 D.S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated Duty Received.
1876	1,011,458 lbs.	$58,045	5.73c.	$40,107
1877	92,477 "	6,181	6.68c.	3,756
1878	561,068 "	35,491	6.32c.	22,793
Total	1,665,003 "	$99,717	5.98c.	$66,656

XVIII. Sampled and Classed above No. 20 D.S.		Declared Value above No. 20 D.S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated Duty Received.
1876	24,976 lbs.	$2,003	8.02c.	$1,248
1877	32,940 "	2,590	7.88c.	1,642
1878	216,294 "	16,866	7.79c.	10,815
Total	274,110 "	$21,459	7.82c.	$13,705

The average rate per cent. ad valorem duty actually paid in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878, on each of the classifications for duty of imported Sugar consumed in said year, liquidation of duty being complete, is as follows; but the true ad valorem rate can only be estimated, inasmuch as it depends on honest classification, which has not recently obtained in levying duty on Centrifugal and other high grades of imported Sugar.

XIX. 1878. Classifications.	Quantity consumed, lbs.	Declared value.	Duties liquidated.	Per cent ad val.
All not above No. 7..	860,257,182	$41,516,497	$18,818,782	45.33
Above 7 N. A. 10 D. S.	618,019,876	33,232,883	15,450,497	46.49
Above 10 N. A. 13 D S.	72,316,574	4,110,502	2,033,904	49.48
Above 13 N. A. 16 D. S.	1,474,118	73,831	50 673	68.63
Above 16 N. A. 20 D. S.	561.068	35,491	22,793	64.22
All above 20 D. S. ...	216,294	16,866	10,815	64.12
Total dutiable in 1878.	1,552,875,112	$78,986,070	$36,387,464	46.00

The evident purpose of the Sugar tariff of 1870 was to levy a specific duty on Sugar equivalent to an ad valorem duty of about 50 per centum; and the addition of 25 per cent ad valorem levied upon said specific duty in 1875, would naturally increase the duty to 62.50 per centum on the actual cost or foreign market value of all Sugar up to No. 16 D. S. that cost not less than 3¼ cents and upwards per lb. Sugar costing less than 3¼ cents per lb. in the foreign market would of course pay more than 62.50 per cent ad valorem.

Under an honest classification of imported Sugars, the average ad valorem duty in 1878 would have shown about 64 per cent; for instance, about 20 per cent of all Sugar now entered into consumption is not above No. 7 D. S., including Melado. In the fiscal year 1878, there entered into consumption 1,552,875,112 lbs. of dutiable Sugar, 20 per cent of which is 310,575,022 lbs., not above No. 7, average cost say 3.50 cents per lb., amounts to $10,870,125.77; duty at 2.1875 cents per lb. would be $6,893,828.58, or 63.41 per cent ad valorem, instead of 45.33 per cent, as represented under the false classification for duty in 1878.

Other grades will conform to this true rate when honestly classified; but so long as the Government fails to attend to the collection of Sugar duty, and its agents dance attendance on Cuban Signoritas to learn from them how to levy duty on Centrifugal Sugar, which the trade find no trouble about classing, it is evident that importers of high grades will be encouraged to evade duty by the imbecility and collusive practices of officious but incapable officials.

It is in substance proposed to punish consumers for this condition of affairs, by depriving the people of the refined product of low grade Sugars, the importation of which is to be virtually prohibited, or at least greatly restricted, under a uniform duty on all grades to No. 13 D. S. Such would be the result of any uniform duty—however low—at all events when the interests of consumers are considered; and the people's interests should form the basis of tariff legislation on articles of necessary food.

The actual foreign cost or market value of the Sugar entered for duty and passed into consumption under the above classifications in the fiscal year 1878 is stated in tables XIII. to XVIII., inclusive, wherein we find that Sugar "passed" as No. 7 cost 4.82 cents per pound in the foreign market; Sugar "passed" as No. 10 cost 5.37 cents per pound in the foreign market; and Sugar "passed" as No. 13 cost 5.68 cents per pound in the foreign market, whereas Sugar "passed" as No. 16 cost only 5.01 cents per pound in the foreign market.

Vapid attempts have been made, in behalf of a uniform duty to 13, to account for this condition by charging the discrepancies to low grades. It has been said that No. 7 Sugar in Cuba brings the same price or more than Nos. 11 to 13 Sugar, and that Nos. 8 to 10 Sugar sells highe than 12 and 13 Sugar at the place of production, "because the present tariff discriminates glaringly in favor of low grades, for the production of which producers have been receiving enormous bounty;" yet the same writer also states that "No. 9 in color is worth in Cuba fully ⅜ cents per pound less than No. 12 Sugar;" whereas in fact the duty discrimination between Nos. 9 and 12 is only $\frac{6}{16}$ cents per pound. As this "glaring" duty discrimination is only $\frac{5}{16}$ cents per pound between Nos. 8 to 10 and Nos. 12 to 13, while Nos. 12 to 13 Sugars cost $\frac{6}{16}$ cents per pound more than No. 9 Sugar in Cuba, it is not clear how such statements prove that 8 to 10 Sugar sells higher than 12 to 13 Sugar in Cuba; not to speak of the actual difference in the value of the Sugar, which is always an important factor in buying and selling Sugar. Neither do the Wall street selling prices of Cuban Sugars agree with such No. 13 meanderings.

It has also been vehemently urged that owing to duty discrimination in favor of low grades, the foreign prices thereof have been unnaturally enhanced beyond their proper value, to the past and present detriment of Centrifugals, Derosnes and dry Muscovadoes; yet the same theorists assert that the American market has long been overstocked with low grade Sugar which it is often next to impossible to sell at any price.

Producers never yet succeeded in maintaining exorbitant prices on any article for which there was no urgent and continuous demand in the market of consumption at equivalent prices. The fact is, No. 7 and below Sugars have for many years been and are now, as numerous samples before me prove, worth only from 2½ to 3½ cents per lb., according to the locality of the foreign market and their intrinsic value for refining.

Furthermore, advocates of a uniform duty to No. 13 D. S., have also urged that "the building up of the Centrifugal industry in Cuba and elsewhere originated in the demand of refiners for a better class of Sugars," and that during the past decade "the proportion of Centrifugals to other Sugars imported into this country has constantly increased;" consequently there should have been an annual increase of high standard in natural color and value grades imported at the higher rates of duty which should appear in the official records of liquidated transactions, not so appearing, Centrifugals, Derosnes, and dry Muscovadoes have certainly evaded the payment of full duty.

The following table, No. XX, exhibits the grade classifications for duty of dutiable raw Sugar entered into consumption in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1873, declared value thereof, average cost per lb., and liquidated duty thereon. Comparison thereof with tables Nos. XIII. to

XIX., inclusive, above given, evidences clearly that the higher the quality natural color, and actual cost or foreign market value of all imported dutiable Sugars actually above No. 7 D. S. in natural color and value at the point of purchase, the lower the classification and grading for duty has been, and the greater have been the evasions of duty, through practices which are fully explained elsewhere, and which can readily be suppressed under existing revenue laws, when such come to be properly enforced:

Classification of dutiable Sugars entered into consumption in 1873.

XX. 1873.

	Entered into consumption, lbs.	Declared value.	Cost per lb.	Duty paid.
All not above 7 D. S....	200,588,712	$9,781,864	4.87c.	$3,510,302
Above 7 N. A. 10 D. S..	860,454 194	46,342,844	5.38c.	17,209 084
Above 10 N. A. 13 D. S.	250,842,299	14 584,126	5.81c.	5,643,952
Above 13 N. A. 16 D. S.	60,881,348	3,891,759	6 39c.	1,674 237
Above 16 N. A. 20 D. S.	5,407 628	370,308	6.84c.	175,748
All above 20 D. S.....	324,651	22,172	6.82c.	12,986
Total dutiable in 1873.	1,378,498,832	$74,993,073	*5.44c.	$28,226,309

	1873.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.
*Average cost per pound.	5.44 cts.	4.39 cts.	4.08 cts.	4.93 cts.	5.08 cts.
Av'age duty per pound.	†2.05 cts.	2.12 cts.	2.42 cts.	2.36 cts.	2.34 cts.

† See tables I. to VI., inclusive, above, for full explanation.

Prior to 1874 very little No. 7 and below Sugar was imported, the demand for such Sugar being tentative rather than established; although in the above table XX it appears that 200,588,712 lbs. of Sugar not above No. 7 was imported in 1873, the foreign average cost per lb. (4.87 cents) showed that such was not the case; evasion of duty on the higher grades was then as now practised, but to a much more limited extent than latterly as regards the number of crooked operators.

In 1878 as appears from the official data in table XIX above given 860,287,182 lbs., or nearly 60 per cent of the dutiable Sugars consumed, "passed" as not above 7 D. S., whereas the evidence is conclusive that only about 20 per cent of all imported Sugar refined is of so low a quality; the actual average foreign cost per lb. of the Sugar claimed to be not above No. 7, shows clearly that 10 to 16 grades in quality and value, have been passed as No. 7 and evaded duty by color toning and false sampling to the tune of many millions of dollars annually.

The tariff of 1870 reduced the rate of duty on Sugar and removed restrictions from low grade refining Sugars; consequently in 1871 the average duty received from Sugar was 2.54 cents per lb.; the 25 per cent ad valorem had not been added; therefore the grades imported that year, 1871, averaged above No. 13 D. S. of natural color and value; from 1871 to the present time, evasions of duty on high grades, especially 13 to 16 D. S. natural grades, have rapidly increased aided by Executive inanity, official collusion, Centrifugal doctoring and false sampling of Molasses, Sugar, Muscovadoes and Derosnes.

Evasions of dury are made easy by the greatly increased production of Centrifugals, which are made of almost uniform crystallizable capacity and value for refining, testing about 93 to 97 degrees in crystals, but beautifully toned to any shade of color to evade duty, by the introduction of caramel, lime, dark sediment and chemical substances, and by other manipulations practiced during the Centrifugal process, which turns out semi-refined, large-grained, handsome Sugar, rich in cane Sugar and crystals.

This process produces Sugar 13 to 16 D. S. in foreign market value toned down to below No. 7 in outside color to evade duty, a clearly illegal practice; and such Sugars are sold in our markets at their intrinsic value by advocates of a uniform tariff to No. 13 D. S., expressly designed to legalize these illicit transactions, and prevent or cripple the importation of honestly made raw Sugars of natural low color and quality. This is done in face of ample revenue laws, which are not enforced.

Since 1873 the demand for raw Sugars, not above No. 7 D. S. in natural color and actual foreign value, for refining, becoming permanent in the interests of consumers, has rapidly increased to about 20 per cent. of the annual importations of dutiable Sugar entered into consumption. The recent short crop in Cuba opened out, as if by magic, the more remote sources of raw Sugar supply. An influx of low grade raw Sugars further stimulated the manufacture and consumption thereof in the United States, quickly reducing the cost of this article of food to consumers in recent years.

These low grade Sugars have become a food necessity, because from such grades only can a correspondingly cheap, pure refined cane Sugar be produced to meet the wants of the masses. The people, therefore, whose wants have thus been adequately met, now demand that low grade Sugars No. 7 and below shall be imported and classed as such for refining relatively cheap grades of sugar to supply their wants ad libitum, without the shadow of duty discrimination being enacted by Congress against low grade raw Sugars in favor of high grades under any pretense.

SECTION III.

IMPORTANT TOPICS OF THE SUGAR QUESTION—SUGAR PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES—ITS CAPACITY AND PROTECTIVE REQUIREMENTS—THE SUGAR REFINING INDUSTRY—IMPORTANCE THEREOF TO AMERICAN CONSUMERS OF SUGAR FOOD—ITS CAPACITY AND REQUIREMENTS—ADURTERATIONS, ETC.

Before presenting the subject of levying duties on Sugar, protective, industrial, and consumers interests affected and bearing upon the question of Sugar tariff legislation should be fairly exhibited, in order that the

people and their Representatives in Congress may not be led captive by the plausible sophistries of quick-witted tradesmen and their unprincipled allies who pull the wires of tariff legislation for greed or self aggrandizement, regardless of great national interests and the wants of consumers, honest merchants, and public revenue.

Cane Sugar production in the United States rightly demands the encouragement of reasonable tariff protection, which is also needed to stimulate the production of beet Sugar in this country; as has been shown elsewhere, large quantities of beet root Sugar are annually produced in Europe, and there is reason to believe that similar success can be attained in this country. Already an American beet root Sugar factory is in operation, and others are projected.

Although at present we produce only about 12 per cent., one-eighth of the cane Sugar annually consumed in this country, our natural capacity of production is evidently far greater; the industry is susceptible of profitable advancement in Louisiana, and could be made remunerative in Texas and other Southern States. The production in Louisiana alone was, in the crop year 1861-2, 528,300,000 pounds, or the highest ever known in that State in one season. The production fell to 96,000,000 pounds the following season owing to the war. In 1864-5 only 10,800,000 pounds were produced; but again the production increased to 42,900,000 in 1866-7, and since 1867-8 has been as follows in that State:

	Pounds.		Pounds.		Pounds.
1868–69....	95,100,000	1871–72 ...	146,900,000	1874–75.....	184,500,000
1869–70....	99,500,000	1872–73 ...	125,300,000	1875–76.....	165,450,000
1870–71...	168,900,000	1873–74 ...	103,200,000	1876–77.....	194,964,000

The season of 1877-78 is estimated at about 209,000,000 pounds or about 177,000 hogsheads.

As has been shown, war's devastations prostrated the cane Sugar productive industry in the United States; yet according to the ninth census, the raw Sugar of cane product of two States—Florida and Louisiana—and the capital and labor there employed in this purely native industry was, in 1870, as follows, exclusive of refining and of the capital and labor employed in cultivating the sugar cane from which the Sugar was obtained:

Houses.	Capital.	Employes.	Wages.
713	$10,248,475	21,209	$1,230,119
Materials.	**Molasses, galls.**	**Sugar, hhds.**	**Value.**
$6,069,271	4,368,687	77,317	$10,383,368

From the same authority we find that in 1870 the Sugar product of native growth in the United States was as follows:

Cane Sugar.	Sorghum Sugar.	Maple Sugar.
87,043 hhds.	24 hhds.	28,443,645 lbs.
Cane Molasses.	**Sorghum Do.**	**Maple Do.**
6,593,323 gals.	16,050,089 gals.	921,057 gals.

Before the war the Sugar product of the United States, as officially reported, was as follows for each decade named:

	* Cane Sugar.	Maple Sugar.	Molasses.
1850.....	247,577 hhds.	34,253,436 lbs.	12,700,896 gals.
1860.....	230,982 hhds.	40,120,205 lbs.	23,210,708 gals.

* Hhds. estimated at 1,200 lbs.; 1850—297,092,400 lbs.; 1860—277,178,400 lbs.

The decline in annual production caused by the destruction of property and the diversion of labor during the War has been partially recovered from since 1870, it being estimated that more native Sugar was made in 1878 than in any year since the War. The cane Sugar productive capacity of the United States is sufficient, with good crops, to turn out at least 500,000,000 lbs. of Sugar per annum. It is known that upwards of twenty millions of dollars capital is invested in the United States in Sugar making, in lands and labor, material and machinery, buildings and implements of culture; while at least twenty-five thousand people, doubtless more, are annually employed in producing Sugar in our own country.

Louisiana produces principally a higher grade of raw Sugar of a brilliant yellow color, rich in saccharine strength, suitable for and which generally enters into immediate consumption in the South and West, and requires no material protection against foreign low grade Sugars, fit only for refining, which do not come into competition with her handsome light colored Sugars to any extent; it would therefore be preposterous to place a duty of 2.40 cents per lb. on No. 7 and below D. S., or even on No. 10 Sugars to protect her interests.

Louisiana Sugar product particularly requires protection against foreign raw Sugars of No. 13 and above D. S. of natural color, and actual foreign value, such as Centrifugals, Derosnes, and dry Muscovadoes, which compete in value and sometimes in color with her own outturn; in the case of high gaades of these types she is entitled to a reasonable duty protection; but it must be borne in mind that we at present produce only about one-eighth of the quantity of cane Sugar required for consumption in this country. It is therefore a question for the grave consideration of Congress why seven-eighths of the necessary Sugar food for consumers should be taxed heavily merely to protect the one-eighth produced in this country.

France taxes foreign Sugars virtually to prohibition, simply because she produces more beet sugar than she requires for home consumption, and in 1878 is reported to have exported about 200,000 tons of beet Sugar to other countries. England, on the other hand, reduced the duty on Sugar, and in 1874 abolished it, because she does not produce Sugar at home, and therefore encourages an influx for competitive and manufacturing purposes, as well as for consumption; hence her enormous annual consumption per capita of over 62 lbs. (See section I.)

Clearly the national industry of Sugar production and its investments should be encouraged by all proper means; but whatever subsidy is paid

by the people for such purpose should not constitute a perceptible burden upon consumers, who after all can only obtain a small part of their necessary Sugar food supply from home production, and are not likely to do more in this generation merely by the payment of a subsidy.

Sugar refining is an important national industry founded upon the demands of luxury, a basis akin to and almost as substantial as that of necessity; hence the Sugar refining industry in this country, while honestly conducted towards consumers, is in no danger of becoming obsolete for lack of consumption of pure refined Sugar among 48,000,000 of people already largely educated to consider voluptiousness in the gratification of appetite, an essential element to their comfort and well being.

Refiners of Sugar, whose interests are identical with those of the people, should protect consumers of refined Sugars against imposition and fraud in their product, even as they require to be reasonably protected by a suitable impost duty on foreign refined and semi-refined Sugars, in order to prosecute the industry of refining in this country profitably, and yet supply American consumers at lower prices than could be done by Sugar refiners in Europe under a free trade regime as regards refined Sugars. Sugar refiners should be encouraged by a reasonable duty, discriminating against foreign refined and semi-refined Sugars. The necessities of consumers also demand this, in order to give them the full advantage of a choice of Sugar food at prices suited to their means.

Official statistics recorded in the ninth census, in regard to the Sugar refining industry in the United States at the beginning of three decades, namely, 1850, 1860, 1870, present the following exhibit of the rise and progress of this great American manufacturing industry:

Refineries.	Capital.	Hands.	Wages.	Material.	Product.
1850.....23	$2 669,000	1,656	$604.248	$7,662,685	$9,898,800
1860.....41	9,098,100	3,505	1,364,712	34,190,767	42,241,834
1870.....59	*20,545,220	4,597	3,177,288	96,899,431	†108,941,911

*Trade data estimates the capital at $28,000,000 in 1870.

†Refined Sugar, 754,010,951 lbs.; Syrup, 18,168,279 gals.; Molasses, 839,560 gals.

Refined cane Sugar has now entirely superseded foreign raw Sugar as an article of human food in the United States; the only raw Sugars now eaten by the people of this country are Louisiana cane Sugars, made of high grade for the purpose, and used almost exclusively in the South and West, and maple Sugar. As a matter of choice, consumers who have access to refined Sugars have created this great demand for a cleaner, cheaper, handsomer, purer, and more wholesome refined Sugar than can be obtained in a raw or semi-refined state in the producing country.

The present duty on Sugars above No. 13 not above No. 16 D. S. is 3.4375 cents per pound, while under the tariff of 1864 to 1869, inclusive, the duty on No. 12 and not above No. 15 D. S. Sugar was 3.50 cents per pound. Evidently the importation of grocers' grades of foreign raw Sugars have not been prohibited by any increase of duty thereon thus

far; the former demand of consumers for raw Sugar is simply superseded by the present demand of consumers for refined Sugars.

The rapid increase in consumption of refined Sugar in preference to foreign raw Sugar of even high grades, drew capital into the refining business, which became enormously profitable on the sudden transition of taste and increasing demand; from the natural increase of consumers and from the fact that instead of refining part of the raw Sugars refiners were soon required to refine nearly all imported Sugars. The capacity of producing refined Sugar quickly rose above the necessities of consumption in this country, and the foreign demand for American refined Sugar has never been great nor encouraging.

The result was inevitable: over production of Refined Sugar being simply ruinous, it became a matter of necessity to measure the national capacity of consumption of refined product and the limited foreign outlet therefor, and regulate production accordingly: In all such movements the weaker go the wall, by consolidation with the strongest or by closing up altogether. This natural reaction reduced the number of refineries to 42 in 1875.

Better and more perfect machinery, numerous improvements, the concentration of capital, and greater skill in manufacturing vast quantities of all grades of refined Sugar in the same refinery, instead of in several, has since largely increased the productive capacity of refiners and enabled them to supply from a single refinery a full choice of grades at minimum prices for the use of consumers. There being no increase in consumption commensurate with the increase of productive capacity, the number of refiners was again reduced, the strongest in capital, capacity, energy, skill, and close attention to the wants of consumers, remaining masters of the industry as a matter of course.

Thorough investigation warrants the conclusion that evasions of duty, and adulterations of refined Sugars, can no more be charged upon one class of importers and refiners than upon another. Neither can such practices be properly charged upon successful importers and refiners, more than upon unsuccessful Sugar merchants; "tricks of the trade" have doubtless conduced to the present adjustment of the refining industry, but neglect to obey the great laws of production and consumption has been the cause thereof.

Although the number of refineries has largely decreased since 1875, the productive capacity of those in operation is ecen greater than ever, and fully equal to the demand for consumption. The indnstry is one of great importance and magnitude, and absolutely indispensible to the comfort and wants of the American people. Sugar consumers and refiners interests are identical. They should, therefore, not be interfered with by tariff laws that would circumscribe the present capacity of refiners to produce all grades of refined Sugars required to meet the wants of consumers.

For such purposes, low grades of raw Sugar are indispensible, as are high grade Centrifugals, Derosnes and Muscovadoes for the profitable production of hard Sugars. It is necessary that refiners should have grades not above No. 7 D S. natural, to enable them to make the grades suited to the wants of the majority of consumers. From such grades, apportioned with higher grades, refiners can give consumers a cheaper Sugar and better article than importers can give them. Refiners Sugars are sweeter, cleaner, and more beautiful to the eye than raw Sugars of any grade, for which reasons all foreign raw Sugars go to refiners.

Should all refiners confine themselves exclusively to working Centrifugals and other high grades of raw Sugar, the great mass of consumers would be deprived of cheap refined Sugar, and be unable to obtain raw Sugar fit for food. To rich consumers price is no object; to the masses, who consume the bulk of Sugar, price is everything. From the various grades of raw Sugar, beginning with Melado and No. 7 D. S. natural color, and taking every grade above that number, refined Sugar of relative grades in value, adding cost of refining, are naturally obtained, thus giving consumers the broadest latitude of choice to conform to their necessities and tastes.

To obtain from the various qualities of raw Sugar the same relative qualities of refined Sugar, the cost of refining would be about as follows for labor, bone black, etc.:

From Melado, per 100 pounds raw material	$1 00
From No. 7 D. S. and below, per 100 pounds	.80
From above No. 7 to No. 10 D. S., inclusive, 100 pounds	.70
From above No. 10 to No. 13 D. S., inclusive, 100 pounds	.60
Above No. 13 D. S., per 100 pounds	.50
Centrifugals, Derosnes, according to quality	.40 to .50

the higher cost of refining the lowest grades, being offset by the lesser cost of the raw material.

From the highest grades of raw Sugar refiners can only make the highest grades of refined Sugar, which the masses cannot afford to buy; whereas from the lowest grades of raw Sugar refiners can make any grade of refined they see fit. In order to get the highest grades of refined from lowest grades of raw, it is only necessary to double or triple the refining process; although this increases the cost of refining, loss in weight, &c., such extra expense is met by the saving in the first cost of the lower grade raw Sugar; hence the consumer would pay the same for his A Sugar, whether it was made from the highest grade of Centrifugals or from the lowest grade of Manillas.

Beyond question it is far cheaper for us to import raw Sugars, and bring them up to higher grades by refining, than to import refined or semi-refined foreign Sugar; not only can we produce from low grade raw Sugar all grades of refined required to meet the wants of the masses, and from the higher grades of raw Sugar produce high grades of refined to meet the wants of the rich, better and cheaper than it can be done in the

foreign producing country, but the home industry of manufacturing refined Sugar suited to the varied wants of consumers of Sugar food is thus benefited, encouraged and protected, while engaged in supplying the current demands of the people.

Centrifugal Sugar is merely Melado or Molasses Sugar semi-refined in the country of production and doctored in color to evade duty; it has still to be refined for consumption after it reaches this country. American refiners can make Centrifugals from Melado and below No. 7 raw Sugars, cheaper than such Sugars can by any possibility be made in Cuba or Demerara, and expend the money saved in so doing in our own country. Any duty on Sugar that discriminates in the least against low grade refining Sugars, would, under existing circumstances, be a public imposition, and a restriction upon consumers and the consumption of Sugar in this country.

Europe furnishes examples evidencing the necessity of protecting the American Refining Industry to a reasonable extent, and the fallacy of paying any bounty on refined Sugar exported beyond a drawback of the duty actually paid on the raw material; on the one hand, free trade and heavy bounty has flooded England with refined beet Sugar from the Continent, and crippled her refining industry without benefiting consumers; on the other hand, consumers on the Continent are largely deprived of refined Sugar, and taxed outrageously to meet the bounty payment that increases the cost of what Sugar they do consume.

The result of success in producing beet Sugar has been such, that France, Germany, Austria, and Russia now, 1879, pay enormous bounties on refined Sugar exported to other countries; vast quantities of refined beet Sugar are sent to Great Britain, and there sold to dealers, a shade cheaper than cane Sugar can be profitably imported, refined, and sold to dealers by English refiners, consumers actually paying about the same prices as before; many of the large refineries in Great Britain, where Sugar is refined as cheaply as elsewhere, have been closed or kept in operation at a loss to their owners on this account.

Beet Sugar producing Nations in a spirit of rivalry, are simply depriving their own consumers, and selling their refined product to England at a loss to the tax payers of the producing countries amounting to millions of dollars per annum; the result will be, that beet Sugar must be produced cheaper than cane Sugar hereafter, or its production must be limited to home consumption; it is a struggle between cane and beet Sugar production for the principal markets of consumption, in which cane Sugar will inevitably maintain the supremacy.

Adulterants.—Cane Sugar can readily be adulterated during the process of refining without detection except by chemical analysis; artificial glucose and grape Sugar may be employed for such purposes, being sweet and soluble; should chemical analysis detect their presence in refined Sugar, consumers are informed that food is converted into glucose in the human stomach, and that glucose is a constituent part of cane

Sugar, fruit and vegetables; *Ergo*, corn glucose, and grape Sugar are not adulterants!

According to some analysts, refined Sugar, particularly in Boston, has never been adulterated. One chemist analyzed "500 samples of refined Sugar, 499 of which were pure cane Sugar; one sample contained a little dirt." A Boston Sugar merchant testified before the Ways and Means Committee, Jan. 9, 1879, as follows: "I have tested Havemeyer & Elder's Sugar for eighteen months in every possible way by our chemist, and I have never found an ounce of adulterated Sugar." *Ergo*, refiners never adulterate.

American Sugar refiners know how to employ adulterants and color mordants in the manufacture and color raising of refined Sugar, and do not intend to be beaten by English and Scotch refiners, nor by one another in this regard; hence the trade testings of refined Sugar, "because it was necessary to know whether Boston refiners were selling in competition with adulterated Sugar," which have been kept up for years.

The following excerpt from testimony about adulterations and "tin-lined stomachs," given Jan. 9, 1879. at Washington, is too rich to be lost: "I knew that the statement as to the adulteration of Sugar was false; I knew it was not logical, that it was not consistent with business generally, that any large concern could go on for any time manufacturing poisons to destroy and injure human life." *Ergo*, refined cane Sugar is not adulterated with corn glucose and brightened with tin crystals to kill consumers, but merely to cheat them.

Refined Sugars have been more or less reduced in quality and value with corn glucose and other substances, and made to appear bright and beautiful by the use of muriate of tin, where the refiner lacked the necessary skill required to make even handsomer Sugar by the natural process of skillful refining. The careless or unskillful refiner must make up for his deficiencies in that regard by injecting muriate of tin into his Syrup; whereas by the natural and proper process of making his Syrup and bone black leaching, the refiner who knows and attends to his business can produce the requisite color and grades without employing color mordants.

Adulterants abound in raw and semi-refined foreign Sugar; raw beet Sugar is offensive to smell and taste, being heavily charged with potash in addition to natural impurities; raw cane Sugar is laden with adulterants of various kinds, some of which are more offensive than potash and lime; these adulterants rapidly generate "Acari," and neither the impurities nor the animalcule are wholly eliminated until the Sugar has been fully refined.

Refiners of small means and less capacity, would be likely to stretch refined Sugar made from the better grades of raw Sugar by the use of corn glucose; although such practices would hasten their own downfall, it should be borne in mind that the higher the quality and cost of raw Sugar used for refining, the greater the profit from the use of glucose as a stretcher; the cost of a good article of corn glucose being so near that

of raw Sugar, the profit from using glucose in Sugars below No. 7 D. S. in refining them, is not worth the venture, and would not be practiced in any well ordered and prosperous refinery.

Analysts and analyses of Refined cane Sugar agree substantially that such Sugars have been found to be stretched with corn glucose and other substances inferior to cane Sugar, and raised in color by the use of sulphur, muriate of tin and other substances; chemicals employed in the process are not always properly eliminated before such refined compound is sold to the consumers; in such cases the Sugar, unless quickly consumed, soon begins to discolor, revealing the practice and disgracing the practitioner. Coloring soluble salts are not eliminated if used.

Raw cane Sugar contains a varying per centage of Sugar that will harden but not crystalize, termed bastard or invert Sugar, which is rich in saccharine strength, and may be turned into Syrup for consumption, or be utilized in refining to produce the cheaper grades of refined Sugars required for consumption; such Sugar assimilates to natural glucose or fruit Sugar, but is pure cane Sugar; analysts have in many instances evidently mistaken invert Sugar for corn glucose, and been led thereby to erroneous and untenable conclusions when examining refined Sugar, known to be perfectly pure cane Sugar.

The raw Sugars of Louisiana, which enter into immediate consumption, are made golden and beautiful in color by the skillful use of sulphate of lime and muriate of tin: otherwise such Sugars, not being clayed nor refined, would naturally be of a greyish yellow or light brown color, resembling clean dry Muscovadoes of high grade. Corn glucose is extentensively used to adulterate cane Sugar Syrup. Syrup is also made entirely of glucose, assimilating to pure cane Syrup While artificial glucose is in a general sense harmless, its continued use as food, in Syrup or Sugar, is irritating and injurious to the kidneys and urinary organs.

There is no United States law against reducing the quality and value of refined Sugar, or any other article of food, by the use of inferior substances. Food adulterants are not even defined in the laws of this country. Congress should enact laws and penalties that will effectually protect consumers against adulterations of any description, harmless or otherwise, in refined Sugar and Syrup, that should also apply to all other articles of food, and be clearly definitive in regard to what constitutes adulterations, compelling merchants to label their goods accordingly, which is also the proper and only method of putting a stop to making indefinite and general charges against refiners of Sugar in regard to adulterations.

SECTION IV.

DUTIES ON SUGAR—UNITED STATES SUGAR TARIFFS—ENGLAND'S FORMER SUGAR TARIFF—FRENCH PROTECTIVE SUGAR TARIEF—METHODS OF LEVYING DUTY ON SUGAR—THE DUTCH COLOR STANDARD—THE POLARISCOPE—SAMPLING SUGAR FOR DUTY CLASSIFICATION—TARIFF PLANS OF SUGAR MERCHANTS AND REFINERS—ABORTIVE SUGAR TARIFF BILLS—CANADIAN SUGAR TARIFFS—RELEVANT TOPICS—SUGGESTIVE DUTY SCHEDULE—DATA AND DEDUCTIONS.

Beginning with the general United States tariff, duties on Sugar have been levied substantially as follows in the years named:

1789—On all raw Sugar, 1 cent; on refined, 3 cts. per pound.
1790—On all raw Sugar, 1.50 cts.; on refined, 5 cts. per pound.
1794—On 2 grades Sugar, 1.50 and 2.50 cts.; on Refined (*3), 9 cts. per lb.
1797—On 2 grades Sugar, 2 and 2.50 cts.; on refined (*3), 9 cts. per pound.
1804—On all raw Sugar, 2.50 cts.; on refined (*3), 9 cts. per pound.
1812—On all raw Sugar, 5 cts.; on refined (*6), 18 cts. per pound.
1816—On all raw Sugar, 3 cts.; on refined (*4), 10 and 12 cts. per pound.
1832—On all raw Sugar, 2.50 cts.; on refined (*3½), 10 and 12 cts. per lb.
1842—On all raw Sugar, 2.50 cts.; on refined (*4), 6 cts. per pound.
1846—On all raw and refined Sugar, 30 per cent ad valorem.
1857—On all raw and refined Sugars, 24 per cent ad valorem.
1861—On all raw and refined Sugars, 7.50 mills per pound.
August 5, 1861—The Dutch color standard was adopted.
1861—Not above No. 12 D. S., 2 a 2.50 cts.; above 12 D. S., 2.50 a 3 cts.
1862—To No. 12 D. S., 2.50 cts.; to 15 D. S., 3 cts.; above 15, 3.50 cts.
1864—To No. 12 D. S., 3 cts.; to No. 15 D. S., 3.50 cts.; above 15, 4 cts.
December 20, 1870.—The present Sugar tariff schedule was adopted.
March 3, 1875.—25 per cent (ad val.) was added to said schedule.

The duties now supposed to be levied upon Sugars are as follows:

Sugar not above	No. 7 D. S.	in color,	per lb.,	1¼c., plus 25 per ct.	2.1875c.
" "	No. 10 D. S.	"	"	2 c., " 25 "	2.50c.
" "	No. 13 D. S.	"	"	2¼c., " 25 "	2.8125c.
" "	No. 16 D. S.	"	"	2½c., " 25 "	3.4375c.
" "	No. 20 D. S.	"	"	3¼c., " 25 "	4.0625c.
" above	No. 20 D. S.	"	"	4 c., " 25 "	5.00c.
On Syrup. Melado, Tank bottoms, etc.				1½c., " 25 "	1.8750c.
On Molasses, per gallon				5 c., " 25 "	6.25c.

(*) White clayed or powdered advanced beyond a raw state.

The rates allowed as drawback on refined Sugar exported as being entirely the product of foreign duty paid Sugar, have from time to time been fixed by the Government; since the Dutch Standard was adopted Sugar drawback has been allowed, the rates having been fixed as follows:

August 5, 1861—On refined hard Sugar, 3 cts. per pound. On B and C lower grades, 2 cts. per pound. On Syrup, 5 cts. per gallon; all less 10 per cent to the Government.
March 29, 1875—On refined hard Sugar, 3.75 cts. per pound. On B and C. lower grades, 2.50 cts. per pound. On Syrup, 6.25 cts. per gallon; less 1 per cent on Sugar and 10 per cent on Syrup to the Government.
December 17, 1875—On refined hard Sugar, 3.60 cts. per pound. On refined coffee Sugar above No. 20 D. S., 3 cts. per pound. On refined coffee No. 20 D. S. and under, 2.50 cts. per pound. On Syrup, 6.25 cts. per gallon; less 1 per cent on Sugar and 10 per cent on Syrup to the Government.

October 1, 1877—On refined hard Sugar, 3.18 cts. per pound. On refined coffee Sugars above No. 20 D. S., 2.58 cts. per pound. On refined coffee Sugars No. 20 D. S. and under, 2.08 cts. per pound. On Syrups, 6.25 cts. per gallon; less 1 per cent on Sugar and 10 per cent on Syrups to the Government.

Reviewing the foregoing Sugar tariff tables, it will be observed that from 1789 to 1846 Sugar was in fact divided into two classes for levying duty—raw and refined. In 1846 Congress was beset by a mania for reducing the revenue and for ad valorem duties. Among a multitude of articles Sugar was changed from specific to ad valorem duty. In 1857 the work was continued by Congress, and in that year a further reduction of 20 per cent from the tariff of 1846 was made.

With the adoption of the Dutch standard in 1861 specific duty was again levied upon Sugar, virtually dividing it into three grades—raw, semi-refined and refined. This classification continued until the adoption of the Sugar tariff of 1870, which subsequent events have shown was evidently demanded in the interests of consumers, in order to introduce low grades of raw Sugar for refining to meet the growing demand, among the great mass of consumers for cheap refined Sugars, which could not be made in sufficient quantity from high grades of raw Sugars, unless such were adulterated for the purpose. (See Section II. for classifications.)

Great Britain abolished duty on Sugar in 1874, having a manufacturing competitive eye to windward, and a natural desire to favor consumption of her colonial Sugars; duties were levied on Sugars in England in 1870 to 1874 as follows:

ENGLISH CLASSIFICATION OF, AND DUTIES ON SUGAR IN 1870.

	112 lbs.	£. s. d.	Reduced to cts.
Sugar refined or equal in quality thereto, per cwt.		0 6 0	1.339 per lb.
First-class not equal to refined		0 5 8	1.258 "
Second " " "		0 5 3	1.169 "
Third " " "		0 4 9	1.053 "
Fourth-class, including cane juice		0 4 0	0.892 "
Molasses		0 1 9	0.383 "

In 1874, England reduced the Sugar duty on the above named classes to the following rates per cwt.; Refined, 3/; 1st class, 2/10; 2d class, 2/8; 3d class, 2/5; 4th class, 2/; Molasses, 10d. Shortly after this almost inoperative schedule was enacted, the duty on Sugar was abolished as above stated; the chances now are that it will ere long be restored.

It will be observed that Great Britain levied Sugar duty upon several different classifications. England found it impracticable to attempt a uniform duty on Sugar, because such a duty would be arbitrary and unjust towards consumers, refiners, and the general Sugar trade; and safely relied upon her Administrators of the Custom Service to execute revenue laws and collect the proper revenue from Sugar, both of which have been

done efficiently in that country without a tithe of the unwarrantable fuss and expensive meanderings made by Treasury Officials in such matters in this country.

It was found necessary in England, in 1854, to grade duties on Sugar, in order to admit low grades formerly excluded by a high tariff. Again, in 1862, the House of Commons appointed a select committee "to enquire into the operation of the (then) present scale of Sugar duties, with a special reference to their assessment upon a classification according to the quality of the Sugar." After a most searching investigation, continued during two months, the committee reported to the Commons, among others, the following resolution:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this committee it is necessary to maintain the principle of a scale of duties, with standards designed to include several classes of Sugar within each range of duty."

The Sugar tariff of France is substantially as follows: Duty is levied on 100 kilogrammes, or fractions thereof, in all cases, and based upon sample grading by the color standard. A kilogramme is about 2.2 lbs., (2.204621 lbs.)

On all raw Sugar up to but not including No. 13 type:

Kilogrammes.	Product of Europe.	European Ports.	Foreign Ports.
Per 100 kils.	66 francs.	66 francs.	63 francs.

On all raw Sugars, Nos. 13 to 20 type, both inclusive.

Per 100 kils.	69 francs.	69 francs.	66 francs.

On Sugar above No. 20 type, and on Sugars assimilating to refined, from the Antilles and certain named French colonies and possessions, when imported direct, per 100 kils., 67.50 francs; from other French possessions in foreign countries prohibited. Refined Sugar from the Antilles and certain named French colonies and possessions, when imported direct, per 100 kils., 70.50 francs; from all other French possessions and foreign countries prohibited.

Owing to her capacity of beet Sugar production, France levies a prohibitory duty on foreign Sugar, to protect and encourage home culture of the Sugar beet, and the manufacture of beet root Sugar, and in order to stimulate exportation. France annually exports on the average more refined Sugar than the United States and England combined, and pays a heavy export bounty thereon. She also meets out condign and speedy punishment to dealers and manufacturers who attempt the sale of raw or refined Sugar, or other articles of food, that contain adulterants of any kind.

England employed a class standard of her own for levying duties on Sugars, which may be said to be a compound of the Dutch Standard of color and a class standard assimilating thereto; but the use of the Dutch Standard by English sugar merchants for trade purposes has been general and invariably reliable. Sugars are ordered by D. S. number from India and elsewhere; and the testimony is that Bengal and Madras refiners

and producers can work up their Sugars to within three pence (3d.) per cwt. of any desired standard, having only experience and knowledge of qualities to guide them.

France employs the color standard for levying duty upon Sugar, and as an adjunct in commercial transactions in Sugar; the Dutch Standard has been employed for levying duty on Sugar in this country since its adoption by Congress in 1861; for that purpose, combined with the English system of intrinsic foreign market value classification grading, the Dutch Standard is undoubtedly the best method of classing raw Sugars for levying duty thereon, that has ever been emyloyed in any country.

The Dutch Standard originated in Holland, where sworn Sugar Brokers annually classify the Sugar crops of Java and other Dutch dependencies according to the natural color of the raw product; numbering the different shades from one to 20 and 22, beginning with wet Sugars nearly black, and ending with white Sugar; having separated the Sugar into grades of natural color the samples are placed within glass bottles, sealed and numbered accordingly; sales are then made of the coming crop, to accord with the samples in the sealed bottles.

Evasions of duty on Sugar are accomplished by false sampling of Muscovado and Derosnes Sugars, and by discoloring Centrifugal Sugars during the progress of making; thus presenting to the Government unnaturally colored samples of imported Sugars to be compared with Dutch Standards for the purpose of levying duty on false classifications, to evade the payment of propor duty; in such transactions, official collusion and administrative stupidity, effectually co operate with duty evasionists in the nefarious practices.

Dutch Standards represent the natural color of raw Sugar. After ascertaining the intrinsic value of the raw Sugar, it is thus measured and graded, and in connection with experience and knowledge, said standard forms a reliable guide to merchants and refiners. False samples and unnaturally colored Centrifugal Sugars presented for duty appraisement do not make it obligatory upon the Government to levy duty according to such misrepresentations simply because false samples and outside appearances of Centrifugal Sugars conform to a certain color shade of the Dutch Standards; on the contrary, it is the business of the Government to discover such impositions, measure the Sugars imported by their commercial value, both in the market of production and the home market, and levy duty according to their natural color thus developed, which is well understood by the Sugar trade.

The polariscope already described by the writer in former pamphlets, has attained importance on account of its well known capacity to accurately determine the percentage of crystallizable Sugar in a given quantity of raw Sugar material; for that purpose alone it is a valuable adjunct to merchants and refiners knowledge and experience in guiding their transactions to suit the wants of consumers, and the market for certain grades of both raw and refined Sugars.

For the mere purpose of levying duty upon raw Sugars, as regards low grades, the Polariscope would be a useless superfluity, as raw Sugars No. 7 and below in natural color, are known at sight by the trade, and do not evade duty; and it would be ordinarily extremely difficult to obtain equitable samples of below No. 10 D. S. Sugar for testing in the Polariscope. As regards Centrifugals of a natural color up to and above No. 13 D. S. in color, which uniformly test above 92 degrees of sugar crystals, but which are readily discolored down to No. 10 and No. 7 D. S. to evade duty, and as regards Derosnes and dry Muscovadoes, the Polariscope would be a useful adjunct to the Dutch Standard; although Centrifugals are a definite class of Sugars of well-known value, and of natural color value equal to or above No. 13 D. S., and should be so classed for duty in any event.

Equitable sampling of imported Sugar for the purpose of levying duty thereon, is of paramount importance, and perfectly practicable when honestly set about; if not how is it that sugar merchants and refiners find no trouble about sampling imported Sugar for purposes of trade? Any experienced importer or refiner of Sugar will accurately classify raw Sugars actually below No. 10 in natural color and quality with his eyes shut, by merely handling and smelling it. If Customs officers with their eyes open cannot, under the Dutch standard, draw an honest sample from a package of raw Sugar, the Government had better take samples from the buyer and sellers' samples, and levy duty in accordance therewith.

Mr. S. B. Dutcher, Appraiser at New York, bore testimony to the want of system in sampling Sugar at New York, before the Wood Ways and Means so-called Investigation Committee, September 16, 1878; to obtain an equitable sample by the methods adopted by New York samplers, acting under Mr. Dutcher's instructions, would be impossible, and hardly an improvement over the more ready "dump cask" plan of sampling.

The following equitable and sensible plan of sampling Sugar is excerpted from the Customs regulations of Great Britain, when duties were levied on Sugars in that country; it is also employed by Sugar dealers in Europe and elsewhere:

"When practicable the cask should be raised from the hold of the "ship in the same position in which it is stowed; a white mark should "be placed on the cask to denote the top or part which was uppermost in "the hold. The samples should be drawn by cutting a hole in the top "stave opposite the 'foots,' and about half way between the two heads, "through which hole the sampling iron should be driven in by a ham-"mer or mallet if necessary, till it strikes the bottom stave; after giving "the iron two or more turns it should be withdrawn, and the whole of "the sugar so brought out should be thoroughly mixed together to form "the sample by the whole or part of which the duty is to be assessed.

"To effect this mode of sampling, the cask should be partially turned "over so that the sampling iron may penetrate the cask obliquely, as

"otherwise it will be impossible to draw out any sugar; as the 'foots' "will be included in the sample, no discretion in assessing the duty should "be exercised on account of the larger quantity of 'foot' that some Sugar, "such as Cuba and Barbadoes, generally contains. This mode of sam-"pling, however, will not be applicable to vacuumpan crystalized Sugars, "which must be sampled by driving the sampling iron from head to "head."

Centrifugal Sugars being dry and of large grain, there is no difficulty in sampling; the entire contents of a hogshead or package of Centrifugal Sugar present precisely the same condition; "foot" is an impossibility in such Sugars, which are about of the mobile consistency of dry sand throughout; hence like Derosnes and all vacuumpan crystallized Sugars, Centrifugals should be sampled "by driving the sampling iron from head to head;" in short, the pretended obstacles to obtaining equitable samples of Sugar for levying duty thereon, under the Dutch Standard, are vapid excuses for official dereliction of duty.

Various Sugar tariff plans have recently been urged upon the attention of Congress. The modified "Boston Plan" of levying Sugar duty, as finally presented to the Ways and Means Committee, at Washington, Jan. 8, 1879, reads in substance as follows: On all Tank bottoms, Concretes, Syrup of Sugar cane, Melado, and raw Sugars, not above No. 13 D. S. in color:

Testing in the Polariscope not above 75 degrees	1.50c. per lb.
For every additional degree to 99, $\frac{5}{100}$ cts. additional duty	"
On all Sugars above No. 13 D. S., not above 16 D S	3. c. "
" " " No. 16 D. S., " 20 D. S.	3.50c. "
Above 20 D. S. and on refined Sugars.	4.25c. "
On Molasses testing not above 56 degrees	5. c. per gal
On Molasses testing above 56 degrees	10. c. "

The Boston plan proposes 28 classification lines for levying duty on Sugar, and advocates a waste of time in testing Melado and all well defined low grade Sugars known at sight as No. 7 and below, in the Polariscope; while No. 14 and above Sugars, are to come in under color classification without being tested; as Centrifugals test 92 and above, and are readily colored down to No. 10, or even to No. 7 D. S. ad libitum, those Sugars would come in at about 2.50 cents per lb., when they should at least pay a 14 to 16 duty; the Boston plan is, for numerous reasons, unfair and impracticable.

No. 13 to 16 D. S. in color Sugars, are made to test anywhere up to 99, and can be toned down to No. 7 D. S. in color for duty. A merchant of Boston testified before the Ways and Means Committee Jan. 9, 1879, that his firm "contracted for raw Sugar at a 96 degree test, with a guarantee that it should not be above No. 10 D. S. in color," for duty purposes; this explains why 26 cargoes tested uniform, and shows what a valuable adjunct the Polariscope is in evading duty.

Such transactions furnish a key to all plans that advocate a Dutch Standard for levying duty on Sugar above No. 13, and the Polariscope

test below No. 13 D. S.; the honest and patriotic merchant has simply to contract for raw Sugars on a 14 to 20 Polariscope test basis, and demand a guarantee from the producer that the Sugar shall be dark enough in color to evade the duty upon No. 13 D. S. in color or above; the long rigmarole of degrees from 75 degrees at 1.50 cents per lb., to 99 at 2.70 cents per lb. proposes to admit discolored Sugars testing 92 to 98—being No. 16 to 20 in quality and value, but doctored in color to evade duty—at 2.40 to 2.60 cents per lb.; while honestly made clean raw Sugars, including grocers Sugars suitable for eating, testing only from 90 to 96, although in color No. 14 to 20 must pay 3 cents, 3.50 cents, or even more per lb.

The following Sugar tariff plan was presented to the Ways and Means Committee at Washington, Jan. 8, 1879, by the Baltimore Committee as the "Baltimore Plan: "On all Tank bottoms, concretes, Syrup of Sugar cane juice, Melado, concentrated Melado, concentrated Molasses, and on all Sugar testing by the Polariscope not above 75 degrees $1\frac{75}{100}$ cents per lb., with an addition of $\frac{5}{100}$ of a cent per lb. for each and every degree or fractional part of a degree above 75 degrees, without regard to color; on all Molasses 6¼ cents per gallon; on all Sugars grown or manufactured in Europe, an additional or discriminating duty, sufficient for the reasonable protection of the refining interests of this country."

The "Baltimore Plan" proposes 25 classification lines for levying duty, entirely by the use of the polariscope, and to admit refined Sugar at 3 cents per lb., except such as might come from Europe. The plan is crude, complicated, and impracticable.

A Sugar tariff memorial presented Jan. 8, 1879, to the Ways and Means Committee, recommends the assessment of Sugar duty on the ad valorem system; "otherwise we (the memorialists) then unite in recommending the two following amendments to the existing tariff": First: "On all Sugars not above No. 10 D. S., testing 92 degrees, 2.25 cents per lb., plus 25 per cent." Second: "On all Sugars above No. 13, not above No. 16 D. S., 2.50 cents per lb., plus 25 per cent, in lieu of the present duty on those grades."

The above plan would somewhat increase the aggregate tax on Sugar, which should not be done; but would encourage the importation of low grade Sugars. No. 7 D. S. and below, which would benefit consumers. The reduction of duty, on 13 to 16 D. S. Sugars, offsets in part the increase of duty on low grades. The above plan stops short of essential requirements, but would improve the present tariff. Any attempts to definitely fix the foreign value of Sugar by polariscope tests alone will, however, fail. Color, grain, and appearance are recognized and powerful factors in determining the value even of low grade Sugars, and will continue to be so.

A Sugar tariff plan based upon a uniform duty on all Sugar to No. 16 D. S., was presented to the Ways and Means Committee Jan. 9, 1879, which reads as follows:

On tank bottoms, Syrup of Sugar, cane juice, Melado, and concentrated Molasses, and on Sugar not above Mo. 16 Dutch Standard in color, 2 cents per lb.

On all Sugar above No. 16 Dutch Standard in color, and on all refined Sugar, viz: loaf, cut loaf, lumps, crushed, powdered, granulated, and soft white or yellow, known as "Coffee Sugars," 4 cents per lb.; Molasses, 6 cents per gallon.

Thorough investigations of customs revenue abuses by the writer during many years, with unrivalled facilities of adequate information and persistence therefor, in the interests of the people, long since supplied the knowledge that unless the conduct of the Custom Service is radically reformed by Executive enforcement of existing revenue laws, regardless of political aspirations, and the consequent collection of the revenue assured, it would be better, in the matter of Sugar at least, to adopt a uniform tariff to No. 16 D. S. on all raw Sugars, in order to remove facilities for evasion of Sugar duty now furnished by official delinquencies and supineness. In 1877, the writer projected the No. 16 D. S. basis on that ground.

Since studying still more deeply and earnestly the capacity and wants of the people as Sugar consumers, and the existing necessities for an unlimited supply of all grades of raw Sugar material, suitable for refining an adequate supply of refined Sugar food, of every grade required to meet the varied wants and means of all classes of consumers, the writer believes that any uniform duty up to No. 16 D. S., however low, would be an arbitrary and unjust restriction upon consumers, refiners, and the growth of sugar consumption in this country; and that therefore the proper solution of the Sugar question is, for the Executive to enforce the execution of the present revenue laws, and collect the revenue from Sugar under the natural trade classifications of the present tariff, with certain modifications thereof named hereafter; or admit the incapacity of the Department, and solicit Congress to abolish the duty on Sugar forthwith and tax the people otherwise in lieu thereof.

Various attempts have been made to compound a Sugar tariff, with and without the Polariscope, which shall be uniform to No. 13 D. S.; notable among which, in addition to those already described, are: the tariff plan adopted by the Ways and Means Committee February 27, 1878, but not enacted; the Secretary of the Treasury's plans, two of which were laid before the House in December, 1878, and in January, 1879, and cast aside; while a third, called the Treasury Department minority plan, remains unfinished business.

A compound of the above named and other No. 13 plans with the No. 16 D. S. plan, was fashioned and embodied in the Sugar Bill, agreed upon by the Ways and Means Committee in January, 1879. The bill was reported to the House January 21, 1879, read twice, recommitted, again brought up, and finally withdrawn by permission of the House. The "Robbins" No. 13 Sugar Bill reads as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That tank bottoms, syrups of sugar cane juice, Melado, concentrated Melado, concentrated Molasses, and all Sugars not above No. 13 Dutch Standard in color, shall pay a duty of two cents and forty hundredths of a cent per pound; above No. 13 and not above No. 16 Dutch Standard in color, shall pay a duty of two cents and seventy-five hundredths of a cent per pound; all above No. 16 Dutch Standard in color shall pay a duty of four cents per pound; *Provided*, That nothing herein shall be construed to alter or repeal the act entitled 'An Act to carry into effect a convention between the United States of America and his Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands, signed on the thirteenth day of January, eighteen hundred and seventy-five,' which act was approved August fifteen, eighteen hundred and seventy-six."

In regard to the last clause of the above bill, it should be said, Sugars from China and countries adjacent thereto can readily be landed at the Hawaiian Islands, and subsequently enter this country as Hawaiian Sugar, exempt from duty, under the 1875 treaty between the United States and those Islands; from 14,828,863 pounds imported therefrom in 1873, the imports rose under the treaty to 30,685,142 pounds in 1877 and 30,368,328 pounds in 1878.

One-sided reciprocity treaties seem to constitute a mania with this Government. Another is now mooted with Cuba, which country buys from us in round numbers $15,000,000 in value of American merchandise per annum, and sells to us $71,000,000 in value of her own products. The growing necessity of retaining this market for her raw Sugars, will do more for our commerce in Cuba than any reciprocity treaty. Meanwhile limited liability "Havana Sugar Refining Companies" are projected to convert Cuban plantation Sugars into Centrifugals for this market; and, regardless of consumers' interests, efforts are making in this country to prohibit low grades and avoid restrictions against Centrifugal color doctoring to evade duty, by urging a uniform duty on all Sugars not above No. 13 D. S. in aid of such foreign enterprises.

The enactment of the No. 13 Bill above given, or of any Sugar tariff based upon uniform duty up to No. 13, would be highly arbitrary and pernicious in its requirements, would increase the tax on sugar food, restrict consumers and the consumption of Sugar, legalize the present illicit evasions of duty, and foster crooked transactions in the making and sale of Centrifugals. A uniform duty to No. 13 would utterly fail to benefit consumers in any manner in return for the deprivations; it would also increase the duty on low grade Sugar and Melado, which are of prime necessity to 48,000,000 of people, nearly or quite to prohibition.

Uniform duty to No. 13 would establish two class lines at No. 13 and No. 16, both of which already produce nearly all of the money inducements to evade duty, and enable importers to enter discolored Centrifugals which would naturally grade about No. 13, or above, as not above No. 13 D. S., which would be a continuation of the present illicit game of duty evasion on an enlarged scale.

The following Sugar tariff is still in force in the Dominion of Canada—40 Victoria, Chap. XI.—but will soon be superseded by the new tariff

On Sugar above No. 13 D. S.	1c.	per lb. and	25	per cent	ad val.
On No. 9 N. A. 13 D. S.	¼c.	" "	25	"	"
On below No. 9 D. S.	¼c.	" "	25	"	"
On cane juice and Syrup	¼c.	" "	25	"	"
On Melado and Concrete	¼c.	" "	25	"	"
On Molasses for refining			78c.	per 100	pounds
On Molasses not so used			25	per centum	ad valorem

The new Sugar tariff of the Dominion of Canada proposes to levy duty substantially as follows:

On Melado and Concrete	per lb.	¼c. and	30	per cent	ad val.
On Syrup of cane	"	¼c. "	30	"	"
On raw Sugar below No. 9 D S	"	¼c. "	30	"	"
On No. 9 to not above 14 D. S.	"	½c. "	30	"	"
On all Sugar above No. 14 D. S.	"	1c. "	35	"	"

It will be observed that Canada aims at two important objects in the above tariff. First, to admit all low grades of raw Sugar at low rates, under an equitable adjustment of classes and duty thereon, in order to encourage consumption and the re-establishment of Canadian refineries; and next, to restrict the importation of refined Sugars from the United States by counteracting our drawback, thus virtually placing her trade in refined Sugar in the hands of English refiners until Canada can again refine Sugar for home consumption. For instance, the duty on all Sugar above No. 14 would be 1 cent per lb. and 35 per cent. ad valorem; refined Sugar, costing 7 cents, would pay 3.45 cents per lb. duty; 8 cent refined Sugar would pay 3.80 cents duty; 9 cent refined Sugar would pay 4.15 cents per lb duty.

Every attempt to equitably levy duty on Sugar, under an ad valorem tariff, will come to grief; it should, however, be, as near as practicable, approached in specific rates, (see Section II. on classifications) the systematic under-valuation of dutiable merchandise on Custom House invoices, under the subterfuge of declared values, in reality merely invoice prices. The neglect of the Treasury Department to provide Customs officials with adequate current information, and the vapid administration of the Customs service, present far more serious obstacles to the collection of duties under an ad valorem tariff than do false classifications under a specific tariff.

Consumption of Sugar is in inverse ratio to the rates of duty. Under the highest duties consumption is at the least; under the lowest duties consumption reaches its full capacity. A uniform duty on all Sugar would be dangerous to public interests, unless it was low enough to stimulate the consumption of high grades, and still encourage increased consumption of low grades among the masses who cannot afford to buy high grades of raw, semi-refined or refined Sugar.

One duty on all Sugar would reduce the price of fine refined Sugar to the rich, who consume regardless of price, and raise the price of lower grade Sugar to the poor, who use seven-eighths of all the Sugars that enter into consumption. This would seriously reduce consumption,

because price is a powerful regulator with the poor and middling classes. Decrease consumption and you increase the tax; increase consumption and you reduce the tax.

As shown herein, England, France, Canada, and other countries find "that it is necessary to maintain the principle of a scale of duties with standards designed to include several classes of Sugar within each range of duty;" the United States cannot safely do otherwise; owing to the increased production of beet Sugar in Europe, the bulk of all raw cane Sugar must find a market in the United States; Congress cannot determine what grades of foreign Sugar will be produced, neither can that body fix the foreign market value of sugar nor discriminate a fraction against low grades for refining, without directly interfering with the rights of their constituents.

When the Executive and Treasury officials conclude to set about enforcing the Revenue laws, the faithful collection of duties on imports without oppressing honest merchants will follow; evasions of Sugar duty by "dump cask" and unskillful sampling, discoloring Centrifugals, false weighing, loss of cargo identity, and all other illicit practices, will be abated when officials faithfully perform their duties under existing revenue laws; the pretense of reforming these public abuses through Ways and Means sub-Committee, and Special Agents investigations,—the latter of which have already cost the people in the matter of Sugar alone an immense sum uselessly expended,—are vapid and watery meanderings.

The present tariff classification of dry Sugar is in accordance with trade usage, and is therefore adequate and equitable. There is no doubt but that the low grades of raw Sugar will be manufactured and consumed to an enormous extent if admitted at a pro rata of value rate of duty, nor that, at the same time, the consumption of high grades, particularly Centrifugals, will be correspondingly increased.

After most searching analyses of the various topics of the Sugar question in all their ramifications and bearings upon public interests and the demands of consumers, the conclusion reached by the writer is, that the following modifications of the present Sugar tariff, will accomplish the most beneficent results for the people and Government of the United States.

First—The classification of Melado as not above No. 7 D. S. Sugar.

Second—Abolish the additional 25 per cent ad valorem on all Sugar.

Third—Strike out the words, "after being refined," in the section relating to colored Sugars.

Fourth—All Sugar under No. 10 D. S. in color, containing ninety-two (92) per cent or more of crystallizable Sugar, to pay the same duty as Sugars above No. 10 and not above No. 13 D. S. in color.

Such moderate changes in the present tariff will enormously increase the consumption of Sugar, and furnish ample revenue from Sugar food without injuriously affecting any public or National interest, and will benefit consumers inestimably.

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Stockton, Calif.



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I

CONDENSED SUMMARY

OF THE

EXISTING CONDITION

OF THE

SUGAR TARIFF QUESTION,

AND THE

EQUITY OF AN AD VALOREM SUGAR TARIFF, OR THE PRESENT TARIFF WITH POLARISCOPE TESTS

PRACTICALLY ESTABLISHED.

By HENRY A. BROWN,

Saxonville, Mass.,

Ex Special Treasury Agent, U. S.

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SECTION FIRST.

Opening statements on the sugar question—Statistics of production, consumption and industries.

Further analysis and investigations, current official data, and information gathered by me since the issue of my "Revised Analyses of the Sugar Question" in 1879, and my "Statements before the Committee of Ways and Means," in January, 1880, require concise statement in aid of legitimate legislative efforts to settle the sugar tariff question on an equitable basis that will not only furnish revenue, but permanently protect and promote the interests of American consumers, home productive industries, and direct commerce with all sugar-producing countries; a condensed summary of new and important facts relevant to the importance, growth and present magnitude of the world's sugar producing industries is therefore appropriate and necessary in this opening.

The production of cane sugar throughout the world for the crop year ending in 1880 will certainly exceed 4,000,000 tons, or 8,960,000,000 lbs. of cane sugar produced, approximately, as follows, according to the most reliable statistics and reports:

	Tons.		Tons.
British India	1,550,000	Louisiana	125,000
Cuba, Porto Rico	700,000	Mauritius	125,000
Other Spanish possessions	50,000	Philipine Islands	120,000
Br. W. I., Demerara, &c	250,000	Egypt, &c	75,000
China, Hong Kong, &c	250,000	Peru, S. A., &c	55,000
Dutch Ind., Java, &c	220,000	Mexico	35,000
French W. I., Guiana	175,000	Other countries	140,000
Brazil, S. A., &c	130,000	Total cane sugars	4,000,000

In addition to cane sugar, it is estimated that the production of maple, palm and sorgum sugars in the crop year ending in 1880, will exceed 150,000 tons, and the amount of beet-root sugar pro-

duced in Europe the present crop year is estimated at 1,670,000 tons, apportioned as follows:

	Tons.		Tons.
Germany	500,000	Russia, Poland	225,000
France	425,000	Belgium, Holland, &c	110,000
Austria	410,000	Total beet	1,670,000

Total known production of sugars, crop year ending in 1880:

	Tons.		Tons.
Cane sugar	4,000,000	Maple, &c.	150,000
Beet, Europe	1,670,000	Total sugar	5,820,000

There are, however, good reasons for believing that the world's annual production of cane and assimilative sugars exceeds 6,000,000 (six millions) of tons, and that China, from whence sugar cane first found its way to Europe, alone produces enough more sugar than she reports, to more than justify such statement.

Of this vast quantity, the people of this country consumed, in the year ending in 1880, nearly 1,000,000 tons; say one sixth part, or as officially reported, 2,087,527,625 pounds of sugars, as follows:

	Pounds.
Dutiable sugars entered into consumption	1,592,261,957
Dutiable Melado entered into consumption	33,709,344
Hawanan sugars, duty free, consumed	61,556,324
Louisiana, Texas, &c., 250,000 hogsheads, or pounds	300,000,000
Maple, sorghum and beet sugars	100,000,000
Total consumption of sugar for 1880	2,087,527,625

Total annual consumption of sugars, per capita, in the United States, 41.75 pounds.

Great Britain consumes per capita about 62 pounds of imported sugars per annum, but a large portion thereof, of very low grade, is fed to cattle and used for brewing purposes. Americans are undoubtedly the largest consumers of sugar food in the world, as the average annual consumption per capita in Europe, including England, is less than 20 pounds; estimating the population of the world at 1,500,000,000, and the sugar product of the world at 6,000,000 tons, or 13,440,000,000 pounds, the annual consumption of sugar per capita throughout the world is less than 9 pounds; clearly evidencing that sugars must be produced in vast quantities not reported, or that the common people among the older nations of the earth know nothing of the use of sugar as an article of food.

Evident progress is making in the production of cane, beet and sorghum sugars in this country, which, however, would be far more rapid if our importations of foreign sugars were more wholesomely confined to actual raw sugar material, paying proper ad valorem duty, with which we can compete, instead of being largely composed of foreign semi-refined sugars called centrifugals, outwardly discolored at pleasure by the producer to evade duty, with which we cannot compete until centrifugals are properly made to pay an

ad valorem duty, which is the true and only equitable solution of the sugar tariff question.

Notwithstanding these formidable obstacles to rapid home production, Louisiana reports evidence that her product in the crop year 1880–81 will be not far from 250,000 hogsheads, about 300,000,000 pounds of cane sugar, which is the largest quantity produced in Louisiana in any single year since her greatest crop year, 1861–62, when she produced 528,300,000 pounds of cane sugars, which she can readily produce annually by proper cultivation and the equitable protection of an ad valorem sugar tariff; factors which are equally essential for profitable cane sugar production in Texas; there are good reasons to believe that Louisiana can produce double her present crop annually, although the only crop years in which she has exceeded her present crop year product of sugar are as follows:

	Pounds.		Pounds.
Crop year, 1852–53	368,100,000	Crop year, 1857–58	307,700,000
Crop year, 1853–54	495,200,000	Crop year, 1858–59	414,800,000
Crop year, 1854–55	385,700,000	Crop year, 1861–62	528,300,000

Beet-root sugar production is also making progress in this country, the industry has been fairly established with encouraging results as to our capacity for producing sugar beets and beet sugar; there is every reason to believe that with the protection afforded by an ad valorem tariff on foreign sugars, and proper encouragement of the industry for a period of five or six years, this country can produce at least half the quantity of sugar required for home consumption from beets alone; the net sugar product from sugar beets is found to be substantially the same in Portland, Maine, and Alvarado, California, at which points well ordered beet-sugar factories are in full operation, while several other beet-sugar factories, located in different States, have begun, or are about to begin, operations; farmers readily obtain from ($5) five to ($7) seven dollars per ton, according to time and point of delivery, for unwashed beet roots, and retain the green tops for feeding to cattle; they can also buy the beet pulp residuum from the factory for about one dollar per ton, and use it to advantage and profit in fattening cattle.

Maple and sorghum sugars are produced in respectable quantities in this country. The cultivation of sorghum for the production of sugar and syrup is on the increase in several Western States. The numerous annual experiments made at the Agricultural Department in Washington, with sorghum, abundantly prove that sugar and syrup can be profitably made from sorghum grown in this country, under the same condition of reasonable protection required for the profitable production of Louisiana cane, and beet root sugars as named above. The estimated production of beet, maple, and sorghum sugars in this country the present year is 100,000,000 lbs.; more than one-half being maple sugar.

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Sugar refining, which in this country especially has become a public benefit and necessity, may be said to have reached perfection in the United States, inasmuch as all available grades of actually raw sugars from below No. 7, D. S., to No. 13, D. S., in color, can be refined into relative grades of pure, refined sugars, from bright yellow to pure white in color; each grade being sold to consumers at a trifling advance above the cost of the grade of raw sugar material from which the refined sugar is produced; consequently the entire volume of imported sugars—statements about which will be found elsewhere—are refined and consumed in this country, with the exception of a very small quantity of refined sugar exported, which exports only amounted to 29,065,376 pounds, valued at 2,706,129 dollars in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1880.

The cane sugars of Louisiana are now also largely refined or semi-refined before reaching consumers, and must soon be wholly so to suit their tastes. All raw beet root sugar must of necessity be refined, in order to eliminate potash and other saline impurities, and render such sugar suitable for consumption. Sorghum sugar must also be refined for consumption to compete in quality and value with cane and beet sugars. Sorghum can, however, be grown profitably in this country for the production of sorghum syrup.

Sixty millions of dollars are directly invested in Louisiana and other sections of this country, in lands, sugar houses, implements, and machinery used for the growth and production of cane, beet, maple and sorghum sugars, and not less than twenty millions of dollars of floating capital is employed in moving the sugar-producing industries of the country we live in; while at least one hundred thousand people thus find employment upon which half a million of people depend for a living. Shall growing industries like these, which, with proper encouragement and reasonable protection, could be increased enormously, be placed at the mercy of foreign sugar producers, by the enactment of a uniform duty to No. 13, D. S., or a specific duty on all sugars?

Thirty millions of dollars ($30,000,000) are invested in lands, buildings, and machinery, employed in refining sugars and molasses in this country, and at least twenty millions of dollars ($20,000,000) of floating capital is necessarily employed annually in moving this and outgrowing industries, aside from the first cost of the sugars and molasses used in refining. Consumers of refined sugar in this country pay scarcely a fraction more therefor than the original cost of the imported sugars, so completely and skillfully has the machinery and business of refining sugars been perfected in the United States, under the stimulous of healthful competition. Healthful protection of these home industries, in the interests of consumers and producers of sugar in this country, simply means self preservation.

Tabular statements will be found elsewhere, which show that we purchased 83 per cent. of the foreign sugars consumed in this country in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1879, from Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish possessions, and only 17 per cent. from all other sugar-producing countries, including the Sandwich Islands. The West Indies, were not content with supplying us with raw sugars; greed of gain and tariff facilities furnished by depending entirely upon the color standard for levying duty, led Cuba and Demerara to manufacture melada and drained raw sugars into large, dry, almost pure crystals, by clarification, vacuum pan boiling, and centrifugation, and induced the producers to outwardly discolor the sugar crystals while completing the vacuum pan and centrifugal process, for the purpose of evading duty on the actual or intrinsic color, quality, and value of sugars known as centrifugals, by false classification for duty when entering this market.

Centrifugals, or semi-refined foreign sugars, are consequently manufactured and doctored in Cuba and Demerara for this market, at an extra expense to American consumers of at least one and one-half (1½) cents per pound more than the industry would cost in this country; in other words, American refiners can profitably produce centrifugals from melada and low grades of raw sugars, exclusive of cost of raw sugars, for one cent per pound or less, while we pay Cuba and Demerara about 3 cents per pound for raw material, and 2½ to 3 cents per pound for Cuban industry, or 5½ to 6 cents per pound in the country of production, for dry centrifugals, outwardly discolored to represent low grade raw sugars, and thus evade duty. The sharp practice also deprives us of more or less melada and low grades of drained raw sugars, with which we should otherwise be more extensively and cheaply supplied by Cuba and other Spanish possessions than we now are.

Imported centrifugal sugars assimilate intrinsically to refined sugars. However skillfully the intrinsic color, quality, and value of centrifugals may be disguised by outwardly discoloring the crystals in order to falsely represent No. 7 or No. 10 Dutch standard in color and evade proper duty, the simple process of grinding cargo samples of such sugar produces, instead of No. 7, D. S., a disguised No. 16, D. S., sugar; instead of No. 10, D. S., a disguised No. 20, D. S., sugar; and instead of No. 13, D. S., a beautiful pure white sugar above No. 20, D. S., in color, 98 to 99½ per cent. pure cane sugar crystals; whereas the same grinding process applied to cargo samples of No. 7, No. 10, No. 13, D. S., raw sugars of all kinds naturally produced merely by boiling, evaporation, and draining, produces no effect upon the color of such sugars as outwardly represented, simply because actually raw sugars contain the molasses and dark impurities which have been eliminated from foreign centrifugal sugars by semi-refining.

From Cuban and Demerara centrifugals only the very highest grades of refined sugar can be made, such as granulated and standard A sugars; thus unless we can obtain raw sugar material from

other countries, the great mass of consumers would be without any adequate supply of cheap sugar food, which refiners can only obtain from low grades of raw sugar and melada. Centrifugal sugars doctored in color, as at present, to evade duty, or admitted under a uniform duty to No. 13, or even to No. 10, D. S., or under a specific duty on all sugars, absolutely prohibit the importation of all raw "Grocers' Sugars," and undersell Louisiana sugars; a No. 13, D. S., and often a No. 10, D. S., foreign centrifugal sugar, being, when ground, far whiter and purer than the best raw "Grocer's Sugar," and equal to the best Louisiana sugar; consequently the Cuban centrifugal is made cheaper than either, by duty discrimination. Other evils, resulting from these attempts of foreigners and their American allies, to centrifugate and regulate our sugar tariff to suit themselves, are depicted elsewhere, together with data, deductions, evidences, and statements proving that a simple, practicable, and effectual remedy presents itself in an actual ad valorem sugar tariff rigidly enforced, or in the present tariff, with the addition thereto, of the Polariscope test, and grinding, as adjuncts to the Dutch standard, for levying duty correctly.

SECTION SECOND.

Sugar imports from, and trade with producing countries.

Fifty millions of American consumers of sugar, thousands of American sugar producers, refiners of sugar, and the outgrowing American industries, that employ continuously one hundred millions of dollars capital, and more than a hundred thousand employees, upon whose labor returns at least three quarters of a million of people in this country depend for a living, are vitally concerned in the palpable facts presented in the following exhibit and explanations bearing upon sugar consumption, production, and sugar tariff plans.

The following table exhibits the amount of sugars imported, as per invoice entries, from countries of production, and the amount of domestic merchandise, exclusive of specie, exported to said countries in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1879; showing the importance and necessity to prosperity, of encouraging and extending trade with remote as well as contiguous sugar-producing countries, in order to obtain abundant supplies of cheap raw sugar material for the production of cheap refined sugars for consumption, at the lowest prices, payable, so far as practicable, in American merchandise instead of American gold:

1879.	*Imports sugar.* *Pounds.*	*Value.* *Dollars.*
Belgium	2,253,786	114,606
Brazil	63,380,355	2,274,450
Cent. Amer	3,640,174	155,108
China	714,957	36,419
Danish W. I	4,899,559	186,054
French Poss	70,863,119	2,564,810
France	9,443	672
Germany	466,664	22,232
Br. Honduras	1,036,561	39,210
Br. West Ind	33,415,713	1,184,933
Br. Guiana	13,074,378	480,782
Br. East Ind	3,499,852	119,701
Br. Columbia	7,055	486
Br. Africa, &c.	1,115,889	41,371
Hong Kong	962,550	37,210
Canadas	2,011,386	83,795
England	4,034,058	173,980
Hayti	17,757	873
Liberia	3,925	217
Mexico	1,967,841	76,413
Dutch W. I	209,659	6,387
Dutch Guiana	3,469,151	106,235
Dutch E. I	47,415,776	1,992,975
Peru	2,018,047	74,235
San Domingo	7,922,211	291,886
U. S. Colombia	369,141	14,225
Venezuela	8,391	396
Cuba	1,275,838,692	50,732,738
Porto Rico	84,704,473	3,120,960
Spanish Poss	112,450,478	3,895,398
Hawaiian Isl'ds	41,696,674	2,807,675
Total sugars	1,783,477,715	70,636,432

1879.	*Exports mdse.* *Dollars.*
Belgium	27,470,003
Brazil	8,106,928
Central America	1 110,603
China	2,651,677
Danish W. I	886,857
French Possessions	2,551,159
France	88,194,041
Germany	56,164,394
Br. Honduras	293,762
Br. W. Indies	6,485,391
Br. Guiana	1,719,827
Br. E. Indies	1,142,196
British Columbia	1,201,986
Br. Africa, &c	2,168,076
Hong Kong	3,279,277
Canadas	25,970,070
England	281,665,645
Hayti	3,148,757
Liberia	129,790
Mexico	5,400,380
Dutch W. Indies	622,171
Dutch Guiana	167,130
Dutch E. Indies	1,477,510
Peru	1,293,991
San Domingo	728,738
U. S. Colombia	5,199,648
Venezuela	1,926,923
Cuba	12,201,691
Porto Rico	1,771,483
Spanish Possessions	313,954
Hawaiian Islands	2,288,178

made up as follows:

Of brown sugars,	1,741,650,489 pounds, valued at	$67,820,101
Of refined sugars,	130,552 pounds, valued at	8,656
Of Hawaiian sugars,	41,696,674 pounds, valued at	2,807,675

To the above imports, as per entries of dry sugars, must be added:

1879.	*Melada.* *Pounds.*	*Value.*
Central America	9,800	$178
Danish W. I	33,202	778
British W. I	708,740	19,380
Dutch Guiana	23,552	442
Venezuela	8,820	262

1879.	*Melada.* *Pounds.*	*Value.*
Peru	200,619	$5,504
San Domingo	464,808	13,873
Cuba	49,436,292	1,401,771
Porto Rico	2,288	68
Total	50,888,121	1,442,256

Total sugar and melada imported ..... 1,834,365,836 pounds, value $72,078,688

By the above table, classified and compiled from official records, it will be seen that of the entire volume of sugar and melada imported during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1879, we imported from—

	Pounds.	*Value.*
Cuba and Spanish possessions	1,522,432,223	$59,150,935
From all other countries	311,933,613	12,927,753
Total sugar and melada	1,834,365,836	$72,078,688

In plain language, we purchased eighty-three (83) per cent. of all sugars and melada imported, in 1879, from Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish possessions, and only seventeen (17) per cent. from all other countries, although all other sugar producing countries from whence we imported sugars in that fiscal year, are by comparison relatively far more generous consumers of American merchandise than are Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish possessions, which countries only purchased merchandise amounting to $14,287,128 in the fiscal year named, and compelled us to pay additional $44,863,807 specie and American securities, or in all $59,150,935 for sugar and melada alone.

Under existing circumstances, and with full knowledge that we can be more amply supplied with raw sugar material at the lowest prices consistent with profitable production in foreign sugar producing countries by extending our dealings with, and purchasing sugars from, remote countries as well as from Cuba, Porto Rico, &c., *it would be a legislative blunder to enact any uniform or specific tariff* on imported sugars, because all such enactments would favor the production of semi-refined centrifugal sugars in Cuba and Demerara, doctored for the American market.

This would deprive us of melada and low grades of raw sugar from those countries, all of which would be made into dry centrifugals or semi-refined sugars, in order to obtain from American consumers the highest prices for foreign industry and centrifugated sugars, while only the lowest rate of duty would be paid us on a less number of pounds of centrifugals than we should require of actual raw sugar and melada for refining the numerous grades of sugar now required for consumption; thus reducing the number of cargoes of sugar that would be imported were an ad valorem sugar tariff enacted.

In continuation of the No. 13, D. S., uniform specific sugar duty plans of the Cuban, English, Demerara and hard sugar refiner's junto, of which the Tucker sugar bill is a subtle modification, American cane, beet and sorghum sugar producing industries, which can successfully compete with all foreign actual low grade sugars, would be crushed in endeavors to compete with foreign semi-refined centrifugal sugars of highest grade, which are virtually fit for consumption, made so by cheap foreign labor; under any uniform or specific tariff on sugar, low grades of raw sugar material would be prohibited to us, and find a market in Cuba and Demerara, to be converted into dry centrifugals, doctored for the American market; thus also legalizing the discoloration practices which trouble us under the present tariff, with only the color standard for levying duty on sugar, with which to defend our industries and revenue; an actual ad valorem tariff on sugars, or the present tariff with additional provision for determining their market value by analysis, polarization, grinding and the color standard would be absolutely equitable, protective and practicable, and would benefit American industries, and enormously increase consumption and sugar production in this country.

SECTION THIRD.

Classifications of Sugars for Duty under the Dutch Standard for the Fiscal Years Ending June 30, 1873, 1876, '77, '78, '79, '80.

False classifications for duty, by outward discoloration of foreign sugars, to evade full payment of the duty, that could be properly collected by the Dutch standard, if the actual or intrinsic color and quality of the sugar was not outwardly disguised, would be impracticable under an actual ad valorem sugar tariff, but can be continued at pleasure under the "Carlisle bill," or the modified "Tucker bill," which ignores No. 10, D. S., and American industries, protects Cuban centrifugals, and prohibits low grades and "grocer's sugars" effectually. The following exhibit of classifications of sugar for duty disposes of some of the pretenses of the No. 13, D. S., or uniform specific sugar duty advocates, exposes the extent of discoloration practices, and in the more honest classifications of 1880 clearly shows the good effects of the writer's analyses of the sugar question, and the better enforcement of tariff laws resulting therefrom:

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Classification by the Dutch standard.	1873.			1876.			1877.		
	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Sampled and classed for duty.	*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*		
All not above No. 7 Dutch standard	200,385,712	$9,781,861	$3,510,302	531,822,824	$20,841,918	11,651,445	777,916,855	$37,501,481	$16,680,087
All above No. 7 and not above No. 10 D. S.	746,319,811	46,319,811	17,290,181	869,785,087	36,593,778	21,628,822	604,817,151	29,778,800	15,107,929
All above No. 10 and not above No. 13 D. S.	230,457,090	14,884,124	5,614,832	150,107,868	6,542,106	4,499,816	88,467,286	4,371,003	2,488,093
All above No. 13 and not above No. 16 D. S.	60,884,348	3,891,750	1,672,272	9,147,732	518,830	207,593	4,536,195	218,913	158,932
All above No. 16 and not above No. 20 D. S.	5,407,628	370,398	175,718	1,011,458	68,045	40,107	92,477	6,182	3,757
All above No. 20, loaf, and other refined	324,453	22,172	12,086	21,976	2,003	1,248	32,840	2,590	1,642
Total dry sugar	1,378,498,832	74,903,073	28,226,309	1,561,880,545	63,860,710	37,625,061	1,455,387,854	71,849,059	34,337,350
Melada entered into consumption	107,084,690	4,872,353	1,006,270	96,751,914	3,151,183	1,813,354	49,650,354	1,923,427	630,944
Total sugar and melada	1,485,583,522	79,805,426	29,232,579	1,658,632,459	67,011,893	39,438,415	1,505,038,208	73,772,516	35,268,294

Classification by the Dutch standard.	1878.			1879.			1880.		
	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Sampled and classed for duty.	*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*		
All not above No. 7 Dutch standard	860,287,182	$41,516,497	$18,818,784	890,891,182	$36,027,477	$19,480,276	200,208,496	$11,304,541	$6,547,154
All above No. 7 and not above No. 10 D. S.	618,019,876	33,232,883	10,450,497	671,574,502	27,614,075	10,749,395	1,222,747,078	82,407,812	50,508,777
All above No. 10 and not above No. 13 D. S.	72,316,571	4,110,502	2,033,901	35,556,466	1,649,309	1,000,307	67,720,078	3,085,292	1,901,796
All above No 13 and not above No. 16 D. S.	1,471,118	73,831	50,673	483,110	25,627	16,607	2,313,401	118,253	80,005
All above No. 16 and not above No. 20 D.S.	561,038	35,491	22,703	20,221	1,149	821	118,582	8,453	4,817
All above No. 20, loaf, and other refined	216,204	10,866	10,814	16,425	1,283	821	18,119	1,502	906
Total dry sugar	1,552,875,112	78,980,070	30,387,403	1,598,461,986	65,918,931	37,264,197	1,592,361,957	67,015,831	39,107,256
Melada entered into consumption	31,691,376	1,388,482	687,023	41,152,357	1,234,736	771,606	33,709,344	$1,036,808	632,050
Total sugar and melada	1,584,566,488	80,369,552	37,075,426	1,639,614,343	67,153,667	38,035,803	1,625,971,301	68,052,639	39,739,306

By the above exhibit of classifications of sugar for duty, it will be seen that the pretense that a uniform duty to No. 13, D. S., is required for any legitimate purpose is most absurd. Under the approximately honest classifications for duty in 1873 and 1880, seen above, the great volume of sugars, required for refining purposes, are not above No. 10, D. S., in color and intrinsic quality; that is they are, or should naturally be, the lower grades of raw sugar material ranging from No. 4 to No. 10, D. S., in intrinsic color, and contain from 70 to 90 per cent. of crystals; the balance of the 100 per cent. consisting of water, molasses impurities and organic matter. It is evident that all such sugars, upon which refiners depend almost entirely to obtain correspondingly numerous and cheap grades of refined sugars, required to supply the great mass of American consumers of sugar, should be encouraged to enter this market on an equal footing with dry centrifugals as to intrinsic value.

Furthermore, as appears in the above tables of classifications, not only are the imports of sugars above No. 10, D. S., by comparison small in quantity—although their full volume does not appear—but being mostly dry centrifugals or semi-refined sugars, testing from 94 to 99 in crystals, their intrinsic or market value approximates that of refined sugars which should certainly pay duty on their actual value. The cost of refining dry centrifugal sugars does not exceed 25 cents to 35 cents per 100 pounds, as against 65 cents to 100 cents per 100 pounds cost of refining ordinary and low grades of foreign raw sugars.

Refiners of sugars with limited facilities, or who only care to produce granulated and standard A refined sugars—"because there is more money in it," with less investment of brains, capital and skill—unquestionably desire to purchase and work dry centrifugal sugars in preference to actual raw sugar material; and therefore advocate specific duty on all sugars not above No. 13, D. S., in color, because such a tariff, and any specific or uniform tariff, would discriminate enormously in their favor; but above all individual interests must be considered the combined interests of fifty millions of American consumers of sugars, and home sugar productive industries, which can be greatly benefitted and best protected in the matter of sugar-food by admitting, without discrimination, all grades of foreign sugars under the present tariff properly executed, or an actual ad valorem sugar tariff.

Again, the pretense that under a specific duty on all sugars, or under a uniform duty on all sugars not above No. 13, D. S., in color, "grocer's sugar" can be imported for immediate consumption, is grossly false. In these days of industrial advancements, consumers are best suited with refined sugars; raw sugar below No. 16, D. S., in intrinsic and outward color, would not be eaten, and not a pound of such sugar, or any other entirely raw "grocer's sugar," could be imported under a uniform or specific tariff, to com-

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pete with the refined product of dry centrifugal sugars testing 94 to 99 in pure crystals, but by outward discoloration of crystals entered as No. 7, No. 10, or not above No. 13, D. S., in color; therefore any uniform or specific tariff on sugar, favors centrifugal sugars, and is absolutely prohibitory to grocer's sugars, as well as to low grades of raw sugar, of which our importations should largely consist, in order that our refiners of sugars may at all times produce an adequate supply of cheap, refined sugars, and thus check the growing practice of using corn glucose to adulterate high grades of refined sugar; the only outturn possible from dry centrifugal sugars, which have so long evaded the tariff laws by discoloration and false classifications, being high grades of refined sugar.

Under an ad valorem sugar tariff, or under the present tariff properly executed, the outturn of refiners, having all grades of raw material available on an equal footing as to cost, would naturally increase the grades, and reduce the cost of refined sugars to American consumers, until the use of glucose would be confined to more legitimate purposes than that of adulterating and debasing refined cane sugar to supply the masses, as an offset to cheap sugars made dear by discoloration practices, and consequent virtual prohibition of actual low grade raw sugar material, from which alone we must obtain the cheap refined sugars now required for consumers; therefore, in order to increase consumption and cheapen refined cane sugars to consumers, and in order to import raw "grocer's sugars," if anybody wants such, and all other grades at pleasure, an ad valorem sugar tariff, or additional safeguard for the present tariff, becomes indispensibly necessary.

Attention is further directed to the above table of classifications for 1880, wherein, while it will be seen that the writer's analyses and palpable exposure of discoloration practices to defraud the revenue, has resulted in raising the class of centrifugal sugars hitherto disguised as not above No. 7, D. S., in color, to above No. 7, D. S.; but that, as yet, such sugars have not been raised to above No. 10, D. S., where they in reality largely belong. The improvement is, however, marked, and has saved the people more than two millions of dollars of revenue from sugar in one year; nothing but grinding, analyses and polarization in aid of the Dutch standard and present tariff, or an actual ad valorem sugar tariff, can wholly suppress discoloration practices, and adequately protect the interests of American consumers, home-productive industries, and revenue.

SECTION FOURTH.

Hawaiian Sugars Duty Free; Results of Reciprocity; Statements which Evidence Results Adverse to American Interests.

Attention is respectfully directed to the workings of the reciprocity treaty between the United States and Hawaii, in the matter of admitting so-called Hawaiian sugars to this country, duty free, while sugars from all other sugar-producing countries are heavily taxed. The subject in its relations to the great sugar question demands the earnest attention and proper action of Congress and the Executive. Although the amount of sugar imported from Hawaii is comparatively small, it is large enough to furnish means to enhance and control prices of sugars to American consumers on our Pacific coast, and invite the landing of large quantities of China and Hong-Kong sugars at Hawaii, to be re-shipped to San Francisco as Hawaiian sugars, duty free; while we pay dear for such sugars, lose the duty thereon, and receive no adequate return; which becomes palpably plain in the following exhibit:

Hawaiian Sugars, Duty Free, Entered into Consumption in the Fiscal Years Ending June 30, 1878, 1879, 1880:

				Value.
1878.	Above No. 7, not above No. 10, Dutch Standard,	2,437,920	pounds	$161,922
	Above " 10, " " 13, "	10,805,283	"	757,735
	Above " 13, " " 16, "	12,227,780	"	963,549
	Above " 16, " " 20, "	4,897,345	"	391,224
	Total consumed, duty free	30,368,328		$2,274,430
1879.	Above No. 7, not above No. 10, Dutch standard,	8,174,146	pounds	$501,850
	Above " 10, " " 13, "	16,615,686	"	1,099,164
	Above " 13, " " 16, "	15,670,564	"	1,118,117
	Above " 16, " " 20, "	1,232,673	"	92,061
	Total consumed, duty free	41,693,069	"	$2,811,192
1880.	Above No. 7, not above No. 10, Dutch standard,	7,793,349	"	450,030
	Above " 10, " " 13, "	28,416,596	"	1,892,737
	Above " 13, " " 16, "	23,868,886	"	1,689,060
	Above " 16, " " 20, "	1,477,493	"	103,659
	Total consumed, duty free	61,556,324	"	$4,135,486

Total Hawaiian sugars, entered into consumption during the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1878, 1879, 1880, value, duty lost, estimated at 60 per cent. ad valorem, and total value of domestic merchandise, exclusive of specie, exported to Hawaii during the same years.

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Hawaiian Sugars Duty free.	*Value.*	*Duty Lost.*	*Dom. Mdse. to Hawaii.*
1878— 30,368,328 Pounds.	$2,274,430	$1,364,658	$1,683,446
1879— 41,693,069 "	2,811,192	1,686,715	2,288,178
1880— 61,556,324 "	4,135,486	2,481,291	1,985,506
Total—133,617,721 "	9,221,108	$5,532,664	$5,957,130

Average price paid for sugar in Hawaii, three years, per 100 pounds---------$6.75
Average price paid for sugar in other countries, 1880, per 100 pounds--------- 4 20
Average price paid for sugar in Hawaii, 1880, per 100 pounds--------- 6.71

By the above exhibit of facts, officially verified, and palpable deductions therefrom, two subjects of vital importance to American interests present matter for grave consideration in connection with the sugar question:

First. The apparently rapid increase in sugar production and exports to this country in the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands, under the Reciprocity Treaty, exceeds relatively that of all other sugar producing countries in this regard. The Islands of Hawaii send most of their sugars to this country. We received from them in 1878, 30,368,328 pounds; in 1879, 41,693,069 pounds; in 1880, 61,556,324 pounds; meantime China and Hong Kong, where sugar production is extensive and regular in increase,—

Supplied this country with 21,677,177 pounds of sugar in 1877;

Supplied this country with 31,695,743 pounds of sugar in 1878;

But this supply fell to only 1,677,507 pounds of sugar in 1879,—in which year Hawaii increased her exports to us by 20,000,000 of pounds. China sugars are largely above No. 7, D. S., in color, and correspond in color with many grades of sugar imported from Hawaii, while the falling off of imports of sugars from China and Hong Kong in 1879 corresponds with the wonderful increase of imports of sugars from Hawaii in 1880. The temptation to buy China and Hong Kong sugars in those countries, at about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 cents per pound, and land them at Hawaii, to be reshipped thence to this country as Hawaiian sugars, duty free, at $6\frac{3}{4}$ cents per pound, is not only very great, but the opportunity is supplied by the Reciprocity Treaty between the United States and the Kingdom of Hawaii.

Second. Taking the article of sugar imported from Hawaii, duty free, during the fiscal years 1878, 1879, 1880, the people of this country bought sugars to the amount of $9,221,108, paying $2.55 per 100 pounds more than similar sugars cost us in the great cane sugar-producing country of the world, as seen above, besides losing $5,532,664 duty on sugars imported duty free from Hawaii in the years named, under a Reciprocity Treaty, which only enabled us to sell the paltry sum of $5,957,130 worth of domestic merchandise to Hawaiians during the above-named fiscal years, 1878, '9, '80.

Thus, under the Treaty, we have thrown away $5,532,664 sugar duty, paid an extra price for sugar, and been obliged to pay a cash balance, over and above our $5,957,130 exports of merchandise to

Hawaii, of $3,263,978 for the single article of sugar; in plain words, the loss of duty on sugar and other merchandise imported from Hawaii free, annually exceeds the value of our exports to the Hawaiian Islands; while the importation of Hawaiian sugars duty free at San Francisco only serves to injure home production, keep out competing sugars, and enhance the cost of refined sugars to consumers in California and sections of country contiguous to our Pacific coast. Hawaiian sugars should unquestionably be made dutiable.

SECTION FIFTH.

Practicability of an ad valorem sugar tariff; Eleven years sugar statistics further prove its equity; The present tariff with Polariscope tests; Summary, &c.

The objections to an ad valorem sugar tariff are found by analysis to be largely ephemeral. Unlike books, dry goods, and merchandise having no specific current market value, the daily market quotations and transactions in foreign and domestic raw and refined sugars, in London, Cuba and American ports of entry, like our market quotations for grain, now furnish reliable evidence of the actual foreign and home market value of any cargo or mark of sugar entered or offered for sale in this market on any given day; and its actual market value in the country of production at the time of purchase and shipment, is quite as readily determined by such recorded evidence, on arrival and entry of sugars for duty in this country. As regards foreign sugars consigned to agents in this country, the actual market value of the sugar, constitutes and determines its true value for levying duty correctly.

Because it would be easier for well-paid officials to collect a duty of so much per pound on all sugars, is neither a valid reason for inflicting a monstrous abuse and extraordinary food tax upon the people of this country and their industries, nor for transferring American sugar productive and refining industries to Cuba, Demerara, England, Canada, and Continental Europe. Prohibiting the importation of low grade raw sugar material by a specific or uniform duty on all sugar, and thus increasing the cost of pure, refined, cane sugars to consumers, merely to enable customs officials to collect revenue comfortably, would be quickly followed by a resistless public clamor for the entire abolition of duty on all sugar food; which would be disastrous to home production and revenue, and of no benefit to consumers; as Cuba and other producing countries would levy an export duty on sugars,—though not sufficient to protect pro-

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duction here,—while skillful American refiners would successfully compete with European refiners, and find ready foreign market for refined sugars, which would enhance prices to American consumers.

Although the market value of imported sugar can, in these days of rapid communication and trade, be readily determined correctly, under an ad valorem sugar tariff, Congress should enact adequate provisions for the proper execution of any tariff. Samples of cargoes for levying duty should correspond with merchants' samples of the same cargoes when sold or offered for sale. The official samples, with cargo descriptions, date of entry, test of sugar, &c., should remain on public exhibition in a Custom House Sugar Bureau, until the cargo entry has been liquidated, and for a period of not less than twenty days from date of entry. This would afford ample time to determine value.

Samples of sugar employed for levying duty on the cargo, should be ground to the consistency of raw muscovadoes and clayed sugars, to assimilate in grain to Dutch standard samples, and be tested by both polarization and analysis, for which there would be ample time before liquidation of entries. Such tests should be compared with merchants' and refiners' tests of the same cargoes of sugars, which are readily learned, in order to detect and prevent errors in levying duty. The Secretary of the Treasury should be authorized and required to employ such, and all other means that he may deem necessary, to accurately determine the actual market value of sugars, in order to levy duty thereon correctly. Prices of imported sugars as determined for New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and San Francisco, should determine their market value in all other ports of entry, provided home valuation is employed for levying duty.

The following tables of foreign dutiable sugars entered into consumption for eleven fiscal years ended June 30, 1880, giving quantity, value, duty, rate of duty, ad valorem per cent., and exhibiting what the duty receipts would have been under an ad valorem tariff of 50, 45 and 40 per cent., furnish reliable and valuable information upon which legislative calculations in regard to past, present, and future revenue from sugar, may be confidently based. The present classification sugar tariff is that of 1870, modified in 1875, by a horizontal addendum of 25 per cent. upon the regular duty, with the use of the Dutch color standard only for levying duty. It is as follows:

On all sugar not above	No. 7	D. S. in color, per lb.,		1¾	c., plus	25	per ct.,	=2 3/16 cents.
Above No. 7	"	No. 10	D. S.	"	"	2	c., "	25	"	2½ "
" " 10	"	No. 13	D. S.	"	"	2¼	c., "	25	"	2 13/16 "
" " 13	"	No. 16	D. S.	"	"	2¾	c., "	25	"	3 7/16 "
" " 16	"	No. 20	D. S.	"	"	3¼	c., "	25	"	4 1/16 "
On all sugar above		No. 20	D. S.	"	"	4	c., "	25	"	5 "
On all cane syrup, melada, tank bottoms, etc						1½	c., "	25	"	1⅞ "
On molasses, per gallon						5	c., "	25	"	6¼ "

Under the above classification tariff—which, having no proper safe guards against frauds, foreign skill has successfully subverted by discoloration practices, for which legal protection is now sought in No. 13, D. S., bills, and destruction to American sugar-producing industries, and the hopes of consumers threatened by specific duty on all sugar, bills—the following results have been achieved:

Foreign dutiable sugars, exclutive of melada, entered into consumption during the fiscal years, each ending June 30, 1870 to 1880, inclusive, quantity, value, duty, rates per pound, ad valorem rate, and the same at 40, 45 and 50 per cent., compiled for ready reference:

Fiscal years.	Dutiable sugars consumed.	Value declared.	Duty paid. Liquidated.	Rates lb.	Ad valorem per cent.
	Pounds.				
1870	1,183,089,146	$59,021,588	$35,986,347	3.04	60.97
1871	1,166,394,287	58,382,938	29,690,552	2.54	50.85
1872	1,346,942,550	73,318,299	27,876,769	2.07	38.02
1873	1,378,498,832	74,993,073	28,226,309	2.05	37.63
1874	1,511,456,915	76,080,510	30,492,526	2.02	40.00
1875	1,575,893,948	69,292,009	33,380,643	2.12	48.17
1876	1,561,880,545	63,860,713	37,625,064	2.41	58.91
1877	1,455,387,854	71,849,089	34,337,350	2.36	47.65
1878	1,552,875,112	78,986,070	36,387,464	2.34	46.06
1879	1,598,461,986	65,918,931	37,294,197	2.33	56.57
1880	1,592,261,957	67,015,831	39,107,256	2 45	58.35

Average ad valorem duty collected in the eleven years 49.38 per cent.

Revenue from dutiable sugars, if under an advalorem tariff, during the eleven fiscal years, ending June 30, 1880, would have been as follows:

Fiscal years.	Valued.	Ad valorem 50 per cent.	Ad valorem 45 per cent.	Ad valorem 40 per cent.
1870	$59,021,588	$29,510,794	$26,559,714	$23,608,635
1871	58,382,938	29,191,469	26,272,322	23,353,175
1872	73,318,299	36,659,149	32,993,234	29,327,319
1873	74,993,073	37,496,536	33,746,882	29,997,229
1874	76,080,510	38,040,255	34,236,229	30,432,204
1875	69,292,009	34,646,004	31,181,404	27,716,803
1876	63,860,713	31,930,356	28,737,320	25,544,285
1877	71,849,089	35,924,544	32,332,090	28,739,635
1878	78,986,070	39,493,035	35,543,731	31,594,428
1879	65,918,931	32,959,465	29,663,518	26,367,572
1880	67,015,831	33,507,915	30,157,123	26,806,332

The above tables evidence that the duty on imported sugars, col-

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lected under the present tariff, has averaged only 49.38 per cent. ad valorem during eleven years, although the sugar tariff was designed in 1870 to average 50 per cent. ad valorem, and in 1875, by the 25 per cent. addendum, 62.50 per cent. ad valorem; the difference between the 49.38 per cent. ad valorem duty actually received in eleven years, and 56.9 per cent., the intended average under the present tariff, for the past eleven fiscal years, ending June 30, 1880, represents some portion of the loss of revenue from sugar by discoloration devices for evading payment of proper duty, necessarily levied by the Dutch standard only; the higher and more honest classifications of sugar for duty in 1880, presented elsewhere, also evidence the necessity of providing safeguards for the present tariff, or of adopting an actual ad valorem tariff, under which, with proper checks enforced, discoloration frauds would be impossible, and other under-valuation frauds would be impracticable and unprofitable.

Advocates of uniform duty on all sugars not above No. 13, D. S. in color, and advocates of a uniform duty on all sugars would do well to inform Congress and American consumers and producers of sugars on what valid or tenable grounds they alone refuse to be held in check, and also object to an ad valorem sugar tariff; every body having the slightest knowledge of tariff and revenue matters know that duty levied according to value on sugar is absolutely equitable for dry and semi-refined but discolored centrifugal sugars, and all other grades of imported sugars; therefore the alleged but mythical executive abuses of which uniform and specific sugar-duty advocates make pretense of complaint, could not by any possibility exist under an ad valorem sugar tariff, nor under the present tariff enforced by the use of proper tests in aid of the Dutch standard.

Attention is directed to the important fact, clearly exhibited in the above tables, that under the present tariff the total duty received from sugar, exclusive of melada, during eleven years, has amounted to $370,404,477, or 49.38 per cent. ad valorem; whereas, had the duty on sugar been actual ad valorem, at 50 per cent., there would have been collected from sugars, exclusive of melada, during eleven years, the sum of $379,359,522, an excess over the receipts under the present tariff, of $8,955,055; this fact furnishes reliable evidence that less than 50 per cent. ad valorem duty on sugars will produce the present revenue from sugar; it should also be observed above, that the annual fluctuations in revenue from sugar under an ad valorem tariff, would be less than under the present or any other form of sugar tariff; therefore objections to an ad valorem sugar tariff on account of fluctuations in prices of sugars, are utterly groundless.

Revenue to be derived from sugars under an ad valorem tariff can be correctly estimated; because if foreign sugars were scarce, prices would rule higher, and if foreign sugars were abundant and

cheap the quantity imported would be largely increased, thus producing a reliable basis for anticipating approximately the amount of duty likely to be received from sugar and melada in any year; a rapid and extraordinary annual increase in the consumption of sugars would be inevitable under an ad valorem tariff of 40 to 50 per cent. on all sugar, and 10 per cent. additional on all refined sugar; our growing and vitally important beet, cane and sorghum sugar producing industries, our sugar refining and outgrowing industries, and the interests of 50,000,000 consumers of sugar in this country would be effectually benefited and amply protected with an ad valorem tariff on all sugars, and an additional duty of ten per cent. on all refined sugars—which is necessary to protect Louisiana sugars and refiners against bounty-fed French refined sugars, if American consumers and sugar productive industries are to be benefited permanently, instead of being placed at the mercy of the French government when it has destroyed our sugar producing industries—cargoes from all producing countries would be more numerous, and there is abundant evidence that with such auxiliary tariff aid, our commerce with remote sugar producing countries would increase enormously.

Retaining the present sugar tariff, with additional legislative provisions for its proper enforcement, by the use of analysis, grinding, and the polariscope, as adjuncts to the Dutch standard, for correctly determining classifications for duty, involves the necessity of fixing polariscope tests for each classification up to and including No. 13, Dutch standard sugars. Thorough enquiry and investigation of cargo samples, *ad infinitum*, justifies the conclusion that the polariscope test on all imported sugars should be limited as follows:

All sugars not above No. 7, D. S. in color, not above 82°.
All sugars above 7 not above No. 10, D. S. in color, not above 87°.
All sugars above 10 not above No. 13, D. S. in color, not above 92°.
All above No. 13, D. S. in color, above 92°, to pay duty accordingly.

All sugars testing higher than the above color number limit, to be classed accordingly and made to pay higher and proper duty. The omission of a single class, especially No. 10, D. S., would be a blunder fatal to the interests of American consumers and producers of sugars.

Should the present sugar tariff and Dutch standard be retained, and its execution be properly enforced by analysis, grinding, and the polariscope as suggested above, provision should also be made that raw muscovado "grocers' sugars," and raw beet sugars, when naturally above No. 13, D. S. in color, and testing not above 92° in the polariscope, should be classed for duty as not above No. 13, D. S. in color. When such sugars test above 92° they should be classed according to color and quality. Such simple provision would prevent the possibility of tariff discrimination against raw beet and grocers' muscovado sugars, both of which would be abso-

lutely prohibited under a uniform tariff to No. 13, D. S., or a specific tariff on all sugars. Under an actual ad valorem tariff, however, raw grocers' muscovado sugars, and all raw beet sugars, like all other sugars, would equitably pay duty on their actual value; in addition to which, refined sugars should pay an extra ten per cent ad valorem duty, for the protection of consumers and home productive industries.

Facts, common sense and justice prove that the proper solution of the sugar tariff question is the adoption by Congress of the polariscope, grinding and analysis as adjuncts to the Dutch standard, and the retention of the present tariff, or the enactment of an actual ad valorem tariff on imported sugars, with 10 per cent. extra duty on refined sugars. One or the other of these equitable plans affords the only means by which the various grades of foreign sugars required for consumption can be equitably imported upon their actual merits as to quality and value, and sugars cheapened to consumers; under either of these plans low grade raw sugars for refining, and raw sugars suited for immediate consumption, known as grocers' sugars, can be profitably imported in competition with foreign centrifugal sugars.

Certainly one or the other is clearly vital to the sugar productive industries of this country, which cannot successfully compete with foreign centrifugal sugars made for this market expressly, under any uniform or specific sugar tariff; the interests of American consumers, commerce, sugar producers, traders in sugar, and of the revenue, will be best served by the retention of thepresent tariff, protected as above suggested, or by the adoption by Congress of an ad valorem tariff on sugar, and the Secretary of the Treasury should be authorized in either event to employ the safeguards above suggested, and such other means as he may deem necessary to determine actual market value, and prevent undervaluations and false classifications of imported sugars entered for duty.

HENRY A. BROWN.

Saxonville, Massachusetts.

CONCISE RESUMÉ

OF

SUGAR TARIFF TOPICS

IN DEFENCE OF

AMERICAN SUGAR INDUSTRIES

AND

Consumers, Commercial, and Revenue Interests

AGAINST ILLICIT INVASION,

THE HAWAII TREATY, ETC.

BY

HENRY A. BROWN,
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appropriation of such

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Entered according to Act of Congress by Henry A. Brown, January, 1882.

SECTION FIRST.

Sugar Making from Cane Juice—Demerara Crystals versus American Industries—Producing Countries—Consumption, Production and National Requirements—Classifications under the Dutch Standard.

Sugar cane juice, and virtually the juice of all sugar producing trees, plants and vegetables, when expressed therefrom, is generally of a greenish yellow color and exhibits grayish brown globules in suspense; the juice is cloudy and turbid, and contains from 10 to 20 per cent. of sugar crystals in solution, with 80 to 90 per cent. of other matter consisting of water, wood fibre, vegetable wax, gum or albumen, salts, etc., in varied proportions.

Owing to too long exposure in the air before clarifying, imperfect handling, climatic changes, cutting cane too early or too late, and defects in the process of concentration, most of which may be avoided, cane juice seldom yields more than 10 to 15 per cent. of sugar, and the average of sugar hitherto obtained therefrom has not been more than 9 per cent.; the average of sugar obtained from sugar beets does not exceed 8 per cent., and from sorghum the average yield in sugar is about 7 per cent.; improvements in machinery, vacuum pan boiling, and more skillful handling of crops, largely increase the sugar yield from cane and beet juice, and render the production more profitable and rapid.

By reason of sudden climatic changes and the less tropical temperature of Louisiana as compared with Cuba, Hawaii, and other sugar producing countries, the natural difference in sugar yield is largely in favor of those countries; this difference is as 12 to 20, that is, Cuban cane yields juice containing an average of 20 per cent. of sugar, and Louisiana cane yields juice containing an average of about 12 per cent. of sugar; any process that increases the yield from Louisiana cane, would increase it from Cuban cane pro rata.

Louisiana also pays much higher than Cuba for labor, and is struggling under many disadvantages out of the old feudal and slave system, into the new free labor and equality system of the North. This nation is largely dependent upon Louisiana and home sugar production in the future, to check the rapacity of foreign sugar producing countries which already threaten to inundate this country

with abnormally cheap sugars to destroy our sugar industries; having done which, they will enhance the cost of sugar food in the United States at pleasure; self preservation demands tariff protection of our sugar producing industries.

Deducing from general results, I am satisfied that in order to obtain the highest crystalline yield, after cane juice is expressed, it should be heated and clarified immediately, to prevent fermentation which changes a larger percentage of the crystals contained in solution in the juice, into various solvent impurities such as gum, glucose, and invert or uncrystallizable sugar during concentration, than would happen if the juice were heated and clarified without delay.

Cane juice is generally passed through the fumes of sulphurous gas when on its way from the mill to defecators. This gas has a tendency to bleach the juice which, if properly done, is an advantage, but sulphurous gas has powerful affinity with oxygen, which it absorbs from the atmosphere with great rapidity, and thereby speedily becomes sulphuric acid which, passing into the syrup, hinders crystallization and injures the product. When sulphurous gas is used to brighten juice or syrup, every precaution should be taken to prevent the introduction of outer air.

Manufacturing raw sugar from cane juice commonly consists of three processes conducted substantially as follows: By the old process the juice is first heated slowly to the point of boiling to clarify it, that is, to precipitate feculents for removal from the raw juice. When the heat does not fully separate feculents from the juice, and when acid is in excess therein alkalies are used, such as quicklime, milk of lime and bisulphate of lime. The quantity of lime required is determined by the use of litmus paper, and feculents are removed by skimming, filtration and settling.

The clarified juice is boiled at about 215° F. to evaporate the juice and reduce it to syrup. The syrup is next concentrated to melada by more rapid boiling at an increased temperature, which should not exceed 235° to 238° Fahrenheit, at which point the best results are usually obtained. During the process of evaporation and concentration, acidity in excess is again corrected by the use of lime, and feculents that rise are removed by skimming.

Open boilers, or kettles, or tanks are used for sugar making by this process, and were formerly used for refining sugars. The use of animal charcoal, called boneblack, for bleaching the syrup has become general in refining sugar, and is used by some sugar makers. Foreign producers of vacuum-pan centrifugals or Cuban and Demerara crystals, bleach the juice or syrup to a very light straw color, nearly white, then boil, evaporate, inspissate, grain, and when intended as accessory of fraud, doctor or discolor the same in the vacuum-pan to outwardly imitate raw sugar in color. The pretense that the feculents are boiled into the sugar to form dark crystals is simply absurd.

Claying raw sugar, also formerly practiced in refining sugar, originated as a process for bleaching raw sugars in China and Java, and the practice quickly extended to other sugar producing countries; the raw sugar is placed in cone shaped vessels holding some 200 lbs. or more, the base remains open, and there is a hole in the apex for drainage; the cone is fixed in a frame in an inverted position and bleaching is begun.

A mixture of white clay and water is placed on the base of the cone, and the clay water percolates the mass of sugar; when the clay mixture becomes dry it is removed, and fresh clay paste applied until the base of the cone of sugar becomes white; when the drainage ceases, the cone is removed and cut into cross sections, each of which differs from the other in shade, from pure white at the base, to light brown at the apex, the whole having a grayish tinge.

This variety in shades of raw sugars clayed in Java, originated the Dutch Standard of color in Holland, which for more than forty years until vacumn pan crystal coloring subverted this natural test, was the only generally accepted method of determining the intrinsic quality and value of cane sugar, and is still employed in all sugar producing countries for the same purpose; but owing to the crystal coloring devices of sugar producers, the trade adjuncts of analysis and polarization, in connection with the Dutch Standard are now generally employed in the sugar marts of the world.

Vacuum pans briefly described are close boilers or tanks, oval or pear shaped, of any size up to a boiler in which 50 or more tons of syrup may be grained or crystallized; it is virtually a finishing pan in sugar making as well as in refining sugar; steam passing through coils or worms of pipe in the closed tank, and the exclusion of outer air causes syrup to boil at a low enough temperature to form sugar crystals at pleasure; attached to the pan or tank are a syrup feeder, an overrun to catch grains of sugar that fly off in the vapor, a vapor condenser into which cold water spray is admitted and which has a long outlet pipe connected with a water tank having an overflow pipe; the boiling sugar is viewed through a glass bullseye in the side of the pan, to which is also affixed a testing tube.

By the use of the vacuum pan in sugar boiling and in refining sugar, the pressure of the atmosphere which comes in contact with the syrup when boiling in open pans, is reduced by exhaustion; boiling in vacuum-pans reduces the loss of material to the minimum of waste in handling, and prevents the formation of formic acid, which darkens boiling syrup and hinders crystallization; this acid is formed by the action of the oxygen of the outer atmosphere upon heated sprup.

Syrup may be concentrated in the vacuum-pan to the point of crystallization, and the strike be made when the crystals have begun to form, graining will continue in the receivers without further

evaporation until the crystals are formed; but both in making and refining sugar, in order to build up the crystals and obtain the greatest percentage of sugar from the charge of syrup, graining in the vacuum-pan is continued by the addition of fresh syrup, until the desired result is reached, when the strike is made.

Sugar is separated from the syrup or molasses by various methods of draining, and by the use of centrifugal machines; draining by putting melada into casks, tanks, or boxes pierced with holes to permit the syrup to escape while the sugar remains, is still practiced in sugar producing countries; conical moulds are also still used for the same purpose; other and more primitive methods of draining are practiced in producing countries where the knowledge of sugar making is crude and imperfect.

Centrifugal machines perform the work of separating sugar from syrup with dispatch, and are indispensable in making as well as in refining sugars, by such aid the tedious process of drainage is avoided, and separation accomplished in a few moments, the concentrated mass of sugar and syrup is placed in cylindrical baskets finely perforated, and fitted upon central shafts that are made to revolve swiftly, the rapid motion drives out the syrup, and leaves the sugar comparatively dry and pure in the baskets.

Molasses obtained by draining raw sugar, is reboiled, evaporated, inspissated, crystallized, and treated the same as the first product of syrup already described; the raw sugar thus obtained is called molasses sugar, and is equal in value to muscovado sugar for refining purposes; the molasses of commerce is drained from melada and is often extremely rich in sugar crystals.

Porto Rico molasses is especially rich in crystals of sugar. Cuban and Porto Rico molasses test from 48 to 60 in sugar crystals. The average test of the latter exceeds 54 and of the former 52 degrees in crystals, but it should be remembered that during transit and while waiting sale and shipment crystals of sugar are constantly forming in molasses drained from melada.

Molasses testing above 55 is more valuable for reboiling in this country to obtain the sugar than for consumption as molasses. Hence molasses boilers buy such molasses with avidity, and efforts have often been made to import syrup of sugar containing 70 to 85 per cent. of crystals as molasses in order to obtain the sugar by conversion without paying proper duty. The ease with which this fraud can now be detected, and the fact that when syrup of cane sugar is found entered as molasses it will be seized by the Government, renders the practice unprofitable.

The introduction of vacuum-pan boilers varies the old method of making sugar at the second or evaporating process as follows: The syrup, having been brought to the proper consistency, is run into receivers, thence run through filter bags or directly into subsiders, and from thence drawn into the vacuum-pan as required. Sulphurous and sulphuric acid, quicklime, milk of lime and sulphurous gas are used in the manufacture of Demerara and Cuban crystals for the American market.

The process is delicate but simply a matter of skillful handling. If sulphurous acid is admitted to the boiling syrup in excess it not only discolors the mass but compels the free use of lime to correct the acidity. Thus the desired shade of discoloration is lessened or lost. Bisulphate of lime is also employed as a colorant for the same purpose, while sulphuric acid, muriate of tin, etc., are sometimes admitted to the syrup in the vacuum-pan and in centrifugals to give bloom or delicate straw color to yellow crystals intended for the London market.

Thus it will be seen that various articles employed to brighten sugars in the vacuum-pan will, when used in excess, darken the crystals. For instance, eight to ten quarts of diluted sulphuric acid to each ton of mass in the pan when injected upon formed crystals before the strike will give bloom to the crystals, while the admission of a greater per cent. of the acid, or too high a temperature when boiling, will discolor the sugar and endanger the strike by inverting more or less of the crystals.

More simple methods are also extensively employed in Cuba and Demerara to color vacuum pan crystals made to test from 93 to 99° in purity, but intended to evade Nos. 10 and 13 of the Dutch standard of our tariff; a favorite formula employed is, to every 600 gallons of juice add 4 to 5 pounds of lime in the defecator, and again use the same quantity of lime in subsiders for dark sugars, whereas only one half the quantity of lime is used for light sugars; the excess of lime retained in the syrup, discolors the crystals more or less throughout, during inspissation and graining.

Again, thoroughly clarified cane juice is evaporated in triple effects or in open pans, run into subsiders, and thence drawn into the vacuum pan for finishing; where the highest grade of crystals, say 95 to 99° in purity are required, and No. 10 or 13 D. S., the limit of color, crystals are fully formed and, just before the strike, the proper percentage of molasses impurities or caramel, or both, is admitted to the boiling sugar, and the pure crystals are outwardly colored to imitate raw sugars not above No. 7–10 or 13 D. S. in color as desired.

Molasses carefully run into the vaccum pan at intervals, after graining has progressed nearly to the desired striking point, produces a molasses crystal of great purity from 93 to 97°, but not above No. 10 D. S. in color, when skillfully manipulated. Great attention, excellent judgment, and superior skill, are the most essential elements in producing manufactured sugar crystals of the highest degree of purity, and of the requisite color to evade the payment of the full duty that would be properly levied in this country upon such sugars, if they were not discolored for this market to imitate raw material.

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Unless tampered with at some stage of sugar making, properly clarified cane juice will yield light yellow crystals of any desired size in the vacuum pan, which equal 14 to 16 D. S. in color; after being purged in the centrifugals, these crystals will be of a natural color, equal to from 16 to 18 D. S., and test from 95 to 99° in purity; the duty on such sugars, when not above 16 D. S., would be $3.43¾ per 100 lbs., and when above No. 16 D. S. in color, the duty would be $4.06¼ per 100 lbs., hence the various foreign methods of discoloring a manufactured article of sugar of superior value, to imitate raw sugar material and evade duty.

Grocer's sugars are no longer made in Cuba and Demerara for this market; such sugars would test from 88 to 92° in purity, and be about 14 to 16 D. S., in color, the duty thereon would be $3.43¾ per 100 lbs. Grocer's sugars are not prohibited by the tariff, but by Cuban and Demerara crystals which test from 93 to 99° in purity, but although far superior in quality to grocer's sugars, they are colored down to 7, 10 or 13 D. S., and pay an average of less than $2.50 per 100 lbs. duty, thus prohibiting the importation of grocer's sugars.

The Carlisle and kindred uniform duty on sugar plans, whether at one cent or 2.40 cents per lb., are all framed to legalize the importation of Demerara crystals of highest purity, discolored to not above No. 13 D. S., at the lowest rate of duty, to the exclusion of raw sugar material; such crystals can be washed in centrifugals and then placed upon this market as high grade grocers sugars, with an immense advantage of duty evaded, to enrich the manipulators, such sharp tricks in legislation become dangerous and destructive to American industries and revenue, in practice.

Clearly, if there were no Dutch Standard of color in our tariff laws to evade, discolored vaccum-pan crystals would be unknown, and if Congress will authorize the use of the Polariscope and grinding the sugar, as adjuncts to the Dutch standard for levying duty, discolored crystals will no longer surreptitiously flood this market to the detriment of every American industry and interest connected with commerce, consumption, production, refining, and revenue, in their relations to the Sugar Question.

Artificial methods of finishing sugars are constantly practiced in sugar producing countries contiguous to the United States, to evade the color standard of our sugar tariff, and to control the market and sugar industries of this country; the No. 13 D. S. Sugar Bill, and other uniform duty plans, are efforts of foreign sugar producers in neighboring countries and their American allies, to secure a sugar tariff admitting semi-refined crystals as raw material, in order to prohibit the latter, control our market, destroy our sugar industries, and then oppress consumers.

The production of raw sugar in foreign countries injures no American sugar interest or industry; we depend upon foreign pro-

ducers for an adequate supply of raw material while home production is advancing, but the advancement of raw sugars beyond their normal condition, by the foreign producer with his coolie and slave labor adjuncts and devices of manufacture to evade our revenue laws, purposes the destruction of American producing and refining industries; these mastered, the cost of sugar to consumers will be enhanced by foreign producers, and American competition become suicidal.

Briefly stated, the refining process by boiling, evaporating, inspissating and graining cane syrup in vacuum pans, coloring the crystals, and purging the strike in centrifugals, has come to be regularly pursued in the principal sugar producing countries contiguous to the United States; in Demerara ¾ and in Cuba and the West Indies ⅔ of the sugar is thus made; nothing but the necessity of conforming to the color standard of our tariff, in order to avoid the duty on refined sugar, prevents Cuban and Demerara producers from making their otherwise refined products of natural color from 15 to 20 Dutch Standard.

These abuses of our revenue laws by sugar producers in neighboring countries, have attained great magnitude; having subtly undermined our sugar producing and refining industries, and prepared the way for their destruction before creating public alarm; suspicions of foul play in years past, led the writer to rigidly investigate and publicly expose the methods of foreign sugar making and duty evasions, by which this Nation has long been victimized.

These exposures have already produced remarkably healthful, and mostly voluntary changes in the classification of sugars for duty, and consequent higher rates of duty and increase of revenue during the fiscal years ended June 30, 1880–1881, as will be seen in the following comparative table of classifications for duty of sugars, exclusive of melada, entered into consumption during the past six years, 1876 to 1881 inclusive:

Classification by the Dutch standard.	1876.			1877.			1878.		
	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Sampled and classed for duty.	*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*		
All not above No. 7 Dutch standard	534,822,824	$20,344,948	$11,654,445	757,946,855	$37,501,481	$16,580,087	860,287,182	$41,516,497	$18,818,784
All above No. 7 and not above No. 10 D. S.	869,785,687	36,593,778	21,628,822	604,317,151	29,748,890	15,107,929	618,019,876	33,232,883	16,450,497
All above No. 10 and not above No. 13 D. S.	150,107,868	6,543,106	4,092,846	88,462,336	4,371,003	2,488,003	72,316,574	4,110,502	2,033,904
All above No. 13 and not above No. 16 D. S.	6,127,732	318,830	207,593	4,536,195	218,913	155,932	1,474,118	73,831	50,673
All above No. 16 and not above No. 20 D. S.	1,011,458	58,045	40,107	92,477	6,182	3,757	561,068	35,491	22,793
All above No. 20, loaf, and other refined	24,976	2,003	1,248	32,840	2,590	1,642	216,294	16,866	10,814
Total dry sugar	1,561,880,545	63,860,710	37,625,061	1,455,387,854	71,849,089	34,337,350	1,552,875,112	78,986,070	36,387,463
Melada entered into consumption	96,751,914	3,151,183	1,813,354	49,650,354	1,923,427	930,944	36,691,376	1,383,482	687,963
Total sugar and melada	1,658,632,459	67,011,893	39,438,415	1,505,038,208	73,772,516	35,268,294	1,589,566,488	80,369,552	37,075,426

Classification by the Dutch standard.	1879.			1880.			1881.		
	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Sampled and classed for duty.	*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*			*Pounds.*		
All not above No. 7 Dutch standard	890,801,182	$36,627,477	$19,486,276	299,298,496	$11,394,541	$6,547,154	401,626,484	$15,395,744	$8,785,579
All above No. 7 and not above No. 10 D. S	671,574,592	27,614,075	16,789,365	1,222,747,078	52,407,812	30,568,677	1,323,451,981	60,216,407	33,086,300
All above No. 10 and not above No. 13 D. S.	35,556,456	1,649,309	1,000,307	67,726,078	3,085,292	1,904,796	142,797,277	7,044,675	4,016,173
All above No. 13 and not above No. 16 D. S.	483,110	25,627	16,607	2,353,604	118,229	80,905	1,267,215	62,123	43,561
All above No. 16 and not above No. 20 D. S.	20,221	1,160	821	118,582	8,453	4,817	12,241	538	497
All above No. 20, loaf, and other refined	16,425	1,283	821	18,119	1,502	906	18,699	1,599	935
Total dry sugar	1,598,461,986	65,918,931	37,294,197	1,592,261,957	67,015,831	39,107,255	1,869,173,897	82,721,086	45,933,045
Melada entered into consumption	41,152,357	1,234,736	771,606	33,709,344	1,036,808	632,050	20,534,846	715,358	385,028
Total sugar and melada	1,639,614,343	67,153,667	38,065,803	1,625,971,301	68,052,639	39,739,305	1,889,708,743	83,436,444	46,318,073

1881. Duty on molasses and candy, $1,665,959. Grand total, $47,984,032, of duty from sugar and molasses.

Rates of duty per pound on dry sugar entered into consumption: 1876, 2.41 c.; 1877, 2.36 c.; 1878, 2.34 c.; 1879, 2.33 c.; 1880, 2.45 c.; 1881, 2 46 c.

Average foreign cost per pound of dutiable sugars consumed: 1876, 4.08 c.; 1877, 4.93 c.; 1878, 5.08 c.; 1879, 4.12 c.; 1880, 4.20 c.; 1881, 4.42 c.

The assumption of Treasury Agents that the new methods of sampling and dry testing sugars, enforced by Treasury circulars of July 19 and September 2, 1879, have increased the revenue, is simply absurd; such methods change the texture of the merchandise and are illegal, irrational, and oppressive; they have only led to expensive and useless litigation, with the certainty of refunding duty thus obtained by force instead of law; higher duties are the inevitable result of the exposures referred to above.

Sugar cane is undoubtedly an indigenous product of China and India, by transition from whence its cultivation spread to Arabia, and later to tropical and semi-tropical countries, in many of which it now constitutes the principal source of agricultural prosperity, especially so in Cuba, Porto Rico, Demerara and other dependencies of Great Britain, France, Holland, and Spain, and in the Hawaiian and other islands of the Pacific ocean. Egypt, Mexico, and Brazil are sugar producing countries, and prodigious quantities of cane sugars are produced in India and in China.

The sugar yield from cane varies according to climate, culture, and crop handling. In Demerara, Cuba, Hawaii, Mauritius, and other favorable locations, when carefully cultivated, from 60 to 70 tons of cane have been raised to the acre, and from 5 to 6 tons of raw sugar per acre obtained therefrom. Careless culture often reduces the yield of sugar, exclusive of molasses, to less than a ton to the acre, but under proper cultivation and skillful handling an average of three tons of raw sugar to the acre of cane, exclusive of molasses, would be obtained in foreign cane sugar producing countries.

Southern portions of the United States produce sugar cane. In Louisiana, American enterprise and skill have made the cultivation of sugar cane and sugar making its chief source of prosperity and wealth, and, although the climate is less favorable than in Cuba, sugar production constitutes its principal industry. The sugar producing industries of Louisiana and other States, together with our refining industries, demand the maintenance of the same fostering governmental protection that is accorded to the cotton, coal, iron, wheat, wool and other prominent producing and manufacturing industries of this country.

Genuine and authentic information gathered by the writer from sugar producing countries, indicates that the annual cane sugar crop of the world exceeds 4,900,000 tons, and is produced approximately, as follows:

British India, tons	1,500,000	Manilla, Philippine Islands	135,000
China, Hong Kong, etc	1,000,000	Louisiana, Texas, etc	125,000
Cuba and Spanish poss	750,000	Egyptian Provinces	75,000
Br. W. I., Demerara, etc	250,000	Peru, S. A	75,000
Dutch India, Java, etc	250,000	Hawaiian Islands	45,000
French W. I., Guiana, etc	175,000	Mexico	35,000
Brazilian Empire	175,000	All other countries	160,000
Mauritius, Reunion, etc	150,000		
		Total cane and sugar, tons	4,900,000

Added to the cane sugar crop of 1881 will be the beet sugar crop of Europe, about 1,700,000 tons, and minor crops of Maple, Palm, Beet, and Sorghum Sugars in this and other countries, estimated at 100,000 tons.

Total known and estimated sugar crop of 1881:

Cane sugar	4,900,000 tons.	Maple, sorghum, etc.	100,000 tons.
Beet sugar, Europe.	1,700,000 tons.		
		Total sugar crop	6,700,000 tons.

Of this immense sugar crop, the people of this country now consume annually more than 1,000,000 tons of 2,240 lbs. the ton. Sugars were consumed in this county in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881, as follows:

Dutiable sugars entered into consumption	1,869,173,897 lbs.
Dutiable melada " " "	20,534,846 "
Hawaiian sugars " " "	76,909,207 "
Total imported dutiable and free sugars consumed	1,966,617,950 lbs.
Add domestic cane sugars, Louisiana, Texas, etc.	200,000,000 "
Maple, beet, and sorghum sugars	75,000,000 "
Annual consumption in the United States	2,241,617,950 lbs
Total consumption of sugar in the United States, per capita, in 1881,	44.83 lbs.

England abolished the duty on sugar in 1874, with an annual consumption of 59.40 lbs. per capita; in 1876 England consumed only 58.39 lbs. per capita, and in 1877 only 56.66 lbs. per capita; the normal increase of consumption in England since 1874, has been from 59.40 lbs. in 1874 to 62.25 lbs. per capita in 1879–1880, or only 2.85 lbs. per capita since 1874, when duty on sugar was abolished.

A reduction of duty to one cent per pound, or even the abolition of duty on sugar, cannot materially increase consumption in this country more than in England, simply because the minimum foreign cost of producing has been reached, and such a course would only enhance prices in producing countries, in the ratio of any reduction of duty.

The more refined tastes and advanced requirements of American consumers, now demand that imported sugars shall be refined in this country. We refine raw sugars for half the cost of refining them in foreign producing countries, aside from the manifold profits which Cuban and Demerara crystal makers and colorers obtain from us, by semi-refining raw sugars and evading duty.

American refiners also accurately comprehend the varied wants of the poor and the rich, and can currently provide for them pro rata to the ability of the different classes to satisfy their food necessities, and gratify their appetites for pure and wholesome sugar food. Inasmuch as Cuba seems bound to semi-refine her raw sugars,

these indispensible national requirements can only be met by home production, and by drawing supplies of raw sugar material from remote sugar producing countries, and by levying duty thereon pro rata to their actual foreign market value in the sugar producing countries of their purchase and shipment.

Furthermore, the encouragement of importations of raw sugar material from remote sugar producing countries, is a most healthful means of increasing our commerce with those countries, including exports of domestic merchandise thereto; payments for raw sugar material purchased in remote countries may be made in American merchandise; no such advantage is afforded us in our purchases of sugar from Cuba and other Spanish possessions.

Comparing the importations of sugar and melada from Cuba and Spanish possessions, with those from all other countries in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1879, 1880, 1881, the following exhibit, taken with the previous tabular grouping of sugar producing countries, in most of which only raw sugar material is produced, furnishes matter for the consideration of Congress, consumers and taxpayers, producers and refiners.

Sugar and melada importations, invoice entries from Cuba and Spanish possessions, and from all other countries, including Hawaii, in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1879, 1880, 1881:

1879. Imports.	Pounds.	Value.	1880. Pounds.	Value.	1881. Pounds.	Value.
Cuba and Spanish Poss.	1,522,432,223	$59,150,935	1,339,271,157	$58,444,984	1,308,948,660	$60,173,853
From all other Countries	311,933,613	12,927,753	490,029,527	21,591,884	560,889,298	21,559,103
Total Importations	1,834,365,836	$72,078,688	1,829,300,684	$80,036,868	1,869,837,958	$81,732,956

Average foreign cost of imported sugars and melada per 100 lbs., according to declared or invoice values in 1879, 1880, and 1881:

	1879.	1880.	1881.
Cuba and Spanish possessions	$3.88	$4.37	$4.60
Hawaiian sugar duty free	6.74	6.72	6.40
All other countries	3.74	4.07	3.84

Paying Cuba, Demerara, and the West Indies, through American agents, extra prices for sugars doctored to evade our tariff, and legislating a uniform duty on sugar to further enrich them, while remote sugar producing countries are anxious to supply us far cheaper with an abundance of the raw sugar material we require, and will gladly take American merchandise in payment therefor, neither conduces to our industrial prosperity nor to the welfare of consumers, and commerce with remote countries.

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SECTION SECOND.

Hawaiian Sugars versus Dutiable Sugars—Pernicious Results of the Reciprocity Treaty—Impending Dangers of Annexation—As Related to Consumption and Commerce, American Industries and Revenue.

The results of admitting sugars from the Hawaiian Islands duty free, while all other imported sugars are subject to duty, present an interesting exhibit of a condition analagous to that of reducing the present duty on foreign made crystals or centrifugal sugars, and increasing the duty on raw sugar material, as proposed by advocates of a uniform one cent or more per lb. sugar plan, and the Carlisle Sugar Bill.

Under the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty, the Sandwich Islands have ceased to send low grade sugars to this country; their cane juice is now mostly manufactured into high grades of semi-refined sugars for this market; the Hawaiian Treaty deprives us of low grade raw sugars, of the duty from the higher grades the Islands now send us at enhanced prices, and of the industry thus transferred from this country to Hawaii.

This process of prohibition of raw sugar material, is also practiced in Cuba and Spanish possessions, and in Demerara and the West Indies, with dutiable sugars, by coloring crystals in making sugars for this market, to evade duty; practices which Carlisle's Bill, the No. 16 plan, the No. 13 D. S. and 85 test bill, and the one cent per lb. duty plan, are simply designed to legalize; the following tables present the facts in relation to our losses by the Reciprocity Treaty.

Table No. 1.—*Dutiable Hawaiian Sugars* entered into consumption in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1874, 1875, 1876, prior to the Reciprocity Treaty admitting Hawaiian Sugars Duty Free:

Year.	Dutiable Sugars.	Value.	Cost per lb.	Average Grade.
	Pounds.	*Dollars.*	*Cents.*	
1874	13,575,674	740,786	5.45	No. 7 to 10 D. S.
1875	17,888,000	938,676	5.24	No. 7 to 10 D. S.
1876	20,978,374	1,051,987	5.01	No. 7 to 10 D. S.
Total	52,442,048	2,731,449	Av. 5.2	Av. 7 to 10 D. S.

Table No. 2.—Hawaiian Sugars entered into consumption free of duty in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, under the Reciprocity Treaty admitting Hawaiian Sugars Duty Free:

Year.	Free Sugars.	Value.	Cost per lb.	Average Grade.
	Pounds.	*Dollars.*	*Cents.*	
1877	30,685,142	2,112,270	6.88	Above No. 13 D. S.
1878	30,368,328	2,274,430	7.49	Above No. 14 D. S.
1879	41,693,069	2,811,192	6.74	Above No. 13 D. S.
1880	61,556,324	4,135,486	6.72	Above No. 13 D. S.
Total	164,302,863	11,333,378	Av. 6.90	About No. 14 D. S.

The Reciprocity Treaty deprived us of Hawaiian low grade sugars in a single year, and increased the foreign cost of Hawaiian sugars from 5 cents per pound in 1876 to 6.88 cents per pound in 1877 or $1.88 per 100 pounds. The average cost of Hawaiian sugars during 1874, 1875 and 1876, when duty was levied thereon, was $5.20 per 100 pounds, and their average cost during 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880, under the Reciprocity Treaty, was $6.90 per 100 pounds, or $1.70 per 100 pounds against American consumers, to which must be added the loss of duty on 164,302,863 pounds of Hawaiian sugars consumed in 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1880, valued at $11,333,378, amounting to about 62.50 per cent of their value, or $7,083,361.

The increased cost of Hawaiian sugars and the exclusion of low grades of Hawaiian sugars are significant facts. The consumption of dutiable Hawaiian sugars imported in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1868, was as follows:

Year.	Sugars.	Value.	Cost per lb.	Average Grade.
1868	18,241,142 lbs.	$956,909	5.24 cts.	No. 7 to 10 D. S.

This exhibit for 1868 coincides with the exhibit for 1874, 1875 and 1876, as presented above, and agrees substantially with the intervening years, 1869 to 1873 inclusive, as regards price and grade.

During four years, 1868, 1874, 1875 and 1876, the largest quantity of sugar entered for consumption from the Hawaiian Islands was in 1876, the next in 1868, the next in 1875 and the smallest quantity imported was in 1874. Total for the four years, 70,683,190 pounds, or an average of 17,670,797 pounds per year, costing only $5.20 per 100 pounds.

No sooner were Hawaiian sugars admitted duty free than we received, in 1877, 30,685,142 pounds of Hawaiian sugars of an average grade above No. 13 D. S. costing 6.88 cents per pound against 20,978,374 pounds of dutiable sugars received in 1876, of an average grade No. 7 to 10 D. S., costing only 5.01 cents per pound.

In the years 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, under the Reciprocity Treaty, we find the Hawaiians sending us 164,302,863 pounds of sugar, in color above No. 13 D. S., costing in Hawaii $6.90 per 100 lbs; an annual average of 41,075,716 pounds under the treaty, against 52,442,048 pounds of sugar averaging 7 to 10 D. S., and costing $5.20 per 100 lbs., imported from the Hawaiian Islands in the three years, 1874, 1875, 1876, prior to the Reciprocity Treaty; an annual average of only 17,480,682 pounds.

Under the Reciprocity Treaty we can no longer obtain the low grade raw sugar material formerly produced in the Sandwich Islands, which we did obtain prior to said treaty; a similar condition in regard to dutiable sugars must inevitably follow the adoption of any uniform specific duty on sugar, whether to No. 10, No. 13, No. 16, D. S., or on all sugars, because the industry of semi-refining abroad is encouraged and protected by any uniform tariff, just as by admitting Hawaiian sugars duty free, the grades thereof have been raised and raw material prohibited.

Table No. 3.—Classifications of Hawaiian Sugars entered into consumption in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1878, 1879, 1880 under the Dutch standard:

Classified D. S.	1878. *Pounds.*	1879. *Pounds.*	1880. *Pounds.*
Above No. 7 not above No. 10	2,437,920	8,174,146	7,793,349
Above No. 10 not above No. 13	10,805,283	16,615,686	28,416,596
Above No. 13 not above No. 16	12,227,780	15,670,564	23,868,886
Above No. 16 not above No. 20	4,897,345	1,232,673	1,477,493
Total consumed	30,368,328	41,693,069	61,556,324

Table No. 1 shows that prior to the Reciprocity Treaty, sugars entered for consumption from Hawaii were officially classified for duty as averaging about No. 8 D. S. in color, and cost $5.20 per 100 lbs. in the market of production.

Table No. 2 shows that, since the enforcement of the treaty, the average classifications of free sugars were in 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, above No. 13 D. S. in color, and their average foreign cost $6.90 per 100 lbs; thus the industry represented by $1.70 per 100 lbs. increased foreign cost of free sugars amounting in the four years named to $2,793,148 was diverted from this country to Hawaii, in addition to the duty lost by the Reciprocity Treaty.

In plain language, during the fiscal years 1878, 1879, 1880 the people of this country consumed Hawaiian sugars to the amount of $9,221,108; paying $2.55 per 100 lbs. more than sugars cost us in all other cane sugar producing countries, besides losing $5.753,191, duty on sugars imported duty free from Hawaii in the years named, while we could only sell $5,957,130 worth of domestic merchandise to Hawaiians in the same period of time.

The account stands as follows for the three fiscal years ended June 30, 1878, 1879, 1880, as regards the quantity and value of Hawaiian

sugars consumed, duty thereon lost at 62.50 per cent. ad valorem, and total domestic merchandise exported to Hawaii under the treaty in the years named:

Year.	*Hawaiian Sugars.*	*Foreign Value.*	*Duty Lost.*	*Dom. Mdse. to Hawaii.*
1878	30,368,328 lbs.	$2,274,430	$1,421,518	$1,683,446
1879	41,693,069 lbs.	2,811,192	1,756,995	2,288,178
1880	61,556,324 lbs.	4,135,486	2,574,678	1,985,506
Total	133,617,721 lbs.	$9,221,108	$5,753,191	$5,957,130

Average price paid for sugar in Hawaii, three years, per 100 lbs., $6.90.
Average price paid for sugar in other countries, 1880, per 100 lbs., $4.20.

In three years, 1878, 1879, 1880, we thus threw away $5,753,191 sugar duty, paid $2.70 per 100 lbs. extra price for sugars, and paid a cash balance over and above our $5,957,130 exports of merchandise to Hawaii of $3,263,978 for the single article of sugar; the loss of duty on Hawaiian sugars in 1881 also largely exceeds the value of our exports to the Hawaiian Islands, as I shall presently prove, while the importation of Hawaiian sugars, duty free, only serves to injure home production and enhance the cost of refined sugars to consumers in California and sections of country contiguous to our Pacific coast.

The temptation to buy low grade raw sugars in China, Hong Kong, and adjacent countries, and land them at Hawaii to be clayed or semi-refined in vacuum-pans and re-shipped thence to this country as Hawaiian sugars, duty free, is not only seemingly irresistible, but the opportunity is supplied by the reciprocity treaty between the United States and the Kingdom of Hawaii.

Hon. James M. Comly, U. S. Minister at Honolulu, says:

"While (1880) the Hawaiians have exported large quantities of rice to us, paying no duty, they have imported and bonded 1,716,160 pounds of an inferior article for use on the plantations. Owing to representations from this legation, producers of Hawaiian rice are required to authenticate its nativity previous to exporting it to the United States as Hawaiian product." China figures largely in Hawaiian commerce, and sugar presents far greater speculative allurements than rice, while the Reciprocity Treaty and the Kingdom of Hawaii furnish a medium for illicit sugar traffic with this country.

Sheltered by the treaty, Hawaiian sugar producers not only manufacture their entire sugar product into grades averaging above No. 13 D. S. for this market, but mysteriously supply themselves with a large amount of raw sugar material in excess of local production hitherto claimed. China and Manilla sugars might readily be imported and manufactured into higher grades for shipment to the Pacific coast, duty free. Such practices would quickly be prevented if Hawaiian sugars were made dutiable.

Extend the Hawaiian treaty to all foreign sugar producing countries, or even the uniform duty methods, and the supply of low grade raw sugars would rapidly decrease, which would increase the foreign value of raw material, because all raw material would be consumed in the foreign manufacture of vacuum pan centrifugal crystals and other high grade sugars for this market. Protected by the Carlisle bill and reciprocity, Cuban and Demerara crystals, and Hawaiian free sugars, would certainly prohibit the importation of raw sugar material and increase the cost of sugar food in this country.

Abundant evidence exists that the adoption of the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty of 1875 was, by experts, deemed to be a legislative blunder, presaging danger to American sugar producing end refining industries, menacing consumers with enhanced prices, and dealing treacherously with all other sugar producing countries, upon whose sugars, when sent to this country, large duties are levied, while sugars from the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands, are admitted duty free.

Instance the following protest of San Francisco sugar refiners, against a Reciporocity Treaty with Hawaii, sent in March, 1875, to Representative Luttrell, in Washington, for presentation to Congress; the solicitude of signers of this 1875 protest in regard to the interests of Eastern refiners and Louisiana planters, is quite refreshing in view of the advantages since taken of this treaty blunder. The protest was as follows:

The undersigned, refiners of the Pacific coast, respectfully direct your attention to the following additional, and, in our opinion, cogent reasons, why the Reciprocity Treaty with the Hawaiian Kingdom should not receive the sanction of the United States Senate. The capacity of the Islands to produce sugar has not been sufficiently explained. Undoubtedly authorities state positively that the Islands are capable of producing annually not less than 150,000,000 pounds, or 80,000,000 pounds more than the entire yearly consumption of the Pacific coast, including all the States and Territories west of the Rocky Mountains. Under the action of reciprocity, this vast amount of sugar would find its way to San Francico, and completely shut out imports from all other producing countries. Of the 150,000,000 pounds the Islands would furnish yearly, this coast would probably not take more than 80,000,000 pounds for domestic consumption, and the balance would find its way east, where it would materially interfere with the interests of Eastern refiners, and those of the Southern planters, coming in direct competition with them, duty free. The average duty now paid on Hawaiian sugars is 2½ cents per pound, equal to $3,750,000 per year, which, under the present financial condition, is more than the Government can properly sacrifice for the benefit of a foreign people, particularly as that amount would have to be made good by the imposition of taxes on our people.

Sugar can grow with great luxuriance at an altitude of 3,000 feet in the Sandwich Islands, and it is an indigenous plant. If the whole area susceptible of being cultivated with sugar cane were laid under contribution for that purpose, and, in the event of reciprocity, such would be the result, the annual yield would considerably surpass 150,000,000 pounds. Even now the Island planters produce and send to our market sugars ranging from seventeen to twenty-two Dutch standard, which are as good as our own second grade refined sugars, and, although they are not filtered through charcoal, are so superior that we cannot compete with them except by means of our higher grades. It has been the policy of our Government to furnish a reasonable degree of protection to domestic industries, manufacturing, products of the soil,

beet sugar, &c., and we trust the sugar interest of the country will not be made an exception. It is evident that the introduction of sugar, duty free, a greater portion of which would be forced on the Eastern market, could not fail to work injuriously against the interests of Eastern refiners and Southern planters, as well as those of the Pacific coast refiners. Should the consideration of overshadowing national requirements render it politic to sanction reciprocity, we earnestly trust the treaty will be so framed as to exclude from importation, duty free, all sugars of higher grades than thirteen, Dutch standard, especially as such interdict could not work prejudicially to planters of Hawaii. It is obvious to us that the adoption of the Reciprocity Treaty without such restrictions would destroy the most important interests of this coast, and at the East, which represent millions of capital, and give employment to thousands of skilled workmen, an event which would prove a serious impediment to such industries. Hawaiian producers would have us completely at their mercy, and the great body of American consumers would be compelled to pay more for an article of absolute necessity.

Trusting that this presentation of facts will receive the attention they merit at your honorable hands, we are most respectfully your obedient servants,

C. SPRECKELS, *President California Sugar Refinery;*
N. LUNING, *President Pacific Sugar Refinery;*
M. EHRMAN, *Manager Golden Gate Sugar Refinery;*
HERMAN MEESE, *President Bay Sugar Refinery.*

Notice the inevitable sequence of admitting Hawaiian sugars duty free, in its relation to the above protest; the leading signer of the protest of 1875 against a Treaty of Reciprocity with Hawaii, has become the leading advocate of its continuance, and is producing Hawaiian sugars to be admitted to his San Francisco refineries duty free; his capital, brains, efforts, and skill, are lavishly expended in forcing the sugar producing powers of the Sandwich Islands for such purpose.

No sooner was the treaty ratified in 1876, than Mr. Claus Spreckels, the leading protester against the Reciprocity Treaty, went to the Hawaiian Islands and bought and leased 26,000 acres of land in the Island of Maui, sent to England for 750 tons of boiler plate iron, made it into pipes, and brought water 40 miles for irrigation, at a cost of a million of dollars; the protest was an oversight; utilizing the treaty was sharp practice.

Spreckels' treaty venture produced 500 acres of sugar cane in 1879; 2,750 acres in 1880; and the area planted in cane has been extended in 1881 to about 4,750 acres; the first yield from the Spreckels' plantation cane, averaged five tons of sugar to the acre; clearly this enterprising protester intends to make good the words of his protest, in regard to Eastern refiners and Louisiana planters, while oppressing Pacific coast consumers.

Again, the leading signer of the above protest, who, in 1875, declared that the treaty could not fail to injure Eastern refiners and Southern planters, is now working injury to consumers of sugar on the Pacific coast, Eastern refiners, Southern planters, and revenue interests, to subserve the interests of the powerful monopoly, established by consolidating Pacific coast refineries with the immense sugar plantations and sugar making establishments acquired by Spreckels & Company for such purpose, in the treaty favored islands of Hawaii.

appropriation of such

Thus the leading signer of the above protest against the admission of Hawaiian sugars duty free has, with others, taken advantage of its pernicious provisions, and become the leader of gigantic operations in sugar food, which, in addition to depriving the nation of revenue without rendering any equivalent, place consumers of sugars on the Pacific coast under tribute, rendered obligatory by prohibiting Eastern refined sugars.

American capitalists and extensive refiners of sugar in California, in co-operation with Hawaiian producers of sugar, control the sugar trade of Hawaii, and through this control of free sugars, also regulate prices of refined sugars to consumers on the Pacific coast, keeping them as high as possible without admitting refined sugars from the Atlantic States in quantities sufficient for successful competition against free sugars refined in California.

Monied influences have coerced and subsidized the carrying trade of California, until the freight on sugar from the Eastern States has been raised to prohibitory rates, thus giving the Pacific and Hawaiian sugar monopolists at least $2.50 per 100 lbs. duty saved, and $2.00 per 100 lbs. freight from the Atlantic coast to California, or $4.50 per 100 lbs. advantage over Louisiana planters and Eastern importers and refiners of dutiable sugars; of which enormous profits, not a fraction goes to cheapen sugar or benefit consumers of sugars on the Pacific coast.

While every available acre of land in the Hawaiian Islands is being planted with cane, and gigantic sugar factories fitted with the best modern machinery, including vacuum pans and centrifugals, have been and are being erected under the benign protectorate of the Reciprocity Treaty, the United States have not even supplied the machinery for Hawaiian plantations; England and Scotland have furnished the machinery for which this country footed the bills. Pacific coast monopolists alone are enriched under the treaty.

Tables 1, 2, and 3 in this exhibit show the sum of sugar duty lost and the shallowness of the reciprocity pretense from 1876 to June 30, 1880. The exhibit for the year ended June 30, 1881, is still worse. For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881, compared with 1880, in regard to the quantity and value of Hawaiian sugars entered for consumption, duty thereon lost at 62.50 per cent. ad valorem, and the total value of domestic merchandise exported to the Hawaiian Islands under the treaty in the same time, the exhibit is as follows:

Year.	*Hawaiian sugars consumed.*	*Foreign Value.*	*Duty lost @ per cent. ad val.*	*Domestic Exports to Hawaii.*
1880	61,556,324 lbs.	$4,135,486	$2,574,678	$1,985,506
1881	76,909,207 lbs.	4,927,021	3,079,388	2,694,583
Total	138,465,531 lbs.	$9,062,507	$5,654,066	$4,680,089

Average foreign cost of Hawaii sugars per 100 pounds, 1880, $6.72; 1881, $6.40.

The classification of Hawaiian sugars in 1880, 1881, were as follows:

Class, Dutch Standard.	1880.	1881.
Above No. 7 not above No. 10	7,793,349 lbs.	5,373,005 lbs.
" " 10 " " No. 13	28,416,596 lbs.	28,486,589 "
" " 13 " " No. 16	23,868,886 lbs.	43,049,613 "
" " 16 " " No. 20	1,477,493 lbs.	
Total Hawaiian sugars	61,556,324 lbs.	76,909,207 "

Summing up for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881, we find that the United States purchased Hawaiian sugars valued in Hawaii at $4,927,021, and admitted them free of duty, at a loss of 62.50 per cent. ad valorem thereon of customs revenue, or $3,079,388 of duty thrown away, and only managed to sell $2,694,583, total value of domestic merchandise exported to the Hawaiian Islands in the same year, or $384,805 less than the loss of sugar duty alone.

Further, we also see that the sugars thus exempted from duty are mostly semi-refined grades which average, according to the official classifications in 1881, above No. 13 to not above No. 16 D. S. in color, and that we paid $6.40 per 100 lbs. for sugars in Hawaii, while the average cost of sugars entered for consumption from all other sugar producing countries was only $4.42 per 100 lbs. in the same fiscal year.

The abolition of duty on Hawaiian sugars has, in five years, deprived us of more than ten millions of dollars of customs revenue, and enormously advanced the foreign cost of the sugars we exempt from duty; the treaty also deprives us raw material, which is advanced to high grades in Hawaii at the expense of American industries; the grades of sugar now imported from Hawaii, are equal in quality to and cost in Hawaii more than the best Cuban and Demerara vacuum-pan crystals testing 95 to 99.5° in purity, while they average above No. 13 D. S. in color in 1881, as seen above.

Rapid strides are making in Hawaiian sugar production, and in the manufacture of high grades of sugars, under the auspices of the Reciprocity Treaty, in striking contrast to the otherwise backward industrial condition of the Kingdom of Hawaii. The increased influx of free sugars from Hawaii has been as follows: 30,368,328 lbs. entered into consumption in the year ending June 30, 1878, 41,693,069 lbs. in 1879, 61,556,324 lbs. in 1880, and 76,909,207 lbs. in 1881; at least 100,000,000 of lbs. will enter duty free in 1882; with a loss of duty thereon of $4,000,900.

Eastern refiners, Louisiana planters, and projectors of beet and sorghum sugar industries may well view the extent of the injuries inflicted upon their legitimate industries by the Hawaiian Treaty with consternation; having already shut out Eastern and Southern

appropriation of such

competition in sugars from the Pacific coast, it will not be long before the rapidly increasing sugar product of the Hawaiian Islands will crowd the Eastern markets with duty free sugars, to unsettle the prices of sugar food and check consumption and home production effectually.

Instance the following comparative exhibit for 1881 of dutiable sugars *versus* Hawaiian free sugars; there entered into consumption in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881:

Dutiable dry sugars, 1,869,173,897 lbs., foreign average cost per 100 lbs.	$4.42
Hawaiian free sugars 76,909,207 " " " " " " "	6.40
Duty received from dutiable sugars in 1881	$45,933,045
Duty lost on Hawaiian sugars in 1881	3,079,388

While levying duty upon the great volume of cheaper sugars received from all other sugar producing countries, there is nothing rational in thus exempting the higher priced sugars of Hawaii from duty.

Consumers of sugars on the Pacific coast are simply swindled by the Hawaiian Treaty; merchants in San Francisco, Sacramento, Portland, and other places on the Pacific coast were compelled to pay an average of 12½ cents per lb. for crushed sugars, from January to December, 1881, while the same refined outturn from Hawaii sugars was being sold to merchants in Denver, Santa Fe, and Kansas City at 9½ cents per lb. for crushed sugars, and lower grades pro rata; that is, Pacific Coast consumers pay 3 cents per lb. more for Spreckels' duty free sugars than Spreckels sells the same sugars for to more Eastern cities reached by Louisiana planters and Eastern refiners.

Furthermore, the price of crushed sugars refined from Hawaiian duty free sugars in San Francisco was 12½ cents per lb. November 5 last, while the price of crushed sugars refined from dutiable sugars in the East was 10¼ to 10⅜ cents per lb. in New York on the same date; the price of Golden C sugars refined from duty free sugar in San Francisco was 10¾ cents per lb. November 5, while similar grades sold in New York on the same day at 8⅜ to 8⅝ cents per lb.; what avails this to Pacific coast consumers, when the freight on sugar from Louisiana and the East to San Francisco, which was twenty dollars per ton in 1880, has been raised to forty dollars per ton in 1881.

Instead of cheapening refined sugars on the Pacific coast, or even conforming to Eastern prices of similar refined outturn from dutiable sugars, the Spreckels free sugar dynasty have prohibited grocer's sugars, and advanced prices of refined grades to consumers in California two cents per pound beyond the Eastern market, maintaining exorbitant prices by prohibitory rates of freight on sugars from the East, buying and coercing Pacific railroad freight agents to double the California rates of freight on Eastern sugars in a single year, as already shown.

What more reliable evidence of the rascally abuses of the Hawaiian Treaty is required than the fact that at this writing, January, 1882, there is a Claus, Spreckels & Co. "ring" of interested leaders and employes in Washington, having unlimited means, who are seeking to prevent the abrogation of this Hawaiian treaty monstrosity, failing in which they are instructed to push annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to this country, as a means of perpetuating the outrages now perpetrated upon consumers of sugar on the Pacific coast and upon American sugar industries simply to enrich the "ring."

Should this Spreckels "ring" succeed as a precedent, this Nation would soon become a general hospital for the support of semi-defunct countries and petty kingdoms, and reciprocity with such would be forced upon the people of this country with terrors of annexation staring them in the face whenever a "ring" of interested capitalists see their way clear to enrich themselves by the method of robbing the people and destroying American industries, now practised and sought to be perpetrated by the Claus, Spreckels dynasty.

What better than reciprocity with Hawaii, is annexation with Hawaii? Of the two dread evils the present treaty is least. Why should the senseless and unprofitable treaty burden already borne by the United States and constantly increasing, at a cost of millions of dollars per annum of direct loss to the revenues of this nation, and of millions of dollars per annum more to the industries of this country, be saddled upon the American people forever by annexation, only to enrich a dozen speculators.

The Hawaiian Islands do not and can never repay the current cost of their support by this Government; individuals only will be enriched in any event. This nation now sustains the so-called kingdom of Hawaii under the guise of reciprocity of trade, the results and costs of which are set forth in the tables in this exhibit. This condition we can escape by abrogation or by terminating the treaty by due notice. Experience and wisdom teach this nation to beware of annexation with its countless evils and burdens, which we cannot escape.

Annexation would bankrupt the native Hawaiian sugar planters, to whom Spreckels & Co. have made large cash advances upon plantation and machinery mortgages, and agreements with Spreckels that he should handle their crops. Hawaiian planters predicated such transactions upon high prices of sugar under a continuance of the treaty, abrogation of which would still leave them in possession; but annexation and the application of United States laws would open upon the Hawaiian Islanders the jaws of destruction, by foreclosures and the influx of Spreckel's "ring" capitalists.

The Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty cannot be abrogated too soon; far better and cheaper for this nation to donate a trifle to the Ha-

waiian Islands as a matter of charity, and levy duty on their sugars, than to continue in any form or manner the annual payment of the enormous sugar bounty tribute now levied upon American consumers, sugar industries and revenue, by said treaty, simply for the support of the kingdom of Hawaii, and the enrichment of the Spreckels dynasty.

Taking the sums total of Hawaiian merchandise entered for consumption in this country, exports of domestic merchandise to the kingdom of Hawaii, the proportion in value of sugars entered for consumption, and the loss of duty on sugars alone, at 62.50 per cent. ad valorem, under the treaty in the five fiscal years ended June 30, 1877, to June 30, 1881, inclusive, the exhibit is as follows, sugar constituting 90.81 per cent. of the total consumption of Hawaiian merchandise:

Total Imports consumption.	Total Exports dom. mdse.	Total Sugars consumed.	Loss of Duty on sugar alone.
$17,905,365.	$9,761,142.	$16,260,399.	$10,162,749.

Such are some of the evil results of the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty that demand its ending; they assimilate the evils projected in the Carlisle sugar bill, the mixed duty or Boston plan, and all other uniform duty to 13 or 16 D. S. plans, which, by favoring centrifugals and prohibiting raw sugars, subtly provide extraordinary facilities for building up Cuban and other foreign vacuum-pan crystal making, coloring, and refining industries, to the detriment of American consumers and taxpayers, and upon the ruins of American sugar productive and refining industries.

The Hawaiian Treaty continues seven years from September, 1876, "and further until the expiration of twelve months after either of the high contracting parties shall give notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same," but inasmuch as the terms of the Treaty as regards sugar, have been continually violated, and for other potent reasons, Congress should not hesitate to cancel the Treaty and prevent annexation.

The Treaty of 1875 with Hawaii exempts only, "muscovado, brown, and all other unrefined sugar, meaning thereby the grades of sugar heretofore commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands, and now (1875) known in the markets of San Francisco as Sandwich Island sugars;" but the treaty does not exempt the Hawaiian semi-refined high-grade vacuum-pan sugars, which now claim free entry as raw sugars.

Every pound of foreign sugars imported into this country should be made dutiable, and pay duty pro rata to the intrinsic color, grade, quality, and foreign value thereof, accurately determined by grinding, polarization, and the Dutch standard, and by comparisons with trade valuations in the foreign market and in the home

appropriation or such fi

market, applying impartially any or all of these tests as occasion may demand.

With the above named adjuncts to the Dutch standard in operation on all sugars, including Hawaiian, and a simple amendment to the present sugar tariff hereinafter subjoined, false classifications and evasions of duty would abate, the rights of American consumers of sugar would be respected, and home productive and refining industries and revenue interests would be efficiently protected.

SECTION THIRD.

Comparative Sugar Tariff Analyses; Carlisle's Sugar Bill; Uniform Duty Plans; Present Sugar Tariff; Ad valorem and Compound Equivalents; Canadian Sugar Tariff Examples; Classifications Improved; Refining in Bond; Tariff Defects; Amendment and Remedies.

The within estimates of the average foreign cost of sugars, are approximate deductions from private and official information currently received from sugar producing countries by the writer, and from prices current in 1880 and 1881, in contiguous and remote sugar producing countries; as a basis of average foreign market values, they are applied alike to the present sugar tariff, the Carlisle bill, the uniform duty to No. 16 D. S. plan, and the whole tabular exhibit, and are, therefore, correctly equitable.

The following table exhibits the animus of the Carlisle sugar bill, and the uniform duty to 16 D. S. plan. Estimated average cost and duty on 100 pounds:

Table 1.

Class Average, D. S.	Average Cost.	Test Range.	Average Duty.	Rate Ad val.	Carlisle plan, Ad val.	Uniform $2.00 to No. 16 D.S.
					$2.40 to No. 13	
Melada	$2.50	62 to 70	$1.87½	75.0	96.0 per ct.	80.0 per ct.
Sugar not above 7 D. S.	3.50	70 to 85	2.18¾	62.5	68.6 "	57.0 "
Above 7, not above 10	4.62½	85 to 92	2.50	54.0	51.9 "	43.2 "
Above 10, not above 13	5.25	88 to 98	2.81¼	53.5	45.7 "	38.0 "
					$2.75 to No. 16	
Above 13, not above 16	6.12½	92 to 99	3.43¾	56.1	44.9 per ct.	32.6 "
					¼ above No. 16	*¼ above No. 16*
Above 16, not above 20	6.50	93 to 99	4.06¼	62.5	61.5 per ct.	61.5 per ct.
Soft above 20	7.50	94 to 99	5.00	66.6	53.3 "	53.3 "
Hard above 20	8.50	95 to 99.5	5.00	58.8	47.0 "	47.0 "

Uniform duty of one cent per pound, would present the ad valorem unfairness contained in the two cents per pound plan as seen above; for instance, one cent per pound would be an ad valorem rate of 40 per cent. on Melada, 28½ per cent. on class not above 7 D. S., 21.6 per cent. on class not above 10 D. S., 19 per cent. on class not above 13 D. S., and 16.3 per cent. on class not above 16 D. S.; while such a wholesale reduction of duty would be a blunder destructive to every American industry and interest connected with sugar food, as will be proven hereinafter.

Sugar bills, imposing a uniform duty on all sugar not above No. 13 D. S., have the appearance of, and claim to be, artless means of settling the sugar question and simplifying the collection of sugar duty; in reality they are subtle artifices for the prohibition of raw sugar material; for the protection of foreign producers of refined sugar crystals decolorized outwardly to not above No. 13 D. S., in color; for the encouragement of sugar refining in producing countries, and especially for the enrichment of their projectors at public cost.

Table No. 1 presented above, exhibits the animus of both the Carlisle bill and the uniform duty on all sugar to No. 16 plan; by comparing the ad valorem rates of the present tariff with the ad valorem rates projected in the Carlisle bill and uniform duty plans, it will be seen that the present average ad valorem rates of duty on melada and on all sugars not above No. 7 D. S., are heavily increased, in uniform duty plans, to prevent their importation, and the present average ad valorem rates on sugars above No. 7 not above No. 13 D. S. are heavily decreased in uniform duty plans, to protect foreign vacuum pan colored crystals.

Again, it will be seen in the same table (1) that the present average ad valorem rate of duty on sugars above No. 13 not above No. 16 D. S. is also heavily reduced, by the uniform duty plans, for the protection of refined crystals manufactured of a bright yellow color, and imported as raw sugar but intended to be sold as refined sugars for consumption, at large profits enhanced by duty evaded and by the aid of foreign coolie and slave labor.

Furthermore, Table No. 1 shows that the present average ad valorem duty on foreign white soft and hard refined sugars is heavily reduced in the Carlisle Sugar bill and uniform duty plans, and rendered entirely inadequate for the protection of Louisiana sugars and our enormous refining industries against foreign producers of such sugars, besides inviting the bounty-fed refined beet sugar product of Europe to control our market and destroy our sugar industries, and having done so, to enhance the cost of sugar to American consumers at pleasure.

The Carlisle Sugar bill and uniform duty plans reverse the rational order of levying duty. It will be seen in Table 1 that the higher the color, grade, quality, and foreign cost of imported

sugars, the lower the rate of duty levied under uniform duty plans, in order to protect foreign refined centrifugal crystals; and the lower the color, grade, quality, and foreign cost of imported sugars, including melada, the higher the rates of duty projected in said plans in order to prohibit raw sugar material and curtail American sugar producing and refining industries.

Under the uniform duty plans Cuban and Demerara centrifugal crystals, manufactured from refined syrup, and discolored to not above 13 D. S. in the process of graining in the finishing or vacuum pans, as elsewhere described, averaging $5.25 per 100 pounds, foreign cost, (see Table 1,) would pay the same duty, $2.40, as melada and the lowest grades of raw sugar material; only 45.7 per cent. ad valorem duty is levied on refined, but discolored, centrifugal crystals, 95 to 99° in purity, while 96 per cent. ad valorem duty is levied on raw sugar material containing 25 to 32 per cent. impurities by the Carlisle bill, and 80 per cent. by the No. 16 D. S. plan.

Further, the Carlisle bill proposes to admit semi-refined crystals above 13, not above 16 D. S., costing on the average $6.12½ per 100 pounds (see Table 1) in the country of production, at $2.75 per 100 pounds duty, and levies $2.40 per 100 pounds duty on melada and the lowest grades of raw sugar below No. 7 D. S.; that is, the foreign refined crystals are to come in at 44.9 per cent. duty for their protection, and raw material must pay 96 per cent. duty, which means prohibition thereof by overtax and by consumption in making colored crystals in producing countries for this market.

Instead of simplifying the collection of sugar duty, the uniform duty plans further complicate the collection thereof by totally ignoring classification checks and safeguards for the proper execution of the revenue laws; they propose the admission of dutiable sugars virtually without examination by the only methods that would detect, check, or hinder fraudulent practices, and by the constant application of which all transactions in raw and refined sugars are now conducted in the great sugar marts and principal sugar producing countries.

Again reverting attention to Table No. 1, the subtle elements of the Carlisle bill appear in an equally dangerous form, under the artless disguise of uniform duty of one to two cents per pound on all sugars not above Nos. 13 or 16 D. S.; the purposes of these plans are precisely those of the Carlisle bill, with an additional turn of the foreign screw, in favor of dutiable centrifugal sugars above 13 not above 16 D. S. in color, and against American producers and refiners of cane, beet, and sorghum sugars, and equally against consumers.

Uniform duty to 13 or 16 D. S. has never possessed a single merit beyond that of catering to official incapacity in levying duty. When suggested to the Government in 1877 by the writer, the intent was to protect the revenue in the absence of radical reforma-

tion needed in executing tariff laws; the plan might have been tried at that time with fair hopes of correcting false sampling, but has since become impracticable, owing to rapid advancement in making and coloring refined crystals to imitate raw sugar in producing countries, and outgrowing dangers to American commerce and industries.

Reverting to Table 1, for comparison, it will be seen that the uniform duty to 16 D. S. artifice, purposes to admit centrifugal crystals and other foreign sugars refined to not above 16 D. S. in color, at 32.6 per cent. duty advalorem, and levies 80 per cent. duty on melada, and 57 per cent. duty on all raw sugar material not above 7 D. S. in color, in order to protect the foreign manufacture of refined crystals and prohibit raw material by duty discrimination.

Uniform duty on sugar plans, reverse rational methods of levying duty by reducing the rate of duty on sugars as their grade, quality, and foreign cost increase, until the duty on 100 pounds of Melada containing 60 to 70 per cent. crystals and 30 to 40 per cent. of impurities and water, will admit 100 pounds of foreign refined dry crystals testing 99° in purity, but colored to not above 13 or 16 D. S., as the case may be, to evade proper duty; and uniform duty plans rapidly increase the rate of duty on sugars as the grade, quality, and foreign value thereof decrease, which prohibits raw material.

Beyond the No. 16 D. S. point, the uniform duty to 16 plan and the Carlisle bill are identical; all uniform duty plans furnish weapons to Cuban and West India manufacturers of colored crystals, and to European refiners of cane and beet sugars, for the destruction of American sugar producing and refining industries, and would cripple our growing commerce with remote sugar producing countries whose raw sugars would, if prohibited to us, find their way to Cuban vacuum-pans to be turned into crystals colored to the tariff limit, to escape duty.

Louisiana planters and American refiners are deeply, yes, vitally, interested in this matter. They may well look with concern upon this just exhibit of Cuban and West India plans for the destruction of their industries, put forth under the apparently artless pretense of simplifying the collection of duty on sugar, and settling the sugar question. Uniform duty on sugar would utterly destroy our beet and sorghum sugar enterprises, which, like all embryotic American industries, naturally and properly demand protection against underhand foreign encroachments.

Fifty years' history of tariff laws for levying duty on sugars in this and other great sugar consuming countries, dependent upon foreign sugars for consumption, evidences that every attempt to approach uniform duty on sugars has proved disastrous or impracticable and been abandoned, even when foreign raw sugars were not, as they now are, advanced in producing countries by refining the syrup and manufacturing and coloring crystals in vacuum-pans to victimize this people.

Still more dangerous, even suicidal, would uniform duty on sugars be, under existing circumstances, when it is clearly the purpose of such plans to reverse the natural order of refining sugars in this country for the adequate supply of cheap pure sugars to the poor and costly grades to the rich. Upwards of two thousand millions of pounds of refined sugars are consumed annually by the people of this country, seventy (70) per cent. of which must be refined from actual raw sugar material, in its normal condition, testing from 65° to below 92° in crystals, in order to produce pure but cheap refined cane sugars for the masses, or middling and poorer classes.

Admitting foreign refined crystals 95 to 99 per cent. in purity, but colored in vacuum pans to not above 13 or 16 D. S., at less than half the ad valorem rate of duty levied on actual raw material, (see table No. 1) would compel refiners to employ only high grade sugars for refining, and superinduce glucose adulteration; under such a regime, centrifugals of great purity would constitute the bulk of sugar imports; thus heavily reducing importations and revenue, enhancing the cost of sugars to consumers, and crippling our growing commeree with remote sugar producing countries.

Clayed sugars above No. 20 Dutch standard in color, pay duty as refined sugars, while the Carlisle sugar bill and uniform duty plans admit at the lowest rate of duty, centrifugals containing nine-nine (99) per cent. of refined crystals outwardly colored to No. 13 Dutch standard, but when ground producing sugar above No. 20 Dutch standard in color, equal to or better than No. 20 Dutch standard Java clayed sugars. Clearly the admission of such sugars at the lowest rate of duty must prohibit the importation of raw sugars.

Besides, the Carlisle sugar bill and uniform plans would in no wise correct abuses or adjust antagonisms between the Treasury Department and sugar merchants—differences which are almost invariably created by attempts to enter discolored centrifugal sugars as raw sugars, nefarious practices which the Carlisle bill and all uniform duty plans are fashioned to sanction, but which can and should be suppressed altogether.

Carlisle's sugar bill offers only a pretense of protection. It is a fact that in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1879, only $2.33 per 100 lbs. duty was collected on all dutiable sugars entered for consumption, and Carlisle's sugar bill offers a duty of $2.40 per 100 lbs. on all sugars not above No. 13 D. S. in color; but the $2.33 per 100 lbs. duty, was the result of false classifications of Cuban and Demerara colored crystals of great purity, as raw sugars, by which means duty was evaded.

Reference to the classification tables in these exhibits, will show that the writer's exposures in 1879 and since, in regard to coloring crystals to evade duty, quickly advanced classifications and increased the average duty collected from sugars consumed in 1880 to $2.45

per 100 lbs., and in 1881 to $2.46 per 100 lbs.; but the average foreign cost of dutiable sugars in 1881 was $4.42 per 100 lbs.; showing that false classifications still exist, and that we should have received at least $2.76 duty per 100 lbs. under the present tariff.

Evidently the sugar industries of the country are entitled to $2.76 duty per 100 lbs. protection on sugars under the present tariff, while the Carlisle bill accords only $2.40 per 100 lbs. on all sugars not above 13 D. S. in color, above which class only 1,298,158 lbs. were entered for consumption in the year ended June 30, 1881, out of a total of 1,869,173,897 lbs. of dry sugars entered for consumption in the fiscal year named.

Worse than this, the Carlisle bill reduces the duty on class No. 10 to 13 D. S. from 2.81¼ to 2.40 cents per lb.; this class covers the beautiful foreign semi-refined crystals now manufactured in Cuba, Demerara, &c., in vacuum pans to test from 95 to 99.5 per cent. in pure crystals, but outwardly colored to not above No. 13 D. S., in order to enter at 2.40 cents per lb. duty, while melada and other actual raw sugar material intrinsically low in grade, test, and color, must pay 2.40 cents duty per pound, or be prohibited.

These foreign refined vacuum pan colored crystals, over which the Carlisle bill and the 1 cent. per lb. plan propose to establish a tariff protectorate, as I have already shown in section first of these exhibits, are intrinsically sugars that should class above No. 13 D. S. in color, and pay 3.43¾ cents per lb. duty; while a large proportion of such sugars are found intrinsically above No. 16 D. S. in color, and should pay 4.06¼ cents per lb. duty, instead of 2.40 cents per lb. as raw sugars; it is foreign vacuum pan crystals colored to evade duty, and not the tariff, that prohibits the importation of Grocer's Sugars.

Glucose adulteration of cane sugar is also cordially encouraged and invited in the Carlisle bill and uniform duty to No. 13 or 16 D. S. plans, which would deprive us of melada and raw sugar material, and induce refiners to reduce Cuban crystals with glucose, in order to supply the demands of the middle and poorer classes who cannot afford to buy the rich man's sugar. Corn glucose and Cuban crystal mixtures would be a poor substitute for the numerous cheap grades of pure refined cane sugar, which can only be obtained from low grades of raw sugar material.

Regarding the plan of one cent per pound duty on sugar to No. 13 or 16 D. S., or even on all sugars, while possessed of all the defects of the Carlisle bill it also reduces the revenue from sugar nearly three-fifths; that is, in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881, dutiable sugars entered for consumption, exclusive of melada, paid an average of $2.46 per 100 pounds duty on 1,869,173,897 pounds, $45,933,045; while one cent per pound would have produced only $18,691,739 revenue from sugar in the fiscal year 1881.

That even a respectable moiety of this enormous deficit could not

be made up by increased consumption, is evidenced by England's recent experience. In 1874 Great Britain abolished duty on sugars, with an annual consumption of 59.40 pounds per capita, an act she now regrets. Great Britain consumed only 56.66 pounds per capita in 1877, and in 1880 only 62.25 pounds per capita. Under existing circumstances this country would lose enormously, and could gain nothing by any wholesale reduction of duty on sugars.

The increased production and use of corn glucose, cannot be checked by reducing duty on sugar or by abolishing duty, because the cost of producing corn glucose has reached its maximum, and competition is rapidly cheapening it; corn will yield 70 per cent. of starch, or 60 per cent. of purest glucose, which can be sold at half the average foreign cost of cane sugars in 1881; glucose will inevitably be employed in vast quantities in preference to cane sugars, for table syrup, for brewing, and for certain candies; legitimate uses to which it should be confined.

Neither can any wholesale reduction of duty cheapen imported sugars, simply because we are at present dependent upon Cuba and Spanish possesions for more than four-fifths of our annual supply of foreign sugars, and Spain not only invariably discriminates against American commerce, but is bound by her records, to increase the export tax on sugar as we lower the duty thereon; therefore sugar cannot be cheapened by a one cent duty.

Nearly three-fourths of Cuban sugars are vacuum-pan made crystals intended to evade the Dutch standard; hence the average foreign cost of sugars entered into consumption in the year ended June 30, 1881, was $4.42 per 100 lbs., and we are already, comparatively, deprived of raw material from Cuba; as we concede duty, Spain will add export tax, and thus maintain high prices.

Uniform duty on sugar to 13 D. S. would admit foreign semi-refined crystals, testing 95 to 99 in purity, at the lowest rate of duty, from which refiners must turn out the rich man's sugar in excess and deprive the people at large of the cheaper grades of refined sugars for lack of raw sugar material. Under a uniform sugar tariff refiners could obtain drawback on exports to the full amount of duty paid and still retain a large part of their out-turn from centrifugal crystals for home consumption.

Having briefly disclosed the conspicuously greedy pretenses of the Cuban or uniform duty to 13 or 16 D. S. sugar tariff plans and the shortsightedness of the one cent per pound duty plan, I now present practical remedies for existing sugar tariff abuses and defects, with brief explanations premised by a comparative sugar tariff exhibit of present duty—50 per cent. ad valorem duty, and an equitable compound duty, calculating foreign cost and duty upon 100 pounds for convenience.

The following exhibit also shows the general equity of the present tariff for protection and revenue. Its enforcement by an

appropriation of such fu

amendment hereinafter subjoined will correct existing abuses and remedy the defects of the Dutch standard:

Table 2.

Class average, D. S., per 100 pounds.	Average Cost.	Test Range.	Average Duty.	Rate Ad Val.	Ad Val. 50 per c.	*Compound Sugar Tariff.
Melada, or wet sugar	$2.50	62 to 70°	$1.87½	75	$1.25	$1.00 @25 p. c., $1.62½
Sugar not above No. 7 D. S.	3.50	70 to 85	2.18¾	62.5	1.75	1.00 @25 p. c., 1.87½
Above 7, not above 10	4.62½	85 to 92	2.50	54	2.31¼	1.12½@25 p. c., 2.28⅛
Above No. 10, not above 13	5.25	88 to 98	2.81¼	53.5	2.62½	1.25 @25 p. c., 2.56¼
Above No. 13, not above 16	6.12½	92 to 99	3.43¾	56.1	3.06¼	2.00 @25 p. c., 3.53⅛
Above No. 16, not above 20	6.50	93 to 99	4.06¼	62.5	10 p. c. extra. 3.90	2.50 @25 p. c., 4.12½
Soft sugar above 20	7.50	94 to 99	5.00	66.6	10 p. c. extra. 4.50	3.00 @25 p. c., 4.87½
Hard sugar above 20	8.50	95 to 99.5	5.00	58.8	10 p. c. extra. 5.10	3.00 @25 p. c., 5.12½

*Specific and ad valorem.

Natural, or honest, classifications of sugars, according to their intrinsic color, quality, and foreign market value, form the basis of the foregoing tabular exhibits; all sugars made from cane-juice by the open-pan process and finished by natural draining and claying, can be accurately classed by the Dutch standard alone, from melada and the purest manilla sugars, testing 60 to 75 in crystal, to the white clayed sugars of Java or Dutch celebrity, testing 99.5 per cent. in crystal purity, but the Dutch standard was never designed to class Cuban crystals or vacuum pan centrifugal sugars.

The foreign vacuum pan process of inspissating, graining, and coloring crystals formed from classified syrup of cane juice, as explained in detail elsewhere, produces manufactured crystals many times larger than Dutch standard or raw sugar crystals, equal in quality to the best hard refined sugar, but discolored outwardly to imitate the natural color of raw sugars made by the old process, and known as melada and natural drained muscovado and molasses sugars throughout the world; crushing and polarization are required to aid the Dutch standard in classing these colored crystals for duty.

While the right of foreign producers to make or finish sugars from cane syrup by the vacuum pan process, and to make crystals of any size they see fit, is unquestioned, the discoloration of sugar crystals while forming and when formed in the vacuum pan, is an accessory of projected fraud in the entry and classification of superior sugars, intrinsically of the highest degree of purity and value, as raw sugars of low grades to evade duty; these practices can only be prevented by combining grinding and polarization with the Dutch standard for levying duty on sugars.

Such being the case, Congress must deal with facts as they now

exist, and not as they existed in 1870 when the present sugar tariff was adopted and Cuban crystal coloring was unknown, in order to successfully counteract and prevent false classifications, which now circumvent the Dutch color standard and subvert the intent of our tariff laws; practices which the Carlisle bill and uniform duty plans are designed to legalize, as clearly appears in these exhibits.

Sugar tariff legislation intended to benefit 50,000,000 of American consumers, produce revenue, and protect home industries, should be based on the natural current demands for home consumption, industrial protection, and revenue. Were there but one kind of sugar known, the demands for consumption would be speedily determined, as in the case of corn or wheat, but different sugar producing countries offer many distinct grades or varieties of cane sugar material for our selection.

Formerly only melada, raw drained sugars, and a sprinkling of clayed sugars, from gray to white in color, were to be obtained from producing countries; hence the growth of refining industries in this country, as the tastes and demands for and capacity to buy luxuries increased with our national growth and prosperity.

There is nothing rational in legislative attempts to relegate this industrial outgrowth of American advancement to foreign control, neither would consumers of Louisiana crystals and American refined sugars, take kindly to raw muscovadoes and colored centrifugals, or to the enhanced prices that would follow the control of our market by foreign refiners and producers.

Hence the demands for consumption in this country, are for all grades of concentrated raw sugar material, from the lowest to the highest grades thereof, but in varied quantites for refining purposes, in order that the refined outturn may be proportioned in cost to the necessities of the poor, as well as to the demands of the rich; this requires that seventy per cent. or more of all refined sugars, shall consist of refined grades corresponding relatively in cost to the lower grades of the classifications of raw sugar material, which form the basis of our present sugar tariff.

There is no demand from consumers, for foreign raw white clayed and foreign refined sugars for immediate food consumption; all imported sugars are now refined in the United States; even Cuban and Demerara refined colored crystals 99.5 per cent. in purity, are passed through the American refinery at a nominal cost, to remove the outer film of color and change the grain, hence the demand for foreign raw material from which to obtain, pro rata as to cost, the varied outturn needed to meet the varied wants of consumers.

On this equitable and rational classification or ad valorem basis, sugar tariff legislation should be founded, and the rates of duty be fixed to conform to the demands of home industrial protection and revenue requirements; the present tariff already favors the higher grades of sugar; there is therefore not the shadow of excuse for re-

ducing the present rates of duty on high grades not above 13 or 16 D. S. in color, and increasing the present rates to prohibition, on melada and sugars not above No. 7 D. S., by a uniform rate to No. 13 or 16 D. S.

Honest color classifications of sugar for duty are, however, no longer the order of the day, and owing to foreign crystal coloring artifices, it is no longer possible, by the Dutch standard alone, to accurately determine the intrinsic color, quality, and market value of foreign vacuum pan manufactured centrifugal crystals, 95° to 99.5° in purity, discolored in the finish to be entered as raw sugars of low grade, but only sembling thereto in outward color.

Grinding and polarization must henceforth be employed as adjuncts to the Dutch standard, in order to accurately determine the actual intrinsic color, quality, and foreign value of dutiable sugars and levy duty thereon correctly, just as these agents are now employed by foreign vacuum pan and centrifugal sugar producers, and by all sugar merchants and refiners in this country and Europe, to determine the market value of sugars, and govern their transactions.

The evils of any uniform specific rate on all sugars to 13 or 16 D. S. even though bolstered by an ad valorem clause, are equally damaging to American interests, while to extend uniform duty to all sugars would be to surrender American sugar industries, as we have surrendered our carrying trade to foreign control.

Compound duties are mostly the outgrowth of irrational attempts to compromise between wholly specific and wholly ad valorem rates for levying duty, which should *not* be applied to sugars, of which there entered for consumption in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881, including Hawaiian sugars and melada, no less than 1,966,617,950 pounds, valued at $88,463,464, duty collected thereon $46,318.073. As such a plan is known to be in embryo, an exhibit of an equitable compound sugar tariff is given in Table 2, which reveals the complexity of such a tariff, and the fact that any uniform duty on all sugars would destroy all equity, even in a compound sugar tariff.

Compound or mixed sugar tariff plans cannot equitably be based upon a uniform specific duty on all sugars, whether the rate be one cent or less or more per pound; what sense or justice would there be in levying a specific duty equal to 16⅔ per cent. ad valorem on semi-refined sugars that cost 6 cents per pound, and 33⅓ per cent on raw sugars that cost 3 cents per pound, or 40 per cent. on melada and lowest grade sugars, and plastering the whole with 25 per cent. more ad valorem; it only ends in levying 65 per cent. ad valorem on the poorest raw sugars, 58⅓ per cent. on the next grade of raw material, and admits semi-refined Cuban colored crystals at 41⅔ per cent. ad valorem, to destroy the industries of American sugar producers and refiners, and complicate the collection of duty.

Canada furnishes palpable evidence of the necessity of maintaining a classification sugar tariff, and of the advantages secured by levying duty on each class of sugar pro rata to their foreign market value. Mark the immediate benefit of the slight but important changes made in 1879, in the Canadian sugar tariff of 1877, which admitted American refined sugars at prices that speedily closed Canadian refineries.

Sugar Tariff of the Dominion of Canada, 1877–1878:

Melada and concentrated, &c., per lb.	⅜c.	and	25	per cent.	ad valorem.
Syrups, all kinds cane juice, &c., "	⅜c.	"	25	"	"
Sugars below No. 9 D. S., "	½c.	"	25	"	"
Equal to 9 not above No. 13 D. S. "	½c.	"	25	"	"
All sugars above 13 D. S., "	1c.	"	25	"	"

Under the above tariff, refined sugars could and, with the aid of American drawback, did enter Canada and undersell Canadian refiners, thus destroying their refining industry and shutting out raw sugars, without the slightest advantage to Canadian consumers.

Present sugar tariff of Canada enacted in 1879.

Melada and concentrated, &c., per lb.	⅜c.	and	30	per cent.	ad valorem.
Syrups all kinds, cane juice, &c. "	⅜c.	"	30	"	"
Sugars below No. 9 D. S. "	½c.	"	30	"	"
Equal to 9 not above 14 D. S. "	½c.	"	30	"	"
All sugars above No. 14 D. S, "	1c.	"	35	"	"

Simply levying five per cent. extra duty on sugar above No. 14 D. S., refined sugars in fact, and levying duty on the American market value thereof, shut out American refined sugars from Canada, and not only started Canadian refineries, but tempted French capitalists to undertake numerous beet sugar enterprises in Canada, and virtually changed the sugar imports of Canada from refined sugars, to raw sugars for refining, in a single year as follows:

Dutiable sugars entered for consumption in the Dominion of Canada in the fiscal years ending June 30, 1879, 1880, 1881:

Classifications. Dutch Standard.	1879.		1880.		1881.	
	Pounds.	Value.	Pounds.	Value.	Pounds.	Value.
Sugars above 13, and from March 15, 1879, above No 14	91,828,152	$4,680,310	18,885,150	$824,827	15,858,005	$756,186
Equal to 9, not above 13, and from March 15, 1879, n. a. 14	19,390,746	768,637	56,403,251	1,847,205	53,459,146	2,117,515
Sugar below No. 9 D. S.	1,844,818	64,722	30,690,925	958,364	58,964,513	2,003,539
Melada	1,650,215	$46,446	7,639,332	$180,635	6,844,512	$192,800

Refined sugars exported to Canada from the United States:

1879. 53,717,659 lbs. $4,235,348.
1880. 731,909 lbs. $66,921.
1881. 369,557 lbs. $30,301.

This country has immense sugar refining and sugar producing industries to protect against foreign refining and colored crystal mak-

ing industries, which are raiding upon them under false classifications of vacuum-pan centrifugal sugars, discolored outwardly to imitate raw sugar material and entered as such, to evade duty on their actual value.

Stealthily have two great foreign food monopolies invaded our continent; the one protected by the Reciprocity Treaty with Hawaii flourishes upon our credulity at public cost, the other conducted by foreign chicanery now seeks protection from Congress through the Carlisle bill, and similar uniform sugar duty enactments. The lessons of experience and the demand of consumers, home industries, and revenue, teach that these stupendous interloping foreign sugar food monopolies should henceforth serve our National interests, or be destroyed.

There exists but two rational plans for a sugar tariff in this country; the present classification tariff amended and enforced by grinding and polarization in addition to the Dutch standard, or an actual ad valorem tariff with the same appliances for its enforcement, and radical reform in the execution of our tariff laws, which is also of infinitely greater importance than tariff tinkering, as a means of enabling Congress to reach a rational basis for tariff revision.

Actual ad valorem rates upon dutiable sugars (see Table 2) involves the necessity of adding ten per cent. extra on all sugars above 16 D. S. in color, including refined sugars, for the reasonable protection of American producers and refiners, and for the benefit of consumers; otherwise foreign bounty fed refined beet sugars, and pure Cuban and Demerara vacuum-pan crystals of natural color would be favored, which would speedily destroy American competition therewith, and place consumers of sugars wholly in dependence upon foreign refiners who would enhance prices accordingly.

Evidence of the gigantic strides already made by Cuba and other near sugar producing countries, in exhausting their raw material to make semi-refined vacuum pan crystals of highest purity therefrom, disguised by coloration as raw sugars, will be found in the following table, which exhibits the potency of the writer's exposures of coloration devices in the extensive reversal in 1880–1881 of the false classifications in previous years—1878–1879 for example.

Classification by the Dutch standard.	1878.		
	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Sampled and classed for duty.	*Pounds.*		
All not above No. 7 Dutch standard	860,287,182	$41,516,497	$18,818,784
All above No. 7 and not above No. 10 D. S.	618,019,876	33,232,883	16,450,497
All above No. 10 and not above No. 13 D. S.	72,316,574	4,110,502	2,033,904
All above No. 13 and not above No. 16 D. S.	1,474,118	73,831	50,673
All above No. 16 and not above No. 20 D. S.	561,068	35,491	22,793
All above No. 20, loaf, and other refined	216,294	16,866	10,814
Total dry sugar	1,552,875,112	78,986,070	36,387,465

Classification by the Dutch standard.	1879.		
	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Sampled and classed for duty.	*Pounds.*		
All not above No. 7 Dutch standard	890,801,182	$36,627,477	$19,486,276
All above No. 7 and not above No. 10 D. S.	671,574,592	27,614,075	16,789,365
All above No. 10 and not above No. 13 D. S.	35,556,456	1,649,309	1,000,307
All above No. 13 and not above No. 16 D. S.	483,110	25,627	16,607
All above No. 16 and not above No. 20 D. S.	20,221	1,160	821
All above No. 20, loaf, and other refined	16,425	1,283	821
Total dry sugar	1,598,461,986	65,918,931	37,294,197

Classifications by the Dutch standard.	1880.		
	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Sampled and classed for duty.	*Pounds.*		
All not above No. 7 Dutch standard	299,298,496	$11,394,541	$6,547,154
All above No. 7 and not above No. 10 D. S.	1,222,747,078	52,407,812	30,568,677
All above No. 10 and not above No. 13 D. S.	67,726,078	3,085,292	1,904,796
All above No. 13 and not above No. 16 D. S.	2,353,604	118,229	80,905
All above No. 16 and not above No. 20 D. S.	118,582	8,453	4,817
All above No. 20, loaf, and other refined	18,119	1,502	906
Total dry sugar	1,592,261,957	$67,015,831	$39,107,256

Classification by the Dutch standard.	1881.		
	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Sampled and classed for duty.	*Pounds.*		
All not above No. 7 Dutch standard	401,626,484	$15,395,744	$8,785,579
All above No. 7 and not above No. 10 D. S.	1,323,451,981	60,216,407	33,086,300
All above No. 10 and not above No. 13 D. S.	142,797,277	7,044,675	4,016,173
All above No. 13 and not above No. 16 D. S.	1,267,215	62,123	43,561
All above No. 16 and not above No. 20 D. S.	12,241	538	497
All above No. 20, loaf, and other refined	18,699	1,599	935
Total dry sugar	1,869,173,897	$82,721,086	$45,933,045

Average duty, per lb., 1878, 2.34c.; 1879, 2.33c.; 1880, 2.45c.; 1881, 2.46c.
Ad valorem rate, per cent., 1878, 46.06; 1879, 56.57; 1880, 58.35; 1881, 55.52.

Cuban crystals increased the foreign cost of dutiable dry sugars consumed by us in 1881 to an average of $4.42 per 100 lbs.; the average invoice value of Cuban sugars only, for 1881, being $4.85 per 100 lbs., or including Spanish possessions, $4.60 per 100 lbs., as against $3.84 per 100 lbs., the average invoice value of dutiable sugars from all other countries in 1881, showing the disadvantages and absurdity of depending longer upon Cuba and Spanish possessions for raw sugar material, which they now semi-refine at the expense of American consumers, industries, and revenue.

Regarding the use of the polariscope as an adjunct to the Dutch standard, private and official information, currently received by the writer from sugar producing countries near and remote, establishes the fact that, in countries where sugar is made by open pan methods

appropriation of such

and natural evaporation, inspissation, and drainage only, the color test remains an accepted standard of absolute market value, and the polariscope is virtually unknown for such purpose.

Contrariwise, in Cuba, Demerara, and contiguous sugar producing countries, where raw sugars and cane syrups are advanced above their normal condition, by vacuum pan methods of making or finishing sugar, and also in all the great sugar marts of this country and Europe, the polariscope is invariably employed, as an auxilliary aid to the Dutch standard, for determining value; without this combination of detective forces, trade transactions in sugar are no longer safe.

Treasury and customs officials are appointed to collect the revenue according to law, unfortunately no tenure of office exists, consequently tariff laws are too often lost sight of; fear of the headsman induces officials to comply with Treasury Department decisions and anomalous instructions, prepared by subordinates having authority at their discretion, and bearing the sanction of Executive commands, in the formal signature of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Congress must be well aware that tariff changes are fraught with momentous results, broader, deeper, grander than the mere matter of simplifying and lightening the well-paid laborer of collecting and disbursing customs revenue; therefore what may be recommended to that assemblage as acceptable to officials or necessary for their comfort, should be considered "*cum grano salis*," as not always being conducive to the commercial, industrial and revenue interests of this progressive nation.

Pending legislation, the Secretary of the Treasury should no longer permit the drying of cargo samples before testing the same or classing the sugars for duty. Fully recognizing the foreign devices that now render official classifications of sugar for duty more difficult than in 1870, I know that there is no necessity for drying cargo samples,—thus changing the intrinsic texture of the sugar,—before testing and classifying the same for duty.

Simply grinding cargo samples of Cuban and Demerara crystals or centrifugal sugars, until they assimilate in grain the Dutch standard examples employed for comparing color, reveals their intrinsic or natural color effectually; whereas, grinding leaves the color of raw sugar material or drained sugar virtually unchanged; the polariscope should be applied to properly drawn cargo samples, in their normal condition as drawn from cargoes, including moisture contained therein when taken from the cargo.

Refining sugar in bond under official surveillance, should also receive the early sanction of law; the practice would simplify the collection of revenue from sugar, and enable importers and refiners to largely extend their operations, and thus by cheapening sugars stimulate consumption; cane sugars refined in bond for home consumption, would necessarily be pure, because duty would have to be paid upon the full outturn from bonded sugars.

Refining in bond would also encourage the production of refined sugars for export to foreign countries, and thus advantage American commerce and home industries; with the privilege of refining sugars in bond, and the advantage of drawback correctly adjusted to the outturn of product pro rata to the duty paid upon the raw material employed in refining, American refiners can successfully compete with the refiners of Europe, for their own and other markets of the world.

Refining in bond doubly protects the interests of the Government, inasmuch as sugars bonded for refining would be constantly under official surveillance, at the expense of refiners, from their arrival in port until the refined outturn was entered out of bond for home consumption or export; sugars entered for refining in bond would on arrival be sampled, tested, weighed, classed for duty, and sent direct to bonded refineries, the refiners giving satisfactory bonds in double the amount of duty levied on the bonded sugar for payment thereof when the refined product which, less loss in refining must coincide with the bonded sugar, was entered out for consumption or export.

Congress should also practically recognize our cane beet and sorghum sugar industries as available and powerful factors in delivering this country speedily from its abnormal dependence upon Cuba and Spanish possessions for sugar food. These industries should be protected by judicious legislation which gives no undue advantages to foreign producers and refiners; thus considered and encouraged, the capacity of Louisiana and other States for producing cane, beet, and sorghum sugars is simply measureless.

One of the most eminent and skillful sugar refiners of the age says: "The foreign producer has manipulated the natural color of the product of the plantation, and thus destroyed the equity of the Dutch standard; the refiners suffer with the Government, and therefore earnestly advocate the introduction of the polariscope as a detective." The same authority states that natural raw sugars range entirely below 92° in the polariscope, and centrifugals above 92°; centrifugals, or vacuum pan crystals, can be lowered in color and maintain the test from 92 to 99° in purity, and also their exceptionally high value.

Official analyses in France, numbering more than 7,000, give the following results: Average polariscope test of raw sugars not above No. 9, D. S. in color, below 92 degrees; sugars intrinsically No. 10 to No. 14 D. S. in color, average test above 91.25 to 94.55 degrees, and sugars intrinsically No. 15 to No. 18 D. S. in color, average test above 94.55 to 97.36 degrees, showing that sugars testing 92 degrees and above are advanced beyond the normal condition of raw sugars, in intrinsic color, quality, and value.

The results of many thousands of tests of cargo samples of dutiable sugars examined by the writer and in his possession, also establish the fact that raw sugar material ranges below 92 degrees in the polariscope, and that foreign vacuum-pan centrifugals or

Cuban crystals, range 92 to 99 degrees in purity, and assimilate refined sugars.

The following amendment to the present sugar tariff will correct its only defects,—authorize the use of necessary adjuncts to the Dutch Standard for classing and levying duty on sugar,—adequately protect the revenue and American sugar industries against foreign devices of disguising semi-refined sugar crystals as raw materal,—and speedily increase our commerce with remote sugar producing countries.

More radical changes in the sugar tariff may safely be postponed until, in connection with other important commercial, industrial, and revenue interests, such can properly be adjusted in the general tariff revision now demanded by our commercial and industrial advancement.

Before working into the hands of interested "free traders,"—who mistakingly or purposely would plague and hinder the advancement of our industries and laboring classes,—by radical reductions of duties on imports, Congress should relieve the people from direct taxation, still perched upon the Escutcheon of our Union, like some fowl bird of prey.

Consuming as we do annually nine-tenths ($\frac{9}{10}$) of our own aggregate productions, we can only export one-tenth ($\frac{1}{10}$); instead of having a surplus, there is a constantly increasing foreign demand for our prodnctions; the American people are in no mood to take free-trade lessons from England, which country collects relatively more revenue from tobacco than this country collects on sugar, and has, for example, been badly bitten by France while attempting to deal in duty-free sugars.

Common sense and experience in the matter of coffee and tea teaches that any radical reduction of duty on sugar will at once be offset by enhanced prices of raw material abroad and increased profits to dealers at home, while consumers would gain nothing by such legislation. Enable the Government to first collect the full revenue from sugar by the following amendment, then a reasonable and permanent reduction of duty thereon can be made by Congress understandingly:

Amendment: All sugars not above No. 10 D. S. in color, testing 92 degrees and above in the polariscope, shall pay duty as above No. 10 and not above No. 13 D. S. in color, and duty shall be levied on sugar by testing the cargo samples thereof as drawn from the cargo, including moisture therein contained.

HENRY A. BROWN, *Saxonville, Mass.*

N. B.—Recognizing with pleasure the valuable assistance currently afforded me by correspondents and officials in foreign sugar-producing countries and in this country, to each of whom this pamphlet will be sent, I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to them my thanks.

HENRY A. BROWN.

Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty Blunders.

IMMEDIATE ABROGATION A NATIONAL REQUIREMENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June* 12, 1886.

To United States Senators and Representatives in Congress assembled:

First: There was no commercial advantage for the United States to gain by negotiating the treaty of 1875–'76; that the trade of the Sandwich Islands had long been controlled by Boston merchants prior to that time, and could have been increased by them ad libitum without this Government subsidy, is too well known to require proof. The United States Government knew this, Daniel Webster's statement upon this topic as Secretary of State in 1842, to the House of Representatives, being as follows:

Mr. Webster said: "Considering therefore that the United States possess so very large a share of the intercourse with those islands, it is deemed not unfit to make the declaration that the Government seeks nevertheless no peculiar advantages, no exclusive control over the Hawaiian Government;" and these views were acted upon when Daniel Webster made the treaty of 1849 with Hawaii, to which I shall refer later.

Charles Nordoff, in his volume of travels in California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands prior to the treaty of 1875–'76, says: "It is plain the island trade is so largely in our hands that no other nation can be said to dispute it with us; if our flag flew over Honolulu we could hardly expect to have a more complete monopoly of Hawaiian commerce than we now enjoy; moreover, almost all the sugar plantations and the greater number of stock farms are owned by Americans; what the islands are," continues Nordhoff, "they are because of American enterprise and Boston capital, which established the sugar culture and other important industries."

There being no commercial advantage for the United States to gain by the treaty of 1875–'76, it is evident that the treaty was a job put up by American merchants who controlled Sandwich Islands commerce, and captured a good-natured ring "to march at the head of their triumphant procession through the country to advocate the treaty at our expense." Although our market for Hawaiian sugar was

and is the best and the principal market they had or can have, treaty or no treaty, those enterprising merchants wanted the duty on Hawaiian sugar in their own pockets, and got it by the treaty at public expense.

This snug little enterprise of 1875–'76, which transferred three cents or more per pound duty from the United States Treasury to the pockets of its projectors, quickly assumed gigantic proportions. The records of the Bureau of Statistics furnish evidence about Hawaiian sugars as follows:

Quantities and values of dutiable Hawaiian sugar imported from 1868 to 1876, inclusive.

Year.	Pounds.	Dollars.
1868	18,241,062	956,898
1869	16,314,482	1,087,433
1870	14,016,181	901,645
1871	15,018,469	935,909
1872	15,357,784	923,441
1873	15,743,146	934,824
1874	13,575,674	740,786
1875	17,888,000	938,676
1876	20,978,374	1,051,987

Quantities and values of free Hawaiian sugar imported from 1877 to 1885, inclusive.

Year.	Pounds.	Dollars.
1877	30,642,081	2,108,473
1878	30,368,328	2,274,430
1879	41,693,069	2,811,193
1880	61,556,324	4,135,487
1881	76,909,207	4,927,021
1882	106,181,858	6,918,084
1883	114,132,670	7,340,033
1884	125,148,680	7,108,292
1885	169,652,783	8,198,144

The Hawaiian Islands contain about 4,355,000 acres of land; 80,000 acres—the lowest Spreckels estimate—to 150,000 acres or more are available sugar lands; the average yield is five tons of sugar per acre of cane every eighteen months, or $3\frac{1}{3}$ tons per annum; 80,000 acres will produce 266,000 tons of 2,240 pounds, or 595,840,000 pounds per annum; 95,000 tons of sugar were produced in 1885 against about 65,000 tons in 1884. At this *pro rata* of increase a product of 266,000 tons per annum will be reached in five years.

But we are informed by Mr. Spalding, a treaty advocate, in his pamphlet of 1882, that "it is supposed that no more than from 100,000 to 150,000 acres in all the islands can be used for the culture of the sugar cane." If we split the difference and say 125,000 acres, the product would reach 416,666 tons of 2,240 pounds or 933,331,840 pounds per annum in about ten years at the present *pro rata* of increase. Even this does not limit the capacity of the Hawaiian Islands, known to be "the finest sugar-producing country in the world."

According to official records B. S., Feb. 26, '86, Hawaiian sugars averaged 93° crystals in 1884–'85 and about 13 D. S. in color. According to hundreds of tests made for this writer they averaged 94° crystals and above 13 D. S. in color. Taking the official average, 93°, the present duty on which is 2.12 cts. per lb., and when above 13 D. S. in color 2.75 cts. per lb., and when above 16

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D. S. in color 3 cts. per lb., we find the official report of loss of duty on Hawaiian sugars imported in 1884 and 1885 to be as follows:

194,615,199 lbs., average 93°, at 2.12 cts. per lb.	$4,125,842
97,187,710 lbs., above 13 D. S., at 2.75 cts. per lb.	2,672,662
2,998,554 lbs., above 16 D. S., at 3 cts. per lb.	79,956
294,801,463 lbs., av. 93° and 13 D. S. Loss, $2\frac{1}{3}$ cts. per lb.	$6,878,460

The actual average grade of Hawaiian sugars imported in 1884–'85 was, however, known to be above 13 D. S. and the loss of duty under the 1883 tariff in 1884–'85 was 2.75 cts. per lb. on 294,801,463 lbs., or $8,107,070. Prior to the tariff of March 3, 1883, the average loss of duty per pound was greater. At present rates the annual loss of duty on an annual Hawaiian product from 80,000 acres would approximate 2.75 cts. per lb. on 595,840,000 lbs., or $16,385,000, and on an annual product from 125,000 acres the annual loss of duty would approximate 2.75 cts. per lb. on 933,331,840 lbs., or $25,666,625. Towards this condition the nation is hastened by the Hawaiian treaty.

With a normal capacity for producing beet, cane, and sorghum sugar sufficient for home consumption, with modern inventions which secure ten (10) per cent. of the sucrose contained in beets, cane, and sorghum, and the knowledge that in 1861 Louisiana produced 528,300,000 lbs. of cane sugar, and is again increasing her production, while in 1885 we obtained in quantities at Alvarado, Cal., 190 lbs. of refined sugar per ton of beets and in the West 100 lbs. of sugar per ton of sorghum, it would be monstrous to thus overslaugh our struggling sugar industries by continuing the treaty.

During eight years ending June 30, 1884, under the treaty the duty lost on sugar amounted to more than our exports to the Hawaiian Islands, as follows: Total imports of merchandise, $42,072,264; total exports of domestic merchandise, $20,162,798; sugars, imports, consumed, $37,623,013. Duty lost on sugar, at least 60 per cent. ad valorem, $22,573,806. Of the $42,072,264 of merchandise imported only $364,994 was dutiable. Thus, during eight years, we received less duty in the aggregate from Hawaiian merchandise imported than we annually remit on Hawaiian rice.

Our trade with Hawaii in the year ended June 30, 1885, was as follows: Total imports for consumption, $8,857,497; total exports domestic merchandise, $2,709,573; sugar imports consumed, $8,198,144; duty lost on actual grades imported, at least 60 per cent. ad valorem, or $4,918,886. Of the total imports of merchandise from Hawaii, in 1885, $8,817,067 was free of duty; in the year ended June 30, 1876, we imported from Hawaii $1,376,681 merchandise,

of which $1,184,610 was dutiable, whereas our imports from Hawaii in 1885 amounted to $8,857,497, of which only $40,430 of merchandise was dutiable.

Our imports of merchandise from Hawaii increased from $8,238,461 in 1883 to $8,857,497 in 1885, while our exports of merchandise to Hawaii decreased from $3,683,460 in 1883 to $2,709,573 in 1885; it is therefore evident that the maximum capacity of the Hawaiians for consuming our merchandise has been reached, and that the capacity of Hawaii for producing "free" sugar not only costs the people additional millions of dollars annually, but is sufficient to destroy our sugar producing and refining industries and cripple our commerce with all other sugar-producing countries, unless the treaty in its present iniquitous form is ended speedily.

Second: There was no political advantage to be gained by the treaty of 1875–'76. Mr. Nordhoff, in his volume of travels (prior to the treaty) in Hawaii, &c., before quoted herein, says: "Our political preponderance in the islands is as complete as our commercial." Even had this not been the case the Webster treaty of 1849, made with the King of the Hawaiian Islands, which is still in force, covers the entire political ground, and, as regards the Hawaiian Islands, gives the United States (in common with England) security for their Pacific Ocean commerce, and Pacific Ocean harbors for their navy whenever they have any.

It has been well said that, under the Webster-Hawaii treaty of 1849, "it seems almost too clear to admit of argument that any attempt to lease or otherwise dispose of, or create any lien upon, any port, or grant any special privileges or rights of use therein to any other power, State, or Government, would be a palpable violation of the terms of this (1849) treaty." Thus article IV of the reciprocity treaty of 1875 is simply humbug; the king had no power to lease, dispose of, or create any lien upon any port, harbor, or territory, or grant any special privileges to the United States in 1875, and has no such power at the present time.

By the treaty of 1849 all the rights and advantages this nation has a right to or can claim in the Islands are secured and will be retained if the reciprocity treaty of 1875–'76 should be terminated; besides, in 1851 Great Britain concluded a treaty with Hawaii in terms similar to the Webster treaty of 1849, but made it perpetual except as regards duties on imports. Not only is the reciprocity treaty of no avail politically, but any cession of Pearl river to the United States by King Kalakaua and any attempt of the United States to fortify or occupy Pearl River or any other Hawaiian port as

a naval station would be rightly resisted by Great Britain as a violation of the treaty of 1851.

Charles Nordhoff, in his volume of travels in Hawaii, &c., from which I have already quoted, says: "As I write, a negotiation has been opened with the United States Government for the purpose of offering us Pearl river in exchange for a reciprocity treaty," but Pearl river was neither ceded to us nor heard from again until abrogation was favored by the Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives, this session, and the recent advent of the new treaty job at the doors of the United States Senate.

Pearl river is situated on the south side of the Island of Oahu; the entrance to the river is about six miles west by north of Honolulu, the capital of the Hawaiian Islands; being narrow and abrupt the river can be easily blockaded effectually; a bar of solid rock crosses the entrance, which would have to be removed to enable vessels of any size to enter the river safely. Millions of dollars would be required to render Pearl river of any value to any nation as a naval station.

In the new Hawaiian treaty recently formulated by treaty advocates with Senatorial aid, for Senate action to counteract any movement of the House towards abrogation of the present treaty, it is proposed to usurp the prerogative of the House, and not only adjust but barter away the customs revenue of the country for Pearl river harbor, 2,100 miles from home, to which we can have no right that Great Britain is not entitled to share, and which, if accepted, would cost this country millions of dollars to open out and fortify, while our great Atlantic and Pacific ports and harbors are at the mercy of almost any nation.

The rumor that a syndicate of European capitalists propose to buy the Hawaiian Islands for $10,000,000, *i. e.*, to loan the kingdom that sum and gobble the islands for payment, is another Pearl river dodge intended to influence Congress. Cursory consideration of the topic presents reasons why the Spreckels and Pacific coast free-sugar rings would give double the money named for the islands which they already virtually control, to say nothing of the existing treaty bars of 1849 and 1851.

Third: Not only was the job treaty of 1875–'76 a fraud which has culminated in a gigantic public swindle, but the provisions and language of the treaty have been outrageously subverted. The language of the treaty is clear as to what sugars are entitled to free entry, to wit: "Muscovado, brown, and all other unrefined sugar," but was subtly qualified by adding "meaning hereby the grades of sugar heretofore commonly imported from the Hawaiian

Islands, and now known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugar."

More or less clayed and clarified—in other words, refined—sugars, known as Sandwich Island sugars, were imported from those islands prior to the treaty; this fact led to the free admission of sugar refined and grained in vacuum pans and centrifugals, from 98° to 99.9° pure crystals, shadowed outwardly in order not to exceed No. 20 D. S. in color, albeit white sugars above No. 20 D. S. have also been entered free of duty under the above qualification subterfuge.

Large quantities of Hawaiian sugars arrive in San Francisco that polarize 99° and over; the crystals are colored outwardly below 20 D. S., and these refined sugars are fraudulently entered free of duty; thousands of tons of Hawaiian sugars testing 96° to 99.6°, in some cases 100°, pure crystals, having only a film of outside coloring, have been entered free as "Muscovado, brown, and unrefined (or raw) sugar." The writer has hundreds of samples of Hawaiian sugars intrinsically equal to white granulated sugars, some of which samples polarize higher than hard refined sugars.

Although Hawaiian sugars are admitted free of duty, the remitted duty is added to the first cost of such sugars sent to this country, while the sugars are sold to California refiners at parity of value with duty-paid sugars, and two to three cents per pound above New York prices of refined sugars has been regularly filched from Pacific coast consumers of duty-free sugars.

This writer was recently informed by an ex-member of King Kalakaua's cabinet that he had "seen Canton and Philippine Island sugars in mats transferred from vessels at the Hawaiian Islands, without landing, to schooners which, when thus loaded, cleared for San Francisco." Certainly the opportunity for such treachery is supplied by the sugar treaty, and merchants of Hawaii are no more exempt from the allurements of illicit sugar traffic than are merchants in other countries, notwithstanding the servile report in 1883, made by the commission appointed by the late Secretary Folger to investigate treaty frauds, which declares everything lovely, but savors of Spreckel's dictation and missionary intrigue throughout.

The following is from testimony at the hearing before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, H. R., March 9, 1882: "My opinion, based upon observation (in the islands), is that the treaty has resulted in the demoralization and impoverishment of the natives to a fearful extent." One of the anonymous writers for the treaty recently inadvertently proved that the Hawaiians are grossly swindled for our profit; although they sent us more than three times as

much as they bought from us, we are told for buncombe that the Hawaiians still owe us millions. Assuredly such a treaty should end for humanity sake.

The Hawaiian minister to the United States, who appears in an advertisement in the *Daily Bulletin* of Honolulu, March 27, 1886, as a director of the "C. Brewer Co. Honolulu, Limited, General Mercantile and Commission Agents," represents his patron, the Sugar King *de facto*, who opposed the treaty in 1875, and now, with millions gained thereby at public cost, defends it, rather than his legal sovereign, Kalakaua, the King *de jure* of Hawaii, who, through this job-treaty enterprise, of which he is known to be heart-sick, has become a mere nominal king with a nominal kingdom, utterly dependent upon the sugar king dynasty and the new California sugar ring, which, with reason, claims to have United States Senatorial influence and support.

Whatever advantages our Pacific coast shipping and other local industries or the people of Hawaii may have derived from our treaty of commerce with Hawaii, are accomplished facts, and will remain so. Having been dearly bought by the American people through an expensive legislative treaty blunder, they are nevertheless permanent local advantages now held by a clique of sugar-food monopolists, and they certainly are not entitled to further protection of their engagements at public expense.

Having by means of the treaty annually fleeced the United States Government and people of millions of dollars—having robbed Pacific coast consumers by compelling them to pay for duty-free sugars two and a half to three cents per pound above New York prices for duty-paid sugars, and having absorbed or impoverished and financially enslaved most of the native planters of Hawaii, thereby gaining control of the king, demoralizing his kingdom, decimating his subjects, and substituting therefor a Chinese colony—this stupendous job-treaty enterprise, which enriches a few sharp traders at public cost and at the expense of our home industries, should be terminated forthwith by Congress.

It is known that large sums of money have been sent to Washington to prevent abrogation of the present treaty, and failing that to secure a new Senate treaty. Advocates of the treaty claim to rely upon secured Senatorial influence in a Republican Senate to defeat the action of a Democratic House, and thus, against public interests, to continue this treaty monstrosity or perpetuate the evil by a new treaty device.

It is also known that a Pacific coast combination has recently been formed between the railroad companies, the American re-

finery, and the Hawaiian planters. The amount of duty, $5,000,000 per annum, now donated by this country, is to be divided between the aforesaid parties, and the movement, it is alleged, has potent Senatorial influence not entirely unconnected with recent controlling investments in the said refinery.

Thus, between the reigning Hawaiian sugar dynasty and the new Pacific coast free-sugar ring, it is proposed to silence the United States Congress or carry that body in favor of a treaty or revenue measure that menaces American sugar industries and dutiable sugar commerce, engenders and protects revenue frauds, and compels the people to pay enormous annual tribute apparently to a foreign country—in reality to a handful of Pacific coast sugar-food monopolists who maintain an army of *claquers* and other emissaries to tempt legislators and infest the lobbies and halls of Congress.

The reciprocity treaty of 1875–'76 is a tariff and revenue measure that "curtails the boundaries within which revenues are or can be raised," and a measure that "regulates foreign and domestic commerce." Thus in making this treaty the forever-inherent power and prerogative of the House of Representatives to originate all revenue bills, and of Congress to regulate foreign and domestic commerce, were usurped with disastrous results.

Regardless of our sugar-producing industries, of justice to the people, and of its own rights, Congress has calmly suffered this treaty to continue its ravages, thus sanctioning a gigantic public abuse for the sole enrichment of Pacific coast monopolists who, already gorged with wealth, employ their surplus millions about the capital of the nation to maintain an expensive treaty blunder, the continuance of which by Congress will be a legislative crime.

Numerous unimpeachable statistical exposures, based upon expert knowledge and official evidence of Hawaiian treaty chicanery, have been presented to Congress by this writer. Will Congress perform an act of public justice by the speedy enactment of the bill to abrogate the treaty recently approved and reported to the House by its Committee on Ways and Means, or shall legislative justice be subverted or silenced by the mercenary *claquers* and golden-coated sophistries of Hawaiian sugar monopolists and national parasites, who boast of power in Congress and gobble millions of dollars annually by the treaty at the expense of sixty millions of American consumers, producers, and tax-payers?

HENRY A. BROWN,
Ex-Special Treasury Agent, Saxonville, Mass.

C. C. Morse Esq
Compliments of H. A. Brown
May 1883

HAWAIIAN SUGAR BOUNTIES

—AND—

TREATY ABUSES

WHICH

Defraud the U. S. Revenue, Oppress American Consumers and Tax-payers, Discriminate against other Sugar-Producing Countries, and

Endanger American Sugar Industries.

STATEMENTS MADE TO CONGRESS

—BY—

HENRY A. BROWN,
Ex-Special Treasury Agent, U. S., Saxonville, Mass.

JANUARY, 1883.

Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1882, in the office of the Librarian of Congress.

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

WASHINGTON:
PRINTED BY JUDD & DETWEILER.
1883.

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STATEMENTS MADE TO CONGRESS

In relation to Importations of Hawaiian Sugars Duty Free, falsely claimed to be "Muscovado, Brown, and Unrefined Sugars, commonly known as Sandwich Island Sugars," prior to the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875–'6.

By HENRY A. BROWN, Ex-Special United States Treasury Agent.

The language of the treaty with Hawaii in regard to the kinds of sugar exempted from duty thereby, is plain.

The treaty of 1875, carried into effect September 9th, 1876, with Hawaii, exempts only "muscovado, brown, and all other unrefined sugar, meaning thereby the grades of sugar heretofore commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands, and now (1875) known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugars." (See Supt. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 629.)

Whether or no vacuum pans and centrifugal machines may have been known and used in advancing sugars in Hawaii for two or three years prior to the treaty, is not of the slightest importance, being no proof that such sugars are exempted from duty by the treaty of 1875.

The manufactured sugars, now constituting more than 80 per cent of the entries from Hawaii, were never commonly imported and known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as "muscovado, brown, and other unrefined Sandwich Island sugars" prior to the treaty of 1875.

Official dereliction of duty in not levying duty on semi-refined sugars imported from Hawaii, cannot be whitewashed with the pretence that a few centrifugal machines had been set up on Hawaiian plantations two or three years prior to the treaty of 1875.

What are known to-day as vacuum-pan centrifugal sugars in our markets were virtually unknown to the planters in Hawaii prior to the treaty, when, according to Mr. Allen, the Hawaiian Minister, "most of the Hawaiian planters became bankrupt, causing general bankruptcy and ruin to almost every one who had become interested in the production of sugar." (See pp. 39 minutes hearing before Com. For. Affairs, Feb. 17th, 1882.)

Custom and habit too often usurp the place of law in the custom-house routine of dealing with imported merchandise, both free and dutiable. This is clearly evidenced in the fact that, while the treaty of 1875 exempted only "muscovado, brown, and all other

unrefined sugar;" customs officials have, almost without exception admitted every grade of sugar that claimed free entry since the treaty, until refined vacuum-pan crystals have virtually superseded the formerly commonly known and imported sugars exempted by the treaty with Hawaii, as I shall presently show in official classifications.

There is no authentic evidence that the Treasury Department or the Collector of Customs at San Francisco had any knowledge at the time of said treaty that vacuum-pan sugars were made in Hawaii and sent to this country as "muscovado, brown, and other unrefined sugars, such as were *commonly known* in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugars," prior to the treaty of 1875; neither does the treaty exempt any sugars, except the sugars thus definitely named therein.

Vacuum-pan sugars were not considered or covered by the treaty of 1875. It matters not that a moiety of light-colored, drained sugars were made in the Islands prior to the treaty. Such sugars bore no semblance, except in being called sugar, to the vacuum-pan sugars now manufactured in Hawaii, and commonly imported under the treaty, but which have no claim thereby to be admitted free of duty.

The following letter, addressed to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, shows conclusively that the Treasury Department has no official knowledge that any but raw muscovado sugars were imported from Hawaii before the treaty of 1875; neither is it possible, at this late date, for official opinions and reports to prove that vacuum-pan crystals claimed to have been made in Hawaii before the treaty were "muscovado, brown, and other unrefined sugars," or that the vacuum-pan sugars now imported were the grades "commonly imported" from Hawaii, and known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugars prior to the treaty of 1875:

To the Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives.

Hon. C. G. Williams, *Chairman.*

Dear Sir: I have the honor to ask your attention to the following statements relating to the *Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty*, and methods employed to continue the same, against public interests.

Having failed to impress the people in the slightest degree with the belief that it is their interest to be robbed by the Hawaiian Treaty, the San Francisco Merchant, the leading organ of the Spreckels dynasty, has not only resorted to fiction, but presented serious matter for the investigation of Congress. The "Merchant" of April 14th ult., claims in substance, as you doubtless are aware, that 88 per cent. of the sugars imported from the Hawaiian Islands in 1875, were vacuum-pan crystals from above No. 13 D. S.,

to No. 20 D. S. in color, and that those sugars were exempt as "muscovado, brown, and other unrefined sugars commonly known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugars."

Passing over the random fictitious pretense that vacuum pans were generally used by the impoverished planters of Hawaii prior to the treaty of 1875, and making due allowance for the fact that the Spreckels dynasty is playing for high stakes, amounting to from five to six millions of dollars profit per annum, wrung from consumers of sugars, we reach the following table copied from the "Merchant," which claims to represent the official classification of Hawaiian sugars in 1875, while prudently forgetting to give the official values for each grade, and omitting the signature of the official tabulator.

The "Merchant's" "Table, showing importations of Hawaiian sugars at the port of San Francisco for the calendar year 1875, (the year prior to the Reciprocity Treaty), according to grades, from custom-house returns," is as follows:

Grade.	1875.	Ratio.
Not above No. 7	147,899 lbs.	1 per cent.
No. 7 to No. 10	320,680 "	2 " "
No 10 to No. 13	1,739,668 "	9 " "
No. 13 to No. 16	15,543,062 "	82 " "
No. 16 to No. 20	1,158,748 "	6 " "

Not only is the above table an absurdity on its face, but never in any year in the history of sugar imports from the Sandwich Islands, has there been anything like an approximation to the above fictitious percentage of grades entered as "Sandwich Island sugars," etc., above No. 13 to No. 20 D. S. in color; neither do any such official classifications of Hawaiian sugars in 1875 exist in the published official records of the Treasury Department, which statement is proved in the following Exhibit from the Bureau of Statistics:

STATEMENT showing the QUANTITIES and VALUES of BROWN SUGAR IMPORTED from the Hawaiian Islands into the United States, from 1868 to 1876, inclusive.

YEAR ENDED JUNE 30—	SUGAR, DUTCH STANDARD IN COLOR.									
	All not above No. 12.		Above No. 12 and not above No. 15.		Above No. 15 and not above No. 20.		TOTAL.			
	Pounds.	*Dollars.*	*Pounds.*	*Dollars.*	*Pounds.*	*Dollars.*	*Pounds.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	
1867	9,653,230	340,164	5,891,172	341,020	22,659	1,008	15,567,061		786,092	
1868	12,922,159	570,756	5,591,842	378,247	27,001	1,805	18,541,002		950,808	
1869							14,211,482		1,087,493	
1870							14,016,181		901,045	
1871							15,018,469		935,909	
1872							15,597,784		925,441	
1873							15,743,146		934,824	
1874	No official report of classification						13,577,574		740,786	
1875							17,888,000		938,676	
1876							20,978,374		1,051,987	

STATEMENT showing the QUANTITIES and VALUES of BROWN SUGAR IMPORTED from the Hawaiian Islands and ENTERED for CONSUMPTION in the United States, from 1877 to 1882, inclusive.

[Free of duty under reciprocity treaty, act of Congress approved August 15, 1876, which went into effect September 9, 1876.]

YEAR ENDED JUNE 30—	SUGAR, DUTCH STANDARD IN COLOR.									
	About No. 7 and not above No. 10.		Above No. 10 and not above No. 13.		Above No. 13 and not above No. 16.		Above No. 16 and not above No. 20.		TOTAL.	
	Pounds.	*Dollars.*	*Pounds.*	*Dollars.*	*Pounds.*	*Dollars.*	*Pounds.*	*Dollars.*	*Pounds.*	*Dollars.*
1877	3,080,804	230,155	11,291,315	754,490	10,185,256	737,625	5,180,406	426,303	29,642,981	2,148,573
1878	2,437,420	161,922	10,805,283	757,734	12,774,780	963,750	4,897,345	391,224	30,908,828	2,275,430
1879	8,174,136	501,850	16,615,086	1,060,164	15,474,564	1,118,118	1,232,073	92,061	41,495,859	2,811,193
1880	7,736,349	450,630	28,316,506	1,802,737	43,040,613	2,865,362	1,477,493	105,959	67,570,994	4,425,487
1881	5,373,005	286,707	28,186,889	1,774,952	44,973,293	3,021,207	4,927,380	292,505	74,960,247	4,927,021
1882	3,952,896	182,873	53,228,879	3,410,318	44,973,293	3,021,207			106,181,868	6,918,053

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF STATISTICS,
March 8, 1882.

JOSEPH NIMMO, JR.,
Chief of Bureau.

It appears that this Government has no official knowledge that vacuum-pan crystals were ever made in the Sandwich Islands prior to the treaty, and in fact has no authentic knowledge that any sugars except muscovado, brown, and other drained sugars were made in the Hawaiian Islands prior to the treaty, and commonly known as "Sandwich Island sugars," which statement is proved in the following letter:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF STATISTICS,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *March* 22, 1882.

"H. A. BROWN, ESQ.,

"DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry of the 20th instant, as to whether Hawaiian sugars imported prior to 1876 were other than raw, drained or clayed sugars, to wit, brown, and muscovado sugars, made by the old process, and known as Sandwich Island sugars, I have to inform you that this office is not in possession of any information upon that point.

"Very respectfully,

(Signed) "JOSEPH NIMMO, JR.,
"*Chief of Bureau.*"

Conclusive evidence of chicane in the Spreckels, "Organ" table of assumed grades imported in 1875, appears in the official classifications of Sandwich Island sugars in 1867–68, which averaged above 65 per cent., not above No. 12 D. S., and in 1877 which averaged about 50 per cent., not above No. 13, D. S., as against only 3 per cent. claimed below No. 10 D. S. for 1875, in the "Organ" table of fictitious classifications for that year.

The "Merchant's" attempt to subvert facts simply renders Treasury officials derelict of duty, in appearance at least, inasmuch as if the marvellous "organ" classifications of 1875 existed, the fact was suppressed officially, and Congress was led to believe that only muscovado and brown sugars were made in or imported from the Islands, while 88 per cent. of the imports of 1875 were actually semi-refined vacuum-pan centrifugal crystals, above 13 to 20 D. S., leaving only 3 per cent. of actual muscovado and brown sugars not above 10 D. S., and only 9 per cent. between 10 and 13 D. S.

Without here entering further into these analyses, which I have already done in numerous statements to Congress and your honorable committee, I will only add that China, Java, and Manilla sugars may be imported into the Sandwich Islands, pay 2½ cents per lb. duty, and be reboiled and shipped to San Francisco duty free at a clean profit of from $1.34 to $2.70 per 100 lbs.; in fact, the conclusion is inevitable that "this profound foreign policy," or Hawaiian reciprocity treaty, is a gigantic fraud upon the people of this country and the native planters of Hawaii, and an incubus upon American sugar-producing and refining industries.

The importation of refined vacuum-pan centrifugal crystals, which approximate in quantity 75 per cent. of the Hawaiian sugars now imported duty free, and their unrestricted free entry as "muscovado, brown, and unrefined sugars," is a stupendous fraud, which demands the immediate action of the Executive and the early attention of Congress.

Very respectfully,

MAY 3, 1882. HENRY A. BROWN.

Neither is there anything in the Claus Spreckles protest of 1875 against the Treaty, which can be construed to indicate that vacuum pan sugars were made in Hawaii prior to the Treaty, much less that vacuum pan sugars were "muscovado, brown and other unrefined sugars heretofore commonly imported, etc.;" the fact that prior to the Treaty, the Island Planters may have produced and sent to our markets, a moiety of centrifugal sugars ranging from 13 to 20 Dutch Standard in color, does not prove that the sugars commonly imported were of that grade.

Manufacturing "muscovado, brown or other unrefined" sugar from cane juice commonly consists of three processes conducted substantially as follows: the juice is first heated slowly to the point of boiling to clarify it, that is, to precipitate feculents for removal from the raw juice. When the heat does not fully separate feculents from the juice, and when acid is in excess therein, alkalies are used, such as quicklime, milk of lime, and bisulphate of lime. The quantity of lime required is determined by the use of litmus paper, and feculents are removed by skimming, filtration and settling.

The clarified juice is boiled at about 215° F. to evaporate the juice and reduce it to syrup. The syrup is next concentrated to melada by more rapid boiling at an increased temperature, which should not exceed 235° to 238° Fahrenheit, at which point the best results are usually obtained. During the process of evaporation and concentration, acidity in excess is again corrected by the use of lime, and feculents that rise are removed by skimming.

Open boilers, or kettles, or tanks are used for sugar making by this process, and were formerly used for refining sugars. After cooling and graining, raw sugar is separated from the syrup or molasses by various methods; draining by putting melada into casks, tanks, or boxes pierced with holes to permit the syrup to escape while the sugar remains, is still practiced in sugar producing countries; conical moulds are also used for the same purpose; other and more primitive methods of draining are practiced in producing countries where the knowledge of sugar making is crude and imperfect.

Molasses obtained by draining raw sugar, is reboiled, evaporated, inspissated, crystallized, and treated the same as the first product of cane juice already described; the raw sugar thus obtained is

called molasses sugar, and is equal in value to muscovado sugar for refining purposes; the molasses of commerce is drained from melada and is often extremely rich in sugar crystals. Such sugars as these are the "muscovado, brown, and other unrefined sugars" exempted by the treaty of 1875 with Hawaii.

Vacuum-pan sugar manufacture is simply the application of the refining process to sugar making, to any desired extent consistent with profitable production and returns for investments made in the necessary machinery.

The introduction of vacuum-pan boilers varies the old method of finishing sugar at the second or evaporating process as follows: The syrup, having been brought to the proper consistency, is run into receivers, thence run through filter bags or directly into subsiders, and from thence drawn into the vacuum-pan as required. Sulphurous and sulphuric acid, quicklime, milk of lime, and sulphurous gas are used in the manufacture of foreign vacuum-pan crystals for the American market in order to evade duty by outwardly discoloring crystals of sugar.

Various methods are extensively practiced in foreign countries to color vacuum pan crystals made to test from 93 to 99° in purity, but intended to evade Nos. 10 and 13 of the Dutch standard of our tariff; a favorite formula employed is, to every 600 gallons of juice add 4 to 5 pounds of lime in the defecator, and again use the same quantity of lime in subsiders for dark sugars, whereas only one half the quantity of lime is used for light sugars; the excess of the lime retained in the syrup, discolors the crystals more or less outwardly and sometimes throughout, during inspissation and graining.

Again, thoroughly clarified cane juice is evaporated in triple effects or in open pans, run into subsiders, and thence drawn into the vacuum pan for finishing; where the highest grade of crystals, say 95 to 99° in purity are required, and No. 10 or 13 D. S. the limit of color, crystals are fully formed and, just before the strike, the proper percentage of molasses impurities or caramel, or both, is admitted to the boiling sugar, and the pure crystals are outwardly colored to imitate raw sugars not above No. 7–10 or 13 D. S. in color as desired.

Molasses carefully run into the vacuum-pan at intervals, after graining has progressed nearly to the desired striking point, produces a molasses crystal of great purity from 93 to 97°, but not above No. 10 D. S. in color, when skillfully manipulated. Great attention, excellent judgment, and superior skill, are the most essential elements in producing manufactured sugar crystals of the highest degree of purity, and of the requisite color to evade the payment of the full duty that would be properly levied in this country upon such sugars, if they were not manufactured to imitate raw material.

Unless tampered with at some stage of sugar making, properly

clarified cane juice will yield light yellow crystals of any desired size in the vacuum-pan, which equal 12 to 16 D. S. in color; after being purged in the centrifugals, these crystals will be of a natural color, equal to from 13 to 18 D. S., and test from 95 to 99° in purity; the duty on such sugars, when not above 16 D. S., would at present rates be $3.43¾ per 100 lbs., and when above No. 16 D. S. in color, the duty would be $4.06¼ per 100 lbs., hence the various foreign methods of producing a manufactured article of sugar of superior value, to imitate raw sugar material and evade duty.

Centrifugal machines perform the work of separating sugar from syrup with dispatch; by such aid the tedious process of drainage is avoided, and separation accomplished in a few moments, the concentrated mass of sugar and syrup is placed in cylindrical baskets finely perforated, and fitted upon central shafts that are made to revolve swiftly, the rapid motion drives out the syrup, and leaves the sugar comparatively dry and pure in the baskets.

The vacuum-pan, or semi-refined sugars, now imported from Hawaii, are wholly dissimilar in color to, and far superior and larger in grain than muscovado and clayed sugars, or any other raw sugars; these manufactured crystals were virtually unknown and wholly unrecognized in the treaty of 1875, much less were they exempted thereby; indeed it is evident that even clayed sugars are dutiable under said treaty.

On what grounds customs officials at San Francisco levied duty on certain lots of 16 to 20 D. S., Hawaiian sugars, while they have admitted tens of thousands of tons of refined vacuum pan crystals from No. 10 to 13 to 20 D. S. in color free of duty, is a question of importance. I present an exhibit of these abuses in official classifications of Hawaiian sugars.

The classifications, quantity, and value of dutiable sugars entered for consumption from the Hawaiian Islands, for the fiscal years ended June 30, 1867, 1868, 1874, 1875, 1876, were as follows:

Grades Dutch Standard. Year 1867.	*Quantity. Pounds.*	*Value.*
Not above No. 12 D. S.	9,353,230	$443.464
Above 12, not above 15	5,821,172	341.020
Above 15, not above 20	22,659	1,608
Total consumed	15,197,061	$786,092

Average cost per 100 pounds, 1867, $5.17.

Quality—1868.	*Quantity Pounds.*	*Value.*
Sugars not above No. 12 Dutch standard	12,622,159	$579,756
Above 12, not above No. 15	5,591,842	375.247
Above 15, not above No. 20	27,061	1,895
Above No. 20, in all	80	11
Total consumed	18,241,142	$956,909

Average cost per 100 pounds, 1868, $5 24.

Dutiable Hawaiian Sugars entered into consumption in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1874, 1875, 1876, prior to the Reciprocity Treaty admitting Hawaiian Sugars Duty Free.

Year.	*Dutiable Sugars. Pounds.*	*Value. Dollars.*	*Cost per lb. Cents.*	*Average Grade.*
1874	13,575,674	740,786	5 45	No. 7 to 10 D. S.
1875	17,888,000	938,676	5.24	No. 7 to 10 D. S.
1876	20,978,374	1,051,987	5.01	No. 7 to 10 D. S.
Total	52,442,048	2,731,449	Av. 5.2	Av. 7 to 10 D. S.

Although the classifications of Hawaiian sugars for duty have not been officially recorded separately in the years 1869 to 1876, inclusive, the average grade thereof by the Dutch standard is readily determined to have been No. 7 to 10 D. S., by the average cost of said sugars, and by comparison with the official classifications and cost of Hawaiian sugars in 1867, 1868, and 1877; proof positive that they were raw "muscovado, brown, and other unrefined sugars."

Classifications of Hawaiian Sugars entered into consumption in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, under the Dutch Standard.

Classified D. S.	1877. *Pounds.*	1878. *Pounds.*	1879. *Pounds.*
Above No. 7 not above No. 10	3,980,804	2,437,920	8,174,146
Above No. 10 not above No. 13	11,291,315	10,805,283	16,615,686
Above No. 13 not above No. 16	10,183,556	12,227,780	15,670,564
Above No. 16 not above No. 20	5,186,406	4,897,345	1,232,673
Above No. 20 D. S.	43,061	----------	----------
Total consumed	30,685,142	30,368,328	41,693,069

Classified D. S.	1880. *Pounds.*	1881. *Pounds.*	1882. *Pounds.*
Not above No. 7 D. S.	----------	----------	13,571
Above No. 7 not above No. 10	7,793,349	5,373,005	3,939,235
Above No. 10 not above No. 13	28,416,596	28,486,589	53,228,379
Above No. 13 not above No. 16	23,868,886	43,049,613	44.973,292
Above No. 16 not above No. 20	1,477,493	----------	4,027,380
Total consumed	61,556,324	76,909,207	106,181,858

Hawaiian Sugars entered into consumption free of duty in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, under the Reciprocity Treaty admitting Hawaiian Sugars Duty Free.

Year.	*Free Sugars. Pounds.*	*Value. Dollars.*	*Cost per lb. Cents.*	*Average Grade.*
1877	30,685,142	2,112,270	6.88	Above No. 13 D. S.
1878	30,368,328	2,274.430	7.49	Above No. 14 D. S.
1879	41,693,069	2,811,192	6.74	Above No. 13 D. S.
1880	61,556,324	4,135,486	6.72	Above No. 13 D. S.
1881	76,909,207	4,927.021	6.40	Above No. 14 D. S.
1882	106,181,858	6,918,083	6.51	Above No. 14 D. S.
Total	347,393,928	23,178,482	6.79	About No. 14 D. S.

Loss of duty in six years, by grades average above 13 D. S. 3.43¾ cts. per lb.
" " " At 62½ per cent. ad valorem ---- 4.17 cts. per lb.

The above exhibit also proves that the abolition of duty on Hawaiian sugars did not reduce their cost, which averaged 5.2 cts. per lb. in 1874–5–6, and 6.79 cts. per lb. in 1877 to 1882, inclusive, but has increased the cost of refined sugars to Pacific coast consumers.

The treaty admits nothing but natural drained sugars; indeed, the moiety of sugars above 7 to 10 D. S. in color, which were entered and known in 1875 as Sandwich Island sugars, were muscovado sugars, a portion of which may possibly have been clayed, which process produces a moiety of white sugar.

The quantity of sugars drained above No. 13 or 15 D. S. prior to the treaty does not, however, indicate that such were clayed sugars; neither is there any reliable evidence that a pound of the sugars, then imported from the Sandwich Islands, were clayed; in fact, melada can be drained until the remaining dry muscovado sugar is above No. 16 D. S. in color, and the conclusion is inevitable that Sandwich Island sugars, as designated in the treaty, were muscovado sugars.

Casual observation of the changed classifications of Hawaiian sugars since the treaty, the knowledge that in those islands sugars are now grained and finished in vacuum pans, after the cane juice has been clarified and inspissated to the consistency of syrup, and that, instead of the old method of twenty to forty days' draining, the vacuum-pan sugars are now drained in centrifugals in a few minutes, together with the statements of Ex-Minister Comly and others, that the best of modern machineryis now used, and the highest grades of sugars are now made in the Hawaiian Islands, as well as the sworn cost or invoice value of such sugars, and sales in open market, produces reliable evidence that the great mass of all sugars now entered as free sugars are, in reality, vacuum-pan and high grade sugars, superior in color, quality, and value to the "muscovado, brown, and other unrefined" Sandwich Island sugars exempted by the treaty.

To what extent this subversion of the treaty has been carried is readily seen in the classifications, which rose, as follows, after the treaty on the single class above No. 13, not above 16 D. S., as entered for consumption in the fiscal years ended June 30, 1877, to 1882, inclusive:

1877, above 13 not above 16 D. S.	10,183,556 lbs.
1878, " "	12,227,780 "
1879, " "	15,670,564 "
1880, " "	23,868,886 "
Or more than the total imports of Hawaiian sugars in 1876,	
1881, above 13 not above 16 D. S.	43,049,613 "
Or more than the total imports of Hawaiian sugars in 1879.	
1882, above 13 not above 16 D. S.	44,973,293 "

Every pound of these sugars, and all of the 10 to 13 grades, are undoubtedly dutiable sugars under the law and under the treaty,

and every pound of Hawaii sugar of every grade should pay duty by the Polariscope test in order to stop this wholesale revenue robbery.

Tangible evidence is furnished in classification Tables herein, that sugars are manufactured by refining processes in Hawaii, as well as in Cuba and Demerara, to assume any outward color desired; an impossible achievement in making muscovado sugars.

When duty was levied on certain high grades of sugars entered as free at San Francisco, Hawaiian sugars above No. 16 D. S. in color soon disappeared for the time being, but have reappeared under lax Executive administration; the official record of classifications of Hawaiian sugars above 16 D. S. were as follows, in the fiscal years ended June 30th, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882:

	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882
Admitted duty free.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Above 16 not above 20 D. S.	4,897,345	1,232,673	1,477,493	None.	4,027,380

This treaty abuse becomes palpably evident in my manifold comparisons of samples of Hawaiian sugars imported in 1881–1882, with samples of other foreign and domestic sugars including—

Dutiable raw sugars in their normal condition.

Domestic cane, beet and sorghum sugars.

Foreign centrifugals, showing coloration devices, and official Dutch standards used for levying duty on sugar.

The Treasury Department stands committed against the admission of high grades of Hawaiian sugars, duty free, in sustaining the collector at San Francisco who levied duty on such sugars that happened to be No. 18 to 20 D. S. in color, as will be seen in Treasury decision 3,262, June 2d, 1877, herewith presented from synopsis of decisions 1877, p. 205, wherein it is evidenced that the customs appraiser at San Francisco, and the collector of customs at Portland, Oregon, officially report that such sugars were not commonly imported into San Francisco and Portland, and there known as Sandwich Island sugars prior to the adoption of the treaty of 1875.

Hawaiian Sugar— When Dutiable under Treaty.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *June* 2, 1877.

SIR: The Department has had under consideration your report of December 2 last, with accompanying documents, in relation to the appeal (2559 *c*) of the California Sugar Refinery, per C. A. McNulty, attorney, from your assessment of duty on certain 388 kegs sugar imported per bark "R. C. Wylie," from Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, November 14, 1876.

The appellants claim that the sugar in question is entitled to free entry under article 1 of the reciprocity treaty between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands, ratified January 30, 1875, and the act of August 15, 1876, carrying the treaty into effect.

By the terms of that treaty and the law of Congress passed in pursuance thereof, approved August 15, 1876, free entry is accorded to muscovado, brown, and all other unrefined sugar, the growth and manufacture or produce of the Hawaiian Islands, "meaning thereby the grade of sugar heretofore commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands and now known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland, Oregon, as Sandwich Island sugar."

Three questions are therefore presented for consideration:

First. Is the sugar in question of the growth and manufacture of the Hawaiian Islands?

Second. Is it unrefined sugar?

Third. If so, is it the grade of sugar which was commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands, and known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland, Oregon, at the date of the adoption of the treaty, as Sandwich Island sugar?

Upon the first point it is conceded that the sugar is the growth and manufacture of the Hawaiian Islands. As to the second point, I have to state that, upon the submission of samples of the sugar to the experts of the customs at some of the principal ports, there appears to be a difference of opinion among them as to whether the sugar can properly be regarded as unrefined. It appears to have been manufactured by what is known as the "centrifugal process," and during the process of manufacture a jet of water was introduced so as to more fully clear it of its impurities.

The rate of duty upon imported sugar is based mainly upon its *color* by the Dutch standard, and Schedule G of the Revised Statutes imposes a duty of four cents per pound on sugar above No. 20, Dutch standard in color, and on all refined loaf, lump, crushed, powdered, and granulated sugars.

In the case of Barlow, claimant of 85 hogsheads of sugar, (appellant against the United States, 7 Peters, page 404,) it is held by the Supreme Court of the United States that the term "refined sugar" is to be construed as exclusively limited to such as has assumed at some time the form of white refined loaf or lump sugar.

Applying that rule to the present case, it would clearly appear that the sugar in question is to be regarded as unrefined within the meaning of the treaty and of the act of Congress before mentioned.

Upon the third question, as to whether this grade of sugar was at the time of the adoption of the treaty commonly imported into San Francisco and Portland, Oregon, and there known as Sandwich Island sugar, *you report that the appraiser states that sugar of the grade in question was not, prior to the adoption of the treaty, commonly imported, although there had been a few importations of it made into your port prior to the adoption of the treaty.* As opposed to this, is the statement of twenty-one merchants and dealers in such sugar at San Francisco to the effect that the sugar in question is of the grade commonly imported from the Sandwich Islands, and that at the time of the

treaty it was known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland, Oregon, as Sandwich Island sugar. *They fail to show, however, that sugar of as high a grade as the present was commonly imported into San Francisco from the Hawaiian Islands at the time of, or before, the adoption of the treaty.*

The papers in the case were referred to the collector of customs at Portland, Oregon, for report upon this question, and he states that sugar of the grade embraced in this appeal—that is, sugar above No. 20, Dutch standard—was not commonly imported into Portland prior to the adoption of the treaty.

The reports of the appraiser at your port and the collector of customs at Portland, Oregon, are therefore accepted as conclusive upon the question of fact as to the grade of the sugar imported prior to the adoption of the treaty, and as these reports show that sugar of the grade embraced in this appeal was not commonly imported into those ports at that time, it follows that it is to be regarded as not admissible, free of duty, under the treaty.

Your assessment of duty having been made by the standard of the Dutch color, in accordance with Schedule G of the Revised Statutes, your decision is hereby affirmed.

* * * * * * *

Respectfully,

JOHN SHERMAN, *Secretary.*

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS, *San Francisco, Cal.*

The decision quoted would properly apply with equal force to all Hawaiian vacuum-pan centrifugal sugars even when below 13 or 16 D. S. in color, none of which are "muscovado, brown, and other unrefined" or raw sugars, such as were commonly imported prior to the Treaty. The Government has no more right to exempt Hawaiian centrifugals below No. 20 D. S. in color than it had to exempt the No. 18 to 20 D. S. sugars upon which duty has been levied as already shown.

The assumption that sugars when below No. 20 are unrefined sugars entitled to free entry, and that sugars must be white-loaf or lump in order to be called refined is nonsense, and is actually contradicted by the Government in levying duty on Hawaiian sugars when above No. 18 or 20 D. S. in color, in 1877 and since.

Drawback is also allowed by the Treasury Department—on refined hard sugar, 3.18 cents per lb.; on refined coffee sugar above 20 D. S., 2.58 cents per lb.; on refined coffee sugars No. 20 and under, 2.08 cents per lb.; thus showing that refined sugars range from 12 or 13 D. S. to above 20 D. S. in color, and from refined molasses sugars—yellows—to hard white refined sugars; this is proven in numerous samples of refined sugars before me, secured from the current outturn of the leading refineries of this country, ranging from 12 to above 20 D. S. in color.

The high grades of Hawaiian vacuum-pan sugars now claiming and obtaining free entry, as "muscovado, brown, and other unrefined sugars," are no more exempt from duty under the Treaty than refined coffee sugar or white-loaf or lump sugar would be.

Regarding China and Manilla sugars, and the opportunities afforded by the Hawaiian treaty for entering them at Hawaii and shipping them thence to the United States, the bankrupt planters exhibited a rapid and curious increase of Hawaiian sugar production as imported for consumption after the Treaty, largely prior to any material yield from the cane-fields of Claus Spreckel's planting.

During ten years prior to the Treaty the normal increase in imports of Hawaiian sugars was from 15,197,061 in 1867, to 20,978,374 lbs. in 1876. Since the Treaty the imports of free sugars have increased from 20,978,374 lbs. in 1876, to 106,181,858 lbs. in 1882.

If this increase has been actually normal in consequence of the advanced production of sugar in the Sandwich Islands, the Treaty is nevertheless a gigantic evil which, increasing with enormous rapidity, will, if not checked, destroy home production and refining and become a worse burden to consumers than double the present duty on sugar could ever be, through the workings of the gigantic sugar food monopoly that would then command the American market.

The temptation to buy low-grade raw sugars in China, Hong-Kong, and adjacent countries, and land them at Hawaii to be clayed or semi-refined in vacuum-pans and reshipped thence to this country as Hawaiian sugars, duty free, is not only seemingly irresistible, but the opportunity is supplied by the reciprocity treaty between the United States and the Kingdom of Hawaii.

Hon. James M. Comly, Ex-United States minister at Honolulu, says:

"While (1880) the Hawaiians have exported large quantities of rice to us, paying no duty, they have imported and bonded 1,716,160 pounds of an inferior article for use on the plantations."

China figures largely in Hawaiian commerce, and sugar presents far greater speculative allurements than rice, while the reciprocity treaty and the kingdom of Hawaii furnish a medium for illicit sugar traffic with this country.

The Hawaiian Minister tells us that the Hawaiian duty of 2½ cts. per lb. on sugar, prevents the importation of China sugars at Hawaii for reshipment as free sugars to this country, and that the character of China sugars, as compared with Hawaiian sugars, would enable our officials to detect any attempts to enter China sugars as Hawaiian sugars.

Hawaiian sugars were, as already shown, invoiced and valued at San Francisco, in 1877, 6.88 cts. per lb.; 1878, 7.49 cents per lb.; 1879, 6.74 cts. per lb.; 1880, 6.72 cts. per lb.; 1881, 6.40 cts. per lb.; 1882, 6.51 cts. per lb.; and as the average cost of China and Manilla

sugars does not exceed 3 cts. per lb., such sugars can be entered at Hawaii, pay 2½ cts. per lb. duty, and cost only 5½ cts. per lb. in Hawaii, while, by reshipment to this country as Hawaiian sugars free, the average profit of such transactions during the five years named would be 1.34 cts. per lb., and the normal character of such sugars can be changed in the vacuum-pans of Hawaii without reducing this profit.

Neither is this illicit profit limited to 1.34 cts. per lb., as will appear presently from authentic data. The total crop of free sugars entered from Hawaii in 1881, 76,909,207 lbs., sold in California at an average of 7.45 cts. per lb.; hence, the illicit gain from entering China and Manilla sugars at Hawaii, after paying 2½ cts. per lb. duty thereon to the Hawaiian government, changing the grades thereof into vacuum-pan crystals, and shipping the product to San Francisco as Hawaiian sugars, would, after allowing for refining in Hawaii, amount to at least 2.70 cts. per lb.

The Hawaiian Minister (p. 32, minutes hearing, February 17th, 1882,) called attention to the invoice valuations in the Bureau of Statistics as conclusive evidence of the great advancement of trade under the treaty, and then denied their accuracy when the same figures were applied to sugars entered free of duty at San Francisco, as being, in substance, nearly double the actual value of such sugars, and therefore erroneous.

Thus, Mr. Allen admits that the Hawaiian government and custom's officials, aided by the American Consul at Honolulu, have systematically falsified all invoices of sugars sent to this country under the treaty, and asks the committee to accept the statements of those officials to prove that only 9,100 pounds of China sugars have been imported into Hawaii, and that no advantage could thus have been taken of the treaty to send China sugars to the United States as Hawaiian sugars, owing to the vigilance of such officials.

The average invoice value of Hawaiian sugars per 100 pounds was in 1877, $6.88; 1878, $7.49; 1879, $6.74; 1880, $6.72; 1881, $6.40; 1882, $6.51, while sales were made above those prices; and in further illustration of the infallibility of Hawaiian customs' invoices, dutiable sugars from Hawaii were invoiced per 100 lbs., in 1867, $5.17; 1868, $5.24; 1874, $5.45; 1875, $5.24; 1876, $5.01.

Clearly, Honolulu invoices were falsified before or since the treaty, and the Hawaiian officials, the American Consul, and the Hawaiian executives, who, as Mr. Allen shows, vouch for their own honesty—no uncommon thing in this country—must have sanctioned the fraud.

In the printed review of the Hawaiian Minister's statements to the Committee on Foreign Affairs in favor of the Hawaiian reciprocity treaty, it will be found that Mr. Allen states in substance, on page 32 of the minutes of said hearing, that the invoice value of Hawaiian sugars is far greater than their net value, and places the invoice

value thereof, in 1881, at 6.53 cts. per lb., and the net value at 5.75 cts. per lb.; for previous years Mr. Allen claims a still greater difference against invoice values.

The San Francisco Commercial Herald and Market Review for January 26, 1882, states, in its summary for 1881, as follows: "Although the refiners were as well the receivers of the principal part of the Hawaiian sugars 88,438,581 lbs., the prices paid by them were on the basis of the duty paid cost of their supplies from other markets; at the present time centrifugals polarizing 96 are quotable at 8 cts. per lb., bright muscovados polarizing 84 to 94 are worth 6¼ to 7½ cts. per lb., and poor to fair refining 5@6 cts. per lb."

The classification of Hawaiian Sugars entered for consumption in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881, was as follows:

Above No. 7, not above 10 D. S., poor to fair refining	5,373,005 lbs. at 5¼c		$ 295,515
" " 10, " " 13 D. S., bright muscovados	28,486,589 " " 7		1,994,061
" " 13, " " 16 D. S., Vac. Pan Centrif'g'l	43,049,613 " " 8		3,443,969
			$5,733,545
Total average grade above 14 D. S.	76,909,207		
1881. Invoice value of 76,909,207 lbs.	$4,927,021	Cost per lb.	6.40c
1881. Market " " 76,909,207 lbs.	5,733,545	" "	7.45

And the entire imports of Hawaiian Sugars for the year named, would have brought an average of 7.45 cts. per lb. delivered to any refiner in New York.

The San Francisco Commercial Herald and Market Review of January 26, 1882, in its summary of prices of duty-free sugars refined in San Francisco from January 1, 1881, to January 1, 1882, states the prices for each month; the lowest and highest prices in 1881 were as follows in San Francisco:

	Crushed Refined Sugars.	*Golden C. Refined Sugars.*
Lowest price per lb.	March 5, 1881, 11¼c.	Same date per lb. 9½cts.
Highest " "	June 4, 1881, 13⅜c.	Same date per lb. 12cts.
Average " during 1881,	12.35c.	Same year per lb. 10.60cts.

Clearly, Mr. Allen has been misled, or he designed to mislead the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in regard to the Hawaiian Treaty and Hawaiian duty free sugars; the exhibit for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881, being as follows:

Sugars Free.	*Invoice Value.*	*Market Value.*	*Mr. Allen's Value.*
1881, 76,909,207 lbs.	$4,927,021.	$5,733,545	$4,422,279

Invoice Value.	*Market Value.*	*Mr. Allen's Value.*	*Refined Hard Value.*	*Refined Soft Value.*
1881, 6.40c. lb.	7.45c. lb.	5.75c. lb.	12.35c. lb.	10.60c. lb.

If Hawaiians only realize 5.75 cents per lb. for sugars that bring 7.45 cents per lb. when landed in San Francisco, they are robbed right and left by the Treaty and would be better off without it; the fact is, they do not get even that from the Spreckles dynasty; it is also evident that consumers on the Pacific Coast are paying Spreckles & Co. a clear profit above the cost of refining, estimated at 50 cents

per 100 lbs. of at least 3.70 cents per lb. on soft refined sugar, and 4.40 cents per lb. on hard refined sugar, to say nothing of the large additional profit upon Hawaiian sugars from Spreckels' Plantations which, it is claimed, can be laid down in San Francisco at 3 cents per lb. under the Treaty.

Hawaiian Planters only net from 5 cents to 5¾ cents per lb. for sugars that average nearly 8 cents per lb. in value when landed in San Francisco, because Claus Spreckels and other enterprising speculators in sugar food control contracts with Hawaiian Planters, made under the pressure of necessity, whereby they receive New York market prices for their sugars on their arrival in San Francisco, *less commissions and the duty that is saved;* a species of high-handed robbery sanctioned by the treaty with Hawaii—called reciprocity.

I have already shown in the classification tables contained in these statements that the duty remitted on Hawaiian sugars averages 3.43¾ cents per lb. since the Hawaiian treaty has been in force; whereas, the average duty collected from Hawaiian sugars in the fiscal year ended June 30th, 1876, was 2.41 cents per lb. under the present tariff; again proving conclusively that the semi-refined vacuum pan crystals now entering free are not the "muscovado, brown and other unrefined sugars commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands" prior to the treaty of 1875.

The average annual imports of Hawaiian sugars entered into consumption since 1867, have been as follows:

	Pounds.	*Value.*
1868 to 1873, inclusive, 6 years dutiable	15,782,035	$956,710
1874 to 1876, inclusive, 3 years dutiable	17,480,682	910,483
1877 to 1881, inclusive, 5 years duty free	48,242,414	3,252,079
1882 imports 1 year duty free	106,181,858	6,918,083

The increased influx of free sugars from Hawaii has been as follows: 30,368,328 lbs. entered into consumption in the year ending June 30, 1878, 41,693,069 lbs. in 1879, 61,556,324 lbs. in 1880, 76,909,207 lbs. in 1881, 106,181,858 lbs. in 1882.

Instead of cheapening refined sugars on the Pacific coast, or even conforming to Eastern prices of similar refined outturn from dutiable sugars, the free sugar dynasty have advanced prices of refined grades to consumers in California about 3 cents per pound beyond the Eastern market, maintaining exorbitant prices by buying and coercing Pacific railroad freight agents to double the California rates of freight on Eastern sugars.

Free sugars have enabled the protesters of 1875 against the treaty, to erect a $1,500,000 refinery, with a working capacity of 275,000,000 lbs. per annum, in addition to the outturn of existing Pacific coast refineries. Free sugars have also enabled the manipulators thereof to transfer a large portion of the Pacific coast refining industry to the plantations in the Hawaiian Islands.

Free sugars enable Spreckels & Co. to import China and Manilla sugars at large advantage over Louisiana and Eastern refiners, and will soon enable the free sugar dynasty to break down the Eastern market from time to time, only to corner for a rise, until free sugars from Hawaii shall finally destroy home production and hold consumers throughout the country at the mercy of the monopoly which now swindles consumers on the Pacific coast.

If such manipulations as these do not affect American sugar producers and refiners, consumers and taxpayers injuriously, then light is darkness, and facts but fictions. The only relief we have from these free sugar monopolists and treaty abuses is to protect home sugar production and the refining industries of the country, in order that healthful competition may be maintained for the benefit of consumers, and that Eastern competition, having only freight to contend with, may extend to California, and thus materially benefit consumers of sugar on the Pacific coast.

Taking the official records as authority, the loss of revenue during five years of this treaty exceeds ten millions of dollars; taking the extra price placed upon Hawaiian sugars over those of other countries, which was in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881, $1.98 per 100 lbs.; say 2 cents per lb. on 241,212,070 lbs. consumed in five years, the average cost of Hawaii sugars, in 1881, having been $6.40 per 100 lbs., and those from other countries $4.42 per 100 lbs., we have a loss of industry of $4,824,241; and taking the minimum of extra cost of free sugars to consumers on the Pacific coast, above the cost of dutiable sugars to consumers elsewhere, at 2 cents per lb., we find the former paid $4,824,241 extra for free sugars in five years ended June 30, 1881. We will come to the exhibit in 1882 presently.

In my judgment, founded upon the evidence produced by the classification of facts and authentic figures, at least seventy-five to eighty (75 to 80) per cent. of the sugars now entered for consumption duty free from Hawaii are not exempted by the treaty, but under the law are dutiable sugars; and the fact that through official neglect or misapprehension, duty upon such new process sugars has not been collected, does not prove to the contrary.

Summing up the commercial results of this treaty as recorded in the official archives of our statistical and revenue bureaus and other authentic records upon which I base my statements, under the treaty in five fiscal years ended June 30, 1877, to June 30, 1881, inclusive, the exhibit is as follows, sugar constituting 90.81 per cent. of the total consumption of Hawaiian merchandise, duty thereon 62½ per cent. cent. advalorem:

Total Imports consumption.	Total Exports dom. md-e.	Total Sugars consumed.	Loss of Duty on sugar alone.
$17,905,365.	$9,761,142.	$16,260,399.	$10,162,749.

Thus the palpable losses to this country by said treaty during the five years named were:

1. Balance of trade against the United States	$8,144,223
2. Loss of duty on sugars as above and elsewhere stated	10,162,749
3. Extra cost of Hawaiian sugars as before explained	4,824,241
4. Minimum extra cost of "free" refined sugars to consumers	4,824,241
Total tangible loss to the United States	$27,955,454

Taking the annual average we have lost $5,591,090 per annum by the treaty. Taking the fiscal year ended June 30, 1881, the account stands as follows:

Imports Consumed.	Exports Mdse.	Sugar Imports.	Loss of Duty.
$5,525,670.	$2,694,583.	$4,927,021.	$3,079,388.

Showing a largely increasing annual average loss, as follows:

1. Balance of trade in 1881 against the United States	$2,831,087
2. Loss of duty on sugars as explained elsewhere	3,077,388
3. Extra cost of Hawaiian sugars as before explained	1,538,184
4. Minimum extra cost of "free" refined sugars to consumers	1,538,184
Total tangible loss to the United States in 1881	$8,986,843

The stupendous progress of this Reciprocity Treaty abuse becomes still more startling in view of the official report of our trade with the Hawaiian Islands in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1882, which was as follows: Sugar constituting 90.47 per cent. of imports and estimated duty thereon lost 62½ per cent. advalorem:

Total Imports from H. Islds.	Total Exports to H. Islds.	Total Sugar imports	Loss of Duty sugar alone.
$7,646,294	$3,350,775	$6,918,083	$4,323,801

Showing the following trade results for 1882:

1. Balance of trade in 1882 against the United States	$4,295,519
2. Loss of duty on sugars as explained elsewhere	4,323,801
3. Extra cost of Hawaiian sugars as before explained	2,123,637
4. Minimum extra cost of "free" refined sugars to consumers	2,123,637
Total tangible loss to the United States in 1882	$12,866,594

Three tons of sugar to the acre can be readily obtained in the Hawaiian Islands; five tons per acre of sugar have been obtained from Hawaiian cane; with the exception of Mauritius, Hawaii is the richest yielding sugar cane growing country known; fully 30,000 acres of cane are now under cultivation in Hawaii, which yielded 65,000 tons of sugar in the last year, and there are, according to authentic accounts, at least 75,000 more acres of lands available in the Islands for the cultivation of sugar cane, needing only irrigation as already proved by Spreckel's enterprises.

Without a doubt the Hawaiian Islands possess a capacity of sugar production equal to 350,000 tons per annum; when planted in June, cane grows for eighteen months without tasselling owing to the mildness of the climate in winter, during which season there is no frost, as the temperature is seldom below 55 degrees F., hence Hawaiian

cane attains a gigantic growth unknown even in Cuba. As already shown, about 55,000 tons of sugar was exported to this country from Hawaii in the year ended June 30, 1882; nearly 75,000 tons will be sent to this country the coming year from those Islands.

The pretense of the Hawaiian sugar monopolists that these treaty abuses affect only Eastern refiners is nonsense. American sugar producing industries will be ruined by their continuance. Eastern refiners can take care of themselves, but consumers of sugar and taxpayers will go to the wall when competition ceases.

This is evidenced in California, where consumers pay 3 cents per lb. more for refined sugars than similar grades are sold at by Eastern refiners to Eastern consumers.

During 1882, according to the market quotations in the San Francisco Trade Review, compared with the market quotations in New York on the same days, consumers of refined sugar on the Pacific Coast, paid from $2\frac{7}{8}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents per lb. more for Hawaiian bounty-fed sugars, than Eastern consumers paid for refined duty-paid sugar.

It will be time enough to look for any advantage to Eastern consumers from "Pacific Coast refined sugars sent East, when prices are reduced to Pacific Coast consumers by the Hawaiian free sugar dynasty in San Francisco.

Measure the tangible losses to this country, through the treaty and its subversion, by the increase thereof in 1882, and the annual prospective increase in Hawaiian sugar production, and we shall lose in the next five years, through said treaty, enough money to build a navy that would command the world; while the additional injury and loss to consumers, and our producing and refining industries, will be incalculable, in thus changing healthy trade competition in sugar food, to a powerful semi-foreign moopoly.

Instance the following comparative exhibit for 1881, of all dutiable sugar *versus* Hawaiian free sugars: there entered into consumption in the fiscal year ended June 30th, 1881:

Year.	*Dutiable Sugars. Pounds.*	*Foreign Value.*	*Cost per lb. Cents.*	*Duty Received.*
1881,	1,889,708,743	$83,436,444	4.41½	$46,318,073
Hawaiian Free.				
1881,	76,909,207	4,927,021	6.40	Duty Free.

A similar comparison for the year ended June 30th, 1882, presents the following exhibit of all dutiable and free sugars entered for consumption:

Year.	*Dutiable Sugars. Pounds.*	*Foreign Value.*	*Cost per lb. Cents.*	*Duty Received.*
1882,	1,927,531,890	$84,823,099	4.40	$46,976,834
Hawaiian Free.				
1882,	106,181,858	6,918,083	6.51	Duty Free.

The magnitude and growth of these Hawaiian treaty abuses, and the egregious national blunder of their further continuance, in view of our relations with all other sugar-producing countries, is further evidenced in the following table of official classifications of dutiable sugars, and free sugars from the Hawaiian Islands, entered for consumption in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1882:

Statement showing the quantity, value, and amount of Duty received from Molasses, Melada, and Sugar, entered for consumption in the United States during the fiscal year ended June 30th, 1882.

DUTIABLE.

Articles.	*Quantity.*	*Value.*	*Duty rec'd.*
Molasses, galls	35,543,653	$9,689,686 79	$2,221,478 31
Tank bottoms, syrup of sugar, cane-juice, melada, and concentrated molasses, lbs	14,135,435	467,554 00	265,039 42
Sugar—			
Not above No. 7, lbs	485,476,825	18,190,880 75	10,619,805 53
Above No. 7, and not above No. 10, lbs	1,305,991,757	60,165,523 96	32,649,793 90
Above No. 10, and not above No. 13, lbs	119,982,153	5,907,534 65	3,374,498 10
Above No. 13, and not above No. 16, lbs	1,891,213	87,212 43	65,010 45
Above No. 16, and not above No. 20, lbs	4,075	253 79	165 55
Above No. 20, and all refined—loaf, lump, crushed, powdered, and granulated, lbs	50,432	414 00	2,521 60

FREE OF DUTY (HAWAIIAN ISLANDS).

Articles.	*Quantity.*	*Value.*
Molasses, galls	152,700	$21,694 02
Sugar—		
Not above No 7, lbs	13,571	606 00
Above No. 7, and not above No. 10, lbs	3,939,235	182,267 00
Above No. 10, and not above No. 13, lbs	53,228,379	3,416,317 98
Above No. 13, and not above No. 16, lbs	44,973,293	3,026,297 56
Above No. 16, and not above No. 20, lbs	4,027,380	292,595 00

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, BUREAU OF STATISTICS,
October 31st, 1882.

JOSEPH NIMMO, Jr.,
Chief of Bureau.

To H. A. BROWN, Esq.,
Saxonville, Mass.

It will be seen in the above tables, that while the average grade of dutiable sugars entered for consumption appears to be below No. 10 D. S. and their average foreign cost is 4.40 cents per pound, the average grade of Hawaiian sugars is above No. 14 D. S. in color and their average foreign cost is 6.51 cents per pound.

While levying duty upon the great volume of cheaper sugars and raw material received from all other sugar producing countries, there is nothing rational in exempting the higher priced semi-refined

Hawaiian sugars from duty; and Congress should correct the existing treaty blunder in this regard, forthwith.

There exists neither authority of law nor treaty provision, however, that can justify the continued admission of vacuum pan refined crystals of any color duty free, under the pretence that such sugars are "muscovado, brown and other unrefined sugars commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands as Sandwich Island sugar," prior to the treaty of 1875.

It is gratifying to know that the writer's presistent exposures of these Hawaiian treaty abuses, have at length brought about recognition of this fact, which should lead to a speedy abatement of the frauds now practiced by entering advanced sugars as raw material duty free, through the subversion of the provisions of said treaty and tariff laws, and official connivance thereat.

Having at length grappled this monstrous treaty abuse in the cases of Hawaiian sugars centered at New York, the Government should have maintained its position in the courts instead of relegating its functions to San Francisco.

Knowing the difficulties in the way of now levying duty on grades of Hawaiian semi-refined sugars which have hitherto been exempted by custom, but not by law or the Hawaiian treaty, the following letter was sent to the Secretary of the Treasury as presenting a fair exhibit of a case in point:

SAXONVILLE, MASS., *Oct.* 24, 1882.

Hon. CHARLES J. FOLGER, *Secretary of the Treasury.*

SIR: I have the honor to invite your attention to one or two points in the matter of Hawaiian sugars of high grades, and the illicit free entry thereof as "muscovado, brown, and other unrefined sugars," such as "were commonly imported and known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugars," prior to the reciprocity treaty of 1875 with the Hawaiian Islands.

Without entering upon the subject at large in this letter, I have to say that I have gathered several hundred samples from as many lots of Hawaiian sugars entered at San Francisco during the past two years, and a large number of samples from the cargoes of such sugars recently entered at New York, a great many of them "Ex Adonis," upon which cargo I am informed duty has been levied at that port.

This is certainly most commendable as a righteous procedure of the Government against an infamous treaty abuse, which is rapidly assuming the proportions of a national calamity in many respects. I am, however, also informed that, inasmuch as the collector at New York declines to declare the aforesaid sugars dutiable, on the ground that the question hinges on a matter of fact which he feels

unable to decide, you have directed that the case be referred to the collector at San Francisco for his decision.

The functions of your executive position and those of the appraiser and collector at New York, being relegated to customs officials in San Francisco, the hot-bed of these Hawaiian treaty abuses and the headquarters of the well-known instigators and perpetrators thereof, are thus, in my judgment, exposed to grave abuse or subversion, inasmuch as the established custom of passing semi-refined sugars free at San Francisco, which is wholly unauthorized by the treaty and United States customs laws, will be cited by San Francisco officials as reason for admitting such sugars duty free in New York.

Such an assumption will inevitably be overthrown; the absurdity of the claim that the Hawaiian sugars now entered and passed free of duty, are "such as were commonly imported and known as Sandwich Island sugars" prior to the treaty of 1875, is well illustrated in 87 samples in my possession from the cargo of Hawaiian sugars last entered at New York (Adonis), not a package of which are such sugars as were commonly imported and known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugars in 1875.

The 87 lots referred to above are entirely vacuum-pan sugar, mostly large, finished crystals, ranging in color from 7 D. S. to 18 D. S., and testing from 85 to 98 in the polariscope; the average color being above 14 D. S., the average test being above 93 degrees in the polariscope. Twenty-eight of these lots were above 15 D. S., with an average test above 96; 24 lots were from 12 to 15 D. S., with an average test of 95; the balance from 8 to 11 D. S., with an average test of 91.8. A large proportion of the sugars are 16 to 19 D. S., or refined crystals, superior to yellow refined sugars in color, quality and test, and fit for immediate consumption.

Such, and even finer, grades of manufactured sugars are, at this writing, commonly imported and admitted free of duty at San Francisco to my knowledge. A large number of samples of these semi-refined Hawaiian sugars are in my possession, which are beyond compare superior in color, quality and value to the "sugars commonly imported and known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland" prior to the treaty of 1875. This statement is sustained by a majority of the sugar importers, producers, and refiners in this country.

The question of fact, which, I am informed, you have referred to the collector at San Francisco for his decision, is not, therefore, whether a moiety of high grades of centrifugal sugar was imported from Hawaii prior to the treaty of 1875, but whether such sugars

were "commonly imported and known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugars" in 1875. The official records, and the fact that duty has been levied on such sugars when the color was too glaringly light, together with numerous other facts, evidence that at least 80 per cent. of the sugars now entered free from the Hawaiian Islands are not designated in or exempted by the treaty of 1875.

I have knowledge that an appeal to you to put a stop to this treaty abuse is now being numerously signed by prominent importers and refiners of sugar in New York and elsewhere, which will soon reach you, if it is not already in your hands. Such a petition is entitled to great weight, as coming from those who are familiar with sugars of every description, many of whom have handled Sandwich Island sugars prior to the treaty.

With full knowledge of the powerful and subtle influences which, backed by five or six millions of dollars per annum profits from free sugar manipulations under treaty subterfuges, have by degrees rendered these abuses chronic, and which will be brought to bear with tenfold intensity to influence the decision of the collector of San Francisco on this so-called "question of fact," I am fully prepared to sustain the Department and the collector in levying duty on all Hawaiian sugars of the high grades now imported, and claiming exemption under the treaty of 1875, and shall maintain my ground.

Very respectfully, H. A. BROWN.

The following appeal, referred to in the above letter, which has since been presented against these well-authenticated treaty abuses and subterfuges, also speaks for itself coincident with the above statements:

HON. CHARLES J. FOLGER,
Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.:

SIR: The undersigned Importers, Refiners and Brokers of Raw Sugar respectfully call the attention of the Secretary of the Treasury to the great injustice to them of the importation, free of duty, into San Francisco and other ports, of sugars from the Sandwich Islands, which are entirely different in quality from that contemplated and clearly specified in the Hawaiian Island Treaty. The effect of this unlawful importation into San Francisco has been to greatly stimulate the production of sugar in the Sandwich Islands until it has reached an extent making it necessary to find other United States markets, and already cargoes have been imported into New York which, as we are informed, the New York appraisers have pronounced liable to duty, as not coming within the stipulations of the Treaty; but it is now announced in the press that this, as a question of fact, has been referred to the collector of San Francisco, against which course we respectfully protest, as it is well

known that such importations have been very large and continually increasing in San Francisco; and to refer the question raised to the collector of that port, would constitute him the judge of his own acts, which, we contend, have allowed illegal importations greatly to the detriment of the entire sugar trade of the country, without any benefit to the consumers. And we, therefore, respectfully request that some other tribunal may decide on what all, except parties directly interested in the profits of this comparatively new trade, have long considered an outrageous and illegal abuse of the Hawaiian Island Treaty.

NEW YORK, *October* 30, 1882.

NEW YORK.

F. O. Matthiessen & Wiechers Sugar Refining Company, W. A. Wiechers, Vice-Pres't; DeCastro & Donner Sugar Refining Co.; Havemeyer Sugar Refining Co., W. F. Havemeyer, Vice-Pres't; North River Sugar Refining Co., Geo. H. Moller, Secretary; Brooklyn Sugar Refining Co., Jul. A. Stursberg, Secretary; Globe Refinery, per Frank Lazarus; B. H. Howell, Son & Co., Knowlton & Co., J. de Rivera & Co., Leaycroft & Co., Willett & Hamlen, A. Lueder, Morewood & Co., R. A. Tucker & Co., Dwight & Platt, Louis Monjo, Jr., & Co., R. P. Buck & Co., Elmenhorst & Co., Evan J. Fraser, H. A. Vatable & Son, Fabbri & Chauncey, Grinnell, Minturn & Co., H. H. Swift & Co., S. W. Welsh, Havemeyers & Elder, Maitland, Phelps & Co., Spence, Montague & Co., Jules Sazerac & Co., Moller, Sierck & Co., Dick & Meyer.

BOSTON.

Continental Sugar Refinery, by David Townsend, Treasurer; Nash Spaulding & Co.; Bay State Sugar Refining Co., per E. F. Atkins, President; E. Atkins & Co., J. A. Emmons & Co., Whitney, Paisland & Co.; Boston Sugar Refining Co., by N. P. Hamlem, President; Willett, Hamlen & Co., Cotton & Haley, F. W. Nickerson & Co., Gossler & Co., Albert A. Cobb & Co., Charles O. Foster & Co., Henry Gardner, J. Van Prang & Co., E. Williams & Co., John L. D'Wolf & Co.; Standard Sugar Refining Company, by J. B. Thomas, President; Rufus C. Cushman & Co., Henry Hastings & Co., Alfred Winsor & Son, John W. Candler & Co., Aaron D. Weld's Sons, Cyrus Wakefield & Co., Thomas Dana & Co.

PHILADELPHIA.

Harrison, Havemeyer & Co., E. C. Knight & Co., McKean, Borie & Co., E. F. Cabada & Co., Lawrence Johnson & Co., A. F. Damon & Co., Theo. Wattson & Sons, John F. Craig, Samuel & Frank Field.

The reply to the above modest and reasonable protest and request, was as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY, WASHINGTON, *Nov.* 6, 1882.

GENTLEMEN:—This Department is in receipt of your petition dated the 30th ult., with its enclosure, relating to the admission of sugar from the Sandwich Islands, and requesting that "some other tribunal" than the Collector of Customs at San Francisco shall decide as to what sugar may be imported free of duty under the treaty with the Hawaiian government.

In reply I have to state that a report upon the subject has been requested from the Collector of Customs at San Francisco, but that

he is in no wise authorized by law or instructions from this department to decide whether the sugar to which you refer, imported at New York, shall be treated as covered by the provisions of the treaty. The decision will be made by this Department after the facts in regard to the matter shall have been ascertained.

H. F. FRENCH, *Acting Secretary.*

Inasmuch as the Treasury Department has had six years in which to ascertain "the facts in regard to the matter," during which Executive delay in correcting the existing abuses, millions of dollars of revenue have been lost, and tens of millions of dollars filched from the pockets of consumers of sugar and taxpayers, through their continuance, it is refreshing to learn that "the Collector at San Francisco has been requested to report on Hawaiian sugars," and that "the decision will be made by the Department after the facts in regard to the matter shall have been ascertained, etc."

The "facts in regard to the matter" were thus to come, and did come, from the Collector at San Francisco, according to the Secretary's letter, and the late amazing decision is based thereon. However high the character of the Collector and his employés in the San Francisco Custom House may be, upon whose report of "the facts in regard to the matter" said decision was based, they are surrounded and beyond question influenced, by the satellites of Claus Spreckels, the great Sandwich Island and California Sugar King, who, with his confederates, nets from five to six millions of dollars profit per annum through sugars entered free of duty by Treaty subterfuges.

The Spreckel's sugar dynasty can richly afford to subsidize the entire force of employés in the Customs service at San Francisco, and continue its army of lobbyists at the capital of this nation to prevent legislation against these monstrous treaty abuses, out of the moneys thus extorted from the people annually, and laugh at the outlay, since through their efforts the report of the Collector at San Francisco, and the subsequent Treasury decision in December last admit semi-refined and refined Hawaiian sugars as "muscovado, brown, and other unrefined," and encourage and sanction their illicit traffic and the existing treaty abuses.

In view of the facts, it is evident that the Secretary of the Treasury should have executed the tariff laws by seizing the advanced sugars, and sustaining the New York officials in levying duty thereon, placing the matter before the legal tribunals of this country, and invoking the aid of Congress in order that this treaty abort may be modified or abrogated, and the existing abuses be abated forthwith throughout the country.

The official talk about a "question of fact," and "the facts in the matter" is sheer nonsense in view of the late decision; the real fact

is, the Government has long permitted itself to be humbugged by subordinates in this matter of free sugars, as well as in that of Cuban centrifugal frauds, and neglected to exercise its authorized supervision of free sugar entries on the Pacific Coast, which by almost imperceptible degrees have been changed from "muscovado, brown, and unrefined" or raw sugars, to vacuum-pan sugars, finished at various stages of refining up to No. 16 to 20 D. S. sugars, and are now endeavoring to justify their unfortunate official record.

Because these abuses germinated since the treaty of 1875 went into effect, and now flourish under arbitrary official sanction in violation of law, is no excuse for their continuance; it is a singularly vivid illustration of the marvellous propensity of officials for manipulating Congressional legislation, that the treaty with Hawaii now overrides our tariff laws, and all other sugar producing countries with which we hold commercial relations are thereby forced to pay tribute to the bounty-fed sugars of Hawaii, while American consumers are overcharged, and producers and refiners of sugar are compelled to pay heavy duties and yet compete with an enormous foreign sugar refining industry which enters this country untaxed through this treaty blunder, and the sugar coloration subterfuges practiced to evade our tariff in contiguous countries.

HENRY A. BROWN.

SAXONVILLE, MASS., *January*, 1883.

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HAWAIIAN TREATY CHICANERY CLEARLY PRESENTED.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May* 20, 1886.

To the Honorable Senators and Representatives assembled in Congress to Legislate for the People:

The writer of this, in his "Analyses of the Sugar Question and Coloration Frauds," in 1879, first drew attention to the sugar-clause blunder of the Hawaiian Treaty, having also arraigned the treaty in later and numerous statements to Congress, and will therefore merely present a concise summary of evidence based upon United States Bureau of Statistics records, and of facts based on personal knowledge and investigation of Hawaiian Treaty chicanery, and the new combinations of Pacific coast monopolists to prevent its abatement.

The Hawaiian Islands contain about 4,355,000 acres of land, 80,000 acres of which are available sugar lands; the average yield is 5 tons of sugar per acre of cane every eighteen months, or 3⅓ tons per annum, equal to 266,000 tons of 2,240 pounds, or 595,840,000 pounds per annum; 95,000 tons of sugar were produced in 1885 against about 65,000 tons in 1884, with the prospect of 110,000 tons this year. At the present rate of increase, a product of 266,000 tons per annum will be reached in five or six years at most.

In 1875 Hawaii sent us 17,888,000 pounds of sugar; in 1883, 114,132,670 pounds; in 1884, 125,148,680 pounds, and in 1885 169,652,783 pounds, mostly semi-refined, large-grained centrifugals, but not a ton of the raw "brown muscovado" sugar named in the treaty, the provisions of which are evaded by trade tricks and the official custom of passing Hawaiian sugars free, for reasons not found in our customs laws.

During eight years ending June 30, 1884, under the treaty, sugar constituted 89.22 per cent. of the total consumption of Hawaiian merchandise in this country. The duty lost on sugar, being 60 per cent. ad valorem, amounted to more than our exports to the Hawaiian Islands, being as follows: Total imports of merchandise, $42,072,264;

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total exports domestic merchandise, $20,162,798; sugar imports consumed, $37,623,013; duty lost on sugar, $22,573,806.

Of the $42,072,264 of merchandise imported only $364,994 was dutiable; thus during eight years we received less duty in the aggregate from Hawaiian merchandise imported than is annually remitted on Hawaiian rice. Our trade with Hawaii in the year ended June 30, 1885, was as follows: Total imports for consumption, $8,857,497; total exports domestic merchandise, $2,709,573; sugar imports consumed, $8,198,144; duty lost on sugar at 60 per cent. ad valorem, $4,918,886.

Of the total imports in 1885, 92.56 per cent., or $8,198,144, were sugars, and 7.44 per cent., or $659,353, other merchandise, of which $578,493 was free of duty; in the year ended June 30, 1876, we imported from Hawaii $1,376,681 merchandise, of which $1,184,610 was dutiable, whereas our imports from Hawaii in 1885 amounted to $8,857,497, of which only $40,430 was dutiable; in fact the duty remitted annually to Hawaii exceeds the sum of our annual exports to that kingdom by nearly 100 per cent.

The annual subsidy tribute, paid as food tax by the people of this country to support the Hawaiian government and enrich monopolists, is not even sanctioned by the treaty, which only admits "Muscovado brown and other unrefined sugar" free of duty, whereas large quantities of Hawaiian sugars are now arriving in San Francisco that polarize 99° and over, while the crystals are colored outwardly below 20, D. S., and these refined sugars are entered free of duty, defrauding the revenue and doubly taxing consumers.

Tens of thousands of tons of Hawaiian sugars, testing 96° to 99°, and in some cases 100°, pure crystals, having only a film of outside coloring, have been entered free as "Muscovado brown and unrefined (or raw) sugar." The writer has hundreds of samples, taken from different lots of such Hawaiian sugars, that are intrinsically equal to refined granulated sugars, some of which samples polarize even higher than hard-refined sugars.

Although Hawaiian sugars of highest test are admitted free of duty, the remitted duty is added to the first cost of such sugars sent to this country. In 1885 this Government lost at least $4,918,886 revenue remitted on Hawaiian sugars, while the sugars were sold to California refiners at parity of value with duty-paid sugars, and two to three cents per pound above New York prices of refined sugars has also been regularly fleeced from Pacific coast consumers.

It is known that a large sum of money was recently sent to Washington to be used to protect the Hawaiian Treaty, and friends of the treaty have offered to make heavy bets that the treaty will not be abrogated or steps taken to determine it this session of Congress; they claim to rely upon a Republican Senate to defeat the action of a Democratic House, and thus against public interests to continue this treaty monstrosity.

This writer is credibly informed that a Pacific coast combination has recently been formed between the railroad companies, the American refinery, and the Hawaiian planters. The amount of duty now donated to Hawaiian planters by this country is to be divided between the aforesaid parties, and the movement, it is alleged, has potent Senatorial influence not entirely unconnected with recent investments in the said American refinery.

Thus between the Spreckels Hawaiian sugar dynasty and the new Hawaiian sugar oligarchy, it is purposed to carry the United States Senate in favor of an obnoxious treaty that menaces American sugar industries and dutiable sugar commerce, engenders and protects revenue frauds, and compels the people to pay large and increasing annual tribute to a foreign country and a handful of sugar food monopolists.

As a "profound foreign policy" the treaty is a dead failure. We neither control the islands nor possess a navy to protect them. As a commercial bargain the treaty is not only a failure, but a tax burden upon the American people at large, as our imports of merchandise from Hawaii increased from $8,238,461 in 1883 to $8,857,497 in 1885, upon which we lost more than $5,000,000 duty by the treaty, while our exports of merchandise to Hawaii decreased from $3,683,460 in 1883 to $2,709,573 in 1885.

The language of the treaty is clear as to what sugars are entitled to free entry, to wit, "Muscovado, brown, and all other unrefined sugar," and should have rested at that as regards sugar, but was subtly qualified by adding "meaning hereby the grades of sugar heretofore commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands and now known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugar." This cunning qualification is the snake in the wood-pile.

The writer has personal knowledge that more or less white clayed and clarified sugars, known as Sandwich Island sugars, were regularly imported from those islands prior to the treaty of 1875–76. Ignoring the language of the treaty, which named the sugars entitled to free entry, and adopting the above qualification, which has been

and is being done, quickly led to the free admission of all grades of Sandwich Island sugars, including sugars clarified and refined in centrifugals from 98 to 99.9 degrees, pure crystals, shadowed outwardly in order not to exceed No. 20, D. S., in color, albeit white sugars above No. 20, D. S., have also been entered free of duty under the above qualification subterfuge.

Regardless of every consideration of public justice Congress has suffered this subversion of treaty language to continue, and has stood, and to-day stands, as protector of a public abuse, between the Treasury Department (which has made some attempts to correct the abuse) and the co-operative free-sugar rings already named, whose wealth, wrung from the laboring classes by a monstrous taxation of "free"-sugar food, is being floated about the capital of the nation to maintain a treaty blunder, the continuance of which by Congress will be a legislative crime.

Regarding the pretences of Hawaiian sugar monopolists, echoed by their dependents and emissaries at the Capitol, and the Pearl river naval station sprat thrown to catch the American free-sugar whale, the cold facts presented herein prove that Congress should abrogate this unjust treaty, and put a stop to the ever-increasing subsidy now annually drawn from the people of this country to support Hawaii and enrich a few monopolists, under the guise of a "commercial treaty" or a "foreign policy."

HENRY A. BROWN,
Ex-Special Treasury Agent.

SAXONVILLE, MASS.

ADDENDUM.—TREATY VERSUS TARIFF.

The new Hawaiian treaty formulated for Senate action to counteract any action of the House towards abrogation of the present treaty is purely a tariff measure, whereby it is proposed to adjust the sugar tariff and bargain the customs revenue of the country for a Pearl river harbor privilege, which, if accepted, would cost this country millions of dollars to fortify, while our great Atlantic and Pacific ports and harbors are at the mercy of almost any nation. What constitutional right has the United States Senate to assume the prerogative of the House of Representatives and enact a tariff measure under the guise of a treaty or even by action or inaction prevent the abrogation of the present treaty?

HENRY A. BROWN.

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San Francisco, April 23d, 1886.

To the Honorable, the Senators and Representatives in Congress, Washidgton, D. C.

As the bill for the abrogation of the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty is now before Congress, your earnest consideration is requested to some facts connected with this Treaty and its operative results.

Whatever compensating advantage was predicted or expected from this arrangement at the time of its adoption has not been realized, in so far as it has served to enrich the Hawaiian planters, and the owners and associates of the two local refineries in this city, who have interests in the Island plantations.

The Hawaiian sugars imported under this Treaty free of duty are sold, not upon a non-duty-paying basis, but are marketed at the same rates as similar grades of duty-paying products from other countries where reciprocity does not exist; and thus far it has served only to enrich the few (and they are chiefly foreigners) who are in a position to make the most of their opportunity.

If the purpose of the Reciprocity Treaty was to benefit this country in general and this Coast in particular, it has failed of its purpose, because refined sugars from the Hawaiian Islands, admitted free of duty, are sold at higher prices than are charged for this necessity of life to the consumers in the East, where all imported raw sugars are dutiable.

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The policy of the San Francisco refineries has been to adjust their prices so that Eastern refineries could not send their product to this coast, and after paying the cost of transportation, compete with the local refineries here.

Again, it has failed of its purpose, because the export business of this country with the Hawaiian Islands bears no adequate relation to the amount of imports, and while the latter have been constantly increasing, the former have been constantly diminishing. According to the investigation and report of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, it has been ascertained that during the past year the importations from the Hawaiian Islands amounted in value to nearly $9,000,000, all but $700,000 of which was for sugar; while the exportations from this country reached the value of only $2,700,000; showing a balance of trade in favor of these Islands of over $6,000,000, which this country has distributed among the planters, who are chiefly foreigners.

The sugar crop of the Hawaiian Islands for the year 1885, and now arriving, according to the latest estimates, will reach about 95,000 tons, all of which will come to this country. At a low estimate, the duty on this would be equal to $4,000,000, which is a bounty paid by the United States to foreign planters, under an arrangement which has been of no possible service, but, on the contrary, a positive detriment.

It is a fact that the bulk of the Islands' crop has been contracted for at a price delivered in San Francisco which shall be equal to the ruling rates in New York—less than three-quarters of a cent per pound; and because of this treaty, local contractors, after paying the railroad transportation of 3,000 miles, are enabled to offer raw sugars in the East in

competition with the Louisiana product, and with dutiable importations from Cuba.

This Reciprocity Treaty, which exacts a bounty from the United States Government, and which has nothing commendable in it either to the nation or to the people, excepting to the favored few, is a standing menace to the growth and prosperity of the beet sugar interests of this coast.

The advocates for a continuance of the Treaty expect unfavorable action from the National House of Representatives during the present session, but they also expect favorable treatment when the discussion reaches the Senate.

They cannot go before the country with any arguments that will bear examination under the light of the facts as they have been and now are, and they are at last driven to the dire necessity of urging the flimsy and vague "international and geographical reasons against the abrogation of this Treaty."

In this argument, in so far as they or any other class of intelligent citizens can see, there is no greater probability of international complications in the near future than there has been during the continuance of this Treaty; and you are respectfully urged to consider the foregoing statement, together with many other facts that can be commanded.

[Henry A. Brown]

Haw was this arrived at?

B. J.

REVISED ANALYSES

OF THE

SUGAR QUESTION,

EMBRACING

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC CANE AND BEET SUGAR PRODUCTION—IMPORTS OF SUGARS—CONSUMPTION—CLASSIFICATION—COST—DECLARED VALUE—DUTCH STANDARDS—CARGO ANALYSES—DUTIES—DRAWBACK—REVENUE—REFINING—ADULTERANTS—COLORATIONS—TARIFFS—TARIFF PLANS—HAWAII SUGARS—LOUISIANA SUGARS—TABULAR EXHIBITS—STATISTICS—DEDUCTIONS—CAUSATIONS—REMEDIES—CONSUMERS' DEMANDS—ETC.

BY

HENRY A. BROWN,

EX-SPECIAL TREASTRY AGENT, U. S.

Saxonville, Mass,

1879.

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Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1879, by the Author, HENRY A. BROWN, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

Magna est veritas, et prevalebit.

SECTION I.

FOREIGN CANE SUGAR—COUNTRIES OF PRODUCTION—METHODS OF PRODUCING—RELATIVE MAGNITUDE OF THE TRADE—CONSUMPTION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES—DUTIES FROM SUGAR COMPARED WITH OTHER ARTICLES OF DUTIABLE IMPORTED MDSE.—OFFICIAL DATA AND DEDUCTIONS THEREFROM—EVASIONS OF DUTY—OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITY—DEMAND FOR MANUFACTURE AND CONSUMPTION, ETC.

Sugar, says Webster, "is a sweet crystalline substance, obtained from sugar cane, maple, beet, sorghum, and the like;"—sugar of cane, is composed of pure white crystals of sugar, and black impurities or molasses; this admixture in varied proportions and numerous forms, has become a food necessity to mankind throughout the world.

History informs us that Sugar Cane was cultivated and the juice used as food in Arabia and China in the beginning of the Christian Era, and that it first found its way into Europe from China, the East Indies and Arabia; the raw juice of the Cane and Syrup made therefrom being the only form in which it was then used; Sugar cane thus introduced to Sicily, was from thence planted by the Portuguese on the island of Madeira and there attained great perfection; the plant was soon afterwards introduced to and cultivated in the West Indies.

Sugar cane is undoubtedly indigenous in Brazil, although it may have been there introduced from the Canary Islands. It is known that Sugar cane was brought from the Brazils and the Canary Isles and planted in the Island of Cuba, and that the Spanish possessions in that neighborhood, encouraged by superior market facilities, soon relatively outstripped other countries in the production of Sugar; in the beginning of the 15th Century the art of properly crystallizing and refining Sugar was discovered, and since that time the culture of the Sugar cane has steadily increased and become a leading agricultural industry in many parts of the world.

Sugar cane was imported from Brazil into the Island of Barbadoes, where Sugar mills were soon established and the negro slave trade introduced, it being found impossible for white people to manage the cultivation of Sugar cane in so hot a climate. The production of cane Sugar probably reached the summit of prosperity in Barbadoes where enormous fortunes were made by planters in a few years. Sugar of cane is still produced in all the countries named: In China, the East Indies, the Mauritius, many islands of the Pacific, and in the United States. London was formerly the great central Sugar market of the world; and the London Sugar mart continues to be recognized as the great regulator of market prices for both cane and beet root Sugars throughout the world

Sugar of cane or cane Sugar is known as the principal Sugar of commerce; similar Sugar is produced from the beet root in large quantities, and from the maple and palm trees in limited quantities. The annual production of cane Sugar throughout the world is known to exceed 3,750,000 tons, about 8,400,000,000 lbs. at the present time. The principal countries of production report approximately as follows in tons: 1878

India proper	1,500,000	Cuba, Porto Rico, etc.	750,000
Br. W. I. Demerara, etc.	250,000	Java, etc.	230,000
Fr. W. I. Guiana, etc.	160,000	Brazil	130,000
Mauritius	125,000	Philipine Islands	120,000
China, etc.	100,000	Louisiana	100,000
Egypt	75,000	Peru	55,000
Mexico	35,000	Other countries	130,000

Approximate annual production of Cane Sugar	3,750,000
Ditto of Maple, Palm and similar Sugar	120,000
Ditto of Beet Root Sugar in Europe	1,465,000
Total annual product of cane and assimilative Sugar	5,335,000

Of the 1878 beet Sugar crop, France reports 420,000 tons; Germany, 390,000 tons; Austria, 335,000 tons; Russia, 220,000 tons; Belgium, Holland, etc., 100,000 tons. The production of cane and beet root Sugar is on the increase, and the capacity of production of crystallizable raw Sugar is evidently ample to continue in advance of the utmost capacity of consumption for many decades to come; an apparent short crop of cane Sugar, and a fractional rise in price of raw Sugar, brings forward enormous supplies from India, Egypt, and other remote countries; hence the danger of speculating for a rise in prices of raw Sugars.

Syrup formed from the juice of the Sugar cane or Sugar beet, readily crystallizes when properly treated for the purpose; the saccharine strength of pure raw cane Sugar is from 99 to 100 per cent of its bulk, but the per cent of crystallizable Sugar therein varies materially in different raw Sugars; hence the actual value of raw Sugars used for refining has necessarily come to be measured and determined by the amount of crystallizable Sugar contained in the raw material. This is found by testing the raw Sugar in the polarimeter and by other analyses and expert knowledge.

There are, aside from local names, five general classes of raw cane Sugars—Melado and Concrete, Muscovado or natural drained Sugars, Molasses Sugars, Clayed Sugars, and Centrifugals. With the latter may be classed Derosnes or vacuum pan raw Sugars, which have been largely superceded by Centrifugals. Clayed Sugars have also been mostly superceded by centrifugals and dry Muscovadoes, the process of claying being very tedious and more expensive than natural draining, or the centrifugal process of cleansing raw Sugars.

Melado or concrete is the product of cane juice, concentrated by boiling and evaporating to the verge of crystallization. When cool it forms a mixture of Sugar and Molasses rich in crystallizable Sugar, and is sent in tight casks to market. Muscovado Sugar is the product of cane juice, concentrated and defecated by boiling and evaporation, until the

Syrup will crystallize when cool; lime is added during the process to correct acidity and facilitate defecation; the Syrup is also skimmed from time to time, and ladled from one kettle to another, meanwhile increasing the heat at each remove, until the process is complete. The Syrup is then cooled and crystallized, after which it is packed, and when drained it is ready for market.

The process of draining also raises the color of the Sugar to a light shade, and increases its value proportionately, as the Sugar is almost entirely freed from Molasses, and is therefore virtually pure Sugar. Molasses Sugar is the product of drainings from the Muscovado Sugar, these drainings are boiled, defecated and concentrated to the point of crystallization in the manner already described.

Clayed Sugar is produced by pouring Syrup that has been concentrated as above described, to the point of crystallization, into moulds closed at the apex, where it is allowed to cool and crystallize; after which the apex of the mould is opened and the Sugar drained. A layer of wet clay is then spread upon the surface of the Sugar, the moisture from which leaches and purifies the Sugar. When the clay becomes dry the process is repeated, until the surface of the Sugar becomes white. The cone is then removed from the mould and divided into three grades, as follows: white, from the surface; yellow, from the centre: and brown, from the apex of the cone.

Centrifugal Sugar is raw cane Sugar purged from Molasses by the rapid motion of a revolving cylinder perforated with holes; the wet Sugar is placed in the centrifugal machine, which is then made to revolve about 1,500 times a minute; this action throws off the Molasses and liquid impurities in a few moments, leaving the raw Sugar comparatively clean, dry, and, when not doctored to evade duty, quite light in color. The centrifugal process has been known and, to a limited extent, practiced in Cuba for nearly thirty years; but since 1871 its employment has rapidly increased and been subverted, in order to evade duty under the color standard, as will be shown elsewhere.

The cane Sugar Molasses of commerce is the uncrystallizable Syrup that naturally drains from raw Sugars after crystallization, or is eliminated therefrom by the centrifugal process of leaching; the cane Sugar Syrup of commerce is produced in a similar manner from refined Sugars after recrystallization. Both Molasses and Syrup are also made directly from cane juice and raw Sugar Syrup. Assimilative Syrup is also made from artificial glucose, and sold in large quantities as cane Sugar Syrup. Consumers, who have little knowledge of such devices, often prefer glucose Syrup to that of cane Sugar on account of its peculiar appearance and flavor; glucose Syrup is, however, very inferior to pure cane Sugar Syrup for sweetening purposes.

According to reliable data and official records, more than 1,800,000,000 lbs. (eighteen hundred million pounds) of foreign and domestic raw Sugar is consumed annually in the United States, exclusive of Melado;

upwards of four-fifths of which, as shown elsewhere, is foreign cane Sugar. The exports of refined Sugar, the product of foreign dutiable Sugar, from the United States in 1876–'77–'78, amounted to 4.63 per cent of the volume of foreign dutiable Sugar entered into consumption in this country during the years named; consequently 95.37 per cent of the foreign dutiable Sugar that enters into consumption is eaten by the people of this country. If duty free Sugar and home product be added, the people of this country consume as food about 96.50 per cent of the entire volume of raw Sugar entered annually into consumption in the United States.

Continental Europe, Great Britain and her dependencies, with the United States, annually consume upwards of three million (3,000,000) tons of raw sugars; but for purposes of assimilate comparison, the United States and Great Britain present the essential elements; the people of these countries being the largest consumers of Sugar per capita in the world, the relative consumption being, according to the official data of both countries and deductions therefrom, as follows:

CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA OF RAW SUGAR IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Year.	Population.	Pounds Raw Sugar.	Pounds per capita.
1870	31,100,000	1,492,664,320	48.00
1874	32,200,000	1,912,612,800	59.40
1875	32,400,000	2,111,650,240	65.17
1876	32,700,000	1,909,461,120	58.39
1877	33,000,600	1,869,710,080	56.66
1878	43,800,000	2,103,427,200	62.25

CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA OF IMPORTED RAW SUGAR IN THE UNITED STATES.

Year.	Population.	Pounds Raw Sugar.	Pounds per capita.
1870	38,558,000	1,183,089,146	30.68
1874	42,856,000	1,511,456,915	35.27
1875	44 060,000	1,575 893 948	35.77
1876	45 316,000	1,561 880,545	34.47
1977	46 624,000	1,486 072,996	31.87
1878	47,983,000	1,583,243 440	32.99

The above tables relate to all dry raw Sugars consumed in Great Britain, which is not a sugar-producing country, but relate only to imported dry raw Sugars consumed in the United States; consequently an average annual consumption of fully (5) five pounds per capita should be added to the latter for Louisiana and Maple Sugars annually consumed, which would make the total consumption of raw Sugars per capita in both countries compare as follows:

Year.	Gt. Britain, per cap., lbs.	United States, per cap., lbs.	Excess Gt. Britain, per cap., lbs.
1870	48.00	35.68	12.32
1874	59.40	40.27	19.13
1875	65.17	40.77	24.40
1876	58.39	39.47	18.92
1877	56.66	36.87	19.79
1878	62.25	37.99	24.26

Doubtless the people of the United States actually eat as much Sugar per capita as do the people of Great Britain; but the latter feed large quantities of cheap raw Sugar to cattle and use Sugar more extensively in brewing than is the case in this country, which partly accounts for the difference in consumtion per capita. But the fact is evidenced that the people of Great Britain are enabled to eat and profitably use more Sugar per capita than the people of this country, simply because they could obtain the raw Sugar without restriction as to grade under a classified tariff, and at present can obtain any quality free of duty. When the duty on Sugar was high in England consumption was small.

For instance, in 1860, under high duty on Sugar in England, her people, numbering 28,984,000, consumed 1,003,676,800 lbs. of raw Sugar, or 34.63 lbs. per capita, while in 1870, under a reduced tariff, the consumption rose to 48 lbs. per capita, and after the abolition of duty on Sugar in 1874, the consumption reached 59.40 lbs. per capita for that year, and 65.17 lbs. per capita in 1875. This too rapid increase has now settled down to about 62 lbs. per capita.

Although not prepared to abolish the duty on Sugar, Congress can readily understand the lesson taught by England in this regard, to wit, that the lower the duty on Sugar the greater the consumption; but so long as duty is levied, a scale of duties should be maintained designed to include several classes of Sugar within each range of duty.

Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish possessions convenient of access to this country have long supplied nearly the whole of the raw Sugars annually imported into the United States; in other words, the relative proportion of dutiable Sugar and Melado imported from the different foreign countries during 1876 and 1877 was as follows:

	From Cuba alone, lbs.	All Spanish possessions, lbs.	All other countries, lbs.	Total declared imports, lbs.
Sugar	1,934,577 513	2,339 011,892	659,405,695	2,998,417,587
Melado	118,573,927	118,758,473	405,462	119,163,935
Total	2,053,151,440	2,457,770,365	659,811,157	3,117,581,522

The extent to which Cuba and adjacent Spanish possessions absolutely depend upon this country for a market for their Sugar crop, will be seen in the following table, accurately compiled from official reports in relation to Sugar exported from Cuba alone, disposition thereof, and per cent exported to the United States during the years 1870 to 1877 inclusive:

Total Cuban Exports.	To the U. S.	To other countries.	Per cent to U. S.
1870..659,792tons.	346,222 tons.	313,570 tons.	52.47
1871...470,941 "	337,428 "	133,513 "	71.65
1872..624,464 "	401,364 "	223,100 "	64 27
1873..714 960 "	479,373 "	235 587 "	67.04
1874..617 646 "	481 639 "	136,007 "	77 97
1875..661 058 "	469,049 "	192,009 "	70.95
1876..537,747 "	435 174 "	102 573 "	80.92
1877..460.810 "	418,876 "	41,934	90.89

The United States are no longer wholly dependent upon Cuba for an adequate supply of raw Sugar, and unless Spain quickly removes the nearly prohibitory tariff discrimination that exists in Cuba against American mdse. a large portion of our future supplies of raw Sugar will be drawn from Sugar producing countries where we can buy Sugar cheaper than in Cuba and stand some chance of selling our own mdse. on favorable terms in return; the annual beet sugar crop of Europe and increased production in remote countries, has virtually placed the future control of the Cuban Sugar crop in the hands of American importers and refiners.

All future attempts to refine or semi-refine raw Sugar in Cuba and other producing countries, and force them upon consumers in this country will be found impracticable and unprofitable under any tariff; the raw material of all grades is what we must have; Sugar producing countries have natural advantages of production, while we have natural advantages of manufacture; so far as the consumption of Sugar in this country is concerned Sugar of different grades would naturally be produced in foreign countries and be manufactured in the United States, hence the necessity of maintaining a Sugar tariff with a scale of duties assimilating to these natural conditions so long as we require a large revenue from Sugar and cannot produce an adequate supply of raw Sugar in our own country.

India alone cultivates Sugar cane on about 3,750,000 acres of her lands, producing annually an average of nearly half a ton of Sugar to the acre; her annual Sugar crop has been officially estimated at only 8 cwt. per acre, or 1,500,000 tons. This minimum yield, it is well known, can readily be increased to one or even two tons per acre under the stimulus of demand, and India raw Sugar can, without doubt, be laid down in this country quite as cheap, even counting time, as similar grades can be imported from Cuba at the present time. Brazil, China, Egypt, India, the Pacific Isles, Mexico, West Indies, Louisiana, Europe with her beet Sugar and other producing regions, are urgent competitors with Cuba for this market, and will at any time gladly supply our entire demands for raw material of all grades if need be.

Let us now observe the prominent position Sugar occupies as a source of revenue and international commerce, but first a brief explanation in regard to United States official statistics.

The functions of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington are manifold. For the purpose of this work two only need be explained; a current record is kept of all imports and exports of mdse., quantity, value, &c., as declared on Custom House entries and invoices. All such preliminary statements are useful and necessary in order to approximately determine the condition of the current trade of the United States with other countries, but do not furnish reliable data upon which to base tariff legislation.

A final record is compiled in said Bureau, under the title "Home Consumption," from the liquidated accounts of Collectors and other

Treasury Department and Custom House records, which correctly determines the completed transactions of the Government with importers, and vice versa; said record furnishes reliable data upon which honest statements must be based.

It is deeply to be deplored that Treasury officials have done much to mystify and throw doubt upon the necessarily duplicated records of the Bureau of Statistics, notably in statements made by the Department that create false impressions in regard to the balance of trade with other countries, wherein preliminary entries are used, while undervaluations of merchandise and exaggerations in export entries have been entirely ignored, although at the same time Treasury bulletins continually announced discoveries by special agents of losses of "millions of dollars of duty per annum by enormous undervaluations of imported merchandise."

The relative amounts of dutiable imported Sugar and Melado consumed, as compared with all other dutiable imported merchandise consumed, and of the revenue from dutiable Sugar and Melado, as compared with the revenues from all other imported merchandise consumed in the fiscal years 1876-'77-'78, were as follows:

	Dutiable mdse consumed	Sugar and Melado.	Ratio per cent
1876	$324 024 926	$67,011,896	20.68
1877	298,989,240	73,772,517	24 67
1878	297,083,409	80,369,552	27.05
Total	$920,097,575	$221,153,965	24 03
	Duty there from.	From Sugar and Melado.	Ratio per cent.
1876	$144,982,442	$39,438,414	27.20
1877	123,223,207	35 268,294	27.50
1878	127,015,185	37,075,427	29 18
Total	$400,220,834	$111,782,135	27.93

Should imported Molasses be added, the difference is largely increased in favor of Sugar, Melado, and Molasses, as against all other dutiable articles imported, and the same as regards duty therefrom, the actual condition being as follows:

	Dutiable mdse. consumed.	Sugar and Molasses.	Ratio per cent.
1876	$324 024 926	$75 724,011	23 36
1877	298 989,240	81.107.711	27 12
1878	297.083 409	87.229,869	29 36
Total	$920 097 575	$244,061.591	26.52
	Duty there from.	From Sugar and Molasses.	Ratio per cent.
1876	$144,982 442	$41 886 072	28 89
1877	128 223.207	36,947 139	28.81
1878	127,015,185	38,887.951	30 61
Total	$400,220 834	$117.721 162	29 41

It thus appears that dutiable Sugar and Melado constituted an average of 24 03 per cent. of all dutiable merchandise entered into consumption during the fiscal years of 1876-7-8, and yielded an average of 27.93 per cent. of the duty received from dutiable merchandise entered

into consumption during those years, while dutiable dry and wet Sugars and Molasses constituted an average of 26.52 per cent. of all dutiable merchandise entered into consumption during the years named, and yielded, under the present tariff, an average of no less than 29.41 per cent. of the entire revenue from Customs duty collected on all dutiable merchandise entered into consumption during the three fiscal years.

There is abundant evidence that had the full duty on the higher grades of dry Sugars been collected during the years named, the revenue, under the present tariff, from Sugar, Melado and Molasses would have exceeded 35 per cent. of the entire revenue from Customs duty on all dutiable merchandise entered into consumption during the fiscal years 1876 7 8.

The inducements to evade duty on high grades of raw Sugar are very great, inasmuch as the evasion of one classification line above 7 D. S. under the tariff would be a clear gain of $3,125 duty evaded on a cargo of 1,000,000 pounds; when Sugar of No. 13 to 16 D. S. actual foreign value is entered as No 7 D S in color, which has repeatedly been done with Centrifugal Sugars, an illicit gain of $6,250 accrues to revenue evasionists on a cargo of 1,000,000 pounds, and with higher grades the inducements to evade are still greater. It will be made evident in these pages that No. 7 D. S. apparent in color has stood for No. 10, No. 13, and even No. 16 D. S. actual in cost, in the principal transactions of the past few years in the entry of dutiable Sugar of a high foreign value, falsely toned in color to evade duty; to burden low grade raw Sugars, which never evade duty, with a high grade tax or uniform duty to No. 13 D. S., in order to legalize the present illicit practice of entering high grade Centrifugals at low grade rates of duty, would outrage consumers and refiners of low grade Sugars merely to put money in the pockets of a few refiners and importers of Centrifugal Sugars.

Evasions of duty are possible on all imported dutiable merchandise. In this country, under any tariff, unusual facilities are provided for the safe practice of such evasions, chiefly through maladministration of the Customs service, not so much at Custom Houses, but at the Treasury Department, from whence all instructions to Collectors and other officers of Customs emanate.

Special agents and bureau officials run the Customs machinery of this country over the signatures of the Secretary of the Treasury and his assistants, and will continue to do so until Congress interferes and enacts that the Customs branch of the Treasury Department shall be conducted on strictly business principles, by a competent and responsible Board of Customs Commissioners, appointed by and accountable to Congress, who will execute existing revenue laws that are not properly enforced; the Customs service has been turned into and employed as a political wire-pulling machine by ambitious executive officials.

Certain Special Treasury Agents claim that the Government loses $25,000,000 of Customs revenue annually by the repeal of the moiety acts,

a large part of which is Sugar duty, and they clamor loudly for the restoration of said acts. If Congress will look up the law under which said agents are appointed, noting the duties required of them by law, and then investigate the facts and official records in regard to their official employment during the past few years, that august body will find that the Government loses at least $50,000,000 of revenue annually by executive subversion of the functions of Special Treasury Agents, and through their incompetency and dereliction of public duties which they are appointed and well paid to perform. Evasions of Sugar duty on high grades are abetted and made easy by such delinquencies.

Low grades of raw Sugars are a necessity to consumers, and constitute a most important factor to be considered in the proper adjustment of duty on raw Sugar approximately in accordance with its actual foreign market value, in order to obtain the raw material of all grades for manufacturing at the minimum cost for the benefit of consumers. The importation of all grades of raw Sugar for refining purposes upon an equal footing as regards cost enables consumers to have a much larger choice of Sugars, and encourages the production of raw Sugar for a market made by the capacity of American refiners. These points are fully unfolded elsewhere in this work.

The classification of facts produces reliable evidence that the natural demand in this country for foreign raw Sugars of *actual natural color* and foreign value, to be manufactured for consumers, has, since 1875, come to be approximately as follows: about 20 per cent not above No. 7, D. S., including Melado; about 25 per cent above 7 and not above 10 D. S.; about 35 per cent above 10 and not above 13 D. S., and about 20 per cent above No. 13 D. S., all of *natural color* and value. This pro rata also coincides with the average foreign cost of the Sugar imported, with the product of refineries, and with abundant sworn testimony officially recorded.

It is, therefore, evident that the nearer we maintain the duty on raw Sugar material in accordance with the above natural classification or trade lines and the actual foreign value, the greater the justice to consumers, importers, producers and refiners. (See Duty Section, IV.) Beyond this the question is simply one of Executive ability to enforce revenue laws, prevent evasions of duty, and collect the proper revenue, all of which is practicable under existing laws, and the proper administration of the Customs service.

In these preliminary statements, the writer presents the Sugar Question, the important topics of which, will be found fully unfolded in the following analyses; section V. summarizes the subject in addition to treating vital topics of the Sugar Question.

SECTION II.

SUGAR STATISTICS—TABULAR STATEMENTS—OFFICIAL DATA—DEDUCTIONS AND EXPLANATIONS—EVIDENCES OF DUTY EVASIONS ON HIGH GRADES—COST OF RAW SUGAR—CONSUMPTION—GRADES APPARENT FOR DUTY—GRADES ACTUAL IN VALUE—DUTY COLLECTED, DRAWBACK PAID—NET DUTY RECEIVED—RATE PER POUND—RATE AD VALOREM—RELATIVE SUGGESTIONS, ETC.

In order to effectually correct public abuses and evils known to exist, we must discover the why and wherefore of their existence and growth. Too often, from want of reliable data to illustrate the question at issue and unfold the methods of great abuses, and upon which tariff legislation can be safely based, designing tradesmen and political mountebanks, with their official allies, carry the day against public interests, honest merchants, manufacturers, and honorable legislators, who lack the specific information required to defeat chicanists.

The following tables exhibit reliable statistics compiled from official records, and the final liquidated transactions relating to customs between the Government and importers and manufacturers of dutiable raw Sugar entered into consumption in the fiscal years named therein, with deductions and analyses fully explaining and illustrating important topics of the Sugar question. The first tables, I. to VI., inclusive, present accurate data relating to dutiable imported Sugar, Melado, and Molasses, actually entered into consumption, declared value, cost per pound or gallon, duty received, and rate per pound or gallon:

I.	Dutiable Sugars. Entered into consumption.	Dutiable Sugars. Declared value.	Dutiable Sugars. Cost per lb.
1875	1,575,893,948 lbs	$69,292,009	4.3969 cents.
1876	1,561,880,545 lbs	63,860,713	4.0887 "
1877	1,455,387,854 lbs	71,849,089	4.9360 "
1878	1,552,875,112 lbs	78,986,070	5.0864 "
Total	6,146,037,459 lbs	$283,987,881	Av. 4.6206 "

II.	Declared value.	Duty received.	Rate per lb.
1875	$69,292,009	$33,380,643	2.12 cents.
1876	63,860,713	37,625,064	2.41 "
1877	71,849,089	34,337,350	2.36 "
1878	78,986,070	36,387,464	2.34 "
Total	$283,987,881	$141,730,521	*Av. 2.30 "

*Total average for 1876, 1877, 1878, under the present tariff, 2.37 cents.

III.	Melado. Entered into consumption.	Melado. Declared value.	Melado. Cost per lb.
1875	73,145,139 lbs	$2,489,897	3.404 cents.
1876	96,751,914 lbs	3,151,183	3.250 "
1877	49,650,354 lbs	1,923,427	3.873 "
1878	36,691,376 lbs	1,383,482	3.770 "
Total	256,238,783 lbs	$8,947,989	Av. 3.492 "

IV.	Declared Value.	Duty Received.	Rate per lb.
1875	$2,489,897	$1,269,442	1.73 cents.
1876	3,151,183	1,813,354	1.87 "
1877	1,923,427	930,944	1.88 "
1878	1,383,482	687,963	1.87 "
Total	$8,947,989	$4,701,703	Av. 1.88 "

V.	Molasses. Entered into consumption.	Molasses. Declared value.	Molasses. Cost per gall.
1875	$43,220,697 galls.	$10,409,255	24.08 cents.
1876	39,213,804 "	8,712,115	22.21 "
1877	29,000,397 "	7,335,194	25.29 "
1878	26,855,764 "	6,860,317	25.54 "
Total	$138,290,662 "	$33,316,881	Av. 23.91 "

VI.	Declared Value.	Duty Received.	Rate per gall.
1875	$10,409,255	$2,495,189	5.77 cents.
1876	8,712,115	2,447,058	6.24 "
1877	7,335,194	1,812,525	6.25 "
1878	6,860,317	1,678,485	6.25 "
Total	$33,316,881	$8,433,857	Av. 6.05 "

In March, 1875, Congress increased the duty on Sugar, Melado, and Molasses, by adding 25 per cent ad valorem to the 1870 schedule of duties, hence the small amount of duty and low rate per pound in 1875, as compared with 1876; it should also be borne in mind, that in 1876 of the whole volume of Sugars entered into consumption, 56,891,258 pounds of Sugar warehoused prior to March 3, 1875, under the previous tariff was withdrawn for consumption in 1876 at the former rate of duty; the balance consumed in that fiscal year, 1,504,989,287 pounds was imported in 1876, and paid the present duty, amounting to $36,450,698, which increases the rate per lb. of duty paid on 1876 Sugar imports consumed, from 2.41 cents per lb. to 2.4219 cents per lb. as against 2.36 cents per lb. in 1877, and 2.34 cents per lb. in 1878; the average of gross duty paid during four years, of 2.30 cents per lb. is therefore below the actual average since the addition of 25 per cent in 1875; the average of duty paid being for the years 1876-'7,-'8, 2.37 cents per lb. as noted under Table II.

Tangible evidences of evasions of duty on high grades of Sugar multiply under truthful and thorough analysis. The above six tables present vivid illustrations in this regard; in tables I., III., it will be observed that the average foreign cost of imported raw Sugar per lb. has regularly increased from 4.0887 cents in 1876, to 4.9360 cents in 1877, and to 5.0864 cents in 1878; indicating beyond question that the average grade of all imports of Sugar consumed in those years, actually increased and was above No. 13 D. S. according to foreign prices current of raw Sugars in the years named, as confirmed by testimony given before the Ways and Means Committee, by samples before me and by official data.

In the official statement in the Bureau of Statistics of average cost of raw Sugars at place of shipment, computed in coin on the basis of prices current in the fiscal years 1876-'7, is recorded as follows:

Sugar not above No. 7 D. S.....	in color, per pound		3 50	cents.
Sugar above 7 not above 10 D. S...	"	"	4.50	"
Sugar above 10 not above 13 D. S...	"	"	4.75	"
Average cost of low grade Sugars..	"	"	4.25	"
Melado and Cane Syrup.....		"	3.50	"

According to the sworn testimony of Importers and Refiners as officially recorded, the prices paid foreign producers for raw Sugars imported in 1877, 1878, average as follows:

Sugar not above No. 7 D. S.....	in color, per pound		3 25	cents.
Sugar above 7 not above 10 D. S...	"	"	3.75	"
Sugar above 10 not above 13 D. S..	"	"	4	"
Average cost of low grade Sugars.	"	"	3.66	"
Melado and Cane Syrup.....		"	2.75	"

The facts are thus established beyond controversy, that the actual grade of imported raw Sugars has regularly increased during the years 1876 7-8 through trade manipulations of Centrifugal Sugars to evade duty; judging from duties paid, the average grade of imported raw Sugars apparently grows lower every year; honest importers have been deceived in this, and led to testify that the bulk of all imported Sugar was cheaper, of lower grade and poorer in quality in 1878 than ever before; confined to individual importations, more actual lowest grades were imported by them, but when covering all transactions in imported Sugars, it is simply impossible to controvert the facts in evidence that such was not the case.

Accepting the reliable evidence that the average grade of imported dutiable Sugar consumed has approximated to above No. 13 D. S. in foreign value, reference to table No. II. above, exhibits for 1876-7-8. the constant decrease of duty rate per lb. in each year, and the continuous increase of actual foreign cost; clearly showing that false sampling, grading and classification of high grades for duty, increased each year: in 1876 the duty per lb. averaged 2.42 cents; in 1877, 2.36 cents; in 1878, 2.34 cents; apparently indicating an average grade of imported Sugars of 8½ D. S. for the three years named; the difference between this apparent average grade, and the actual average grade established by the foreign cost of the raw Sugar in the years named, and by the quality and value of the raw Sugar in this market, exhibits clearly the approximate amount of duty evaded by color toning, false sampling, grading and classification for duty of Centrifugal and other high grades of dutiable Sugars in those years.

In other words, it appears that the payment of nearly half a cent (.4425) per lb. on 4,570,143,511 lbs. of dutiable Sugar consumed in 1876, 7-8, or about $20,222,885 of duty, has been evaded upon natural grades above No. 7 D. S. and largely above No. 13, and the operators finding the pursuit getting hot, now propose to discriminate against No. 7 and 10 Sugars, in order to legalize illicit transactions amounting to 6,740,961 dollars per annum.

This estimate coincides with the writers former analyses of duty evasions on Sugar, wherein similar conclusions were reached in every instance, all being nearly identical in substance, the following excerpt from the

writers pamphlet on "Sugar Frauds and the Tariff," issued January, 1879, illustrates this fact; drawback is omitted in each case.

"The evidence preponderates, that so far as imported dry Sugars entered into consumption in this country, the actual average grade thereof, measured by the Dutch Standard, is above No. 10; consequently the proper average rate of duty cannot reasonably be fixed at less than 2.8125 cents per lb. The following result, I am satisfied, is below the actual facts as regards duty evasions on dry Sugars imported and entered into consumption in the two fiscal years 1876-1877:

Entered into consumption.	Duty Received.	Rate per lb.
3,017,268,399 lbs	$71,962,414	2.3850 cents.
Entered into consumption.	True Rate of Duty.	Proper Duty.
3,017,268,399 lbs.	2.8125 cents.	$84,860,673
Duty actually liquidated 1876-1877.....		71,962,414
Nett Duty discrepancies 1876-1877.....		$12,898,259

By reference to table No. III above, it will be seen that Melado is quite as valuable in the foreign market of production as dry Sugars grading below No. 7 D. S. natural color; therefore there is no valid reason why Melado should not hereafter pay the same duty as No. 7 D. S raw Sugars. The falling off in receipts of Melado since 1878 seems to be due to the fact that producers can, by extra boiling and the Centrifugal process, obtain a more profitable yield in Centrifugal Sugar and Molasses from concentrated Syrup, than can be obtained by selling the same as Melado in the market of production; hence but little is imported at the present time.

Having thus exhibited approximately the extent to which the revenue suffers annually by evasions of duty on the higher grades of imported raw Sugar, without entering the field of individual crimination, official collusion, and administrative inanity; I would urgently reiterate the necessity of exccuting existing revenue laws efficiently, in order to suppress and prevent the recurrence of these public abuses, which reform will never be accomplished through tariff tinkering, special agents' investigations, and the half-way measures hitherto employed by the Government.

Much less can existing evils be remedied through legislating to limit the natural grades of raw sugar material now imported, to Centrifugals and similar high grades, by enacting a uniform rate of duty up to No. 13 D. S., which is the grade line of the principal duty evasions practiced heretofore and at the present time. Such discrimination against actual low grades, which have never evaded duty under the present standard, would be an attempt against the people, to prohibit the importation and use of low grades of raw Sugar now imported to meet and supply the necessary wants of consumers.

The duty topic of the Sugar question is fully analyzed and treated elsewhere in this work, yet it cannot be too often impressed upon Congress and the Government that the importation of raw sugar material, of

every distinctive trade grade, should be encouraged by avoiding all semblance of discrimination against any grade, and levying duty and enforcing its collection upon natural and well-known trade classifications, according to their natural color and actual foreign market value.

The following tables, Nos. VII. to XII. inclusive, compiled from official records, and arranged with deductions and illustrations, exhibit and relate to dutiable imported Sugar and Melado entered into consumption, liquidated duty thereon, declared value, duty received, rate per lb.; refined Sugar exports, value thereof, drawback paid, rate per lb.; nett duty from Sugar, foreign cost of raw Sugar per lb., nett duty received per lb., etc., for the fiscal years named, and furnish reliable data for reference:

VII.	Dry Sugar consumed, lbs.	Melado consumed, lbs.	Total Sugar consumed, lbs.	Declared value.
1876	1,561,880,545	96,751,914	1,658,632,459	$67,011,896
1877	1,455,387,854	49,650,354	1,505,038,208	73,772,517
1878	1,552,875,112	36,691,376	1,589,566,488	80,369,552
Total	4,570,143,511	183,093,644	4,753,237,155	$221,153,965

VIII.	Total Sugar consumed, lbs.	Declared value.	Duty received.	Rate per lb.
1876	1,658,632,459	$67,011,896	$39,488,414	2.3777 cents.
1877	1,505,038,208	73,772,517	35,268,294	2.3433 "
1878	1,589,566,488	80,369,552	37,075,427	2.3224 "
Total	4,753,237,155	$221,153,965	$111,782,135	2.3517 "

IX.	Exports refined Sugar, lbs.	Declared value.	Drawback paid.	Rate per pound.
1876	72,713,922	$7,806,159	$2,613,525	3.59 cents.
1877	64,729,889	7,543,823	2,253,959	3.48 "
1878	74,058,920	7,289,207	2,330,083	3.14 "
Total	211,502,741	$22,638,189	$7,197,567	3.40 "

X.	Total Sugar consumed, lbs	Duty received.	Drawback payments.	Net duty received.
1876	1,658,632,459	$39,488,414	$2,613,525	$36,824,889
1877	1,505,038,208	35,268,294	2,253,959	33,014,335
1878	1,589,566,488	37,075,427	2,330,083	34,745,354
Total	4,753,237,155	$111,782,135	$7,197,567	$104,584,578

XI.	Sugar consumed, pounds.	Declared value.	Net duty received.	Rate per pound.
1876	1,658,632,459	$67,011,896	$36,824,889	2.2201 cents.
1877	1,505,038,208	73,772,517	33,014,335	2.1935 "
1878	1,589,566,488	80,369,552	34,745,354	2.1858 "
Total	4,753,237,155	$221,153,965	$104,584,578	2.2002 "

XII.	Sugar consumed, pounds.	Declared value.	Cost per pound.	Net duty per pound.
1876	1,658,632,459	$67,011,896	4.0401 cts.	2.2201 cents.
1877	1,505,038,208	73,772,517	4.9017 cts.	2.1935 "
1878	1,589,566,488	80,369,552	5.0560 cts.	2.1858 "
Total	4,753,237,155	$221,153,965	4.6527 cts.	2.2002 "

Established facts are beyond controversy. In tables VIII. and XII., presented above, the declared value or foreign cost of imported dutiable Sugar is seen to have largely increased each year, and the duty received therefrom has decreased inversely each year. It is sheer nonsense for anybody to claim, and beyond the power of sophistry to maintain, that in 1878, including Melado, 1,589,566,488 lbs. of Sugar costing and valued in the market of production $80,369,552, or 5 $\frac{056}{1000}$ cents per lb., was not of a far higher natural grade than No. 8 D. S., upon which average classification $37,075,427, or 2.3224 cents per lb., duty was paid in 1878, when it is an indisputable and well-evidenced fact, that Sugar costing an average of 5.056 cents per lb. in the market of production would naturally grade 13 to 16 D. S.

Omitting Melado from the estimate, the case stands as follows for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878: consumption, 1,552,875,112 pounds dry Sugar, costing and valued in the foreign market (see table I.) $78,986,070 or 5 $\frac{086}{1000}$ cents per pound, paid a duty of $36,387,464, or only 2.34 cents per pound on an average grade equal to No. 8½ D. S., while the actual foreign cost and value of the Sugar consumed, evidenced in the declared value and confirmed in the home market, clearly prove that the quality, and natural grades have been on the average between No. 13 and 16 D. S., individual trade experiences, theories and testimony of interested sugar merchants to the contrary notwithstanding,

Tables VIII., IX. and X., above given, also throw light upon the subject of sugar drawback. It will be seen that during the past three years importers have been paying an average of only 2.3517 cents per pound duty on grades of raw Sugar, including Melado costing (see table XII.), 5.056 cents per pound in the foreign market of production, from which an average of fully 90 per cent. of refined product can be obtained, while refiners have been paid during the same time an average drawback on refined Sugar exports of 3.40 cents per pound. Although a reduction of drawback rates was made in 1877, the average per pound paid in the fiscal year 1878 was 3.14 cents, as against an average duty paid in that year of only 2.3224 cents per pound on dutiable raw Sugar, costing 5.056 cents per pound; the drawback rate may not be too high, but the proper duty has been evaded.

By mixing duty-free Sugars from Hawaii and Glucose with dutiable Sugar in refining, and destroying cargo identity, refiners might, if so disposed, obtain drawback in excess upon exports of refined Sugar; but this is of trivial importance compared with evasions of duty on Centrifugals entered as No. 7 D. S. by toning down the color. It is, however, useless for this Government to subsidize American sugar refining with the view of enabling refiners in this country to compete with European refiners in foreign markets; but a prohibitory duty on refined Sugar is an imperative necessity for the reasonable protection of American refiners in the prosecution of their needed industry, and should be continued for,

that purpose; and in the interests of consumers, who would otherwise be cornered by foreign refiners the moment such had secured the monopoly of this market.

It has been said that if the duty on Sugar was abolished American refiners could supply the world with refined Sugars, "because they can refine Sugar cheaper than it can be refined in Europe." That such assertions are premature is apparent in table IX., wherein it appears that an average drawback bounty of 3.40 per lb. on refined exports has not enabled refiners to compete successfully with European refiners in any foreign markets, except that of our immediate neighbor, Canada.

The exports of refined Sugar from the United States to all other countries except Canada have fallen from 52,613,879 lbs. in 1876, to 37,502,662 lbs. in 1878. In 1876, 31,349,825 lbs. American refined Sugar were exported to Great Britain, while in 1877 only 26,620,574 lbs. American refined Sugar were exported to that duty free country. To compete successfully with Europe we must produce the Sugar in this country. Meanwhile American consumers will sustain American refiners; both interests being to a degree identical.

Tables X., XI., XII., exhibit plainly the actual nett amount of revenue received from duty on Sugar and Melado, after refunding a portion of said duty in drawback payments; the duty received from Sugar and Melado amounted to $111,782,135 in the three fiscal years 1876-'77-'78, of which sum $7.197,567 was refunded in drawback, leaving a nett revenue from duty on Sugar and Melado of $104,584,578, or an average of 2.2 cents per lb. in those years. This important fact is exhibited clearly in table No. XII. above given.

The following tables, XIII to XVIII inclusive, present a complete exhibit of the grade classifications for duty of dutiable raw Sugar entered into consumption in the fiscal years 1876, 1877, 1878; declared value thereof, cost per lb., liquidated duties, and significant comparisons, wherein the modus operandi of evading duty on Sugar of high grades by color toning, false sampling, and under classification, is again made vividly evident. Full explanations follow the tables, which are compiled and deduced from official records and arranged with relevant illustrations.

Grades of dutiable Sugar entered into consumption.

XIII. Sampled and classed not above 7 D.S.	Declared value above 10 D.S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated duty received.
1876..584,822,824 lbs.	$20,344,948	3.80c.	$11,654,445
1877...757,946,855 "	37,501,481	4.94c.	16,580,087
1878..860,287,182 "	41,516,497	4.82c.	18,818,782
Total.2,153,056,861 "	$99,362,926	*4.61c.	$47,053,314

*Testimony of importers and refiners, No. 7 Sugar costs 3.25 cents.
*From estimates of experts, No. 7 Sugar costs 3.50 cents per lb.
*Average estimate of experts, No. 7 D. S. Sugar costs 3 875 cents

XIV. Sampled and classed above 7 N.A. 10 D.S.	Declared value above 13 D.S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated duty received.
1876..869,785,687 lbs.	$36,593,778	4.20c.	$21,628,823
1877..604,317,151 "	29,748,890	4.92c.	15,107,928
1878..618,019,876 "	33,232,883	*5.37c.	15,450,497
Total.2,092,122,714 "	$99,575,551	*4.75c.	$52,187,247

"Testimony of Importers and Refiners, No. 10, costs 3.75 cents.
*From testimony of other Experts, No. 10 costs 4.00 cents.
*Average estimates of Experts, No. 10 Sugar costs 3.875 cents.

XV. Sampled and classed above 10 N.A. 13 D.S.	Declared value above 13 D.S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated Duty received.
1876..150,107,868 lbs.	$6,543,106	4.36c.	$4,092 846
1877.. 88,462,336	4,371,003	4.94c.	2,488,003
1878.. 72,316,574	4,110,502	5.68c.	2,033,904
Total..310,886,778	$15,024,611	*4.83	$8,614,753

*Testimony of Importers and Refiners, No. 13 costs 4.00 cents.
*From estimates of other Experts, No. 13 costs 4.50 cents.
*Average estimates of Experts, No. 13 costs 4.25 cents.

XVI. Sampled and classed above 13 N.A.16 D.S.	Declared value Equals 16 D.S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated Duty received.
1876....6,127,732 lbs.	$318,830	5.20c.	$207,593
1877....4,536,195	218,943	4,82c.	155,931
1878....1,474,118	73,831	5.01c.	50,673
Total...12,138,045	$611,604	5.03c.	$414,197

XVII. Sampled and Classed above 16 N.A. 20 D.S.	Declared Value Equals No. 20 D.S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated Duty Received.
1876....1,011,458 lbs.	$58,045	5.73c.	$40,107
1877.... 92,477 "	6,181	6.68c.	3,756
1878.... 561,068 "	35,491	6.32c.	22,793
Total.1,665,003 "	$99,717	5.98c.	$66,656

XVIII. Sampled and Classed above No. 20 D.S.	Declared Value above No. 20 D.S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated Duty Received.
1876.... 24,976 lbs.	$2,003	8.02c.	$1,248
1877.... 32,840 "	2,590	7.88c.	1,642
1878.... 216,294 "	16,866	7.79c.	10,815
Total. 274,110 "	$21,459	7.82c.	$13,705

The average rate per cent. ad valorem duty actually paid in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878, on each of the classifications for duty of imported Sugar consumed in said year, liquidation of duty being complete, is as follows; but the true ad valorem rate can only be estimated, inasmuch as it depends on honest classification, which has not recently obtained in levying duty on Centrifugal and other high grades of imported Sugar.

XIX. 1878. Classifications.	Quantity consumed, lbs.	Declared value.	Duties liquidated.	Per cent ad val.
All not above No. 7..	860,287,182	$41,516,497	$18,818,782	45.33
Above 7 N. A. 10 D. S.	618,019,876	33,232,883	15,450,497	46.49
Above 10 N. A. 13 D. S.	72,316,574	4,110,502	2,033,904	49.48
Above 13 N. A. 16 D. S.	1,474,118	73,831	50 673	68 63
Above 16 N. A. 20 D. S.	561,068	35.491	22.793	64.22
All above 20 D. S....	216,294	16,866	10.815	64.12
Total dutiable in 1878.	1,552,875,112	$78,986,070	$36,387,464	46.00

The evident purpose of the Sugar tariff of 1870 was to levy a specific duty on Sugar equivalent to an ad valorem duty of about 50 per centum; and the addition of 25 per cent ad valorem levied upon said specific duty in 1875, would naturally increase the duty to 62.50 per centum on the actual cost or foreign market value of all Sugar up to No. 16 D. S. that cost not less than 3¼ cents and upwards per lb. Sugar costing less than 3¼ cents per lb. in the foreign market would of course pay more than 62.50 per cent ad valorem.

Under an honest classification of imported Sugars, the average ad valorem duty in 1878 would have shown about 64 per cent; for instance, about 20 per cent of all Sugar now entered into consumption is not above No. 7 D. S., including Melado. In the fiscal year 1878, there entered into consumption 1,552,875,112 lbs. of dutiable Sugar, 20 per cent of which is 310,575,022 lbs., not above No. 7, average cost say 3.50 cents per lb., amounts to $10,870,125.77; duty at 2.1875 cents per lb. would be $6,893,828.58, or 63.41 per cent ad valorem, instead of 45.33 per cent, as represented under the false classification for duty in 1878.

Other grades will conform to this true rate when honestly classified; but so long as the Government fails to attend to the collection of Sugar duty, and its agents dance attendance on Cuban Signoritas to learn from them how to levy duty on Centrifugal Sugar, which the trade find no trouble about classing, it is evident that importers of high grades will be encouraged to evade duty by the imbecility and collusive practices of officious but incapable officials.

It is in substance proposed to punish consumers for this condition of affairs, by depriving the people of the refined product of low grade Sugars, the importation of which is to be virtually prohibited, or at least greatly restricted, under a uniform duty on all grades to No. 13 D. S. Such would be the result of any uniform duty—however low—at all events when the interests of consumers are considered; and the people's interests should form the basis of tariff legislation on articles of necessary food.

The actual foreign cost or market value of the Sugar entered for duty and passed into consumption under the above classifications in the fiscal year 1878 is stated in tables XIII. to XVIII., inclusive, wherein we find that Sugar "passed" as No. 7 cost 4.82 cents per pound in the foreign market; Sugar "passed" as No. 10 cost 5.37 cents per pound in the foreign market; and Sugar "passed" as No. 13 cost 5.68 cents per pound in the foreign market, whereas Sugar "passed" as No. 16 cost only 5.01 cents per pound in the foreign market.

Vapid attempts have been made, in behalf of a uniform duty to 13, to account for this condition by charging the discrepancies to low grades. It has been said that No. 7 Sugar in Cuba brings the same price or more than Nos. 11 to 18 Sugar, and that Nos. 8 to 10 Sugar sells higher than 12 and 13 Sugar at the place of production, "because the present tariff discriminates glaringly in favor of low grades, for the production of which producers have been receiving enormous bounty;" yet the same writer also states that "No. 9 in color is worth in Cuba fully ⅜ cents per pound less than No. 12 Sugar;" whereas in fact the duty discrimination between Nos. 9 and 12 is only $\frac{3}{16}$ cents per pound. As this "glaring" duty discrimination is only $\frac{2}{16}$ cents per pound between Nos. 8 to 10 and Nos. 12 to 13, while Nos. 12 to 13 Sugars cost $\frac{5}{16}$ cents per pound more than No. 9 Sugar in Cuba, it is not clear how such statements prove that 8 to 10 Sugar sells higher than 12 to 13 Sugar in Cuba; not to speak of the actual difference in the value of the Sugar, which is always an important factor in buying and selling Sugar. Neither do the Wall street selling prices of Cuban Sugars agree with such No. 13 meanderings.

It has also been vehemently urged that owing to duty discrimination in favor of low grades, the foreign prices thereof have been unnaturally enhanced beyond their proper value, to the past and present detriment of Centrifugals, Derosnes and dry Muscovadoes; yet the same theorists assert that the American market has long been overstocked with low grade Sugar which it is often next to impossible to sell at any price.

Producers never yet succeeded in maintaining exorbitant prices on any article for which there was no urgent and continuous demand in the market of consumption at equivalent prices. The fact is, No. 7 and below Sugars have for many years been, and are now, as numerous samples before me prove, worth only from 2½ to 3¼ cents per lb., according to the locality of the foreign market and their intrinsic value for refining.

Furthermore, advocates of a uniform duty to No. 13 D. S., have also urged that "the building up of the Centrifugal industry in Cuba and elsewhere originated in the demand of refiners for a better class of Sugars," and that during the past decade "the proportion of Centrifugals to other Sugars imported into this country has constantly increased;" consequently there should have been an annual increase of high standard in natural color and value grades imported at the higher rates of duty which should appear in the official records of liquidated transactions, not so appearing, Centrifugals, Derosnes, and dry Muscovadoes have certainly evaded the payment of full duty.

The following table, No. XX., exhibits the grade classifications for duty of dutiable raw Sugar entered into consumption in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1873, declared value thereof, average cost per lb., and liquidated duty thereon. Comparison thereof with tables Nos. XIII. to

XIX., inclusive, above given, evidences clearly that the higher the quality natural color, and actual cost or foreign market value of all imported dutiable Sugars actually above No. 7 D. S. in natural color and value at the point of purchase, the lower the classification and grading for duty has been, and the greater have been the evasions of duty, through practices which are fully explained elsewhere, and which can readily be suppressed under existing revenue laws, when such come to be properly enforced:

Classification of dutiable Sugars entered into consumption in 1873.

XX. 1873.	Entered into consumption, lbs.	Declared value.	Cost per lb.	Duty paid.
All not above 7 D. S....	200,588,712	$9,781,864	4.87c.	$3,510,302
Above 7 N. A. 10 D. S..	860,454 194	46,342,844	5.38c.	17,209 084
Above 10 N. A. 13 D. S.	250,842,299	14 584,126	5.81c.	5,643,952
Above 13 N. A. 16 D. S.	60,881,343	3,891,759	6 39c.	1,674.237
Above 16 N. A. 20 D. S.	5,407,628	370,308	6.84c.	175,748
All above 20 D. S.....	324,651	22,172	6.82c.	12,986
Total dutiable in 1873.	1,378,498.832	$74,993,073	*5.44c.	$28,226,309

	1873.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.
*Average cost per pound.	5.44 cts.	4.39 cts.	4.08 cts.	4.93 cts.	5.08 cts.
Av'age duty per pound..	†2.05 cts.	2.12 cts.	2.42 cts.	2.36 cts.	2.34 cts.

† See tables I. to VI., inclusive, above, for full explanation.

Prior to 1874 very little No. 7 and below Sugar was imported, the demand for such Sugar being tentative rather than established; although in the above table XX it appears that 200,588,712 lbs. of Sugar not above No. 7 was imported in 1873, the foreign average cost per lb. (4.87 cents) showed that such was not the case; evasion of duty on the higher grades was then as now practised, but to a much more limited extent than latterly as regards the number of crooked operators.

In 1878 as appears from the official data in table XIX above given 860,787,182 lbs., or nearly 60 per cent of the dutiable Sugars consumed, "passed" as not above 7 D. S., whereas the evidence is conclusive that only about 20 per cent of all imported Sugar refined is of so low a quality; the actual average foreign cost per lb. of the Sugar claimed to be not above No. 7, shows clearly that 10 to 16 grades in quality and value, have been passed as No. 7 and evaded duty by color toning and false sampling to the tune of many millions of dollars annually.

The tariff of 1870 reduced the rate of duty on Sugar and removed restrictions from low grade refining Sugars; consequently in 1871 the average duty received from Sugar was 2.54 cents per lb.; the 25 per cent ad valorem had not been added; therefore the grades imported that year, 1871, averaged above No. 13 D. S. of natural color and value; from 1871 to the present time, evasions of duty on high grades, especially 13 to 16 D. S. natural grades, have rapidly increased aided by Executive inanity, official collusion, Centrifugal doctoring and false sampling of Molasses, Sugar, Muscovadoes and Derosnes.

Evasions of duty are made easy by the greatly increased production of Centrifugals, which are made of almost uniform crystallizable capacity and value for refining, testing about 93 to 97 degrees in crystals, but beautifully toned to any shade of color to evade duty, by the introduction of caramel, lime, dark sediment and chemical substances, and by other manipulations practiced during the Centrifugal process, which turns out semi-refined, large-grained, handsome Sugar, rich in cane Sugar and crystals.

This process produces Sugar 13 to 16 D. S. in foreign market value toned down to below No. 7 in outside color to evade duty, a clearly illegal practice; and such Sugars are sold in our markets at their intrinsic value by advocates of a uniform tariff to No. 13 D. S., expressly designed to legalize these illicit transactions, and prevent or cripple the importation of honestly made raw Sugars of natural low color and quality. This is done in face of ample revenue laws, which are not enforced.

Since 1873 the demand for raw Sugars, not above No. 7 D. S. in natural color and actual foreign value, for refining, becoming permanent in the interests of consumers, has rapidly increased to about 20 per cent. of the annual importations of dutiable Sugar entered into consumption. The recent short crop in Cuba opened out, as if by magic, the more remote sources of raw Sugar supply. An influx of low grade raw Sugars further stimulated the manufacture and consumption thereof in the United States, quickly reducing the cost of this article of food to consumers in recent years.

These low grade Sugars have become a food necessity, because from such grades only can a correspondingly cheap, pure refined cane Sugar be produced to meet the wants of the masses. The people, therefore, whose wants have thus been adequately met, now demand that low grade Sugars No. 7 and below shall be imported and classed as such for refining relatively cheap grades of sugar to supply their wants ad libitum, without the shadow of duty discrimination being enacted by Congress against low grade raw Sugars in favor of high grades under any pretense.

SECTION III.

IMPORTANT TOPICS OF THE SUGAR QUESTION—SUGAR PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES—ITS CAPACITY AND PROTECTIVE REQUIREMENTS—THE SUGAR REFINING INDUSTRY—IMPORTANCE THEREOF TO AMERICAN CONSUMERS OF SUGAR FOOD—ITS CAPACITY AND REQUIREMENTS—ADULTERATIONS, ETC.

Before presenting the subject of levying duties on Sugar, protective, industrial, and consumers interests affected and bearing upon the question of Sugar tariff legislation should be fairly exhibited, in order that the

people and their Representatives in Congress may not be led captive by the plausible sophistries of quick-witted tradesmen and their unprincipled allies who pull the wires of tariff legislation for greed or self aggrandizement, regardless of great national interests and the wants of consumers, honest merchants, and public revenue.

Cane Sugar production in the United States rightly demands the encouragement of reasonable tariff protection, which is also needed to stimulate the production of beet Sugar in this country; as has been shown elsewhere, large quantities of beet root Sugar are annually produced in Europe, and there is reason to believe that similar success can be attained in this country. Already an American beet root Sugar factory is in operation, and others are projected.

Although at present we produce only about 12 per cent., one-eighth of the cane Sugar annually consumed in this country, our natural capacity of production is evidently far greater; the industry is susceptible of profitable advancement in Louisiana, and could be made remunerative in Texas and other Southern States. The production in Louisiana alone was, in the crop year 1861-2, 528,300,000 pounds, or the highest ever known in that State in one season. The production fell to 96,000,000 pounds the following season owing to the war. In 1864-5 only 10,800,000 pounds were produced; but again the production increased to 42,900,000 in 1866-7, and since 1867-8 has been as follows in that State:

	Pounds.		Pounds.		Pounds.
1868–69....	95,100,000	1871–72 ...	146,900,000	1874–75.....	134,500,000
1869–70....	99,500,000	1872–73....	125,300,000	1875–76.....	165,450,000
1870–71....	168,900,000	1873–74....	103,200,000	1876–77.....	194,964,000

The season of 1877-78 is estimated at about 209,000,000 pounds or about 177,000 hogsheads.

As has been shown, war's devastations prostrated the cane Sugar productive industry in the United States; yet according to the ninth census, the raw Sugar of cane product of two States—Florida and Louisiana—and the capital and labor there employed in this purely native industry was, in 1870, as follows, exclusive of refining and of the capital and labor employed in cultivating the sugar cane from which the Sugar was obtained:

Houses.	Capital.	Employes.	Wages.
713	$10,248,475	21,299	$1,230,119
Materials.	**Molasses, galls.**	**Sugar, hhds.**	**Value.**
$6,069,271	4,368,687	77,317	$10,383,368

From the same authority we find that in 1870 the Sugar product of native growth in the United States was as follows:

Cane Sugar.	Sorghum Sugar.	Maple Sugar.
87,043 hhds.	24 hhds.	28,448,645 lbs.
Cane Molasses.	**Sorghum Do.**	**Maple Do.**
6,593,323 gals.	16,000,000 gals.	921,057 gals.

Before the war the Sugar product of the United States, as officially reported, was as follows for each decade named:

	* Cane Sugar.	Maple Sugar.	Molasses.
1850.....	247,577 hhds.	34,253,436 lbs.	12,700,896 gals.
1860.....	230,982 hhds.	40,120,205 lbs.	23,210,708 gals.

*Hhds. estimated at 1,200 lbs.; 1850—297,092,400 lbs.; 1860—277,178,400 lbs.

The decline in annual production caused by the destruction of property and the diversion of labor during the War has been partially recovered from since 1870, it being estimated that more native Sugar was made in 1878 than in any year since the War. The cane Sugar productive capacity of the United States is sufficient, with good crops, to turn out at least 500,000,000 lbs. of Sugar per annum. It is known that upwards of twenty millions of dollars capital is invested in the United States in Sugar making, in lands and labor, material and machinery, buildings and implements of culture; while at least twenty-five thousand people, doubtless more, are annually employed in producing Sugar in our own country.

Louisiana produces principally a higher grade of raw Sugar of a brilliant yellow color, rich in saccharine strength, suitable for and which generally enters into immediate consumption in the South and West, and requires no material protection against foreign low grade Sugars, fit only for refining, which do not come into competition with her handsome light colored Sugars to any extent; it would therefore be preposterous to place a duty of 2.40 cents per lb. on No. 7 and below D. S., or even on No. 10 Sugars to protect her interests.

Louisiana Sugar product particularly requires protection against foreign raw Sugars of No. 13 and above D. S. of natural color, and actual foreign value, such as Centrifugals, Derosnes, and dry Muscovadoes, which compete in value and sometimes in color with her own outturn; in the case of high gaades of these types she is entitled to a reasonable duty protection; but it must be borne in mind that we at present produce only about one-eighth of the quantity of cane Sugar required for consumption in this country. It is therefore a question for the grave consideration of Congress why seven-eighths of the necessary Sugar food for consumers should be taxed heavily merely to protect the one-eighth produced in this country.

France taxes foreign Sugars virtually to prohibition, simply because she produces more beet sugar than she requires for home consumption, and in 1878 is reported to have exported about 200,000 tons of beet Sugar to other countries. England, on the other hand, reduced the duty on Sugar, and in 1874 abolished it, because she does not produce Sugar at home, and therefore encourages an influx for competitive and manufacturing purposes, as well as for consumption; hence her enormous annual consumption per capita of over 82 lbs. (See section I.)

Clearly the national industry of Sugar production and its investments should be encouraged by all proper means; but whatever subsidy is paid

by the people for such purpose should not constitute a perceptible burden upon consumers, who after all can only obtain a small part of their necessary Sugar food supply from home production, and are not likely to do more in this generation merely by the payment of a subsidy.

Sugar refining is an important national industry founded upon the demands of luxury, a basis akin to and almost as substantial as that of necessity; hence the Sugar refining industry in this country, while honestly conducted towards consumers, is in no danger of becoming obsolete for lack of consumption of pure refined Sugar among 48,000,000 of people already largely educated to consider voluptiousness in the gratification of appetite, an essential element to their comfort and well being.

Refiners of Sugar, whose interests are identical with those of the people, should protect consumers of refined Sugars against imposition and fraud in their product, even as they require to be reasonably protected by a suitable impost duty on foreign refined and semi-refined Sugars, in order to prosecute the industry of refining in this country profitably, and yet supply American consumers at lower prices than could be done by Sugar refiners in Europe under a free trade regime as regards refined Sugars. Sugar refiners should be encouraged by a reasonable duty, discriminating against foreign refined and semi-refined Sugars. The necessities of consumers also demand this, in order to give them the full advantage of a choice of Sugar food at prices suited to their means.

Official statistics recorded in the ninth census, in regard to the Sugar refining industry in the United States at the beginning of three decades, namely, 1850, 1860, 1870, present the following exhibit of the rise and progress of this great American manufacturing industry:

Refineries.	Capital.	Hands.	Wages.	Material.	Product.
1850.....23	$2 669,000	1,656	$604.248	$7,662,685	$9,898,800
1860.....41	9,098,100	3,505	1,364,712	34,190,767	42,241,834
1870.....59	*20,545,220	4,597	3,177,288	96,899,431	†108,941,911

*Trade data estimates the capital at $28,000,000 in 1870.

†Refined Sugar, 754,010,951 lbs.; Syrup, 18,168,279 gals.; Molasses, 839,560 gals.

Refined cane Sugar has now entirely superseded foreign raw Sugar as an article of human food in the United States; the only raw Sugars now eaten by the people of this country are Louisiana cane Sugars, made of high grade for the purpose, and used almost exclusively in the South and West, and maple Sugar. As a matter of choice, consumers who have access to refined Sugars have created this great demand for a cleaner, cheaper, handsomer, purer, and more wholesome refined Sugar than can be obtained in a raw or semi-refined state in the producing country.

The present duty on Sugars above No. 13 not above No. 16 D. S. is 3.4375 cents per pound, while under the tariff of 1864 to 1869, inclusive, the duty on No. 12 and not above No. 15 D. S. Sugar was 3.50 cents per pound. Evidently the importation of grocers' grades of foreign raw Sugars have not been prohibited by any increase of duty thereon thus

far; the former demand of consumers for raw Sugar is simply superseded by the present demand of consumers for refined Sugars.

The rapid increase in consumption of refined Sugar in preference to foreign raw Sugar of even high grades, drew capital into the refining business, which became enormously profitable on the sudden transition of taste and increasing demand, from the natural increase of consumers and from the fact that instead of refining part of the raw Sugars refiners were soon required to refine nearly all imported Sugars. The capacity of producing refined Sugar quickly rose above the necessities of consumption in this country, and the foreign demand for American refined Sugar has never been great nor encouraging.

The result was inevitable: over production of Refined Sugar being simply ruinous, it became a matter of necessity to measure the national capacity of consumption of refined product and the limited foreign outlet therefor, and regulate production accordingly: In all such movements the weaker go the wall, by consolidation with the strongest or by closing up altogether. This natural reaction reduced the number of refineries to 42 in 1875.

Better and more perfect machinery, numerous improvements, the concentration of capital, and greater skill in manufacturing vast quantities of all grades of refined Sugar in the same refinery, instead of in several, has since largely increased the productive capacity of refiners and enabled them to supply from a single refinery a full choice of grades at minimum prices for the use of consumers. There being no increase in consumption commensurate with the increase of productive capacity, the number of refiners was again reduced, the strongest in capital, capacity, energy, skill, and close attention to the wants of consumers, remaining masters of the industry as a matter of course.

Thorough investigation warrants the conclusion that evasions of duty, and adulterations of refined Sugars, can no more be charged upon one class of importers and refiners than upon another. Neither can such practices be properly charged upon successful importers and refiners, more than upon unsuccessful Sugar merchants; "tricks of the trade" have doubtless conduced to the present adjustment of the refining industry, but neglect to obey the great laws of production and consumption has been the cause thereof.

Although the number of refineries has largely decreased since 1875, the productive capacity of those in operation is even greater than ever, and fully equal to the demand for consumption. The industry is one of great importance and magnitude, and absolutely indispensible to the comfort and wants of the American people. Sugar consumers and refiners interests are identical. They should, therefore, not be interfered with by tariff laws that would circumscribe the present capacity of refiners to produce all grades of refined Sugars required to meet the wants of consumers.

For such purposes, low grades of raw Sugar are indispensible, as are high grade Centrifugals, Derosnes and Muscovadoes for the profitable production of hard Sugars. It is necessary that refiners should have grades not above No. 7 D S. natural, to enable them to make the grades suited to the wants of the majority of consumers. From such grades, apportioned with higher grades, refiners can give consumers a cheaper Sugar and better article than importers can give them. Refiners Sugars are sweeter, cleaner, and more beautiful to the eye than raw Sugars of any grade, for which reasons all foreign raw Sugars go to refiners.

Should all refiners confine themselves exclusively to working Centrifugals and other high grades of raw Sugar, the great mass of consumers would be deprived of cheap refined Sugar, and be unable to obtain raw Sugar fit for food. To rich consumers price is no object; to the masses, who consume the bulk of Sugar, price is everything. From the various grades of raw Sugar, beginning with Melado and No. 7 D. S. natural color, and taking every grade above that number, refined Sugar of relative grades in value, adding cost of refining, are naturally obtained, thus giving consumers the broadest latitude of choice to conform to their necessities and tastes.

To obtain from the various qualities of raw Sugar the same relative qualities of refined Sugar, the cost of refining would be about as follows for labor, bone black, etc.:

From Melado, per 100 pounds raw material	$1 00
From No. 7 D. S. and below, per 100 pounds	.80
From above No. 7 to No. 10 D. S., inclusive, 100 pounds	.70
From above No. 10 to No. 13 D. S., inclusive, 100 pounds	.60
Above No. 13 D. S., per 100 pounds	.50
Centrifugals, Derosnes, according to quality	.40 to .50

the higher cost of refining the lowest grades, being offset by the lesser cost of the raw material.

From the highest grades of raw Sugar refiners can only make the highest grades of refined Sugar, which the masses cannot afford to buy; whereas from the lowest grades of raw Sugar refiners can make any grade of refined they see fit. In order to get the highest grades of refined from lowest grades of raw, it is only necessary to double or triple the refining process; although this increases the cost of refining, loss in weight, &c., such extra expense is met by the saving in the first cost of the lower grade raw Sugar; hence the consumer would pay the same for his A Sugar, whether it was made from the highest grade of Centrifugals or from the lowest grade of Manillas.

Beyond question it is far cheaper for us to import raw Sugars, and bring them up to higher grades by refining, than to import refined or semi-refined foreign Sugar; not only can we produce from low grade raw Sugar all grades of refined required to meet the wants of the masses, and from the higher grades of raw Sugar produce high grades of refined to meet the wants of the rich, better and cheaper than it can be done in the

foreign producing country, but the home industry of manufacturing refined Sugar suited to the varied wants of consumers of Sugar food is thus benefited, encouraged and protected, while engaged in supplying the current demands of the people.

Centrifugal Sugar is merely Melado or Molasses Sugar semi-refined in the country of production and doctored in color to evade duty; it has still to be refined for consumption after it reaches this country. American refiners can make Centrifugals from Melado and below No. 7 raw Sugars, cheaper than such Sugars can by any possibility be made in Cuba or Demerara, and expend the money saved in so doing in our own country. Any duty on Sugar that discriminates in the least against low grade refining Sugars, would, under existing circumstances, be a public imposition, and a restriction upon consumers and the consumption of Sugar in this country.

Europe furnishes examples evidencing the necessity of protecting the American Refining Industry to a reasonable extent, and the fallacy of paying any bounty on refined Sugar exported beyond a drawback of the duty actually paid on the raw material; on the one hand, free trade and heavy bounty has flooded England with refined beet Sugar from the Continent, and crippled her refining industry without benefiting consumers; on the other hand, consumers on the Continent are largely deprived of refined Sugar, and taxed outrageously to meet the bounty payment that increases the cost of what Sugar they do consume.

The result of success in producing beet Sugar has been such, that France, Germany, Austria, and Russia now, 1879, pay enormous bounties on refined Sugar exported to other countries; vast quantities of refined beet Sugar are sent to Great Britain, and there sold to dealers, a shade cheaper than cane Sugar can be profitably imported, refined, and sold to dealers by English refiners, consumers actually paying about the same prices as before; many of the large refineries in Great Britain, where Sugar is refined as cheaply as elsewhere, have been closed or kept in operation at a loss to their owners on this account.

Beet Sugar producing Nations in a spirit of rivalry, are simply depriving their own consumers, and selling their refined product to England at a loss to the tax payers of the producing countries amounting to millions of dollars per annum; the result will be, that beet Sugar must be produced cheaper than cane Sugar hereafter, or its production must be limited to home consumption; it is a struggle between cane and beet Sugar production for the principal markets of consumption, in which cane Sugar will inevitably maintain the supremacy.

Adulterants.—Cane Sugar can readily be adulterated during the process of refining without detection except by chemical analysis; artificial glucose and grape Sugar may be employed for such purposes, being sweet and soluble; should chemical analysis detect their presence in refined Sugar, consumers are informed that food is converted into glucose in the human stomach, and that glucose is a constituent part of cane

Sugar, fruit and vegetables; *Ergo*, corn glucose, and grape Sugar are not adulterants!

According to some analysts, refined Sugar, particularly in Boston, has never been adulterated. One chemist analyzed "500 samples of refined Sugar, 499 of which were pure cane Sugar; one sample contained a little dirt." A Boston Sugar merchant testified before the Ways and Means Committee, Jan. 9, 1879, as follows: "I have tested Havemeyer & Elder's Sugar for eighteen months in every possible way by our chemist, and I have never found an ounce of adulterated Sugar." *Ergo*, refiners never adulterate.

American Sugar refiners know how to employ adulterants and color mordants in the manufacture and color raising of refined Sugar, and do not intend to be beaten by English and Scotch refiners, nor by one another in this regard; hence the trade testings of refined Sugar, "because it was necessary to know whether Boston refiners were selling in competition with adulterated Sugar," which have been kept up for years.

The following excerpt from testimony about adulterations and "tin-lined stomachs," given Jan. 9, 1879, at Washington, is too rich to be lost: "I knew that the statement as to the adulteration of Sugar was false; I knew it was not logical, that it was not consistent with business generally, that any large concern could go on for any time manufacturing poisons to destroy and injure human life." *Ergo*, refined cane Sugar is not adulterated with corn glucose and brightened with tin crystals to kill consumers, but merely to cheat them.

Refined Sugars have been more or less reduced in quality and value with corn glucose and other substances, and made to appear bright and beautiful by the use of muriate of tin, where the refiner lacked the necessary skill required to make even handsomer Sugar by the natural process of skillful refining. The careless or unskillful refiner must make up for his deficiencies in that regard by injecting muriate of tin into his Syrup; whereas by the natural and proper process of making his Syrup and bone black leaching, the refiner who knows and attends to his business can produce the requisite color and grades without employing color mordants.

Adulterants abound in raw and semi-refined foreign Sugar; raw beet Sugar is offensive to smell and taste, being heavily charged with potash in addition to natural impurities; raw cane Sugar is laden with adulterants of various kinds, some of which are more offensive than potash and lime; these adulterants rapidly generate "Acari," and neither the impurities nor the animalcule are wholly eliminated until the Sugar has been fully refined.

Refiners of small means and less capacity, would be likely to stretch refined Sugar made from the better grades of raw Sugar by the use of corn glucose; although such practices would hasten their own downfall, it should be borne in mind that the higher the quality and cost of raw Sugar used for refining, the greater the profit from the use of glucose as a stretcher; the cost of a good article of corn glucose being so near that

of raw Sugar, the profit from using glucose in Sugars below No. 7 D. S. in refining them, is not worth the venture, and would not be practiced in any well ordered and prosperous refinery.

Analysts and analyses of Refined cane Sugar agree substantially that such Sugars have been found to be stretched with corn glucose and other substances inferior to cane Sugar, and raised in color by the use of sulphur, muriate of tin and other substances; chemicals employed in the process are not always properly eliminated before such refined compound is sold to the consumers; in such cases the Sugar, unless quickly consumed, soon begins to discolor, revealing the practice and disgracing the practitioner. Coloring soluble salts are not eliminated if used.

Raw cane Sugar contains a varying per centage of Sugar that will harden but not crystalize, termed bastard or invert Sugar, which is rich in saccharine strength, and may be turned into Syrup for consumption, or be utilized in refining to produce the cheaper grades of refined Sugars required for consumption; such Sugar assimilates to natural glucose or fruit Sugar, but is pure cane Sugar; analysts have in many instances evidently mistaken invert Sugar for corn glucose, and been led thereby to erroneous and untenable conclusions when examining refined Sugar, known to be perfectly pure cane Sugar.

The raw Sugars of Louisiana, which enter into immediate consumption, are made golden and beautiful in color by the skillful use of sulphate of lime and muriate of tin: otherwise such Sugars, not being clayed nor refined, would naturally be of a greyish yellow or light brown color, resembling clean dry Muscovadoes of high grade. Corn glucose is extensively used to adulterate cane Sugar Syrup. Syrup is also made entirely of glucose, assimilating to pure cane Syrup. While artificial glucose is in a general sense harmless, its continued use as food, in Syrup or Sugar, is irritating and injurious to the kidneys and urinary organs.

There is no United States law against reducing the quality and value of refined Sugar, or any other article of food, by the use of inferior substances. Food adulterants are not even defined in the laws of this country. Congress should enact laws and penalties that will effectually protect consumers against adulterations of any description, harmless or otherwise, in refined Sugar and Syrup, that should also apply to all other articles of food, and be clearly definitive in regard to what constitutes adulterations, compelling merchants to label their goods accordingly, which is also the proper and only method of putting a stop to making indefinite and general charges against refiners of Sugar in regard to adulterations.

The resumption of business in Canada and New York the past year, by Refiners who had previously closed their Refineries, corroborates the writers statements, on page 27, that the opening and closing of Sugar Refineries proceeds from causes more potent than the alleged adulteration of refined sugar; nevertheless, consumers of sugar, and other food, are justly entitled to protection against adulterants, and Congress should enact laws which could be invoked for public protection when the essential evidence was properly presented.

SECTION IV.

DUTIES ON SUGAR—UNITED STATES SUGAR TARIFFS—ENGLAND'S FORMER SUGAR TARIFF—CONTINENTAL SUGAR TARIFFS—METHODS OF LEVYING DUTY ON SUGAR—THE DUTCH COLOR STANDARD—THE POLARISCOPE—SAMPLING SUGAR FOR DUTY CLASSIFICATION—TARIFF PLANS OF SUGAR MERCHANTS AND REFINERS—ABORTIVE SUGAR TARIFF BILLS—CANADIAN SUGAR TARIFFS—RELEVANT TOPICS—SUGGESTIVE DUTY SCHEDULE—DATA AND DEDUCTIONS.

Beginning with the general United States tariff, duties on Sugar have been levied substantially as follows in the years named:

1789—On all raw Sugar, 1 cent; on refined, 3 cts. per pound.
1790—On all raw Sugar, 1.50 cts.; on refined, 5 cts. per pound.
1794—On 2 grades Sugar, 1.50 and 2.50 cts.; on Refined (*3), 9 cts. per lb.
1797—On 2 grades Sugar, 2 and 2.50 cts.; on refined (*3), 9 cts. per pound.
1804—On all raw Sugar, 2.50 cts.; on refined (*3), 9 cts. per pound.
1812—On all raw Sugar, 5 cts.; on refined (*6), 18 cts. per pound.
1816—On all raw Sugar, 3 cts.; on refined (*4). 10 and 12 cts. per pound.
1832—On all raw Sugar, 2.50 cts.; on refined (*3½), 10 and 12 cts. per lb.
1842—On all raw Sugar, 2.50 cts.; on refined (*4), 6 cts. per pound.
1846—On all raw and refined Sugar, 30 per cent ad valorem.
1857—On all raw and refined Sugars, 24 per cent ad valorem.
1861—On all raw and refined Sugars, 7.50 mills per pound.
August 5, 1861—The Dutch color standard was adopted.
1861—Not above No. 12 D. S., 2 a 2.50 cts.; above 12 D. S., 2.50 a 3 cts.
1862—To No. 12 D. S., 2.50 cts.; to 15 D. S., 3 cts.; above 15, 3.50 cts.
1864—To No. 12 D. S., 3 cts.; to No. 15 D. S., 3.50 cts.; above 15, 4 cts.
December 20, 1870.—The present Sugar tariff schedule was adopted.
March 3, 1875.—25 per cent (ad val.) was added to said schedule.

The duties now supposed to be levied upon Sugars are as follows:

Sugar not above	No. 7 D. S. in color, per lb.,	1⅛c.,	plus 25 per ct.		2.1875c.
" "	No. 10 D. S. " "	2 c.,	" 25	"	2.50c.
" "	No. 13 D. S. " "	2⅛c.,	" 25	"	2 8125c.
" "	No. 16 D. S. " "	2⅜c.,	" 25	"	3.4375c.
" "	No. 20 D. S. " "	3⅛c.,	" 25	"	4.0625c.
" above	No. 20 D. S. " "	4 c.,	" 25	"	5.00c.
On Syrup, Melado, Tank bottoms, etc.		1¼c.,	" 25	"	1.8750c.
On Molasses, per gallon		5 c.,	" 25	"	6.25c.

(*) White clayed or powdered advanced beyond a raw state.

The rates allowed as drawback on refined Sugar exported as being entirely the product of foreign duty paid Sugar, have from time to time been fixed by the Government; since the Dutch Standard was adopted Sugar drawback has been allowed, the rates having been fixed as follows:

August 5, 1861—On refined hard Sugar, 3 cts. per pound. On B and C lower grades, 2 cts. per pound. On Syrup, 5 cts. per gallon; all less 10 per cent to the Government.
March 29, 1875—On refined hard Sugar, 3.75 cts. per pound. On B and C. lower grades, 2.50 cts. per pound. On Syrup. 6.25 cts. per gallon; less 1 per cent on Sugar and 10 per cent on Syrup to the Government.
December 17, 1875—On refined hard Sugar, 3.60 cts. per pound. On refined coffee Sugar above No. 20 D. S., 3 cts. per pound. On refined coffee No. 20 D. S. and under, 2.50 cts. per pound. On Syrup, 6.25 cts. per gallon; less 1 per cent on Sugar and 10 per cent on Syrup to the Government.

October 1, 1877—On refined hard Sugar, 3.18 cts. per pound. On refined coffee Sugars above No. 20 D. S., 2.58 cts. per pound. On refined coffee Sugars No. 20 D. S. and under, 2.08 cts. per pound. On Syrups, 6.25 cts per gallon; less 1 per cent on Sugar and 10 per cent on Syrups to the Government.

Reviewing the foregoing Sugar tariff tables, it will be observed that from 1789 to 1846 Sugar was in fact divided into two classes for levying duty—raw and refined. In 1846 Congress was beset by a mania for reducing the revenue and for ad valorem duties. Among a multitude of articles Sugar was changed from specific to ad valorem duty. In 1857 the work was continued by Congress, and in that year a further reduction of 20 per cent from the tariff of 1846 was made.

With the adoption of the Dutch standard in 1861 specific duty was again levied upon Sugar, virtually dividing it into three grades—raw, semi refined and refined. This classification continued until the adoption of the Sugar tariff of 1870, which subsequent events have shown was evidently demanded in the interests of consumers, in order to introduce low grades of raw Sugar for refining to meet the growing demand, among the great mass of consumers for cheap refined Sugars which could not be made in sufficient quantity from high grades of raw Sugars, unless such were adulterated for the purpose. (See Section II. for classifications.)

Great Britain abolished duty on Sugar in 1874, having a manufacturing competitive eye to windward, and a natural desire to favor consumption of her colonial Sugars; duties were levied on Sugars in England in 1870 to 1874 as follows:

ENGLISH CLASSIFICATION OF, AND DUTIES ON SUGAR IN 1870.

	112 lbs. £. s. d.	Reduced to cts.
Sugar refined or equal in quality thereto, per cwt.	0 6 0	1.339 per lb.
First-class not equal to refined	0 5 8	1.258 "
Second " " "	0 5 3	1.169 "
Third " " "	0 4 9	1.053 "
Fourth-class, including cane juice	0 4 0	0.892 "
Molasses	0 1 9	0.383 "

In 1874, England reduced the Sugar duty on the above named classes to the following rates per cwt.; Refined, 3/; 1st class, 2/10: 2d class, 2/8; 3d class, 2/5; 4th class, 2/; Molasses, 10d. Shortly after this almost inoperative schedule was enacted, the duty on Sugar was abolished as above stated; the chances now are that it will ere long be restored.

It will be observed that Great Britain levied Sugar duty upon several different classifications. England found it impracticable to attempt a uniform duty on Sugar, because such a duty would be arbitrary and unjust towards consumers, refiners, and the general Sugar trade; and safely relied upon her Administrators of the Custom Service to execute revenue laws and collect the proper revenue from Sugar; both of which have been

done efficiently in that country without a tithe of the unwarrantable fuss and expensive meanderings made by Treasury Officials in such matters in this country.

It was found necessary in England, in 1854, to grade duties on Sugar, in order to admit low grades formerly excluded by a high tariff. Again, in 1862, the House of Commons appointed a select committee "to enquire into the operation of the (then) present scale of Sugar duties, with a special reference to their assessment upon a classification according to the quality of the Sugar." After a most searching investigation, continued during two months, the committee reported to the Commons, among others, the following resolution:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this committee it is necessary to maintain the principle of a scale of duties, with standards designed to include several classes of Sugar within each range of duty."

The Sugar Tariff of France is as follows: Duty is levied on each 100 kilogrammes by the Paris standards; a kilogramme is about 2.2 lbs. (2.204621 lbs.) Raw Sugar below No. 13, per 100 kilogrammes 65.52 francs. Nos. 13 to 20, both inclusive, 68.64 francs. Above No. 20, 70.20 francs. Refined, 73.32 francs.

The Netherlands levy duty on foreign sugars practically as follows: per each 100 kilog. on 1st class, 25.38 florins; 2nd class, 23.76 florins; 3rd class, 21.6 florins; 4th class, 18.9 florins.

Belgium levies duty on foreign sugars as follows: per each 100 kilog. on 1st class Nos. from 15 to 18 D. S, inclusively, 48.07 francs; 2nd class Nos. from 10 to 15 D. S. exclusively, 45 francs; 3rd class Nos. from 7 to 10 D. S. exclusively, 40.9 francs; 4th class under No. 7 D. S., 34.26 francs.

Germany levies duty on foreign sugars as follows: per each 50 kilog. or 110¼ lbs.; on refined and all raw sugars above No. 19, D. S., 15 Mks.; below No. 19, D. S., 12 Mks.; Syrup, 7.5 Mks; Germany employs the Dutch Standard for imported sugars, and polarization for exported raw sugars.

Owing to her capacity of beet Sugar production, France levies a prohibitory duty on foreign Sugar, to protect and encourage home culture of the Sugar beet, and the manufacture of beet root Sugar, and in order to stimulate exportation. France annually exports on the average more refined Sugar than the United States and England combined, and pays a heavy export bounty thereon. She also meets out condign and speedy punishment to dealers and manufacturers who attempt the sale of raw or refined Sugar, or other articles of food, that contain adulterants of any kind.

England employed a class standard of her own for levying duties on Sugars, which may be said to be a compound of the Dutch Standard of color and a class standard assimilating thereto; but the use of the Dutch Standard by English sugar merchants for trade purposes has been general and invariably reliable. Sugars are ordered by D. S. number from India and elsewhere; and the testimony is that Bengal and Madras refiners

and producers can work up their Sugars to within three pence (3d.) per cwt. of any desired standard, having only experience and knowledge of qualities to guide them.

France employs the color standard for levying duty upon Sugar, and as an adjunct in commercial transactions in Sugar; the Dutch Standard has been employed for levying duty on Sugar in this country since its adoption by Congress in 1861; for that purpose, combined with the English system of intrinsic foreign market value classification grading, the Dutch Standard is undoubtedly the best method of classing raw Sugars for levying duty thereon, that has ever been emyloyed in any country.

The Dutch Standard originated in Holland, where sworn Sugar Brokers annually classify the Sugar crops of Java and other Dutch dependencies according to the natural color of the raw product; numbering the different shades from one to 20 and 22, beginning with wet Sugars nearly black, and ending with white Sugar; having separated the Sugar into grades of natural color the samples are placed within glass bottles, sealed and numbered accordingly; sales are then made of the coming crop, to accord with the samples in the sealed bottles.

Evasions of duty on Sugar are accomplished by false sampling of Muscovado and Derosnes Sugars, and by discoloring Centrifugal Sugars during the progress of making; thus presenting to the Government unnaturally colored samples of imported Sugars to be compared with Dutch Standards for the purpose of levying duty on false classifications, to evade the payment of propor duty; in such transactions, official collusion and administrative stupidity, effectually co erate with duty evasionists in the nefarious practices.

Dutch Standards represent the natural color of raw Sugar. After ascertaining the intrinsic value of the raw Sugar, it is thus measured and graded, and in connection with experience and knowledge, said standard forms a reliable guide to merchants and refiners. False samples and unnaturally colored Centrifugal Sugars presented for duty appraisement do not make it obligatory upon the Government to levy duty according to such misrepresentations simply because false samples and outside appearances of Centrifugal Sugars conform to a certain color shade of the Dutch Standards; on the contrary, it is the business of the Government to discover such impositions, measure the Sugars imported by their commercial value, both in the market of production and the home market, and levy duty according to their natural color thus developed, which is well understood by the Sugar trade.

The polariscope already described by the writer in former pamphlets, has attained importance on account of its well known capacity to accurately determine the percentage of crystallizable Sugar in a given quantity of raw Sugar material; for that purpose alone it is a valuable adjunct to merchants and refiners knowledge and experience in guiding their transactions to suit the wants of consumers, and the market for certain grades of both raw and refined Sugars.

For the mere purpose of levying duty upon raw Sugars, as regards low grades, the Polariscope would be a useless superfluity, as raw Sugars No. 7 and below in natural color, are known at sight by the trade and do not evade duty; and it would be ordinarily extremely difficult to obtain equitable samples of below No. 10 D. S. Sugar for testing in the Polariscope. As regards Centrifugals of a natural color up to and above No. 13 D. S. in color, which uniformly test above 92 degrees of sugar crystals, but which are readily discolored down to No. 10 and No. 7 D. S. to evade duty, and as regards Derosnes and dry Muscovadoes, the Polariscope would be a useful adjunct to the Dutch Standard; although Centrifugals are a definite class of Sugars of well-known value, and of natural color value equal to or above No. 13 D. S., and should be so classed for duty in any event.

Equitable sampling of imported Sugar for the purpose of levying duty thereon, is of paramount importance, and perfectly practicable when honestly set about; if not how is it that sugar merchants and refiners find no trouble about sampling imported Sugar for purposes of trade? Any experienced importer or refiner of Sugar will accurately classify raw Sugars actually below No. 10 in natural color and quality with his eyes shut, by merely handling and smelling it. If Customs officers with their eyes open cannot, under the Dutch standard, draw an honest sample from a package of raw Sugar, the Government had better take samples from the buyer and sellers' samples, and levy duty in accordance therewith.

Mr. S. B. Dutcher, Appraiser at New York, bore testimony to the want of system in sampling Sugar at New York, before the Wood Ways and Means so-called Investigation Committee, September 16, 1878; to obtain an equitable sample by the methods adopted by New York samplers, acting under Mr. Dutcher's instructions, would be impossible, and hardly an improvement over the more ready "dump cask" plan of sampling.

The following equitable and sensible plan of sampling Sugar is excerpted from the Customs regulations of Great Britain, when duties were levied on Sugars in that country; it is also employed by Sugar dealers in Europe and elsewhere:

"When practicable the cask should be raised from the hold of the "ship in the same position in which it is stowed; a white mark should "be placed on the cask to denote the top or part which was uppermost in "the hold. The samples should be drawn by cutting a hole in the top "stave opposite the 'foots,' and about half way between the two heads, "through which hole the sampling iron should be driven in by a hammer or mallet if necessary, till it strikes the bottom stave; after giving "the iron two or more turns it should be withdrawn, and the whole of "the sugar so brought out should be thoroughly mixed together to form "the sample by the whole or part of which the duty is to be assessed.

"To effect this mode of sampling, the cask should be partially turned "over so that the sampling iron may penetrate the cask obliquely, as

"otherwise it will be impossible to draw out any sugar; as the 'foots' "will be included in the sample, no discretion in assessing the duty should "be exercised on account of the larger quantity of 'foot' that some Sugar, "such as Cuba and Barbadoes, generally contains. This mode of sam-"pling, however, will not be applicable to vacuumpan crystalized Sugars, "which must be sampled by driving the sampling iron from head to "head."

Centrifugal Sugars being dry and of large grain, there is no difficulty in sampling; the entire contents of a hogshead or package of Centrifugal Sugar present precisely the same condition; "foot" is an impossibility in such Sugars, which are about of the mobile consistency of dry sand throughout; hence like Derosnes and all vacuumpan crystallized Sugars, Centrifugals should be sampled "by driving the sampling iron from head to head;" in short, the pretended obstacles to obtaining equitable samples of Sugar for levying duty thereon, under the Dutch Standard, are vapid excuses for official dereliction of duty.

Various Sugar tariff plans have recently been urged upon the attention of Congress. The modified "Boston Plan" of levying Sugar duty, as finally presented to the Ways and Means Committee, at Washington, Jan. 8, 1879, reads in substance as follows: On all Tank bottoms, Concretes, Syrup of Sugar cane, Melado, and raw Sugars, not above No. 13 D. S. in color:

Testing in the Polariscope not above 75 degrees	1.50c.	per lb.
For every additional degree to 99, $\frac{5}{100}$ cts. additional duty		"
On all Sugars above No. 13 D. S., not above 16 D. S.	3. c.	"
" " " No. 16 D. S., " 20 D. S.	3.50c.	"
Above 20 D. S. and on refined Sugars	4.25c.	"
On Molasses testing not above 56 degrees	5. c.	per gal
On Molasses testing above 56 degrees	10. c.	"

The Boston plan proposes 28 classification lines for levying duty on Sugar, and advocates a waste of time in testing Melado and all well defined low grade Sugars known at sight as No. 7 and below, in the Polariscope; while No. 14 and above Sugars, are to come in under color classification without being tested; as Centrifugals test 92 and above, and are readily colored down to No. 10, or even to No. 7 D. S. ad libitum, those Sugars would come in at about 2.50 cents per lb., when they should at least pay a 14 to 16 duty; the Boston plan is, for numerous reasons, unfair and impracticable.

No. 13 to 16 D. S. in color Sugars, are made to test anywhere up to 99, and can be toned down to No. 7 D. S. in color for duty. A merchant of Boston testified before the Ways and Means Committee Jan. 9, 1879, that his firm "contracted for raw Sugar at a 96 degree test, with a guarantee that it should not be above No. 10 D. S. in color," for duty purposes; this explains why 26 cargoes tested uniform, and shows what a valuable adjunct the Polariscope is in evading duty.

Such transactions furnish a key to all plans that advocate a Dutch Standard for levying duty on Sugar above No. 13, and the Polariscope

test below No. 13 D. S.; the honest and patriotic merchant has simply to contract for raw Sugars on a 14 to 20 Polariscope test basis, and demand a guarantee from the producer that the Sugar shall be dark enough in color to evade the duty upon No. 13 D. S. in color or above; the long rigmarole of degrees from 75 degrees at 1.50 cents per lb., to 99 at 2.70 cents per lb. proposes to admit discolored Sugars testing 92 to 98—being No. 16 to 20 in quality and value, but doctored in color to evade duty—at 2.40 to 2.60 cents per lb.; while honestly made clean raw Sugars, including grocers Sugars suitable for eating, testing only from 90 to 96, although in color No. 14 to 20 must pay 3 cents, 3.50 cents, or even more per lb.

The following Sugar tariff plan was presented to the Ways and Means Committee at Washington, Jan. 8, 1879, by the Baltimore Committee as the "Baltimore Plan: "On all Tank bottoms, concretes, Syrup of Sugar cane juice, Melado, concentrated Melado, concentrated Molasses, and on all Sugar testing by the Polariscope not above 75 degrees $1\frac{75}{100}$ cents per lb., with an addition of $\frac{6}{100}$ of a cent per lb. for each and every degree or fractional part of a degree above 75 degrees, without regard to color; on all Molasses 6¼ cents per gallon; on all Sugars grown or manufactured in Europe, an additional or discriminating duty, sufficient for the reasonable protection of the refining interests of this country."

The "Baltimore Plan" proposes 25 classification lines for levying duty, entirely by the use of the polariscope, and to admit refined Sugar at 3 cents per lb., except such as might come from Europe. The plan is crude, complicated, and impracticable.

A Sugar tariff memorial presented Jan. 8, 1879, to the Ways and Means Committee, recommends the assessment of Sugar duty on the ad valorem system; "otherwise we (the memorialists) then unite in recommending the two following amendments to the existing tariff": First: "On all Sugars not above No. 10 D. S., testing 92 degrees, 2.25 cents per lb., plus 25 per cent." Second: "On all Sugars above No. 13, not above No. 16 D. S., 2.50 cents per lb., plus 25 per cent, in lieu of the present duty on those grades."

The above plan would somewhat increase the aggregate tax on Sugar, which should not be done; but would encourage the importation of low grade Sugars. No. 7 D. S. and below, which would benefit consumers. The reduction of duty, on 13 to 16 D. S. Sugars, offsets in part the increase of duty on low grades. The above plan stops short of essential requirements, but would improve the present tariff. Any attempts to definitely fix the foreign value of Sugar by polariscope tests alone will, however, fail. Color, grain, and appearance are recognized and powerful factors in determining the value even of low grade Sugars, and will continue to be so.

A Sugar tariff plan based upon a uniform duty on all Sugar to No. 16 D. S., was presented to the Ways and Means Committee Jan. 9, 1879, which reads as follows:

On tank bottoms, Syrup of Sugar, cane juice, Melado, and concentrated Molasses, and on Sugar not above No. 16 Dutch Standard in color, 2 cents per lb.

On all Sugar above No. 16 Dutch Standard in color, and on all refined Sugar, viz: loaf, cut loaf, lumps, crushed, powdered, granulated, and soft white or yellow, known as "Coffee Sugars," 4 cents per lb.; Molasses, 6 cents per gallon.

Thorough investigations of customs revenue abuses by the writer during many years, with unrivalled facilities of adequate information and persistence therefor, in the interests of the people, long since supplied the knowledge that unless the conduct of the Custom Service is radically reformed by Executive enforcement of existing revenue laws, regardless of political aspirations, and the consequent collection of the revenue assured, it would be better, in the matter of Sugar at least, to adopt a uniform tariff to No. 16 D. S. on all raw Sugars, in order to remove facilities for evasion of Sugar duty now furnished by official deliquencies and supineness. In 1877, the writer projected the No. 16 D. S. basis on that ground.

Since studying still more deeply and earnestly the capacity and wants of the people as Sugar consumers, and the existing necessities for an unlimited supply of all grades of raw Sugar material, suitable for refining an adequate supply of refined Sugar food, of every grade required to meet the varied wants and means of all classes of consumers, the writer believes that any uniform duty up to No. 16 D. S., however low, would be an arbitrary and unjust restriction upon consumers, refiners, and the growth of sugar consumption in this country; and that therefore the proper solution of the Sugar question is, for the Executive to enforce the execution of the present revenue laws, and collect the revenue from Sugar under the natural trade classifications of the present tariff, with certain modifications thereof named hereafter; or admit the incapacity of the Department, and solicit Congress to abolish the duty on Sugar forthwith and tax the people otherwise in lieu thereof.

Various attempts have been made to compound a Sugar tariff, with and without the Polariscope, which shall be uniform to No. 13 D. S.; notable among which, in addition to those already described, are: the tariff plan adopted by the Ways and Means Committee February 27, 1878, but not enacted; the Secretary of the Treasury's plans, two of which were laid before the House in December, 1878, and in January, 1879, and cast aside; while a third, called the Treasury Department minority plan, remains unfinished business.

A compound of the above named and other No. 13 plans with the No. 16 D. S. plan, was fashioned and embodied in the Sugar Bill, agreed upon by the Ways and Means Committee in January, 1879. The bill was reported to the House January 21, 1879, read twice, recommitted, again brought up, and finally withdrawn by permission of the House. The "Robbins" No. 13 Sugar Bill reads as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That tank bottoms, syrups of sugar cane juice, Melado, concentrated Melado, concentrated Molasses, and all Sugars not above No. 13 Dutch Standard in color, shall pay a duty of two cents and forty hundredths of a cent per pound; above No. 13 and not above No. 16 Dutch Standard in color, shall pay a duty of two cents and seventy-five hundredths of a cent per pound; all above No. 16 Dutch Standard in color shall pay a duty of four cents per pound; *Provided*, That nothing herein shall be construed to alter or repeal the act entitled 'An Act to carry into effect a convention between the United States of America and his Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands, signed on the thirteenth day of January, eighteen hundred and seventy-five,' which act was approved August fifteen, eighteen hundred and seventy-six."

In regard to the last clause of the above bill, it should be said, Sugars from China and countries adjacent thereto can readily be landed at the Hawaiian Islands, and subsequently enter this country as Hawaiian Sugar, exempt from duty, under the 1875 treaty between the United States and those Islands; from 14,828,363 pounds imported therefrom in 1873, the imports rose under the treaty to 30,685,142 pounds in 1877 and 30,368,328 pounds in 1878.

One-sided reciprocity treaties seem to constitute a mania with this Government. Another is now mooted with Cuba, which country buys from us in round numbers $15,000,000 in value of American merchandise per annum, and sells to us $71,000,000 in value of her own products. The growing necessity of retaining this market for her raw Sugars, will do more for our commerce in Cuba than any reciprocity treaty. Meanwhile limited liability "Havana Sugar Refining Companies" are projected to convert Cuban plantation Sugars into Centrifugals for this market; and, regardless of consumers' interests, efforts are making in this country to prohibit low grades and avoid restrictions against Centrifugal color doctoring to evade duty, by urging a uniform duty on all Sugars not above No. 13 D. S. in aid of such foreign enterprises.

The enactment of the No. 13 Bill above given, or of any Sugar tariff based upon uniform duty up to No. 13, would be highly arbitrary and pernicious in its requirements, would increase the tax on sugar food, restrict consumers and the consumption of Sugar, legalize the present illicit evasions of duty, and foster crooked transactions in the making and sale of Centrifugals. A uniform duty to No. 13 would utterly fail to benefit consumers in any manner in return for the deprivations; it would also increase the duty on low grade Sugar and Melado, which are of prime necessity to 48,000,000 of people, nearly or quite to prohibition.

Uniform duty to No. 13 would establish two class lines at No. 13 and No. 16, both of which already produce nearly all of the money inducements to evade duty, and enable importers to enter discolored Centrifugals which would naturally grade about No. 13, or above, as not above No. 13 D. S., which would be a continuation of the present illicit game of duty evasion on an enlarged scale.

The following Sugar tariff was in force in the Dominion of Canada—40 Victoria, Chap. XI.—but has been superseded by the new tariff

On Sugar above No. 13 D. S.	1c.	per lb. and	25	per cent	ad val.
On No. 9 N. A. 13 D. S.	½c.	" "	25	"	"
On below No. 9 D. S.	½c.	" "	25	"	"
On cane juice and Syrup	½c.	" "	25	"	"
On Melado and Concrete	½c.	" "	25	"	"
On Molasses for refining					73c. per 100 pounds
On Molasses not so used					25 per centum ad valorem

The new Sugar tariff of the Dominion of Canada proposes to levy duty substantially as follows:

On Melado and Concrete	per lb.	½c. and	30	per cent	ad val.
On Syrup of cane	"	½c. "	30	"	"
On raw Sugar below No. 9 D S.	"	½c. "	30	"	"
On No. 9 to not above 14 D. S.	"	½c. "	30	"	"
On all Sugar above No. 14 D. S.	"	1c. "	35	"	"

It will be observed that Canada aims at two important objects in the above tariff. First, to admit all low grades of raw Sugar at low rates, under an equitable adjustment of classes and duty thereon, in order to encourage consumption and the re-establishment of Canadian refineries; and next, to restrict the importation of refined Sugars from the United States by counteracting our drawback, thus virtually placing her trade in refined Sugar in the hands of English refiners until Canada can again refine Sugar for home consumption. For instance, the duty on all Sugar above No. 14 would be 1 cent per lb. and 35 per cent. ad valorem; refined Sugar, costing 7 cents, would pay 3.45 cents per lb. duty; 8 cent refined Sugar would pay 3.80 cents duty; 9 cent refined Sugar would pay 4.15 cents per lb duty.

Every attempt to equitably levy duty on Sugar, under an ad valorem tariff, will come to grief; it should, however, be, as near as practicable, approached in specific rates, (see Section II. on classifications) the systematic under-valuation or dutiable merchandise on Custom House invoices, under the subterfuge of declared values, in reality merely invoice prices. The neglect of the Treasury Department to provide Customs officials with adequate current information, and the vapid administration of the Customs service, present far more serious obstacles to the collection of duties under an ad valorem tariff than do false classifications under a specific tariff.

Consumption of Sugar is in inverse ratio to the rates of duty. Under the highest duties consumption is at the least; under the lowest duties consumption reaches its full capacity. A uniform duty on all Sugar would be dangerous to public interests, unless it was low enough to stimulate the consumption of high grades, and still encourage increased consumption of low grades among the masses who cannot afford to buy high grades of raw, semi-refined or refined Sugar.

One duty on all Sugar would reduce the price of fine refined Sugar to the rich, who consume regardless of price, and raise the price of lower grade Sugar to the poor, who use seven-eighths of all the Sugars that enter into consumption. This would seriously reduce consumption,

because price is a powerful regulator with the poor and middling classes. Decrease consumption and you increase the tax; increase consumption and you reduce the tax.

As shown herein, England, France, Canada, and other countries find "that it is necessary to maintain the principal of a scale of duties with standards designed to include several classes of Sugar within each range of duty," the United States cannot safely do otherwise; owing to the increased production of best Sugar in Europe, the bulk of all raw cane Sugar must find a market in the United States; Congress cannot determine what grades of foreign Sugar will be produced, neither can that body fix the foreign market value of sugar nor discriminate a fraction against low grades for refining, without directly interfering with the rights of their constituents.

When Treasuary officials conclude to set about enforcing the Revenue laws, the faitaful collection of duties on imports without oppressing honest merchants will follow, and evasions of Sugar duty by "dump cask" and unskillful sampling, discoloring Centrifugals, false weighing, loss of cargo identity and all other illicit practices, will be abated; the pretense of reforming these public abuses through Special Agents investigations, which have already cost the people in the matter of Sugar alone an immense sum uselessly expended,—are vapid and watery meanderings.

Failing to execute the tariff laws, Mr. Sherman seems bent on collecting forty millions of revenue from sugar regardless of law and public interests; Congress however cannot safely permit the Secretary of the Treasury to promulgate tariff edicts having no authority form or sanction of law under any pretence of expediency or necessity in collecting revenue in time of peace; should usurpations of its functions be sanctioned by Congress, the way is opened for unlimited abuse of Executive power in the future.

Treasury Department orders of July 19th, 1879, and September 2nd, 1879, in regard to levying duty on foreign sugars, are illegal and incompetent for preventing frauds or for collecting the revenue from sugars; even in the adoption of a dry test for polarizing cargoes of moist sugars by drying samples therof, which it is claimed, sugar merchants forced upon the Secretary, a sort of "coup de main" of Treasury officials, there is no semblance of law; these projects, whatever their value, should have been recommended to Congress and been made law before enforcing them; duties collected under such and similar enforcements, must be refunded with interest and costs of suits; the injury and loss to merchants paying duty on imported mdse. against law and under protest, call for the intervention of Congress; the orders for the sugar enforcements referred to above were blunders as we shall plainly illustrate hereafter.

SECTION V—Page 43.

IMPRACTICABILITY OF ASSESSING AD VALOREM DUTY—DECLARED OR INVOICE VALUES UNRELIABLE—IMPORT ENTRIES COMPARED WITH LIQUIDATED STATISTICS—LOUISIANA AS A FACTOR DEMANDING EXORBITANT PROTECTION—DOMESTIC CANE AND BEET SUGAR PRODUCTION—REDUCTION OF DUTY ON SUGARS—HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY—STATISTICS OF FREE TRADE—PERNICIOUS RESULTS OF ADMITTING SUGARS FREE—LOSS OF DUTY—DETERMINING THE GRADE AND QUALITY OF SUGAR—MUSCOVADO SUGARS—ARTIFICIAL AND NATURAL COLORATIONS—ANALYSIS—NINETY-TWO DIVISION LINE—DUTCH STANDARD—CARGO TESTINGS—DISCRIMINATIONS AGAINST LOW GRADES—DRY SAMPLING—EXHIBIT OF RESULTS—CENTRIFUGALS FAVORED—CONCLUSIONS—REMEDIES, ETC.

In order to effectually remove the obstacles which beset the sugar question under the present tariff, new legislation thereon must be impregnated with common sense and justice, the interests of consumers, revenue, producers, and refiners in this conntry should be equitably considered in adjusting a sugar tariff; before presenting a sugar tariff plan which embodies these requirements more fully than any plan heretofore suggested, the writer deems it important to throw more light of truth upon certain topics of the sugar question, in order that with the following data and facts taken in connection with the tables, deductions, and data already given in Sections I. II. III. of this work, the subject in all its bearings may be fully unfolded and easily comprehended; these topics are as follows:

First—Regarding declared or invoice entries and values, and the impracticability of assessing an ad valorem duty on imported sugars.

Second—Louisiana as a factor constantly demanding exorbitant protection; capacity and requirements of cane and beet sugar productive interests.

Third—Reduction of duty on raw sugar now overburdened with tax doubling its cost to consumers; abolition of the 25 per cent additional duty.

Fourth—The Reciprocity Treaty with Hawaii, pernicious provisions exempting Hawaiian Sugar from duty, the annual cost thereof to the U. S.

Fifth—Determining the grade and quality of raw sugar for levying duty, artificial coloring, natural division line, analysis, the Dutch Standard.

First—The approximate condition of imports of sugar, as measured by custom house entries under declared or invoice values, is presented below in tables XX to XXV for comparison with the actual liquidated transactions between the government and sugar merchants, presented in tables I to XX inclusive in section II. of this work as the true basis of tariff legislation; tables No. XXI—XXV, given below, reveal some of the difficulties that beset appraisers, who attempt to base their appraisements of sugar on mere invoice classifications and declared value on entries,—exhibit apparent fluctuations in prices of imported sugar in producing countries, and show the fallacy of accepting and quoting unliquidated entries for measuring the balance of trade with other countries.

Import entries of dutiable raw sugar, melado and molasses, for the fiscal years ending June 30th, 1875-6-7-8-9 according to invoice entries and declared values, for comparison with liquidated entries of sugars entered into consumption, as exhibited in tables No I—XX inclusive, section II. of this work, showing the impractibility of equitably assessing an ad valorem duty on sugar.

XXI.		Import Entries.	Declared Value.	Cost per lb.
1875..	Sugar..	1,695,726,353 lbs.	$70,015,757	Average,..4.128c.
1876..	"	..1,414,254,663 "	55,702,909	" ..3.938c.
1877..	"	..1,584,162,924 "	81,187,504	" ..5.124c.
1878..	"	..1,473,480,604 "	69,642,368	" ..4.726c.
1879..	"	..1,741,650,489 "	67,820,101	" ..3.894c.
Total,	"	7,909,275,033 "	344,368,639	" 4.35c.

XXII.		Import Entries.	Declared Value.	Cost per lb.
1875..	Melado..	101,768,386 lbs.	$3,313,597	Average,..3.25c.
1876..	"	.. 79,702,878 "	2,415,995	" ..3.03c.
1877..	"	.. 39,461,057 "	1,654,165	" ..4.19c.
1878..	"	.. 31,520,907 "	1,123,613	" ..3.56c.
1879..	"	.. 50,888,121 "	1,442,256	" ..2.834c.
Total,	"	303,341,349 "	9,949,626	" 3.28c.

XXIII.		Import Entries.	Declared Value	Cost per lb.
1875..	Molasses..	49,112,255 galls.	$11,685,224	Average,..23.79c.
1876..	"	..39,026,200 "	8,157,470	" ..20.90c.
1877..	"	..30,188,963 "	7,808,257	" ..25.86c.
1878..	"	..27,490,007 "	6,764,119	" ..24.60c.
1879..	"	..38,365,575 "	7,188,388	" ..18.7c.
Total,	"	184,183,000 "	41,603,458	" 22.5c.

Import entries and declared value of dutiable raw sugar and melado for quarter ending September 30th, December 31st, 1878, March 31st, and June 30th, 1879, compared with the same periods in 1877—1878, and average cost per pound.

XXIV.	September 30th, 1878. Imports, lbs.	Value.	Cost lb.		September 30th, 1877. Imports, lbs.	Value.	Cost lb.
Sugar,	470,936,063	$19,799,457	4.2	=	347,790,146	$19,594,182	5.63
Melado,	9,493,917	334,197	3.52	=	4,140,730	197,349	4.76
	December 31st, 1878.				December 31st, 1877.		
Sugar,	260,649,583	$10,771,354	4.13	=	241,112,438	$11,568,598	4.79
Melado,	4,032,690	137,082	3.39	=	2,720,680	104,570	3.84
	March 31st, 1879.				March 31st, 1878.		
Sugar,	350,300,531	$13,513,342	3.85	=	277,936,543	$12,201,010	4.38
Melado,	14,860,929	419,616	2.82	=	6,617,742	206,049	3.11
	June 30th, 1879.				June 30th, 1878.		
Sugar,	659,670,312	$23,735,948	3.59	=	606,641,481	$26,278,578	4.33
Melado,	22,493,585	551,361	2.45	=	18,041,755	615,645	3.41

XXV- Imports of refined sugar for the fiscal years ending June 30th, 1875-6-7-8-9, giving invoice entries, declared value and cost per lb.

1875,	Imports,	15,251 lbs.	Value,	$1,202	av. cost per lb.	7.88c.
1875,	"	19,931 "	"	1,685	" "	8.45c.
1876,	"	308,688 "	"	28,043	" "	9. c.
1877,	"	83,094 "	"	7,469	" "	8.98c.
1878,	"	130,552 "	"	8,656	" "	6.63c.
1879,						
Total,	"	557,516 "	"	47,055	" "	8.44c.

In regard to the above tables XXI—XXV and an advalorem tariff on sugar; there can be no standard of value currently available or sufficiently permanent to enable appraisers to levy duty equitably upon consecutive cargoes of raw sugars of numerous marks and of different values; nothing is more detrimental to the interests of commerce, than levying duty upon declared invoice values alone; out of the pernicious custom of levying duty upon invoice valuations, has grown the official moiety fungus and the principal evils that beset the collection of customs revenue in this country.

Sudden flucuations in prices of foreign raw sugars, such as have visited the market during 1879 would also complicate an advalorem standard for duty; consumers, importers, refiners and public revenue interests, will doubtless be best protected and served by maintaining equitable specific rates for levying duty on imported sugar; it therefore remains to decide upon specific duty, under an equitable classification of imported sugars which shall nearest approach an advalorem standard under all conditions of foreign market value; the only reasonable alternative being, free sugars; uniform duty whether to No. 10 D. S., 13 D. S., 16 D. S. or on all sugars, means discrimination against from five to seven tenths of the imported raw sugars now consumed in this country, and against consumers and consumption.

Second—Louisiana as a cane sugar producing State has always demanded exorbitant protection for her sugars; the history of all well ordered nations teaches that tariff protection should be extended only to home products which can readily be produced in excess, and the surplus thereof be sold abroad with advantage and profit to the producing country; if cane sugar cannot be produced in this country in sufficient quantity to supply home consumption within a reasonable time, it is folly, and injustice to consumers to levy the present high duties on sugar for the protection of Louisiana, Florida and Texas.

The capacity of Louisana for producing cane sugar has been fairly measured by past and present experience in that state; from a yield of 30,000,000 of lbs. in the crop year 1835–6, a fluctuating progress in the annual production of cane sugar in Louisana, brought the yield in the crop year 1853–4, up to 495,200,000 lbs. after which it fell to 81,400,000 lbs. 1856–7, rose to 414,800,000 lbs. in the crop year 1858–9, fell to 225,100,000 lbs. in 1859–60 rose to 263,300,000 lbs. in 1860–61, and under fortuitous circumstances including favorable weather, in the crop year 1861–2, Louisana produced 528,300,000 lbs of cane sugar; this exceptional yield has not been approximated since in that State, notwithstanding improved machinery, agricultural advancement, and exorbitant protection.

From 1862–3 to 1867–8 inclusive, six crop years, the total yield from Louisana sugar cane was 295,500,000 lbs. of sugar; less than five percent of the consumption of sugar in the coantry in those years; if war was the sole cause of this falling off, how has Cuba managed to mantain an annual average in sugar crops under wars devastations and numerous local calamities? The annual yield of cane sugar from 1868 to 1878, with other data relating to Louisiana interests, is presented on page 24 section III herein, wherein it will be seen that during the years 1868–9 to 1876–7 iuclusive, nine crop years, Louisiana produced only 1.233.814.000 lbs. of cane sugar; an average of 137.090.444 lbs. per annum or an aggregate product of less than the average annual consumption of imported sugars in this country, including Hawaiian sugars, during the same years; the total consumption of foreign sugar in this country being during 1869 to 1877 inclusive, 12,217.854.976 lbs. or an average of 1.357.539,442 lbs. per annum.

In other words, during the nine crop years, above named which correspond with our fiscal years, Louisiana has produced 1.233.814.000 lbs. of sugar, the value of which at 8 cts. per lb. is $98,705,120; while during nine fiscal years ending in 1877, 12,217,854,976 lbs. of foreign sugar have been consumed in this country, and consumers have been taxed $288,260,765 of duty collected thereon; the Secretory of the Treasury and Lousiana, coolly urge the continuance of this exorbitant war tax on sugar for revenue, and to protect Louisiana planters, who produce only a tenth part of our consumption of sugar, and that of a kind which commands its own price and market without protection, as in case of maple sugar.

Judging from results before and since the war, the annual reports of Louisiana planters, and the local disadvantages, such as early cold and frost against which there is no remedy, consequent poor seed and difficulties of propagating the cane from cuttings and ratoons, the average annual yield is not likely to exceed 250,000,000 lbs until plantations in general are much better worked and properly manured, and more land has been planted with sugar cane.

There are however good reasons for the belief that, with these requirements fulfilled, the annual capacity of Louisiana for the production of cane sugar, would be eqnal to 500,000,000 lbs, and that an average annual yield in Louisiana of fully 350,000,000 lbs. of cane sugar could then be relied on; and it is reasonable to suppose that under proper cultivation in Louisiana and such other States as are suited to the growth and maturing of sugar cane, a large portion of the sugar required for our own consumption, could be produced in this country without the aid of special tariff protection.

In many Parishes in Louisiana, sugar plantations readily produce more than a ton of sugar to the acre besides molasses; in the crop year 1877-8 there are reported products per acre from Louisiana sugar plantations as follows: 3,000 lbs.—2,860 lbs.—2,855 lbs.—2,700 lbs.—2,634 lbs.—2,650 lbs.—2,500 lbs,—2,460 lbs.—2,400 lbs,—2,320 lbs,—2,300 lbs,—2,250 lbs,—2,240 lbs,—and 33

plantations reported a yield of 2,200 lbs, and upward of sugar to the acre, besides molasses; M. Schlatre, an authority among Louisiana planters, has furnished detailed statements of the cost of producing cane sugar in Louisiana on the basis of 2,200 lbs, of sugar per acre, which summarizes as follows for the crop year 1877-8:

Total cost of cane, planting, and cultivating 50 acres,	$2,413,50
Expenses to convert the cane into 100 hhds, sugar,	3,000,00
Cost per acre when producing 2 hhds, sugar, - - -	108,27
Yield of 50 acres of cane in sugar and molasses; 100 hhds. sugar (1,100 lbs. to the hhd.) at 8c. per lb,	8,800,00
150 hhds, molasses @ $18 per hhd, - - - - - - -	2,700,00
Cistern bottoms, - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	300,00
Total value of product,	11,800,00
Total cost of production,	5,413,50
Net profit from 50 acres,	6,386,50
Cost per acre $108,27; yield per acre $236; net profit per acre,	,127,73

The above estimated profit per acre is princely, when compared with the average annual agricultural yield in net profit of less than thirty dollars per cultivated acre; but it would be largely increased under a thourough system of cultivation, manuring, and manufacture, whereby more and better cane would be produced, and more juice be abstracted therefrom than is now the case; at least 3,000 lbs. of sugar per acre should be obtained in good years; indeed it is conceded by Louisiana planters, that the cultivation of sugar cane in that State is profitable throughout under economical and experienced management, notwithstanding intervening poor crops caused by climatic drawbacks: it is also a fact that Louisiana raw sugars command their own market of consumption, at prices which compete only with refined sugars, and do not really come into competition with foreign raw sugars.

Louisiana producers readily obtain an average price above seven cents per pound for their sugars, which, although defecated and made bright in color by sulphur or muriate of tin, previously contain less crystallizable sugar than foreign refining muscovadoes and molasses sugars, while the foreign producers of these sugars obtain an average of about 2½ cents per lb. only; analysis of numerous cargoes of Louisiana sugars resulted as follows: lowest cargo test, crystals 81.10, invert sugar, 8.41, water, 7 39, ash, 1,32, other imp, 1,78; highest cargo test, crystals, 90,30, invert sugar, 1,27, water, 4,83, ash, 0.82, other imp, 2,78; average cargo tests, crystals, 84,75, invert sugar, 5,70, water, 6,12, ash, 1,15, othes imp, 2,28; average crystallizable strength, avoiding extremes, Louisiana sugars, 84,75,—foreign Muscovadoes, average 88,89; as shown hereinafter, In short, Louisiana needs no protection against foreign raw sugars until she produces raw sugars for refining purposes and not for immediate consumption, which she has no intention of doing while her producers can sell raw sugars brightened in color for immediate consumption, at prices ranging from 7 to 11 cents per lb, as in 1877-8-9,

Beet sugar can unquestionably be produced in the United States in vast quantities; there is abundant evidence that the sugar beet can be grown at a good profit in many sections of this country, and be made to yield under a proper cultivation, from 9 to 12 per cent of its weight in crystallizable sugar and syrup; the pulp residuum remains highly nutritious for cattle, and the green beet tops are excellent for feeding to stock.

From 20 to 25 tons of sugar beets can be raised to the acre on ordinary farming land with moderate manuring, at about the cost of raising potatoes; where proper farming tools are used for planting beet seed and hoeing the plants, there is no crop of roots more easily cultivated than beets; the tap root of the beet finds moisture enough and flourishes in sandy loam and moderately dry farming land; when suitable land produces less than 20 tons of sugar beets to the acre, the fault or failure will be found, as in the case of sugar cane, in the farming or want of manure; sugar beet culture has great advantage over sugar cane culture in this country, as the latter is subject to casualities of climate almost unknown to the former.

Farmers in Maine, are now (1879) paid six dollars per ton of 2,240 lbs, for unwashed sugar beets delivered at the factory in Portland, or five dollars per ton delivered at railroad stations centering at Portland; the average yield in France is about 23 tons of beets to the acre, and from 11 to 14 per cent of sugar and syrup therefrom, both of which out-turns can be equalled or excelled in this country; when requisite experience in cultivating the sugar beet has been acquired, we can produce two tons of beet sugar per acre, and all things considered, farmers will be better paid from sugar beet crops at five dollars per ton unwashed, delivered at central stations, than from any other crops they generally handle.

Continental Europe has set us an example in beet sugar production, and presents a profitable and progressive record of energy and enterprize in this regard, producing in 1878, 1,465,000 tons of beet sugar, with a prospective crop in 1879, of at least 1,500,000 tons; as beet sugar must be refined before it is suitable for consumption, the industry of refining in this country must be greatly benefitted by the increased production of beet sugar; the beet sugar industry has taken shape in Maine, Massachusetts, Delaware and California, and is in embryotic form elsewhere in this country; it already bids fair to become a source of national wealth; a moderate duty on foreign sugar will stimulate the production of cane and beet sugar in this country, *but the broad basis of dependence with both of these industries is their capacity of production in competition with foreign producers on equal terms.*

Third.—Attention is directed to the tables on Page 9, Section 1, of this book, as exhibiting the relations of imported sugars, and duty therefrom, to other imported merchandise. In 1878, sugar constituted 27.05 per cent. of all dutiable merchandise entered into consumption, and yielded 29.18 per cent. of the revenue from customs, with an increasing ratio. There is a general demand for a reduction of duty on imported sugar, from fifty millions of consumers of sugar in the United States. Equitable reduction of such duty is in

perfect accord with every industrial interest connected with the production and consumption of this necessary article of common food in this country.

One-half of the present aggregate tax on imported raw sugars will adequately stimulate the production of cane and beet root sugar in the United States. These industries and refining would be encouraged, consumption increased and commerce prospered, under an equitable sugar tariff, which, with the present annual consumption, would produce twenty millions of dollars from sugar. Continuing an exorbitant war tax on sugar food in time of peace is a public outrage which should find no advocates among honorable Statesmen.

Should Hawaiian sugars, now free, be made dutiable, as suggested hereinafter, the duty therefrom, and the rapid increase of sugar consumption, resulting from reducing the cost of raw and refined sugar, will quickly increase the amount of duty received to at least $25,000,000 per annum, without detriment to Louisiana sugars, or interfering in the slightest degree with home production of beet and cane sugar for a decade to come, as a lower rate of duty should increase the consumption of sugars in this country to that of Great Britain, which averages about 62 pounds per capita annually, while the consumption in this country is hardly 40 pounds per capita (see page 7.) Thus, with the present population of the United States of nearly 50,000,000, we require at least three thousand millions of pounds of sugar for home consumption to equal the home consumption of sugar in Great Britain.

The 25 per cent. ad val addendum to the specific duty on sugar under the present tariff, should be abolished in any event. The revenue exigencies which called said addendum into existence are surmounted. The extra burden of tax on sugar food is no longer justifiable as a source of revenue for war purposes; much less is it a necessity on the score of protection, as has been already shown. The present duty, minus the 25 per centum, is therefore excessive and wholly unnecessary for purposes of protection or revenue. The comfort and food wants of fifty millions of people should now be righteously considered in these connections. The burden of tax that imported sugar has so long borne should be reduced forthwith. If the nation requires the full amount of the present revenue from sugar, which is by no means proved to be the case, let coffee and tea share the burden. The pretence of "free breakfast tables" is absurd, so long as sugar is doubled in cost to consumers by an exorbitant impost duty on the raw material.

Fourth.—The Treaty admitting Hawaiian Sugars and other mdse. duty free, should be abrogated as speedily as possible, and said sugars be made dutiable; aside from our own National interests, such discrimination against all other sugar producing countries is impolitic and unjust; the folly and evils resulting from exempting Hawaiian Sugars from duty, will be understood by reference to the following table and exhibit of facts in relation thereto.

Trade with the Hawaiian Islands under the Reciprocity Treaty signed Aug. 15, 1876, for ten months beginning Sept. 1, 1876, ending the fiscal year June 30, 1877, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878, including specie as domestic

exports, and excluding foreign exports; also showing loss of duty on sugar, estimating the same at 62,50 per cent. of the foreign value thereof.

	Imports duty free.	Exports dom.	Sugar imp.	Loss Sugar duty.
1877,	$2,277,354,	$1,296,942,	$2,108,470,	$1,317,794
1878,	2,522,254,	1,783,690,	2,274,430,	1,421,519
Total,	4,799,508,	3,080,632,	4,382,900,	2,739,313

This masterly Reciprocity Treaty with the Hawaiians, furnishes a lucid illustration of the practical knowledge possessed by our rulers and law makers at Washington, in regard to commercial and trade statistics, and the actual value and condition of trade between the United States and other Countries; the most amazing arrangements of figures are presented to the Public, in statements garbled from actual and correct data, and remarkable deductions are stupidily thrown together, by high officials, for bunkum, and party, and personal aggrandizement, which often have as little foundation in fact as the stories of Munchausen.

Official statistics evidence that the United States imported duty free under the aforesaid treaty, $4,799,508, of otherwise dutiable mdse. during the time named, upon which there was a loss of duty about equal to the entire amount of domestic exports from this Country to the Hawaiian Islands; further than this, sugar constitutes about nine-tenths of the value of all our importations from said Islands; $4,382,900 value of sugars were imported, and only $416,608 value was imported of all other mdse. during the time above named, the loss of duty on said sugars amounted to fully 62,50 per cent. of their foreign market value, or $2,739,313, and the sum total of domestic exports to those Islands was only $3,080,632.

In plain language, by the Reciprocity Treaty with the King of the Hawaiian Islands, all of our exports to those Island are absolutely given away, and we pay his Majesty the King of Hawaii, a cash balance on account of excess of imports over exports; truly there must have been potent influences at work, to develope the official ophthalmy and ignorance displayed in the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty.

Worse than this, the introduction of sugar duty free from Hawaii, also opens a channel for defrauding the Revenue, by landing sugars at those Islands, and shipping them thence to the United States to enter duty free as Hawaiian sugars; in addition to these evils, Refiners in California are thus enabled to obtain raw material duty free, to the great detriment of consumers, producers and refiners of sugars in all other parts of the United States; the Government has created a great California sugar monopoly which Congress has sanctioned, thus discriminating against all other parts of the country, merely to enrich a California Refiner, who lords it over consumers of sugar on our Pacific Coast, and taxes them most royally under government patronage.

Fifth—To accurately determine the actual grade and quality of imported sugar for levying duty thereon equitably, is of paramount importance; in order

to simplify appraisements of sugar and remove ambiguities that invite official subversion of tariff laws, provide scapegoats for officials derelict of duty, and encourage that curse of customs business, a moiety system—the present tariff should be modified. In regard to artificially-colored sugars, for instance, it now reads, "And on sugars, after being refined, when tinctured, colored, or in any way adulterated," it is only necessary to strike out the words, "after being refined," when artificially colored, raw sugars will quickly disappear from the import trade; and, when faced by analysis, imported centrifugals, Javas, and vacuum pan sugars, will assume their natural color, according to actual quality and value in the country of production.

Natural discoloration of raw sugar is another and very serious matter, which demands legislation authorizing analysis, and an equitable division line for levying duty, as adjuncts to the color standard. Neither of these can safely be dispensed with in future appraisements of imported sugar, under an equitable classification standard; but the methods and standards must be sanctioned by tariff laws free from ambiguities and discriminations against or in favor of any grade or quality of imported raw sugar. Such sugar should pay duty according to its market quality and value in the country of production, so long as sugar remains dutiable; and said quality and value can only be determined equitably by employing analysis and the color standard in co-operation.

Natural discoloration of raw sugar to evade duty, especially as regards centrifugals, consists simply in the retention of molasses and impurities, or in adding lime, burnt syrup or caramel to the juice in defecators, in the pan, or in the mass in the centrifugal machine. Vacuum pan sugars and clayed sugars may be similarly discolored by injection and leaching. Lowering of color may be carried to any desirable extent in raw sugar, and still maintain therein 93 to 98 per cent. of crystallizable sugar, varying in color and strength in crystals at the option of manipulators.

That the discoloration abuse is not confined to this country and practiced for the evasion of duty alone, may be seen in the following circular emanating from Holland—the birth-place of the Dutch standard—wherein analysis is adopted as an adjunct to the color standard, which cannot be entirely superseded so long as color remains necessarily a principal factor in fixing the value of sugar among merchants for trade purposes. The circular is as follows:

"ROSENDAAL, Sept. 26, 1879.

"To the President and Members of the Central Committee of the Sugar Manufacturers of France.

"GENTLEMEN;

"We have the honor to inform you that two days ago the Minister of "Finance has presented a law to prevent artificial coloration of sugars and the "use of artificial mixtures intended to deceive as to the true value of sugars.

"Their value will be determined by chemical analysis.

"Please, gentlemen, accept the assurance of our distinguished considera-"tion.

"(Signed),

"B, REIGER, Secretary. "B. JAEGER, President."

It will be observed that only artificial mixtures are referred to in the Hollandic circular. Nevertheless, natural discolorations will quite as readily be detected and disposed of by analysis, such being practiced in manufacturing Java sugars, as well as centrifugals and other raw sugars of high crystallizable strength and value. Discoloration of foreign sugars in the country of production is, and has long been, practiced to lower the grade and quality of sugar in appearance, for the purpose of evading duty, and to raise the grade and quality of both raw and refined sugars, to deceive customers and obtain higher prices in the market than the same sugars of natural colors are worth intrinsically. Java clayed sugars are high-priced, and mostly above 92 in crystallizable strength. Like centrifugals and vacuum pan sugars, they have long been manipulated in color to evade duty—manipulations which Treasury officials who have arbitrarily superseded collectors and appraisers, have thus far failed to cope with understandingly, much less successfully.

Before Congress accepts Treasury official fiats as a basis for future tariff legislation, would it not be wise and prudent for that body to inform themselves thoroughly, in regard to the quality and value of the knowledge of tariff matters claimed to be possessed by officials who dictate and recommend tariff enactments which they never cause to be executed? The official conduct, investigations, expenditures, losses, reports, and illegal proceedings connected with collecting the revenue from sugar, and the color topic, form a substantial "point de appui" for such long-neglected inquiries. The functions of appraisers have been already usurped by incompetent Treasury officials, which demoralizes the customs service, and has already led to incalculable mischief.

The era of free trade in sugar has not been reached, and if foreign sugars were placed on the free list, producing countries would levy an offset export duty thereon, thus maintaining the cost as before, or increasing it. On the other hand, uniform duty would discriminate against the bulk of imported sugars which we must mainly depend upon for the production of refined sugars suited to the imperative demands of eight-tenths of the people, and favor centrifugals and high grade sugars immensely, without benefit to the great mass of consumers or the revenue, and would check consumption and home production, as shown elsewhere. Classification according to quality, for the purpose of levying duty on sugar, remains, therefore, an inevitable sequence of wise legislation.

In order to counteract discolorations practiced to evade duty under a color standard alone, it becomes necessary to combine analysis with the color standard in order, to determine accurately the quality and consequent foreign value of imported sugars, and to establish an equitable test line of crystallizable strength as a basis for levying duty. Naturally and equitably the line would fall between 91 to 93, and should be established at 92 for cargo samples; Drying samples and raising the test line above 92, discriminates in favor of centrifugals, clayed and vacuum pan sugars, as will be hereinafter seen.

During his investigations the writer has secured numerous cargo samples of various classes of imported sugars, including many containing artificial and

natural discolorants, and caused them to be analyzed. He has also obtained the results of official and trade analyses of several hundred cargoes of imported sugars that have entered into consumption during 1875-6-7-8-9. The results corroborate and establish his former premises, published in his "Analyses of the Sugar Question," in May last, and repeated herein. For example, the imported sugars named below, when of natural color and condition, are found by analysis to contain crytallizable sugar approximately as follows. Per cent. of cyrstallizable sugar in 100 parts of material. Extreme exceptions have been omitted:

Melado,	63 to 76—Taal sugar below 7 D. S.,	71 to 73
Mexican sugar below 7 D. S.,	70 to 76—Penang sugar, n. a., 7 D. S.,	69 to 75
China sugar, 7 to 10 D. S.,	79 to 90—Formosa sugar, n. a., 7 D. S.,	78 to 80
Dullooah sugar, 7 to 10 D. S.,	75 to 84—Cebu sugar, n. a., 7 D. S.,	4 to 85
Gurpatta sugar, n. a., 7 D. S.,	77 to 86—Manilla sugar below 7 D. S.,	76 to 82
Iloilo sugar, 7 to 10 D. S.,	81 to 89—Macio sugar, n. a., 7 D. S.,	86 to 89
Bahia sugar, n. a., 7 D. S.,	71 to 73—Egyptian sugar, 7 to 10 D. S.,	80 to 90
Gouadeloupe sugar, 7 to 10 D. S.,	80 to 87—Barbadoes sugar, 7 to 10 D. S.,	86 to 89
Peruvian concrete, n. a., 7 D. S.,	76 to 83—Pernambuco sugar, 7 to 10 D. S.,	84 to 89
Cuba clayed sugar, 7 to 12 D. S.,	87 to 96—Muscovado sugar, 10 to 14 D. S..	85 to 91
Molasses sugar, 7 to 12 D. S.,	86 to 91—Porto Rico sugar, 7 to 12 D. S.,	84 to 91
Martinque sugar, 7 to 10 D. S.,	82 to 89—Beet sugar, n. a., 7 D. S.,	90 to 93
Belt sugar above 7 to 14 D. S.,	93 to 97—Java clayed sugar, n. a., 7 D. S.,	90 to 93
Java clayed sugar above 7 to 14 D.S.	93 to 97—Hawaiian sugar, 7 to 10 D. S.,	89 to 91
Demerara sugar, n. a., 7 D. S.,	83 to 88—Demerara sugar, 9 to 12 D. S..	90 to 96
Centrifugal sugar, 7 D. S. (low),	91 to 92—Centrifugal sugar above 7 to 14 D. S.,	93 to 97
Chuyang sugar, n. a., 7 D. S.,	83 to 89—Surinam sugar, n. a., 7 D. S.,	81 to 86

It may at once be seen in the above schedule, which embraces more than 300 cargo tests, and includes crop variations, that 92 degrees of crystallizable strength, in 100 parts of properly sampled raw sugar, provides a natural and equitable dividing line for counteracting both artificial and natural colorants, and equitably determining the natural color, quality and value of discolored raw sugars, in order to levy correct duty thereon. Raw sugars naturally testing above 92 in equitable cargo samples, run 93 to 96 as a rule, with comparatively few exceptions, and should be covered in a single classification when not above 13 D. S. in natural color, which, in the case of large grain centrifugals, can only be determined by crushing the grain.

Samples are before me of a cargo of large grained centrifugal sugar, which appears to be not above 10 D. S. in color, and the cargo was so entered and liquidated—the samples test of sugar, 97; imp., 2.5; water, 0.5. On being crushed, the sugar is No. 20 D. S. in color, and excellent for eating, the crystals having been outwardly darkened with sugar impurities, doubtless to evade duty. Of course such and similar sugars should pay duty on intrinsic color, as being above 92 and above 16 D. S.—the true intent and purpose of the Dutch standard being to measure the intrinsic color of sugars, while by analysis we measure the intrinsic quality of sugar.

On the other hand, refining Muscavado sugars, although mostly 10 D. S. or above in natural color acquired simply by draining, contain less than 92 per

cent. of crystallizable sugar. Analysis of 47 different cargoes of Muscovadoes are before me which tested as follows in crystallizable sugar:—Lowest test, 84.80; highest test, 92; general range of cargo tests, 85 to 91; average of cargo tests, 88.89. Nevertheless, the claim that light-colored Muscovadoes are virtually prohibited by the present tariff, proves mistaken, inasmuch as color, being the prime factor of value in raw grocery sugars (Muscovadoes made light and fit for eating by defecation in addition to natural draining), it is evident that Muscovado sugars imported suitable for consumption, will, if consumers want them, bring value accordingly, as in the case of Louisiana sugars, and should pay a higher rate of duty than undefecated Muscovadoes suited only to refining purposes.

Refining sugars above No. 7 D. S. in natural color are intrinsically more valuable proportionately in refined outturn than refining sugars No. 7 D. S. or below in natural color, and should therefore pay a higher rate of duty. Refining sugars above No. 10 D. S. in natural color also produce a more valuable proportionate outturn in refined product than can be obtained from sugars above No. 7 and not above No. 10 D. S. in natural color. Consequently, Muscovadoes should pay a higher rate of duty. Lower grades of refining sugar are most extensively imported and used for refining, simply on account of the demands of consumers for the cheaper grades of refined sugars. That such grades cannot, however, be obtained, in the relative proportion required for consumption, from high grade light colored raw sugars alone, is an absolute fact. [See schedules of cargo analyses herein showing the comparative crystallizable strength of imported refining sugars of natural color; see also page 28, section III., showing comparative cost of refining.]

Consumers demand the cheaper grades of refined sugars for consumption, in preference to imported Muscovado sugars that have been defecated or semi-refined in the country of production. Muscovado sugars, in general, are unfit to eat, unless defecated by precipitants. Natural draining of concentrated raw sugar or melado does not sufficiently eliminate impurities therefrom for purposes of consumption. When thus freed from molasses and impurities, and made brighter, Muscovadoes test higher, and are more valuable than drained or partially drained sugars, and should pay higher duty accordingly when imported suitable for consumption.

Nevertheless, refiners can, from the lower grade of refining sugars including Melado produce pure refined sugars golden hued to white in color, for consumption, with which raw foreign mucovadoes can never compete successfully in prices, neither under an equitable tariff classification, nor with the duty on all sugars abolished; foreign Mucovadoes therefore now naturally seek tariff protection to enable them to supercede American refined sugars for immediate consumption, and for a pretence, malign the present tariff classifications, and demand tariff modifications discriminative against the numerour low grades of refining sugars from which the bulk of American refined sugars now required by the masses for consumption are produced; as with centrifugals, this is also a question of Foreign versus American, interests and industries.

Dismal efforts of the Treasury Officials to increase the revenue from imported sugars, have culminated in evaporating moisture from cargo samples of raw sugars, and raising the test line to suit dry samples when levying duty, under the pretence that, "the percentages of sugar in the dry substance are the practical equivalents of those [the percentages] specified of sugars as imported before the water is evaporated." No greater tax outrage could be perpetrated upon merchants and consumers than changing the texture of imported merchandise to increase the duty-paying properties thereof and the revenue therefrom. In the matter of raw sugar, the merchant buys and pays for the sugar composite, impurities, moisture and all. The government weighs the cargo on arrival, charges duty on every pound of moisture, and then coolly fixes the rate of duty at pleasure, by levying on samples wherein the texture of the cargo of imported sugar has been changed by forced evaporation.

Whatever the intent, this astute method of increasing the revenue from sugar, discriminates against low grades, and in favor of centrifugals, Javas, etc., as will be seen in the following schedule of different kinds of imported raw sugars which, avoiding extremes, exhibits the range of percentages of natural moisture purchased and contained in 100 parts of sugar texture, as sampled and analyzed on arrival of the cargoes:

Melado contains 10 to 15 parts water.	—Manilla sugars, 3 to 7 water.
Nollo sugars, 3 to 6 water.	—Muscovado sugars, 4 to 7 water.
Molasses sugars, 4 to 6 water.	—China sugars, 3 to 5½ water.
Formosa sugars, 6 to 8 water.	—Chuyang sugars, 3 to 5 water.
Porto Rico sugars, 4 to 7 water.	—Dullooah sugars, 3 to 5½ water.
Pernambuco sugars, 3 to 6 water.	—Peruvian concrete, 6 to 8 water.
Egyptian sugars, 3 to 6 water.	—Gouadeloupe sugars, 4 to 8 water.
Cuba clayed, 1 to 3½ water.	—Javas (except low.) ½ to 2 water.
Beet sugars, 1½ to 4 water.	—Centrifugal sugars, ½ to 2 water.

Reverting to the schedule of analyses preceding the above, which exhibits the crystallizable quality of the above and other imported sugars, it may at once be seen, that forced evaporation of moisture, which must be restored in refining, would greatly reduce the weight of sugar composite imported, every pound of which is charged with duty, and force the crystallizable strength of most low grade sugars above 90 and 94, by changing their natural texture; why not also eliminate impurities, including invert sugars from the lower grade sugars, and force them up to 99 at once for levying duty? the masterly moisture evaporation or dried sample process, produces results like the following:

A cargo of centrifugal sugar enters and tests crystals 95.5, imp. 3.5, water 1; evaporate the water, and 99 parts become 100 parts and test crystals, 96.5, imp. 3.5; a cargo of centrifugal or Java sugar is imported and tests, crystals 94, imp. 4, water 2; dry out the water, and 98 parts become 100 parts, which test, crystals 96, imp. 4, all right for centrifugals: on the other hand, a cargo of molasses sugars enters that tests, crystals 89, imp. 5.60, water 5.40; dry the

samples and 94.60 parts become 100 parts that test, crystals 94.40, imp. 5.60; a cargo of Pernambuco sugar is imported which tests, crystals 86.10, imp. 7.78 water 6.12; dry the samples and 93.88 parts become 100 and test, crystals 92.22, imp. 7.78; a cargo of Porto Rico sugar enters that tests, crystals 88.40; imp. 4.85, water 6.75; dry the samples, and 93.25 parts become 100 parts and test, crystals 95.15, imp. 4.85; a cargo of Martinique sugar is imported that tests, crystals 84.40, imp. 8.22, water 7.38; dry the samples, and 92.62 parts become 100, and test, crystals 91.78, imp. 8.22, and so on.

Evaporation liberates a proportion of molasses impurities, consequently no increase in the per centage of impurities is allowad above; the result of evaporating moisture from raw cane sugar, being to diminish the proportion of molasses impurities therein, and increase the crystalline qualities thereof, just as by natural purging and evaporation of Melado, dry Muscovado sugar is prodnced.

Under the dry test innovation, a cargo of naturally dark low quality sugar, useless for consumption until refined at more than double the cost of refining centrifugals, only capable of producing a refined out-turn far below the usual out-turn from centrifugals in value, may be doomed to pay duty,—not only on ecery pound of the full weight of the cargo, water and all,—but at the high rate of duty charged upon Centrifugals and Javas naturally of a grade and quality above 94 when imported; nothing could better illustrate the injustice of uniform duty on sugar—whether to 10, 13, 16, or on all sugars—than the illegal discriminations resulting from changing the texture of imported sugar by dry sampling, to increase the revenue therefrom; on the other hand, lumbering the tariff and customs business with different rates of duty on sugar for every number in color, and every degree of crystallizable strength therein determined, or any approach to such a system, would be irrational.

Practical and thorough investigation, combined with searching analyses of the Sugar Question in its bearings upon public revenue interests, American industries, and the requirements of consumers, with the proper classification of facts and examples, through which alone reliable evidence can be obtained, leads the writer to the following inevitable conclusions:

Raw cane sugar being composed of white crystals of sugar, and impurities which form black molasses, the proportions of this admixture produces varying shades of color, which have rightly been recognized and accepted as reliable indications of the quality and value of raw cane sugars, when in their normal condition; outside coloration intended to deceive as to the true value of sugars, having been successfully practiced to evade duty, it has become necessary to employ analysis, as an adjunct to the color standard, in order to accurately determine the actual quality and value of imported sugars for the purpose of levying duty thereon correctly.

Uniform duty on raw sugars must be arbitrarily discriminative, and would therefore interfere with and largely prohibit importations of entirely raw sugar material—by encouraging the foreign industries of semi-refining and centrifugation of raw sugar material, to the detriment of home manufacturing and

sugar productive industries—interfere with the rights of consumers, and curtail consumption; while the only practical duty discrimination in the present sugar tariff, is the *uniform 25 per cent.* addendum thereto.

The present tariff classification of melado and other foreign sugars are substantially in accordance with trade usage throughout the world, and therefore adequate and equitable for levying duty on imported sugars, being peculiarly adapted for such purpose. Consequently they ought to be retained. Should the following changes or modifications of the present sugar tariff be adopted substantially—reasons for which have already been presented by the writer—consumption will rapidly increase, and the general results be eminently beneficial and satisfactory to the people of this country, and produce over $30,000,000 revenue per annum.

One.—Abolish the 25 per cent. ad valorem addendum altogether, and also reduce the present specific duty on all raw sugars not above 16 D. S. in natural color—subject to the 92 line provision—at least half a cent. per lb. pro rata throughout.

Two.—All raw sugars under No. 10 D. S. in color containing ninety-two [92] per cent. or more of crystallizable sugar, to pay the same duty as sugars above No. 10, and not above No. 13 D. S. in color.

Three.—Strike out of the present sugar tariff the words, "after being refined," contained in the section relating to the adulterations and colorations of refined sugars.

Four.—Equitable samples of imported sugars to be secured and used for purposes of appraisement as soon as practicable after the arrival and entry of such sugars, and the actual condition of such samples, when first selected, shall determine the grade and quality of the cargoes they represent for levying duty thereon.

HENRY A. BROWN,
Ex-Special Treasury Agent, U. S.
Saxonville, Mass.

Henry A. Brown: Dupl. in call

REVISED ANALYSES OF HAWAIIAN TREATY BLUNDERS.

AND THE

PROFOUND FOREIGN POLICY HUMBUG.

Revenue Measures Originated by the Executive and Senate in Defiance of the Constitution.

WASHINGTON, D, C., *January* 31, 1887.

To United States Senators and Representatives in Congress assembled:

First. There was no commercial advantage for the United States to gain, nor has any been gained, by negotiating the treaty of 1875–'76; the trade of the Sandwich Islands had long been controlled by Boston merchants prior to that time, and could have been increased by them *ad libitum* without this Government subsidy, Daniel Webster's statement upon this topic as Secretary of State, in 1842, to the House of Representatives, being as follows:

Mr. Webster said: "Considering, therefore, that the United States possess so very large a share of the intercourse with those islands, it is deemed not unfit to make the declaration that the Government seeks nevertheless no peculiar advantages, no exclusive control over the Hawaiian Government;" and these views were acted upon when Daniel Webster made the treaty of 1849 with Hawaii, to which I shall refer later.

Charles Nordhoff, in his volume of travels in California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands prior to the treaty of 1875–'76, says: "It is plain the island trade is so largely in our hands that no other nation can be said to dispute it with us; if our flag flew over Honolulu we could hardly expect to have a more complete monopoly of Hawaiian commerce than we now enjoy. What the islands are," continues Nordhoff, "they are because of American enterprise and Boston capital, which established the sugar culture and other important industries."

The treaty was a job put up by American merchants who controlled the Sandwich Islands commerce and captured a good-natured ring "to march at the head of their triumphant procession through the country to advocate the treaty at our expense." Although our market for Hawaiian sugar was and is the best and the principal market they had or can have, treaty or no treaty, those enterprising merchants wanted the duty on Hawaiian sugar in their own pockets, and got it by the treaty at enormous cost to this nation.

This snug little enterprise of 1875–'76, which transferred three cents or more per pound duty from the United States Treasury to the pockets of its projectors, quickly assumed gigantic proportions. The records of the Bureau of Statistics furnish evidence about Hawaiian sugars as follows, years ended June 30:

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Quantities and values of dutiable Hawaiian sugar imported from 1868 *to* 1876, *inclusive.*

Year.	Pounds.	Dollars.
1868	18,241,062	956,898
1869	16,314,482	1,087,433
1870	14,016,181	901,645
1871	15,018,469	935,909
1872	15,357,784	923,441
1873	15,743,146	934,824
1874	13,575,674	740,786
1875	17,888,000	938,676
1876	20,978,374	1,051,987

Quantities and values of free Hawaiian sugar imported from 1877 *to* 1886, *inclusive.*

Year.	Pounds.	Dollars.
1877	30,642,081	2,108,473
1878	30,368,328	2,274,430
1879	41,693,069	2,811,193
1880	61,556,324	4,135,487
1881	76,909,207	4,927,021
1882	106,181,858	6,918,084
1883	114,132,670	7,340,033
1884	125,148,680	7,108,292
1885	169,652,783	8,198,144
1886	191,730,175	9,166,826

Two hundred and fourteen million one hundred and one thousand four hundred and eighty-seven pounds of Hawaiian free sugars entered San Francisco in 1886, calendar year.

The Hawaiian Islands contain about 4,355,000 acres of land; 80,000 acres (the lowest Spreckels estimate) to 150,000 acres or more are available sugar lands; the average yield is five tons of sugar per acre of cane every eighteen months, or 3⅓ tons per annum; 80,000 acres will produce 266,000 tons of 2,240 pounds, or 595,840,000 pounds per annum; 95,000 tons of sugar were produced in 1885, about 115,000 tons in 1886, against about 65,000 tons in 1884. At this *pro rata* of increase a product of 266,000 tons per annum will be reached in about five years.

But we are informed by Mr. Spalding, a treaty advocate, in his pamphlet of 1882, that "it is supposed that no more than from 100,000 to 150,000 acres in all the islands can be used for the culture of the sugar cane." If we split the difference, and say 125,000 acres, the product would reach 416,666 tons of 2,240 pounds, or 933,331,840 pounds per annum in about ten years at the present *pro rata* of increase. Even this does not limit the capacity of the Hawaiian Islands, known to be "the finest sugar-producing country in the world."

The actual average grade of Hawaiian sugars imported in 1884–'85 averaged above 13 D. S. and the loss of duty under the 1883 tariff in 1884–'85 was 2.75 cts. per lb. on 294,801,463 lbs., or $8,107,070. Prior to the tariff of March 3, 1883, the average loss of duty per pound was greater. At present rates the annual loss of duty on an annual Hawaiian product from 80,000 acres would approximate 2.75 cts. per lb. on 595,840,000 lbs., or $16,385,000, and on an annual product from 125,000 acres the annual loss of duty would approximate 2.75 cts. per lb. on 933,331,840 lbs., or $25,666,625. Towards this condition the nation is hastened by the Hawaiian treaty.

With a normal capacity for producing beet, cane, and sorghum sugar sufficient for home consumption, with modern inventions

which secure ten (10) per cent. of the sucrose contained in beets, cane, and sorghum, and the knowledge that in 1861 Louisiana produced 528,300,000 lbs. of cane sugar, and is again increasing her production, while in 1885 we obtained in quantities at Alvarado, Cal., 190 lbs. of refined sugar per ton of beets and in the West 100 lbs. of sugar per ton of sorghum, it would be monstrous to thus overslaugh our struggling sugar industries by continuing the treaty.

During eight years ending June 30, 1884, under the treaty the duty lost on sugar amounted to more than our exports to the Hawaiian Islands, as follows: Total imports of merchandise, $42,072,264; total exports of domestic merchandise, $20,162,798; sugars, imports, consumed, $37,623,013. Duty lost on sugar, at 60 per cent. ad valorem, 22,573,806. Of the $42,072,264 of merchandise imported only $364,994 was dutiable. Thus, during eight years, we received less duty in the aggregate from Hawaiian merchandise imported than we annually remit on Hawaiian rice.

Our trade with Hawaii in the year ended June 30, 1885, was as follows: Total imports for consumption, $8,857,497; total exports, domestic merchandise, $2,709,573; sugar imports consumed, $8,198,144; duty lost on actual grades imported, at least 60 per cent. ad valorem, or $4,918,886. Of the total imports of merchandise from Hawaii, in 1885, $8,817,067 was free of duty; in the year ended June 30, 1876, we imported from Hawaii $1,376,681 merchandise, of which $1,184,610 was dutiable, whereas our imports from Hawaii in 1885 amounted to $8,857,497, of which only $40,430 of merchandise was dutiable.

Our imports of merchandise from Hawaii increased from $8,238,461 in 1883 to $9,805,707 in 1886, while our exports of merchandise to Hawaii decreased from $3,683,460 in 1883 to $3,115,899 in 1886; it is evident that the maximum capacity of the Hawaiians for consuming our merchandise has been reached, and that the capacity of Hawaii for producing "free" sugar not only costs the people millions of dollars annually, but is now sufficient to bulldoze our sugar industries and cripple our commerce with all other sugar-producing countries.

Second. There was no political advantage to be gained, and none has been gained, by the treaty of 1875–'76. Mr. Nordhoff, in his volume of travels (prior to the treaty) in Hawaii, &c., says: "Our political preponderance in the islands is as complete as our commercial." Even had this not been the case the Webster treaty of 1849, made with the King of the Hawaiian Islands, which is still in force, covers the entire political ground, and, as regards the Hawaiian Islands, gives the United States (in common with England) security

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for their Pacific Ocean commerce, and Pacific Ocean harbors for our navy whenever again we have one.

It has been well said that, under the Webster-Hawaii treaty of 1849, "it seems almost too clear to admit of argument that any attempt to lease or otherwise dispose of, or create any lien upon, any port, or grant any special privileges or rights of use therein to any other power, State, or Government, would be a palpable violation of the terms of this (1849) treaty." Thus article IV of the reciprocity treaty of 1875 is simply humbug; the king had no power to lease, dispose of, or create any lien upon Pearl river or any port, harbor, or territory, nor to grant any special privileges to the United States in 1875, and has no such power at the present time.

By the treaty of 1849 all the rights and advantages this nation has a right to or can claim in the islands are secured and will be retained if the reciprocity treaty of 1875–'76 should be terminated; besides, in 1851 Great Britain concluded a treaty with Hawaii in terms similar to the Webster treaty of 1849, but made it perpetual except as regards duties on imports. Not only is the reciprocity treaty of no avail politically, but any cession of Pearl river to the United States by King Kalakaua and any attempt of the United States to fortify or occupy Pearl river, or any other Hawaiian port, as a naval station would be resisted by Great Britain as a violation of the treaty of 1851.

Pearl river is situated on the south side of the Island of Oahu; the entrance to the river is about six miles west by north of Honolulu, the capital of the Hawaiian Islands; and, being narrow and abrupt, the river can be easily blockaded effectually; a bar of solid rock crosses the entrance, which would have to be removed to enable vessels of any size to enter the river safely. Millions of dollars would be required to render Pearl river of any value to any nation as a naval station.

Hawaiian treaty jobs formulated for Senate action to counteract any movement of the House towards abrogation of the present treaty, usurp the prerogative of the House, and would not only adjust but barter away the customs revenue of the country for a harbor 2,100 miles from home, where we can have no right that Great Britain is not entitled to share; a trade which, if accepted, would cost this country millions of dollars wasted in splitting Hawaiian rocks for English and German fleets to profit by, while our great Atlantic and Pacific ports and harbors are at the mercy of those and other nations.

Third. Not only was the job treaty of 1875–'76 a fraud which has culminated in a gigantic public swindle, but the provisions and

language of the treaty have been outrageously subverted. The language of the treaty is clear as to what sugars are entitled to free entry, to wit: "Muscovado, brown, and all other unrefined sugar," but was subtly qualified by adding "meaning hereby the grades of sugar heretofore commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands, and now known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugar."

More or less clayed and clarified—in other words, refined—sugars, known as Sandwich Island sugars, were imported from those islands prior to the treaty; this fact led to the free admission of sugar refined and grained in vacuum pans and centrifugals, from 98° to 99.9° pure crystals, shadowed outwardly in order not to exceed No. 20 D. S. in color, albeit white sugars above No. 20 D. S. have also been entered free of duty under the above qualification subterfuge.

Large quantities of Hawaiian sugars arrive in San Francisco that polarize 99° and over; the crystals are colored outwardly below 20 D. S., and these refined sugars are fraudulently entered free of duty; thousands of tons of Hawaiian sugars testing 96° to 99.6°, in some cases 100°, pure crystals, having only a film of outside coloring, have been entered free as "Muscovado, brown, and unrefined (or raw) sugar." The writer has hundreds of samples of Hawaiian sugars intrinsically equal to white granulated sugars, some of which samples polarize higher than hard refined sugars.

Although Hawaiian sugars are admitted free of duty, the remitted duty is added to the first cost of such sugars sent to this country, while the sugars are sold to California refiners at parity of value with duty-paid sugars, and two to three cents per pound above New York prices of refined sugars has been regularly filched from Pacific coast consumers of duty-free sugars until in 1886 the glut of free sugars in San Francisco forced prices down to New York prices for the first time in the history of the treaty.

The writer was informed by an ex-member of King Kalakaua's cabinet that he had "seen Canton and Philippine Island sugars in mats transferred from vessels at the Hawaiian Islands, without landing, to schooners which, when thus loaded, cleared for San Francisco." Certainly the opportunity for such treachery is supplied by the treaty, and merchants of Hawaii are no more exempt from the allurements of illicit traffic than merchants in other countries, albeit the servile report made in 1883, by the commission appointed to investigate treaty frauds, declares everything lovely under Spreckels' dictation aided by missionary intrigue.

The Hawaiian minister to the United States, who was advertised

as a director of the "C. Brewer Co., Honolulu, Limited, General Mercantile and Commission Agents," represents the Sugar King *de facto*, who opposed the treaty in 1875, and now, with millions gained thereby, defends it, rather than his legal sovereign, Kalakaua, the King *de jure* of Hawaii, who, through this job-treaty enterprise, has become a mere nominal king with a nominal kingdom, utterly dependent upon the Spreckels dynasty and the new California sugar ring.

Whatever advantages our Pacific coast shipping and other local industries or the people of Hawaii may have derived from our treaty of commerce with Hawaii are accomplished facts, and will remain so. Having been dearly bought by the American people through an expensive legislative treaty blunder, they are nevertheless permanent local advantages now held by a clique of sugar-food monopolists, who certainly are not entitled to further Government protection of their engagements and greedy schemes at public expense.

It is known that large sums of money have been sent to Washington annually to prevent abrogation of the present treaty, and, failing that, to secure a new Senate treaty. Advocates of the treaty claim to rely upon and control sufficient senatorial influence in a Republican Senate to defeat the action of a Democratic House, and thus, against public interests, to continue this treaty iniquity by new devices, including the well-acted pretense of a quarrel between King Kalakaua and King Spreckels.

It is also known that a Pacific coast combination was formed between the railroad companies, the American refinery, and the Hawaiian planters. The duty donated annually to these monopolists by this country is to be divided between the aforesaid parties, and the movement, it has been alleged, has potent senatorial influence not entirely unconnected with controlling investments in the said refinery.

Thus, between the reigning Hawaiian sugar dynasty and the new Pacific coast free-sugar ring, it is proposed to silence the United States Congress or carry that body in favor of a treaty or revenue measure that menaces American sugar industries and dutiable sugar commerce, engenders and protects revenue frauds, and compels the people to pay enormous annual tribute apparently to a foreign country—in reality, to a handful of Pacific coast sugar-food monopolists who maintain an army of *claquers* and other emissaries to tempt legislators and infest the lobbies and halls of Congress.

The reciprocity treaty of 1875–'76 is a tariff and revenue measure that "curtails the boundaries within which revenues are or can be

raised," and a measure that "regulates foreign and domestic commerce." In making this treaty the forever-inherent prerogative of the House of Representatives to originate all revenue bills, and of Congress to regulate foreign and domestic commerce, has been usurped. Yet Congress has calmly suffered the treaty to continue its ravages until $70,000,000 have been squandered for the sole enrichment of Pacific coast monopolists, who, already gorged with wealth, employ their surplus millions about the capital of the nation to continue this treaty swindle.

Summing up from Bureau of Statistics and customs records for ten years, 1877 and 1886, inclusive, the exhibit is as follows:

Total imports from the Hawaiian Islands, 99.18 per cent., free	$61,100,471
Total exports to the " of domestic merchandise	25,991,270
Balance of ten years' trade against the United States	$35,109,201

Taking the matter of sugar alone we find that 948,061,236 lbs. of Hawaiian sugars of an average grade above No. 13 D. S. were imported in the ten years named, upon which the lowest average loss of duty was 2.75 cts. per lb., being only 44 per cent. ad valorem; (instead of 60 per cent.;) amount of duty lost, $26,071,684.

The foreign cost of Hawaiian free sugars in ten years averaged 6.23 cts. per lb.; the foreign cost of dutiable sugars in ten years averaged 4.06.4 cts. per lb.; the difference, 2.16.4 cts. per lb., is a commercial loss caused by the treaty; increased first cost, $20,541,327.

Pacific coast consumers have paid in ten years an average of 2.50 cts. per lb. more for sugar food than the average cost has been to consumers in all other parts of the United States; direct fraud on consumers, $23,701,526. The direct losses for ten years are, therefore, virtually as follows:

Minimum loss of duty on free sugars	$26,071,684
Extra foreign cost of Hawaiian free sugars	20,541,327
Additional cost of free sugar to Pacific coast consumers	23,701,526
Consumers' and tax-payers' minimum loss in ten years	$70,314,537

Of this total for ten years, which began small and sweetly in 1877, we find that for the last year of the ten, which ended June 30, 1886, the exhibit is virtually as follows:

Total imports from Hawaiian Islands, 99.20 per cent. free	$9,805,707
Total exports to " of domestic merchandise	3,115,899
Balance of trade, 1886, against the United States	$6,689,808
Minimum loss of duty on 191,733,175 lbs. sugar	$5,272,662
Extra foreign cost of Hawaiian free sugar, 1886	3,719,623
Additional cost of free sugar to Pacific coast consumers	4,793,329
Consumers' and tax-payers' minimum loss, 1886	$13,785,614

England and Germany can never disturb our trade with Hawaii; England will continue to be overstocked with free sugars, and Germany produces an excess of beet sugar for export, to say nothing of the immense distance and cost of transporting merchandise between those countries and Hawaii as compared with the traffic between the Pacific Coast and Hawaii.

The pretense that the United States must continue an outrageous annual tax upon American industries and sixty millions of consumers to prevent England and Germany from taking possession of the Hawaiian Islands is bosh. Great Britain, Germany, and the United States have equal rights, aside from the reciprocity treaty of 1875–'76, in relation to the Hawaiian Islands. "Treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation" cannot safely be violated, neither can either nation secure new concessions from Hawaii which the other two are not bound to share under existing treaties with which the treaty blunder of 1875–'76 has nothing to do.

Under the "Treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation between Great Britain and the Sandwich Islands," signed July 10th, 1851, and ratified May 6th, 1852, Great Britain claims her right to demand every commercial, friendly, political, or other advantage, privilege, or right that may be offered by treaty to the United States or to any other nation by the Hawaiian Islands; it is a crime against the people to continue a treaty that grants the United States no advantage whatever which Great Britain and Germany cannot share free of cost, but which annually filches enormous tribute money from the people of this country for the enrichment of the projectors and supporters of Hawaiian reciprocity schemes.

Will Congress perform an act of public justice by the speedy enactment of a bill to abrogate the treaty, once approved and reported to the House by its Committee of Ways and Means, or shall legislative justice be subverted or silenced in secret sessions of the Senate, and the rights of the people be bartered away through the influence of mercenary *claquers* and the golden-weighted sophistries of Hawaiian sugar monopolists, who boast of power in Congress and gobble millions of dollars annually by the treaty at the expense of sixty millions of American consumers, producers, and tax-payers.

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Mr H Smith

STATEMENTS

MADE BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE OF WAYS AND MEANS

ON THE

SUGAR QUESTION

IN THE

INTERESTS OF AMERICAN CONSUMERS, HOME INDUSTRIES, AND REVENUE.

By HENRY A. BROWN,

Ex Special Treasury Agent, U. S.

January 29-30, 1880.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
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1880.

STATEMENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

RELATING TO THE

Sugar Question and Tariff; before the Committee of Ways and Means.

By HENRY A. BROWN,
Ex-Special Treasury Agent U. S.

WASHINGTON, *January* 29, 1880.

The clerk handed to the chairman a letter written to Mr. Henry A. Brown, informing him that he would be heard by the committee this morning.

MR. DUNNELL. Have we not before us in print a statement of Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. The committee has before it an old pamphlet written by me instead of a recent one published by me. I will hand to the committee copies of the other one. Some person has very shrewdly thought proper to place this one before the committee.

Mr. DUNNELL. Both books are yours, are they?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Mr. GIBSON. Are you in the sugar business?

Mr. BROWN. I am not dealing in sugar. I am an investigator of customs business management, and particularly of those questions relating to sugar.

Mr. GIBSON. Under the authority of the Treasury Department?

Mr. BROWN. I was at one time special agent of that Department, but at present I am not acting officially.

Mr. GIBSON. Have you any personal connection with the Treasury Department?

Mr. BROWN. I have not.

Mr. GIBSON. Have you any connection with the sugar interest except as one of the consumers?

Mr. BROWN. Not, except as one of the consumers, and as an investigator of the question, with unusual facilities for that purpose.

Mr. GIBSON moved that Mr. Brown be allowed half an hour.

Mr. MILLS moved to amend by giving him one hour.

After the discussion, both the original motion and the amendment were withdrawn, and Mr. Brown proceeded to address the committee, reading the following paper:

However much this honorable committee, Congress, and the people may have been saturated with solutions of the sugar question, careful analysis of such solutions reveal the fact that individual trade interests, too shrewdly put or awkardly presented, and official misrepresentations have strangely subverted facts; judging from the facts in my knowledge, such presentations have unwisely ignored

the interests of consumers, and misled Congress in its measurement of this stupendous question.

The entire consumption of foreign and domestic raw sugar in this country now exceeds 1,900,000,000 pounds per annum, or about 38 pounds *per capita;* of which in the fiscal year ending with June, 1879, 1,681,307,412 pounds were foreign sugars, to wit, 1,598,461,986 pounds dry dutiable sugar; 41,152,357 pounds melada or wet sugar, and 41,693,069 pounds *free* sugar from Hawaii; this vast volume of raw sugar comprises more than one-seventh of the officially reported and estimated annual raw sugar product of the world, which in 1878 was 5,335,000 tons, and in 1879 approximated 5,500,000 tons, or 12,320,000,000 pounds; although we number less than one-thirtieth of the population of the world, we consume more than one-seventh of its sugar product. England alone exceeds us in this regard, annually consuming about 62 pounds per capita, or more than 2,100,000,000 pounds; about one-sixth of the world's raw sugar product.

Dutiable sugar and melada constituted 24.03 per cent. of all dutiable merchandise entered into consumption in the fiscal years 1876,–'77–'78, and yielded 27.93 per cent. of the duty received in those years, while dutiable dry and wet sugars and molasses constituted 26.52 per cent. of all dutiable merchandise entered into consumption in the years named, and yielded an average of no less than 29.41 per cent. of the total revenue from customs; the yield being in 1870 30.61 per cent., had the full duty on the higher grades of dry sugars being collected during 1876–'77–'78, the revenue, under the present tariff from sugar, melada and molasses would have exceeded 35 per cent of the entire revenue from customs in those years.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1879. the total value of dutiable merchandise entered into consumption was $296,742,215; total value of sugar and melada $67,153,667, or 22.63 per cent. of all dutiable merchandise. The total amount of duty received in the same year was $133,159,025, of which $38,065,803, or 28.58 per cent. was received from sugar and melada; if molasses be added, the per cent. of duty received from sugar and molasses in 1879 is 30.24.

I am satisfied that had there been no foreign centrifugal machines in motion to increase frauds, with reasonable official diligence, at least 37 per cent. of the customs revenue would have been derived from sugars and molasses; that is, we should have received $50,000,000 in the fiscal year 1879 from sugar and molasses, instead of $40,275.402.

Uniform duty on sugar up to No. 13 would legalize and perpetuate this system of enormous swindles, while the consequent exclusion of low grades would further outrage consumers and tax-payers. For instance:

We buy foreign raw sugars testing, say, 80 in the producing country, at, say, 3 cents a pound; 100 pounds cost $3; there being only 80 pounds of crystallizable sugar, the cost would be 3¾ cents a pound; from such sugar, an outturn of all grades of refined sugar

can be produced for consumers at correspondingly low rates, while the cost of labor and materials employed in refining such sugar is disbursed in this country. On the other hand, we buy centrifugals in Cuba or Demerara testing say, 97, at, say, 6 cents a pound; 100 pounds cost $6; the 97 pounds of crystallizable sugar therein would cost 6.2 cents a pound; from this sugar, refiners can only obtain the highest proportionate outturn of refined product in pure sugar, &c. In order to supply the mass of consumers, when centrifugals alone, or even with a small per cent. of lower grades, are used for refining, the outturn must be stretched with glucose, starch, &c.; otherwise, consumers must buy the highest priced refined sugars or none.

The difference between $3.75 for 100 pounds of raw sugar of low-grade and $6.20 for 100 pounds centrifugals, represents what under a uniform tariff to No. 13 would be the increased cost of sugar to consumers and the industrial loss to this country, namely, $2.45 for each 100 pounds of raw sugar imported for consumption; besides, our own refiners can produce centrifugals of equal grade from low-grade sugars for far less money; neither would the government gain a single cent of revenue under a uniform duty to No. 13 over that obtained under the present classification tariff; on the contrary, we should simply be admitting centrifugals at the lowest rate of duty, to the exclusion, or nearly so, of all lower grades; by which process we reduce importations, because we do not require so many pounds of centrifugals as we do of lower grades of raw sugar to supply consumers with the grades of refined sugars they demand: hence importations would be curtailed under a uniform duty to No. 13.

Sugars for refining, when honestly entered, are not above No. 13; therefore the utmost possible evasion of duty through false sampling such sugars under the present tariff would be the difference between $2\frac{3}{16}$ cents a pound and $2\frac{1}{8}$ cents a pound, or 62½ cents per 100 pounds, whereas should the weigher trifle with the scales so as to make a shortage of one pound in every hundred, the government must lose $2.33, the average duty collected in 1879 per 100 pounds; the weigher under a uniform tariff to No. 13 could defraud more than the sampler could under the present tariff, while the profit to the importer would also be greater in proportion.

The inducement to evade duty on low grades of imported sugars is of necessity confined to weighing, it being next to impossible to hide or lower their intrinsic color either to advantage or profit; whereas the inducements to evade duty on high grades of raw sugar are very great, when sugar of No. 13 or 16 Dutch standard, actual foreign value, is entered as No. 7 Dutch standard in color, which has repeatedly been done with centrifugal sugars, an illicit gain of $6,250 accrues to revenue evasionists on a cargo of 1,000,000 pounds. No. 7 Dutch standard apparent in color has stood for No. 10, No. 13, and even No. 16 Dutch standard, actual in cost, in the principal transactions of the past few years in the entry of dutiable sugars of high foreign value, falsely toned in color to evade duty; to burden low-grade raw sugars, which never evade duty, with a

high-grade tax or uniform duty to No. 13 Dutch standard, in order to legalize the present illicit practice of entering high grade centrifugals at low-grade rates of duty would outrage consumers.

The average foreign cost of raw sugar per pound and the average duty received per pound was, in 1876: cost 4.08 cents, duty 2.41 cents; in 1877, cost 4.93 cents, duty 2.36 cents; in 1878, cost 5.08 cents, duty 2.34; in 1879, cost 4.12 cents, duty 2.33 cents; showing a constantly decreasing rate of duty with increasing imports of high grades of centrifugal sugars.

Apparently all raw sugars imported were of an average grade of No. 7½ Dutch standard, which is, of course, simply humbug; the average cost of No. 7½ Dutch Standard raw sugar in producing countries was about 2¾ cents a pound for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1879; neither did the government retain 2.33 cents a pound duty in 1879. Melada, or wet sugar, is used for refining purposes, and, with free sugars from Hawaii, must be added to dutiable dry sugars; therefore, the total amount of dry and wet sugars entered into consumption in 1879 was 1,681,307,412 pounds, value $70,266,105; duty received from sugars and melada, $38,065,803, less $3,365,297, refunded on drawback on 116,862,583 pounds refined sugar exported in 1879; net duty received, $34,700,506, or 2.06 cents per pound.

Instead of bettering this condition, a uniform duty to No. 13 would simply enable refiners to export more refined sugars of high grade, made from high-grade centrifugals entered below No. 13 at the lowest rate of duty, and obtain 3.18 cents per pound therefor in drawback; while fifty millions of American consumers are to be deprived of low-grade sugars or the outturn therefrom to suit such speculations.

The classification of imported sugars for duty tell the true story of gigantic frauds upon the revenue; for instance, in 1878 sugars sampled and classed as not above No. 7 Dutch standard actually cost 4.82 cents a pound in the producing country, or the average foreign cost of sugar above No. 10 Dutch standard in intrinsic color.

Sugars sampled and classed as above 7, not above 10, Dutch standard in color cost 5.37 cents a pound in producing countries, or the average foreign cost of sugars above No. 13 Dutch standard in intrinsic color; sugars sampled and classed as above 10, not above 13, Dutch standard, cost 5.68 cents a pound in producing countries, or the average foreign cost of sugars above No. 13 Dutch standard in intrinsic color; while sugars sampled and classed as above 13, not above 16, Dutch standard in color cost only 5.01 cents per pound in producing countries.

Will anybody having knowledge or common sense pretend that raw sugar No. 7 and below in natural color actually cost on the average 4.82 cents per pound in producing countries during 1878, or that 7 to 10 sugars cost 5.37 cents, or that 10 to 13 sugars cost 5.68 cents per pound, while sugars above 13, not above 16, Dutch standard cost only 5 cents per pound in producing countries? The classifications below No. 16 are plainly false and fraudulent.

In 1879 the apparent ad valorem rate of duty received was, on

sugar not above No. 7, 53.2 per cent.; on sugar above 7, not above 10, 60.8 per cent.; above 10, not above 13, 60.65 per cent.; above 13, not above 16, 64.41 per cent.; but the actual ad valorem rate received is another matter, inasmuch as the classifications for duty are largely crooked; for instance, 890,801,182 pounds of sugar are classed not above No. 7, and valued at $36,627,476; a little more than 4 cents per pound in the country of production; whereas the average cost of such sugars in 1879 in producing countries was about 2¾ cents per pound; about 20 per cent. of sugars not above No. 7 of natural color are imported, on the average, according to facts; therefore only 319,692,396 pounds of sugars not above No. 7 entered into consumption in 1879, amounting, at 2¾ cents per pound, to $8,791,540; the duty thereon at 2$\frac{3}{16}$ cents per pound would be $6,993,271, or 79.54 per cent. ad valorem, as compared with 63.41, the true ad valorem rate on the same grades in 1878, falsely represented for duty purposes, as 45.33 per cent. Even should it be claimed that the average cost of No. 7 and below sugars has been 3 cents per pound in 1879 in producing countries, which is not the fact, the ad valorem rate for No. 7 and below sugars in 1879 would still be 72.91 per cent. instead of 53.2 per cent. The pretense that the present tariff favors low grades is a miserable subterfuge, to deprive consumers of their rights and to legalize the present system of frauds by a uniform sugar tariff to No. 13.

Hawaiian sugars enter duty free, and of course, there being no profit or advantage in false entries and no duties to evade, the classification of free sugars tells the true story of grades to wit:

Hawaiian sugars entered into consumption in 1879 were as follows:

	Quantity.	Value.	Cost per lb.
	Pounds.	*Dollars.*	*Cents.*
Not above No. 7 (p. 10, H. C.), none...	—	—	—
Above 7, not above 10.....	8,174,146	501,850	6.13
Above 10, not above 13.....	16,615,686	1,099,164	6.61
Above 13, not above 16.....	15,670,564	1,118,117	7.13
Above 16, not above 20.....	1,232,673	92,061	7.46

Here we have not only an honest classification of sugars, but an illustration of the beauties of a uniform tariff *to No.* 13 on dutiable sugars, encouraging foreign industries and crushing our own, thus compelling American consumers to pay the taxes imposed on foreign sugar at every turn, while depriving them of the cheaper grades of refined sugars, which can only be manufactured in this country in sufficient quantities to meet consumers' demands, by admitting all grades of raw sugars at equitable rates of duty, conforming to their intrinsic color and value, under a classification tariff. It should be remarked and remembered that Hawaii no longer sends us raw sugars No. 7 and below, because having no duty to hinder, she raises the grade of her sugars for this market, retains the industry, and compels the American consumers to pay her the full American market value of the sugar when landed in California. Thus consumers, who are tax-payers, lose the duty and pay for the foreign industry of

semi-refining, yet cannot obtain the low grades of raw material required for refining purposes from these Hawaiians, who fatten on our credulity.

Our trade with Hawaii under the reciprocity treaty from September 1, 1876, to June 30, 1878, and loss of duty on Hawaiian sugars, estimated at 62.50 per cent. of their value, was as follows:

Imports, consumed	$4,799,508
Exports	3,080,632
Sugar imports	4,382,900
Loss sugar duty	2,739,313

In 1879, fiscal year, the account with Hawaii stands as follows, including loss of duty on sugar:

Imports, consumed	$3,112,438
Exports	2,288,178
Sugar imports	2,811,192
Loss sugar duty	1,756,995

Worse than this, the introduction of sugar duty free from Hawaii opens a channel for defrauding the revenue by landing sugars at those islands and shipping them thence to the United States to enter duty free as Hawaiian sugars.

A uniform duty on sugars to No. 13 Dutch Standard would virtually accomplish similar results to these Hawaiian frolics in transferring American industries to foreign hands and shutting out low-grade sugars, while the almost exclusive importation of high-grade centrifugals, clayed, and semi-refined sugars would enormously curtail the number of pounds of foreign raw-sugar material required for consumption, and reduce the revenue accordingly; not only this, but the application of this Hawaiian, centrifugal, clayed, semi-refined, uniform duty principle to the entire volume of foreign sugars now required for consumption would entail an industrial loss upon the people of this country amounting to fully 2½ cents per pound on the consumption, or more than $40,000,000 annually, as already illustrated.

Neither should the sugar productive industries of this country be curtailed or crushed or be made subservient to foreign and domestic speculations in American industries and the necessities and rights of American consumers, as proposed under a uniform tariff on raw sugars not above No. 13 Dutch Standard in color. It is a dangerous mistake for *Louisiana* to endeavor to shut out low grades and encourage the importation of centrifugals and high grades of foreign raw sugar, by admitting foreign semi-refined sugars at the lowest rate of duty; and the beet sugar industry now struggling into life in this country would be strangled in its infancy under the existing system of thuggism in trade, which system would be legalized under a uniform tariff on all sugars not above No. 13 Dutch Standard in color.

A cursory examination and comparison of Louisiana sugars with foreign low-grade sugars will show conclusively that Louisiana raw sugars have nothing to fear from foreign low grades of raw sugar under the present classification tariff, as the existing duty on low-grade sugars, added to freight, charges, and commissions, more

than doubles their original cost in producing countries, thus enabling Louisiana to obtain for her lowest grades of raw sugar prices which remunerate her producers in a princely manner, compared with the average returns from other agricultural pursuits in this country. Louisiana, therefore, need not fear foreign low-grade sugars.

Louisiana as a cane sugar producing State has always demanded exorbitant protection for her sugars; the history of all well ordered nations teaches that tariff protection should be extended only to home products which can readily be produced in excess, and the surplus thereof sold abroad with advantage and profit to the producing country; if cane sugar cannot be produced in this country in sufficient quantity to supply home consumption within a reasonable time, it is folly and injustice to consumers to levy the present high duties on sugar for the protection of Louisiana, Florida, and Texas.

The capacity of Louisiana for producing cane sugar has been fairly measured by past and present experience in that State; from a yield of 30,000,000 of pounds in the crop year 1835–'36, a fluctuating progress in the annual production of cane sugar in Louisiana brought the yield in the crop year 1853–'54 up to 495,200,000 pounds, after which it fell to 81,400,000 pounds in 1856–'57, rose to 414,800,000 pounds in the crop year 1858–'59, fell to 225,100,000 pounds in 1859–'60, rose to 263,300,000 pounds in 1860–'61, and under fortuitous circumstances, including favorable weather, in the crop year 1861–'62, Louisiana produced 528,300,000 pounds of cane sugar; this exceptional yield has not been approximated since in that State, notwithstanding improved machinery, agricultural advancement, and exorbitant protection.

From 1862–'63 to 1867–'68, inclusive, six crop years, the total yield from Louisiana sugar cane was 295,500,000 pounds of sugar; less than five per cent. of the consumption of sugar in the country in those years. If war was the sole cause of this falling off, how has Cuba managed to maintain an annual average in sugar crops under wars, devastations, and numerous calamities? The annual yield of cane sugar from 1835 to 1879 is presented elsewhere herein, where it will be seen that during the years 1868–'69 to 1876–'77, inclusive, nine crop years, Louisiana produced only 1,233,814,000 pounds of cane sugar; an average of 137,090,444 pounds per annum, or an aggregate product of less than the average annual consumption of imported sugars in this country, including Hawaiian sugars, during the same years; the total consumption of foreign sugar in this country being during 1869 to 1877, inclusive, 12,217,854,976 pounds, or an average of 1,357,539,442 pounds per annum.

In other words, during the nine crop years above named, which correspond with our fiscal years, Louisiana has produced 1,233,814,000 pounds of sugar, the value of which at 8 cents per pound is $98,705,120; while during fiscal years ending in 1877, 12,217,854,976 pounds of foreign sugar have been consumed in this country, and consumers have been taxed $288,260,765 of duty collected thereon; the Secre-

tary of the Treasury and Louisiana coolly urge the continuance of this exorbitant war tax on sugar for revenue, and to protect Louisiana planters, who produce only a tenth part of our consumption of sugar, and that of a kind which now commands its own price and market without protection, as in case of maple sugar.

Judging from results before and since the war, the annual reports of Louisiana planters, and the local disadvantages, such as early cold and frost, against which there is no remedy, consequent poor seed and difficulties of propagating the cane from cuttings and ratoons, the average annual yield is not likely to exceed 250,000,000 pounds, until plantations in general are much better worked and properly manured, and more land has been planted with sugar-cane.

There are, however, good reasons for the belief that, with these requirements fulfilled, the annual capacity of Louisiana for the production of cane sugar would be equal to 500,000,000 pounds, and that an average annual yield in Louisiana of fully 350,000,000 pounds of cane sugar could then be relied on; and it is reasonable to suppose that under proper cultivation in Louisiana and such other States as are suited to the growth and maturing sugar cane, a large portion of the sugar required for our own consumption could be produced in this country without the aid of special tariff protection.

In many parishes in Louisiana, sugar plantations readily produce more than a ton of sugar to the acre, besides molasses; in the crop year 1877-'78 there are reported products per acre from Louisiana sugar plantations as follows: 3,000 pounds, 2,860 pounds, 2,855 pounds, 2,700 pounds, 2,634 pounds, 2,650 pounds, 2,500 pounds, 2,460 pounds, 2,400 pounds, 2,320 pounds, 2,300 pounds, 2,250 pounds, 2,240 pounds, and 33 plantations reported a yield of 2,200 pounds and upward of sugar to the acre, besides molasses. M. Schlatre, an authority among Louisiana planters, has furnished detailed statements of the cost of producing cane sugar in Louisiana on the basis of 2,200 pounds of sugar per acre, which summarizes as follows for the crop year 1877-'78:

Total cost of cane, planting, and cultivating 50 acres	$2,413 50
Expenses to convert the cane into 100 hogsheads sugar	3,000 00
Cost per acre when producing 2 hogsheads sugar	108 27
Yield of 50 acres of cane in sugar and molasses; 100 hogsheads sugar (1,100 pounds to the hogshead,) at 8 cents per pound	8,800 00
150 hogsheads molasses, at $18 per hogshead	2,700 00
Cistern bottoms	300 00
Total value of product	11,800 00
Total cost of production	5,413 50
Net profit from 50 acres	6,386 50
Cost per acre, $108.27; yield per acre, $236; net profit per acre	127 73

The above estimated profit per acre is princely, when compared

with the average annual agricultural yield in net profit of less than $30 per cultivated acre; but it would be largely increased under a thorough system of cultivation, manuring, and manufacture, whereby more and better cane would be produced, and more juice be abstracted therefrom than is now the case. At least 3,000 pounds of sugar per acre should be obtained in good years; indeed it is conceded by Louisiana planters that the cultivation of sugar-cane in that State is profitable throughout under economical and experienced management, notwithstanding intervening poor crops caused by climatic drawbacks; it is also a fact that Louisiana raw sugars command their own market of consumption, at prices which compete only with refined sugars, and do not really come into competition with foreign raw sugars.

Louisiana producers readily obtain an average price above 7 cents per pound for their sugars, which, although defecated or made bright in color by sulphur or muriate of tin, previously contain less crystallizable sugar than foreign refining muscovadoes and molasses sugars, while the foreign producers of these sugars obtain an average of about 2½ cents per pound only. Analyses of numerous cargoes of Louisiana sugars resulted as follows: lowest cargo test, crystals 81.10; invert sugar, 8.41; water, 7.39; ash, 1.32; other impurities, 1.78; highest cargo test, crystals, 90.30; invert sugar, 1.27; water, 4.83; ash, 0.82; other impurities, 2.78; average cargo tests, crystals, 84.75; invert sugar, 5.70; water, 6.12; ash, 1.15; other impurities, 2.28; average crystallizable strength, avoiding extremes, Louisiana sugars, 84.75; foreign muscovadoes, average 88.89, as shown hereinafter. In short, Louisiana needs no protection against foreign raw sugars until she produces raw sugars for refining purposes and not for immediate consumption, which she has no intention of doing while her producers can sell raw sugars brightened in color for immediate consumption, at prices ranging from 7 to 11 cents per pound, as in 1877-'78-'79.

Beet sugar can unquestionably be produced in the United States in vast quantities; there is abundant evidence that the sugar-beet can be grown at a good profit in many sections of this country, and be made to yield, under a proper cultivation, from 9 to 12 per cent. of its weight in crystallizable sugar and sirup; the pulp residuum remains highly nutritious for cattle, and the green beet tops are excellent for feeding to stock.

From 20 to 25 tons of sugar-beets can be raised to the acre on ordinary farming-land with moderate manuring, at about the cost of raising potatoes; where proper farming-tools are used for planting beet-seed and hoeing the plants, there is no crop of roots more easily cultivated than beets; the tap-root of the beet finds moisture enough and flourishes in sandy loam and moderately dry farming land; when suitable land produces less than 20 tons of sugar-beets to the acre, the fault or failure will be found, as in the case of sugar-cane, in the farming or want of manure; sugar-beet culture has great advantage over sugar-cane culture in this country, as the latter is subject to casualties of climate almost unknown to the former.

Farmers in Maine are now (1879) paid $6 per ton of 2,240 pounds for unwashed sugar-beets delivered at the factory in Portland, or $5 per ton delivered at railroad stations centering at Portland; the average yield in France is about 23 tons of beets to the acre, and from 11 to 14 per cent. of sugar and sirup therefrom, both of which outturns can be equaled or excelled in this country; when requisite experience in cultivating the sugar-beet has been acquired, we can produce two tons of beet sugar per acre, and, all things considered, farmers will be better paid from sugar-beet crops at $5 per ton unwashed, delivered at central stations, than from any other crops they generally handle.

Continental Europe has set us an example in beet-sugar production, and presents a profitable and progressive record of energy and enterprise in this regard, producing, in 1878, 1,465,000 tons of beet sugar, with a prospective crop, in 1879, of at least 1,500,000 tons; as beet sugar must be refined before it is suitable for consumption, the industry of refining in this country must be greatly benefited by the increased production of beet sugar; the beet sugar industry has taken shape in Maine, Massachusetts, Delaware, and California, and is in embryotic form elsewhere in this country; it already bids fair to become a source of national wealth; a moderate duty on foreign sugar will stimulate the production of cane and beet sugar in this country, *but the broad basis of dependence with both of these industries is their capacity of production in competition with foreign producers on equal terms.*

On the contrary, when we come to the refinod outturn from imported sugars, Louisiana must of necessity compete therewith, and it is very evident that the higher the grades of imported raw sugars, the more difficnlt it becomes for domestic sugars to compete with the outturn therefrom in quality and prices. Her remedy lies in refining her own sugars. Louisiana, therefore, sounds the tocsin of her own sugar productive undoing when she advocates a uniform duty on all sugars not above No. 13 in color. A uniform duty to No. 16 would be even worse for her; it is further evident that protected by a uniform duty to No. 13, Cuba and other countries would soon flood us with muscovadoes of a grade suitable for immediate consumption, at prices with which Louisiana muscovadoes could not compete profitably in this market.

The difficulties in the way of adopting an actual ad valorem sugar tariff with any certainty of collecting the full duty from sugar and other merchandise, are almost insurmountable, owing to fluctuations in prices and false invoicing, &c.

The Dutch standard is perfectly competent to determine the intrinsic colors of all raw sugars of natural color, *when such sugars are reduced to the consistency of Dutch standard samples in grain;* as regards low grades of raw sugar, the importation of which it is sought to prohibit by adopting a uniform duty to No. 13, evasion of duty is impracticable under the Dutch standard alone, except through official fraud in sampling or weighing. Crush such sugars thoroughly, still their color remains the same. Neither analysis nor polarization are required to determine the intrinsic color and quality of

sugars between melada and sugars not above No. 10 Dutch standard in natural color. Muscovadoes and molasses sugars, made by natural draining alone, although from No. 10 to 14 in color, can always be accurately determined, and classed for duty by the use of the Dutch standard only.

Discolorations to evade duty begin with the higher grades, namely, with Centrifugals, Javas, and vacuum pan sugars and such foreign sugars as would naturally be about No. 11 to No. 16 Dutch standard in color when honestly made, and which almost invariably test above 92 and to 98 in crystallizable strength in 100 parts of raw sugar material.

Natural discoloration of raw sugar to evade duty, especially as regards centrifugals, consists simply in the retention of molasses and impurities, or in adding an excess of lime, sulphuric acid, burnt sirup or caramel to the juice in defecators, in the pan, or in the mass in the centrifugal machine. Vacuum-pan sugars and clayed sugars may be similarly discolored by injection and leaching. Lowering of color may be carried to any desirable extent in raw sugar, and still maintain therein 93 to 98 per cent. of crystallizable sugar, varying in color and strength in crystals at the option of manipulators.

That the discoloration abuse is not confined to this country and practiced for the evasion of duty alone, may be seen in the following circular emanating from Holland—the birthplace of the Dutch standard—wherein analysis is adopted as an adjunct to the color standard, which cannot be entirely superseded so long as color remains necessarily a principal factor in fixing the value of sugar among merchants for trade purposes. The circular is as follows:

ROSENDALL, *September* 26, 1879.

To the President and Members of the Central Committee of the Sugar Manufacturers of France:

GENTLEMEN: We have the honor to inform you that two days ago the Minister of Finance has presented a law to prevent artificial coloration of sugars and the use of artificial mixtures intended to deceive as to the true value of sugars.

Their value will be determined by chemical analysis.

Please, gentlemen, accept the assurance of our distinguished consideration.

B. JAEGAR,
President.

B. REIGER, *Secretary.*

It will be observed that only artificial mixtures are referred to in the Hollandic circular. Nevertheless, natural discolorations will quite as readily be detected and disposed of by analysis, such being practiced in manufacturing Java sugars, as well as centrifugals and other raw sugars of high crystallizable strength and value. Discoloration of foreign sugars in the country of production is, and has long been, practiced to lower the grade and quality of sugar in appearance, for the purpose of evading duty, and to raise the grade and quality of both raw and refined sugars, to deceive customers and obtain higher prices in the market than the same sugars of natural colors are worth intrinsically. Java clayed sugars are high priced, and mostly above 92 in crystallizable strength. Like centrifugals and vacuum-pan sugars, they have long been manipulated in

color to evade duty—manipulations which Treasury officials, who have arbitrarily superseded collectors and appraisers, have thus far failed to cope with understandingly, much less successfully.

The era of free trade in sugar has not been reached, and if foreign sugars were placed on the free list, producing countries would levy an offset export duty thereon, thus maintaining the cost as before, or increasing it. On the other hand, uniform duty would discriminate against the bulk of imported sugars which we must mainly depend upon for the production of refined sugar suitable to the imperative demands of eight-tenths of the people, and favor centrifugals and high-grade sugars immensely, without benefit to the great mass of consumers or the revenue, and would check consumption and home production, as shown elsewhere. Classification according to quality, for the purpose of levying duty on sugar, remains, therefore, an inevitable sequence of wise legislation.

In order to counteract discolorations practiced to evade duty under a color standard alone, it becomes necessary to combine analysis with the color standard in order to determine accurately the quality and consequent foreign value of imported sugars, and to establish an equitable test line of crystallizable strength as a basis for levying duty. Naturally and equitably the line would fall between 91 and and 93, and should be established at 92 for cargo samples. Drying samples and raising the test line above 92, discriminates in favor of centrifugals, clayed and vacuum-pan sugars, as will be hereinafter seen.

During his investigations the writer has secured numerous cargo samples of various classes of imported sugars, including many containing artificial and natural discolorants, and caused them to be analyzed. He has also obtained the results of official and trade analyses of several hundred cargoes of imported sugars that have entered into consumption during 1875–'6–'7–'8–'9. The results corroborate and establish his former premises published in his "Revised Analyses of the Sugar Question," and repeated herein. For example, the imported sugars named below, when of natural color and condition, are found by analysis to contain crystallizable sugar approximately as follows. Per cent. of crystallizable sugar in 100 parts of material. Extreme exceptions have been omitted:

Melado	63 to 76
Mexican sugar below 7 D. S	70 to 76
China sugar 7 to 10 D. S	79 to 90
Dullooah sugar, 7 to 10 D. S	75 to 84
Gurpatta sugar, n. a., 7 D. S	77 to 86
Iloilo sugar, 7 to 10 D. S	81 to 89
Bahia sugar, n. a., 7 D. S	71 to 73
Guadeloupe sugar, 7 to 10 D. S	80 to 87
Peruvian concrete, n. a., 7 D. S	76 to 83
Cuba clayed sugar, 7 to 12 D. S	87 to 96
Molasses sugar, 7 to 12 D. S	86 to 91
Martinique sugar, 7 to 10 D. S	82 to 89
Beet sugar above 7 to 14 D. S	93 to 97
Java clayed sugar above 7 to 14 D. S	93 to 97
Demerara sugar, n. a., 7 D. S	83 to 88
Centrifugal sugar, 7 D. S. (low)	91 to 92
Chuyang sugar, n. a., 7 D. S	83 to 89
Taal sugar below 7 D. S	71 to 73

Penang sugar, n. a., 7 D. S	69 to 75
Formosa sugar, n. a., 7 D. S	73 to 80
Cebu sugar, n. a., 7 D. S	74 to 85
Manila sugar below 7 D. S	76 to 82
Macio sugar, n. a., 7 D. S	86 to 89
Egyptian sugar, 7 to 10 D. S	80 to 90
Barbadoes sugar, 7 to 10 D. S	86 to 89
Pernambuco sugar, 7 to 10 D. S	84 to 89
Muscovado sugar, 10 to 14 D. S	85 to 91
Porto Rico sugar, 7 to 12 D. S	84 to 91
Beet sugar, n. a. 7 D. S	90 to 92
Java clayed sugar, n. a., 7 D. S	90 to 92
Hawaiian sugar, 7 to 10 D. S	89 to 91
Demerara sugar, 9 to 12 D. S	90 to 96
Centrifugal sugar above 7 to 14 D. S	93 to 97
Surinam sugar, n. a., 7 D. S	81 to 86

It may at once be seen in the above schedule, which embraces more than 300 cargo tests, and includes crop variations, that 92 degrees of crystallizable strength in 100 parts of properly-sampled raw sugar provides a natural and equitable dividing line for counteracting both artificial and natural colorants, and equitably determining the natural color, quality, and value of discolored raw sugars, in order to levy correct duty thereon. Raw sugars naturally testing above 92 in equitable cargo samples run 93 to 96 as a rule, with comparatively few exceptions, and should be covered in a single classification when not above 13 Dutch standard in natural color, which, in the case of large-grain centrifugals, *can only be determined by crushing the grain.*

Samples are before me of a cargo of large-grained centrifugal sugar, which appears to be not above 10 Dutch standard in color, and the cargo was so entered and liquidated—the samples test of sugar, 97; imp., 2.5; water, 0.5. On being crushed, the sugar is No. 20 Dutch standard in color, and excellent for eating, the crystals having been outwardly darkened with sugar impurities, doubtless to evade duty. Of course, such and similar sugars should pay duty on intrinsic color, as being above 92 and above 16 Dutch standard—the true intent and purpose of the Dutch standard being to measure the intrinsic color of sugars, while by analysis we measure the intrinsic quality of sugar.

On the other hand, refining muscovado sugars, although mostly 10 Dutch standard or above in natural color, acquired simply by draining, contain less than 92 per cent. of crystallizable sugar. Analyses of 47 different cargoes of muscovadoes are before me, which tested as follows in crystallizable sugar: Lowest test, 84.80; highest test, 92; general range of cargo tests, 85 to 91; average of cargo tests, 88.89. Nevertheless, the claim that light-colored muscovadoes are virtually prohibited by the present tariff proves mistaken, inasmuch as color being the prime factor of value in raw grocery sugars (muscovadoes made light and fit for eating by defecation in addition to natural draining,) it is evident that muscovado sugars imported suitable for consumption will, if consumers want them, bring value accordingly, as in the case of Louisiana sugars, and should pay a higher rate of duty than undefecated muscovadoes suited only to refining purposes.

Refining sugars above No. 7 Dutch standard in natural color are

intrinsically more valuable proportionally in refined outturn than refining sugars No. 7 Dutch standard or below in natural color, and should therefore pay a higher rate of duty. Refining sugars above No. 10 Dutch standard in natural color also produce a more valuable proportionate outturn in refined product than can be obtained from sugars above No. 7 and not above No. 10 Dutch standard in natural color. Consequently, muscovadoes should pay a higher rate of duty. Lower grades of refining sugar are most extensively imported and used for refining, simply on account of the demands of consumers for the cheaper grades of refined sugars. That such grades cannot, however, be obtained, in the relative proportion required for consumption, from high-grade light-colored raw sugars alone, is an absolute fact. (See schedules of cargo analyses herein, showing the comparative crystallizable strength of imported refining sugars of natural color; see also page 28, section III, R. A. S. Q., showing comparative cost of refining.)

Consumers demand the cheaper grades of refined sugars for consumption in preference to imported muscovado sugars that have been defecated or semi-refined in the country of production. Muscovado sugars, in general, are unfit to eat, unless defecated by precipitants. Natural draining of concentrated raw sugar or melado does not sufficiently eliminate impurities therefrom for purposes of consumption. When thus freed from molasses and impurities, and made brighter, muscovadoes test higher, and are more valuable than drained or partially-drained sugars, and should pay higher duty accordingly when imported suitable for consumption.

Nevertheless, refiners can, from the lower grade of refining sugars, including melado, produce pure refined sugars golden-hued to white in color, for consumption, with which raw foreign muscovadoes can never compete successfully in prices, neither under an equitable tariff classification, nor with the duty on all sugars abolished. Foreign muscovadoes therefore now naturally seek tariff protection to enable them to supersede American refined sugars for immediate consumption, and, for a pretense, malign the present tariff classifications and demand tariff modifications discriminative against the numerous low grades of refining sugars from which the bulk of American refined sugars now required by the masses for consumption are produced. As with centrifugals, this is also a question of Foreign versus American interests and industries.

Efforts of the Treasury officials to increase the revenue from imported sugars have culminated in evaporating moisture from cargo samples of raw sugars, and raising the test line to suit dry samples when levying duty, under the pretense that "the percentages of sugar in the dry substance are the practical equivalents of those (the percentages) specified of sugars as imported before the water is evaporated." In the matter of raw sugar, the merchant buys and pays for the sugar composite, impurities, moisture, and all. The government weighs the cargo on arrival, charges duty on every pound of moisture, and then cooly fixes the rate of duty at pleasure, by levying on samples wherein the texture of the cargo of imported sugar has been changed by forced evaporation.

Whatever the intent, this method of increasing the revenue from sugar discriminates against low grades and in favor of centrifugals, Javas, &c., as will be seen in the following schedule of different kinds of imported raw sugars, which, avoiding extremes, exhibits the range of percentages of natural moisture purchased and contained in 100 parts of sugar texture, as sampled and analyzed on arrival of the cargoes:

Melado contains 10 to 15 parts water.
Iloilo sugars, 3 to 6 water.
Molasses sugars, 4 to 6 water.
Formosa sugars, 6 to 8 water.
Porto Rico sugars, 4 to 7 water.
Pernambuco sugars, 3 to 6 water.
Egyptian sugars, 3 to 6 water.
Cuba clayed, 1 to 3½ water.
Beet sugars, 1½ to 4 water.
Manila sugars, 3 to 7 water.
Muscovado sugars, 4 to 7 water.
China sugars, 3 to 5½ water.
Chuyang sugars, 3 to 5 water.
Dullooah sugars, 3 to 5½ water.
Peruvian concrete, 6 to 8 water.
Guadeloupe sugars, 4 to 8 water.
Javas (except low,) ½ to 2 water.
Centrifugal sugars ½ to 2 water.

Forced evaporation of moisture, which must be restored in refining, would greatly reduce the weight of sugar composite imported, every pound of which is charged with duty, and force the crystallizable strength of most low grade-sugars above 90 and 94, by changing their natural texture. Why not also eliminate impurities, including invert sugars from the lower-grade sugars, and force them up to 99 at once for levying duty? The masterly moisture evaporation or dried sample process produces results like the following:

A cargo of centrifugal sugar enters and tests, crystals, 95.5; impurities, 3.5; water, 1. Evaporate the water, and 99 parts become 100 parts, and test, crystals, 96.5; impurities, 3.5. A cargo of centrifugal or Java sugar is imported, and tests, crystals, 94; impurities, 4; water, 2. Dry out the water, and 98 parts become 100 parts, which test, crystals, 96; impurities, 4—all right for centrifugals. On the other hand, a cargo of molasses sugars enters that tests, crystals, 89; impurities, 5.60; water, 5.40. Dry the samples, and 94.60 parts become 100 parts, that test, crystals, 94.40; impurities, 5.60. A cargo of Pernambuco sugar is imported, which tests, crystals, 86.10; impurities, 7.78; water, 6.12. Dry the samples, and 93.88 parts become 100, and test, crystals, 92.22; impurities, 7.78. A cargo of Porto Rico sugar enters that tests, crystals, 88.40; impurities, 4.85; water, 6.75. Dry the samples, and 93.25 parts become 100 parts, and test, crystals, 95.15; impurities, 4.85. A cargo of Martinique sugar is imported that tests, crystals, 84.40; impurities, 8.22; water, 7.38. Dry the samples, and 92.62 parts

become 100, and test, crystals, 91.78; impurities, 8.22, and so on.

Evaporation liberates a proportion of molasses impurities; consequently no increase in the percentage of impurities is allowed above, the result of evaporating moisture from raw cane sugar being to diminish the proportion of molasses impurities therein, and increase the crystalline qualities thereof, just as, by natural purging and evaporation of melado, dry muscovado sugar is produced.

Under the dry test innovation a cargo of naturally dark low-quality sugar, useless for consumption until refined at more than double the cost of refining centrifugals, only capable of producing a refined outturn far below the usual outturn from centrifugals in value, may be doomed to pay duty not only on every pound of the full weight of the cargo, water and all, but at the high rate of duty charged upon centrifugals and Javas naturally of a grade and quality above 94 when imported. Nothing could better illustrate the injustice of uniform duty on sugar—whether to 10, 13, 16, or on all sugars—than the illegal discriminations resulting from changing the texture of imported sugar by dry sampling, to increase the revenue therefrom. On the other hand, lumbering the tariff and customs business with different rates of duty on sugar for every number in color, and every degree of crystallizable strength therein determined, or any approach to such a system, would be irrational.

The Treasury Department method of drying samples of sugar for testing cargoes of imported sugars, to levy duty thereon, thus changing the texture thereof, is simply absurd, and an outrage upon merchants and refiners which should at once cease, and better methods obtain. As usual, the pernicious results fall upon consumers.

Refiners who petition for and advocate a uniform duty to No. 13 simply propose to apply trade thuggism to their own throats. How long do such men imagine it will be before Cuba, Demerara and Company, with their English and American allies, will fully refine sugars for this country? Rest assured that these foreign powers will, if successful now, find means to carry a uniform duty to 16; and, when fully prepared for successful competition with American refiners, they will find means to have the sugar duty abolished in short order.

The hopes of American consumers, and for American industries, in regard to sugar, are in the retention of a classification sugar tariff which, when honestly applied, provides us with all grades of raw sugar material for the production of all grades of refined sugars required by consumers, and in pushing forward home production of beet and cane sugar. Any change from the equitable uniformity of the present tariff on sugar is dangerous. Even a reduction of duty on sugar, *which should obtain*, ought to be uniform on all grades.

Actual and prospective agents of foreign sugar producers who advocate and petition for a uniform duty to No. 13 thereby advertise their motives for so doing. On this point it is enough to say that the higher the grades of imported sugars consigned to them the greater their commissions.

Importers and buyers of foreign sugars who advocate and petition for a uniform duty to No. 13 simply desire to accommodate trade, and conduct it upon some substantial basis. Any sugar tariff that remains permanent will suit their business, and as the sky of trade manipulations in sugar-tariff plans seems auspicious for the success of these plausible uniform duty to No. 13 designs against consumers' interests and rights, they fall into line on that side, some at the request of their customers, and some to suit their individual trade interests or prejudices; as a matter of course, thinking little and caring less about the interests of American consumers, industries, and revenue, beyond the question of how much profit can be cleared by each transaction.

The Secretary of the Treasury clamors for forty millions of dollars revenue from sugars. This must be drawn from the food necessities of American consumers, the great mass of whom can only afford to buy the lowest grades of refined sugar, and must, under a uniform duty to No. 13, reduce consumption, because they would be compelled to pay the price of higher grades, or go without; yet it is proposed by uniformists virtually to prohibit the importation of low grades of raw sugar, from which we now actually receive more than 50 per cent. of the revenue from sugar. Although through frauds, which a uniform duty to No. 13 proposes to legalize, we apparently receive more than $\frac{1}{2}\frac{8}{0}$ of the duty from sugar, the No. 13 project proposes to curtail the Secretary's present revenue resources from low grades merely to fatten its projectors.

Refiners of sugar known well enough that glucose and other adulterants can best be employed to their advantage and profit when Centrifugals, Javas, and other high grades are used for refining; the higher the crystallizable strength of raw sugar the more glucose may be added. Centrifugals testing 95 to 98 can be safely reduced with glucose at an enormous profit to refiners, when it would not pay with Manillas and other low-grade sugars. Every pound of glucose used reduces importations of raw sugar to the same extent. *Uniform duty to No. 13 would simply encourage and increase the use of glucose, by shutting out low grades and providing easy and profitable means of offsetting the necessary labor and materials expended in the more skillful and commendable process of refining low grades of raw sugars up to the standard required by consumers without cheating them with adulterants.*

It is irrational to pretend that this government cannot collect the full revenue from sugar under the present classification tariff, and a proviso authorizing the use of analysis and a test line as adjuncts to the Dutch standard, to counteract the increasing practice of discoloring foreign sugars of high intrinsic grade to evade duty. When public interests, American industries, and consumers' wants are equitably considered, there is not a tenable objection against the present tariff classification of sugar for levying duty. The very fact that the principal advocates of and petitioners for a uniform duty to No. 13 strenuously oppose the use of the polariscope and analysis for testing sugars is ominous of fraud.

Adopt such tests and discolorations *must* cease. So long as outside color is allowed to be the standard for levying duty, merchants

will import, and producers will make, discolored sugars of the highest intrinsic quality; and it is boldly sought to legalize this treachery against our government, and to deprive consumers of the refined product from low grades, thus shut out, by obtaining a uniform duty to No. 13. These uniformists complain that the sugar trade is unsettled. Who and what unsettled it? Foreign producers in Cuba and Demerara, and their American allies, by discoloring natural grades of sugars, from No. 11 to above 13 Dutch standard in natural color (which all centrifugals and vacuum-pan sugars of intrinsic grade above 90 or 91 inevitably are intrinsically) to evade duty, and by the maudlin efforts of unskilled Treasury officials to counteract the fraudulent practices, now pressed too far by "truth and true analyses of the sugar question," the frauds must be legalized to quiet the sugar trade by a uniform duty to 13 Dutch standard, while American consumers are to be robbed of low-grade sugar product, and American industries must be throttled to make the fortunes of these allied uniformists.

Mr. Speaker, the agents, importers, refiners, and merchants who, with their foreign and American allies, advocate and petition Congress for a uniform duty on sugar to No. 16, to No. 13, or to No. 10, only seek to enrich themselves. This, as the world now goes, is called business, and needs no comment; but the plans by which they propose to accomplish this (among which appear that of a uniform duty to No. 13 or 10 or 16) are pregnant with gigantic evils and outrages, which their success would entail upon American consumers and American industries, whereby also the consumption of, and revenue from, sugar would be decreased inversely to our growing population, and the existing system of revenue robbery be legalized by Congress.

Uniform duty on raw sugar to No. 13 or to No. 10 means that the raw sugar material we require shall be semi-refined in Cuba and other sugar-producing countries contiguous to the United States and in Hawaii, at an annual industrial loss to this country of at least $40,000,000. It means the virtual prostration of the sugar-refining and sugar-producing industries of the United States, and the building up of foreign sugar-manufacturing industries at our expense. It means a heavy loss of revenue from sugar or a higher rate of taxation than at present on every pound of sugar we consume. It means legalized oppression and robbery of consumers of sugar, by virtually depriving them of low grades of pure refined sugar, now obtained in quantity from low grades of raw-sugar material. It means adulteration of high grades of refined sugar, which constitute the only possible out-turn from centrifugals and semi-refined sugars in sufficient quantity for consumption, with corn glucose to supply the loss of low grades now required and used for refining. It means American bondage to foreign sugar producers and foreign sugar refiners for years to come. It means the further enrichment of Cuba by from fifteen to twenty millions of dollars annually, to be added to the $70,000,000 she now draws from us for sugar. It means the exclusion of all means of detecting high-grade sugar frauds upon the revenue, and a frightful increase of robbery

by false sampling and false weighing. It means easy chairs for Treasury officials and customs officers, and the enrichment of official moiety hunters and scourgers of honest merchants who create and sustain American commerce. It means death or lingering sickness to the cane-sugar productive industries of Louisiana, and the crushing in embryo of beet and sorghum sugar productive enterprises in this country. It means colossal fortunes to Cuban and other foreign speculators and their American allies who petition Congress and this committee for uniform duty on all sugar to No. 13 Dutch standard in color, or, failing in that, to No. 10, to the exclusion of lower grades, and without analysis or hinderance of any kind to check their raids upon American consumers, industries, and revenue, already suffering enormously through high-grade sugar frauds thus sought to be perpetuated.

Raw cane sugar being composed of white crystals of sugar and impurities which form black molasses, the proportions of this admixture produces varying shades of color, which have rightly been recognized and accepted as reliable indications of the quality and value of raw cane sugars when in their normal condition. Outside coloration, intended to deceive as to the true value of sugars, having been successfully practiced to evade duty, it has become necessary to employ analysis as an adjunct to the color standard, in order to accurately determine the actual quality and value of imported sugars for the purpose of levying duty thereon correctly.

Uniform duty on raw sugars must be arbitrarily discriminative, and would therefore interfere with and largely prohibit importations of entirely raw sugar material by encouraging the foreign industries of semi-refining and centrifugation of raw-sugar material to the detriment of home manufacturing and sugar productive industries, interfere with the rights of consumers, and curtail consumption; while the only practical duty discrimination in the present sugar tariff is the *uniform* 25 *per cent.* addendum thereto.

The present tariff classification of melada and other foreign sugars are substantially in accordance with trade usage throughout the world, and therefore are adequate and equitable for levying duty on imported sugars, being peculiarly adapted for such purpose. Consequently, they ought to be retained. Should the following changes or modififfications of the present sugar tariff be adopted substantially—reasons for which have already been presented by the writer—consumption will rapidly increase, and the general results be eminently beneficial and satisfactory to the people of this country, and produce over $30,000,000 revenue per annum.

One. Abolish the 25 per cent. ad valorem addendum altogether, and also reduce the present specific duty on all raw sugars not above 16 Dutch standard in natural color, subject to the 92 line provision at least half a cent per pound pro rata throughout.

Two. All raw sugars under No. 10 Dutch standard in color, containing ninety-two (92) per cent. or more of crystallizable sugar, to pay the same duty as sugars above No. 10 and not above No 13 Dutch standard in color.

Three. Strike out of the present sugar tariff the words, "after

being refined," contained in the section relating to the adulterations and colorations of refined sugars.

Four. Equitable samples of imported sugars to be secured and used for purposes of appraisement as soon as practicable after the arrival and entry of such sugars, and the actual condition of such samples, when first selected, shall determine the grade and quality of the cargoes they represent for levying duty thereon.

During the reading of the paper the following discussions took place:

Mr. TUCKER. How much sugar do we consume per capita in this country?

Mr. BROWN. The per capita consumption last year was thirty-eight pounds. That includes molasses, melada, and all products of the raw material. We should have received fifty millions of revenue from sugar in 1879 instead of about forty millions, if it had not been for the frauds and swindles committed upon the Treasury.

* * * * * *

Mr. DUNNELL. These sugars which you denominate centrifugal sugars, are they below the grade of No. 13?

Mr. BROWN. They are usually between No. 11 or 12 and No. 14; from that up to 16.

Mr. TUCKER. You say that a uniform rate of duty on sugar up to No. 13 Dutch Standard would diminish the amount of sugar required for consumption?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. TUCKER. Do you mean to say that the gross amount of sugar consumed in this country would be lessened?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir, but the gross amount of raw material required (being of a higher grade) would be far less for manufacturing purposes. Consequently, every pound less would be so much less duty to the government.

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Mr. GARFIELD. Are the sugars that are produced in the Hawaiian Islands centrifugal sugars?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir; but by the industry expended there the sugars are made of high grade, which we must pay for.

Mr. GARFIELD. Do they use the centrifugal process in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. BROWN. Not that I am aware of at present. They bring the sugars up by a high degree of draining, and they also clay their sugars.

Mr. TUCKER. How many million pounds of sugar are introduced from the Sandwich Islands into this country up to No. 7?

Mr. BROWN. None.

Mr. TUCKER. How many between No. 7 and No. 10?

Mr. BROWN. Eight million pounds.

Mr. TUCKER. And between No. 10 and No. 13?

Mr. BROWN. Sixteen million pounds.

Mr. TUCKER. And from No. 13 up to No. 16?

Mr. BROWN. Fifteen million pounds.

Mr. TUCKER. And how much above No. 16?

Mr. BROWN. Only one million pounds.

Mr. TUCKER. Have you any statistics to show the different grades of sugar imported into this country from the Hawaiian Islands before the treaty with the Hawaiian Government, under which sugar is admitted free?

Mr. BROWN. Yes; but I have not the statistics with me. I will furnish them to the committee.

Mr. GIBSON. Be kind enough also to furnish to the committee at the same time a statement showing the quality of sugars now imported from the Hawaiian Islands.

Mr. BROWN. I will do so.

Mr. MILLS. Also state the effect which that Hawaiian treaty has had on the price of sugars in San Francisco, if it has had any effect.

Mr. BROWN. I will do so.

Mr. GARFIELD. Do the Hawaiian Islands refine their sugar for their own use?

Mr. BROWN. They refine it by claying it and bringing it up to the standard of fair Louisiana eating sugar.

Mr. GARFIELD. Do they buy refined sugars from us?

Mr. BROWN. Not a pound.

Mr. GAREIELD. Do they buy refined sugars from anybody?

Mr. BROWN. Not a pound that I am aware of. I never have seen any statistics from the British Government (with which I am in constant communication) or from France, showing that they do.

Mr. MILLS. Do you know who they are who are raising sugar in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. BROWN. It is simply a continuation of the old process of raising sugar by the aborigines. Of course it brings in Americans and American capital and other people, who share the profits.

Mr. MILLS. Do you know any large American capitalist who is engaged in this sugar business in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. BROWN. I shall be able to give you those facts, but I have not embodied them here.

Mr. KELLEY. Have you any information on the question as to whether the sugar producers in the Hawaiian Islands are in the habit of importing and employing Chinese laborers?

Mr. BROWN. I have some information on that point.

Mr. KELLEY. If you have any accurate information on the subject I wish you also to submit it.

Mr. BROWN. I shall do so.

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Mr. GARFIELD. Define what you mean by thuggism in trade.

Mr. BROWN. I mean what is sometimes called cut-throatism; that is, the attempt of one party by any means to obtain supremacy in trade, thereby strangling every interest that comes in the way.

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Mr. GIBSON. What is the name of the gentleman who furnished you with these figures in regard to sugar raising in Louisiana?

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Schlatrie.

Mr. MILLS. Have you got statistics showing the American production of sugar for the last forty years?

Mr. BROWN. Not here, but I will furnish such with pleasure.

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Mr. BROWN here exhibited to the committee two small glass phials, one containing very dark sugar of large grains, and the other containing what appeared to be a pure white sugar, and he informed the committee that these two specimens were identically the same sugar and that that sugar had been recently entered at the port of Boston in the dark shape and had been admitted as number 10 sugar. The white sugar in one of the specimens was nothing else than the dark sugar crushed, and he invited any member of the committee to test the accuracy of that statement by crushing some of the large dark colored grains—which Mr. Garfield proceeded to do, with the same result.

Mr. GARFIELD. Do you mean to say that if these coarse crystals are pulverized the result will be a clear white sugar?

Mr. BROWN. Yes. This sugar I pulverized myself. It was entered at No. 10, while it should have been entered at No. 20.

The CHAIRMAN. What became of the coloring matter that appears in the dark specimen?

Mr. BROWN. The coloring matter in this only amounts to one per cent.

Mr. TUCKER. The coloring matter is simply exterior to the crystals?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir. These crystals are built up in vacuum pans where the moisture is thrown out and then a mixture of molasses is thrown in, and this is the result. The intrinsic color of this sugar is No. 20.

Mr. CONGER. Do I understand you to say that this specimen of light-colored sugar, which you exhibit, was crushed by yourself from these dark grains?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; and I should be happy to have any member of the committee take some of these coarse grains and crush them here.

Mr. GARFIELD. This sugar, as I understand you, was entered as No. 10?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. GARFIELD. And this white sugar is the same as the dark sugar when crushed?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. GARFIELD. No other operation has been performed upon it, except crushing it?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir.

Mr. GARFIELD. And this dark-colored sugar is No. 10 in color?

Mr. BROWN. YES.

Mr. GARFIELD. And this white sugar produced by crushing No. 10 is No. 20 in color?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. GARFIELD. Would a similar process as to No. 7 have the same effects?

Mr. BROWN. No; not if it is No. 7 natural color.

Mr. GARFIELD. Why not?

Mr. BROWN. Simply beeause No. 7 is of itself carried as high in color as it can be without further refining.

Mr. GARFIELD. This specimen (holding up the dark-colored sugar) has a yellowish straw color like wheat. When crushed it is like flour. There has been no artificial coloring, you say, except in so far as crushing it is an artificial process, but the one specimen is the natural wheat and the other is the ground flour of the same wheat.

Mr. BROWN. Yes sir; these are both the natural product.

Mr. GARFIELD. There is no coloring matter in either of these specimens?

Mr. BROWN. No.

Mr. TUCKER. The crystal of sugar is always in itself white, is it not?

Mr. BROWN. Yes; pure white.

Mr. TUCKER. The coloring matter in the specimen which by crushing became white was therefore merely on the surface of the crystal?

Mr. BROWN. Entirely so.

Mr. TUCKER. The crystal itself being white, the substance when crushed is white, except the mere infinitesimal coloring on the surface?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. GARFIELD. What is this yellowish color on the surface of these crystals? Is it a film of molasses?

Mr. BROWN. In this case it is simply coloring matter or molasses. The syrup may have been burned a trifle. But in this other case (holding up a specimen of Demerara sugar) it is a different matter. To produce this color in Demerara they use lime in various forms. That is the case particularly for our benefit. Demerara sugar intended for England is not limed to that extent.

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Mr. GIBSON. You use the phrase "making sugar." Do we make sugar in this country?

Mr. BROWN. In using the word "make," I simply mean the reduction of cane juice to a crystallizable form. That I call making sugar.

Mr. GIBSON. The crystal exists in the sugar in nature?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. GIBSON. And the whole process of making sugar is to separate the wood fiber and the water from the pure crystal?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. GIBSON. And that process discloses the crystals?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir; the crystals are disclosed at first, inasmuch as they are formed of molasses and sugar.

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Mr. GARFIELD having in the meantime crushed some of the coarse sugar, showed the result to the members of the committee.

Mr. KELLEY. Then, instead of the polariscope, all that you would want to ascertain the real grade of the sugar would be a pestle and mortar?

Mr. BROWN. That would amply settle the difficulty. It would

would amply settle it until you came to discoloration by means of lime, or of lime subjected to the action of sulphuric acid.

Mr. KELLEY. But with the class of sugars that you have been speaking of, a pestle and mortar would disclose the fraudulent coloring?

Mr. BROWN. Certainly.

Mr. MILLS. What did that sugar cost?

Mr. BROWN. I was informed that the cost of it was either 6 or 6⅛ cents a pound, duty unpaid. It was entered as No. 10, and paid duty at that rate,

Mr. KELLEY. What ought that sugar to have been worth if it were No. 10?

Mr. BROWN. If it were No. 10, it should have been worth about 4 cents a pound in the producing country, duty unpaid.

Mr. CONGER. What would it cost to reduce this dark sugar [indicating one of the specimens] in a grinding mill to this white sugar [indicating the other specimen]?

Mr. BROWN. One-eighth of one of per cent.

Mr. KELLEY. If every family kept its own pestle and mortar, it would only cost the original investment of capital in the pestle and mortar?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

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Mr. MORRISON. You said that you were going to talk in the interest of consumers, and you have been making pretty much the same argument as is made by refiners of low-grade sugars. Do I understand you to reason that the interest of the consumers and the interest of the refiners of low-grade sugars are identical?

Mr. BROWN. I do not reason in that way.

Mr. MORRISON. Then I do not understand you.

Mr. BROWN. A branch of manufacturing trade may of itself be very profitable and yet be in accordance with the interests of the consumer, while another manufacturer in the same branch of business may so manipulate his business by cheating the consumer as to make money much faster.

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Mr. MILLS. Coming back to those two specimens of sugar which you have shown us, did I understand you to say that that sugar was admitted at a low grade?

Mr. BROWN. Yes; it was admitted at No. 10 and should have been rated at No. 20.

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Mr. MILLS. What is the best kind of a tariff on sugar—specific or advalorem?

Mr. BROWN. The specific tariff is preferable for the simple reason that the moment you turn to a direct ad-valoren tariff (not in principle but in practice) those frauds are diverted into another channel.

Mr. MILLS. How would you have the duty specific?

Mr. BROWN. I would have such a specific duty as will in substance retain the present order of classification of sugar by the

color standard up to whatever you choose to make it in crystallizable strength—say No. 92.

Mr. MILLS. How are you going to detect frauds if you are to be governed by the color standard?

Mr. BROWN. As an adjunct of the color standard, I would introduce analysis or grinding, or any other process by which the Secretary of the Treasury would be able to determine the grades of sugar. Either the polariscope or analysis will answer the purpose.

Mr. KELLEY. Or grinding?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. TUCKER. Was that (indicating the dark-colored specimen) the natural coloring of that sugar?

Mr. BROWN. No, sir; it is not a natural color for that sugar.

Mr. TUCKER. Why is it not?

Mr. BROWN. Simply because after that sugar is worked in the vacuum pan it is white, or nearly so. If this sugar were left at its natural color, it would be up to No. 19 at least.

Mr. MILLS. Do you suppose that that sugar which was entered here as No. 10 was purchased from the producer as No. 20?

Mr. BROWN. The producer certainly sold it as No. 20, and it cost about 6 cents a pound.

Mr. MILLS. And it was brought here and entered as No. 10?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. MILLS. Then, would it not have been safer for the Treasury to rely upon the foreign invoice as to the value of the sugar?

Mr. BROWN. It would under existing circumstances, considering the immense growth of these transactions.

Mr. TUCKER. If this sugar was rated by the Dutch standard, is it No. 10 Dutch standard?

Mr. BROWN. It is not No. 10 unless we choose to measure everything else in the same way, and unless we make it the custom and law that everything is to be determined by outward appearance.

Mr. TUCKER. Does not the Dutch standard make color-line the test?

Mr. BROWN. The Dutch standard as applied in Holland and as applied with us is two different things. In Holland they would not take that crystal (indicating) and compare it with the Dutch standard until they had crushed the crystal. We here take it and compare it with the Dutch standard outwardly, and admit the sugar at a low rate, imagining that the law compels that to be done. The efforts by the Treasury Department to counteract these things have led to this inevitable conflict, and to all the circulars which the Secretary has been obliged to issue in regard to sampling of sugars. Why? Simply because there is no way until Congress says that there shall be some other method of ascertaining the intrinsic color of sugars besides the outward appearance as compared with the Dutch standard.

Mr. GIBSON. What other method do you suggest?

Mr. BROWN. I suggest that all sugars shall be subject to the test of analysis. Polarization is of itself quite competent under honest management to determine the crystallizable strength of sugar, but it may be easily mismanaged. But if we take analysis, it can be

readily done. A man can analyze twenty samples of sugar altogether, and go through the analyzation very rapidly. I would undertake to have it done in from fifteen to thirty minutes, except in the matter of determining the ash, which must be done by burning the sugar, and that takes a little longer time. Analysis is perfect in that regard, but if you add to the anaysis the Dutch standard, and crushing the sugar into the proper condition for comparing it with the Dutch standard, then it is impossible to perpetrate fraud.

Mr. GARFIELD. If instead of receiving that sugar in the custom house according to the standard which would make it No. 10, the appraiser were authorized to crush it (as I have done,) he then could grade it according to its intrinsic color. In other words, if the appraiser were permitted to go by intrinsic rather than by external color, he would get nearer the truth?

Mr. BROWN. He would get nearer the truth.

The committee here adjourned until to-morrow.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 30, 1880.

Mr. HENRY A. BROWN came before the committee and concluded the statement commenced by him yesterday. He said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: As to the point of discoloration, I mentioned the fact yesterday that it was impracticable to color low-grade sugars provided they were of intrinsic color below No. 10 Dutch standard, and provided they had not been turned into centrifugals at all. Any one of these sugars (indicating the specimens before him) will illustrate that fact. There is but one possible way by which anybody can raise the grade of color of a low grade of sugar which is below 10, provided it is not brought into a centrifugal grade or crystal, and that way is by heating or evaporating the moisture in the sugar. This process, of course, takes from the raw material that is imported and on which duty is paid, and it increases the crystallizable strength on the amount of crystals in the sugar that is left. The more you evaporate or eliminate moisture and other impurities the more you increase the crystals in the sugar. This sample [putting some of it in a mortar] is a very low-grade sugar, below No. 7 Dutch standard. You may grind it as much as you like and the color will still remain below No. 7 [demonstrating.] The moment that you go above No. 90 in crystallizable strength of sugar, and increase the size of the crystals, this sort of thing can no longer be done without disclosing a higher grade of sugar or a higher intrinsic color. Consequently, no low-grade sugars can evade the duty under the Dutch standard except by false weighing, and undoubtedly that is done to a great extent. But, otherwise the low-grade sugars are absolutely at the mercy of any common examiner who chooses to put honesty into the examination, and he cannot be deceived.

Mr. CONGER. Can you take a high-grade sugar and color it so that when ground in that way it will not disclose its true character?

Mr. BROWN. It is impossible, provided the coloration has not pervaded it thoroughly. Any man can take that sugar, carry it to the

fire and heat it, thus eliminating moisture, increasing the crystals, and eliminating with the moisture a portion of the coloring matter. Consequently, the grade of the sugar comes up. It is not so with the crystals which I now show to the committee. You may heat them or do with them what you like and still the intrinsic color is the same.

I now come to the Demerara coloring of sugars. One of my agents has sent me samples of Demerara sugar and another of my agents in Cuba is getting other samples for me, wherein there is no discoloration of any importance. He takes the sugar before the coloration takes place. Now, this sugar (holding up a sample) is colored by what we call burnt molasses. Formerly they colored sugar in Demerara by the use of sulphate of lime or lime in excess. What was the difficulty there? The difficulty was very evident. They found that by the introduction of too much lime, particularly of sulphate of lime, the crystallizable strength of the sugar was reduced and true dextrine turned out, which is an imitation of glucose. Therefore, it was unmarketable, and that mode of coloration was abandoned for the natural colors which they now employ. When Mr. McKay says that they do not use acids in coloring sugars in Demerara, he tells the truth. Of course they do not. It would not pay to use them any longer. They discover their mistake in using them, and therefore they no longer use sulphates of lime. Why? Because they blackened their sugars so much and impregnated them so much and turned so much of their crystallizable sugar into glucose, that the market would not take such sugars, and therefore the sugar growers in Demerara resorted to the natural colors. That is the whole secret with the present troubles in the Demerara sugars. Other modes may be used, but it is impossible (in order to make it a profitable, practical operation) to discolor sugar until the crystallizable strength of that sugar has been raised. The moment you go beyond 90 you raise the crystallizable strength of sugar and its value rapidly. Consequently, the Demerara people no longer use a preparation of lime in the preparation of their sugars, but when they get them up as high as 98 in crystallizable strength, then the simplest thing in the world is to discolor the exterior of the crystals (as I showed you yesterday.) They do it just as it is done with rock candy, by first getting a crystal and then building that crystal up by adding sugar to it. The bigger the grain the better and stronger is the crystal, until they even reach as high as 99½ per cent.

Mr. KELLEY. Show us by an experiment that this sugar [pointing to a sample] is colored externally.

Mr. GIBSON. That sugar is colored simply by caramelizing the strike.

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KELLEY. It has been asserted here that there is no artificial coloring of Demerara sugar. Now, if you can establish that there is such coloring, and that it is a fraud, why not do it, instead of simply resting upon argument and assertion?

[Mr. Brown proceeded to make the experiment by pouring some

coarse-grained sugar into a mortar, and by pulverizing it, the result being a sugar much lighter in degree than the coarse sugar.]

Mr. TUCKER. Is that the Demerara sugar with which you are making that experiment?

Mr. BROWN. Yes. This is only a single illustration, but it is quite enough to show the intrinsic color of this discolored sugar, by which it will be found that the importers dodge one rate if not two rates of duty. This would become two or three degrees lighter by further pulverization.

Mr. GARFIELD. At what grade, under the Dutch standard, would that sugar pass which you have just pulverized?

Mr. BROWN. This sugar, as pulverized now, would pass at the grade of No. 14 Dutch standard. It came in below No. 7.

Mr. GARFIELD. That is, you have raised it seven degrees by pulverization.

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KELLEY. And by imperfect pulverization?

Mr. BROWN. Yes. This sugar would come up to No. 16 very readily.

Mr. GIBSON. Is that dark sugar colored by artificial material.

Mr. BROWN. It is colored down by burnt molasses—impurities which may be termed caramel.

Mr. GIBSON. The color matter may be a part of the same material out of which the sugar itself is made?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir; it is the drainings from the sugar originally. After having raised the sugar to its crystallizable strength, a certain percentage of the drainings is thrown back, thereby reducing the coloring to a sufficient degree. A Boston merchant testified in a case that the agreement with the sugar makers was that the sugar should test 96 degrees in crystallizable strength, but should be colored so as to come in at No. 10 Dutch standard.

Mr. CARLISLE. Where did you get that sample which you have just shown us?

Mr. BROWN. I got my samples from cargoes.

Mr. CARLISLE. Where did you get that particular sample?

Mr. BROWN. This particular sample came from one of my agents in Cuba. I think it is generally known that I have been investigating the matter thoroughly, and consequently must have agents.

Mr. CARLISLE. You said that this sugar had passed under No. 10.

Mr. BROWN. I do not employ any sample until it has been actually passed.

Mr. CARLISLE. If you got this sample from your agent in Demerara, how can it have passed the custom-house?

Mr. BROWN. I happened to have this one sample of Demerara sugar at my room, and I took it. Of course I state frankly that this sample has not come in, but I have samples which have come in.

Mr. CARLISLE. I understood you to state that that sugar had passed at the custom-house.

Mr. BROWN. I shall show you right here samples that did pass. Here [exhibiting a sample] is one that passed, only in this case the sugar is blacker and worse than in the sample which I produced.

Mr. CARLISLE. Have you ever pulverized any of that sample?

Mr. BROWN. Certainly. Here it is [exhibiting sample of lighter-colored sugar.] Here is the pulverized sugar.

Mr. KELLEY. That is a pulverization of the sugar which did pass?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. CARLISLE. In what custom-house did that sugar pass, and to whom was it consigned?

Mr. BROWN. It passed at the New York custom-house, but I am unable to give data in regard to it, because my samples are so numerous. I can trace this sugar right to the Government archives if desirable.

Mr. GARFIELD. Now, have you got any specimens of this wet sugar dried, so as to show the difference in color between the wet and the dried?

Mr. BROWN. No; but that can be easily done by drying some at the fire in this room. [A small quantity of the wet sugar was placed upon the fire shovel and heated at the fire, the result being to make its color somewhat lighter.]

Mr. GARFIELD. What do you recommend the committee to do?

Mr. BROWN. I would recommend the committee to allow the present tariff to remain as it is—Dutch standard and all—and to add to the power of the Secretary authority to employ polarization, which discovers immediately the crystallizable strength, and consequently the market value, of sugar, and also to employ, when he sees fit, analysis in order to detect other ingredients in the export of refined sugar, lest he should be paying a drawback on sand and other articles. With that combination, and with the line drawn between what are known to be sugars that never rise above 91, all sugars testing above 92 should pay the higher rate of duty.

Mr. KELLEY. Would it not be well to insert in the tariff a provision that appraisers shall not appraise crystals of above a certain size, so as to compel them to grind some of the sugar before appraising?

Mr. BROWN. I omitted to say that all sugars of all grades should be ground and brought to the consistency, so to speak, of the Dutch standard, which, as you see, [exhibiting a sample,] is a fine-ground sugar, and consequently its intrinsic color is wholly shown.

Mr. TUCKER. Suppose you have the intrinsic color absolutely shown by grinding, would not the Dutch standard alone avail?

Mr. BROWN. The Dutch standard alone would avail, but, in case of any question, the Secretary should still have authority to employ analysis.

Mr. GARFIELD. Would the Dutch standard avail with wet sugar?

Mr. BROWN. Perfectly, always. The grinding would not affect the low-grade sugars or the wet sugars, and therefore should be confined to the others. If the Secretary is authorized to adopt these modes, the very moral power or moral suasion, so to speak, which you have thus exerted on importers would immediately put a stop to the coloration of high-grade sugars. But the Secretary must have authority to do this thing.

The CHAIRMAN (at the suggestion of Mr. Perot.) I am requested to ask you whether you have ever been in Demerara?

Mr. BROWN. I have not been personally. I have been in the South American sugar-producing countries, and in very many others, having been a great traveler.

The CHAIRMAN. I am also requested to ask you whether you are familiar with sugar manufacture from the sugar cane?

Mr. BROWN. I will answer outside any questions which outsiders may choose to put to me; but I prefer now to confine myself solely to questions by the committee.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. HENRY A. BROWN.

The following paper was filed by Mr. Henry A. Brown:

Mr. Searles, apparently in defense of false classifications of high-grade sugars as low grade sugars to evade duty, misstated in his supplementary remarks before the committee on Saturday, January 31, that "Mr. Brown began with 1877 and muscovado sugar," in his (Mr. Brown's) tabular statement of classifications of imported sugars for duty in 1878, wherein I prove enormous frauds on the revenue.

For the information of the honorable Committee on Ways and Means, and to exhibit more fully the magnitude of the frauds perpetrated by dissolving high-grade sugars to evade duty, which it is purposed by uniform rate of duty to No. 13 Dutch standard to legalize, I here present the compiled tabular statement and explanations on this point contained in my "Revised Analyses of the Sugar Question," from which I condensed my illustrations of false classifications on Thursday last before this committee. It will be seen that I neither named muscovado sugars nor referred to them specifically in any manner in this connection.

The tabular deductions are as follows:

In the official statement in the Bureau of Statistics of average foreign cost of raw sugars at places of shipment, computed in coin on the basis of foreign prices current in the fiscal years 1876 and 1877, is recorded as follows in regard to sugars of natural color—in other words, undoctored sugars:

	Per pound.
Sugar not above No. 7. D. S., in color	3.50 cents
Sugar above 7, not above 10 D. S., in color	4.50 "
Sugar above 10, not above 13 D. S. in color	4.75 "
Average cost of low-grade sugar	4.25 "
Melado and cane sirup	3·50 "

According to the sworn testimony of importers and refiners as officially recorded, the prices paid foreign producers for raw sugars imported in 1877, 1878, average as follows:

	Per pound.
Sugar not above No. 7 D. S., in color	3.25 cents
Sugar above 7, not above 10 D S., in color	3.75 "
Sugar above 10, not above 13 D. S., in color	4.00 "
Average cost of low-grade sugars	3.66 "
Melado and cane sirup	2.75 "

The following tables, XIII to XVIII inclusive, present a complete exhibit of the grade classifications for duty of dutiable raw sugar entered into consumption in the fiscal years 1876, 1877, 1878; declared value thereof, cost per pound, liquidated duties, and significant comparisons, wherein the *modus operandi* of evading duty on sugar of high grades by color-toning, false sampling, and under classification is made vividly evident:

Grades of dutiable sugar entered into consumption:

XIII. Sampled and classed not above 7 D. S.		Declared value above 10 D. S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated duty received.
1876	534,822,824 lbs.	$20,344,948	3.80c.	$11,654,445
1877	757,946,855 lbs.	37,501,481	*4.94c.	16,580,087
1878	860,287,182 lbs.	41,516,497	†4.82c.	18,818,782
Total	2,153,056,861	99,362,926	‡4.61c.	47,053,314

XIV. Sampled and classed above 7 N. A. 10 D. S.		Declared value above 13 D. S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated duty received.
1876	869,785,687 lbs.	$36,593,778	4.20c.	$21,628,822
1877	604,317,151 lbs.	29,748,890	§4.92c.	15,107,928
1878	618,019,876 lbs.	33,232,883	‖5.37c.	15,450,497
Total	2,092,122,714	99,575,551	¶4.75c.	52,187,247

XV. Sampled and classed above 10 N. A. 13 D. S.		Declared value above 13 D. S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated duty received.
1876	150,107,868 lbs.	$6,543,106	4.36c.	$4,092,846
1877	88,462,336 lbs.	4,371,003	**4.94c.	2,488,003
1878	72,316,574 lbs.	4,110,502	††5.68c.	2,033,904
Total	310,886,778	15,024,611	‡‡4.83c.	8,614,753

XVI. Sampled and classed above 13 N. A. 16 D. S.		Declared value equals 16 D. S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated duty received.
1876	6,127,732 lbs.	$318,830	5.20c.	$207,593
1877	4,536,195 lbs.	218,943	4.82c.	155,931
1878	1,474,118 lbs.	73,831	5.01c.	50,673
Total	12,138,045	611,604	5.03c.	414,197

XVII. Sampled and classed above 16 N. A. 20 D. S.		Declared value equals No. 20 D. S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated duty received.
1876	1,011,458 lbs.	$58,045	5.73c.	$40,107
1877	92,477 lbs.	6,181	6.68c.	3,756
1878	561,068 lbs.	35,491	6.32c.	22,793
Total	1,665,003	99,717	5.98c.	66,656

XVIII. Sampled and classed above No. 20 D. S.		Declared value above No. 20 D. S.	Cost per lb.	Liquidated duty received.
1876	24,976 lbs.	$2,003	8.02c.	$1,248
1877	32,840 lbs.	2,590	7.88c.	1,642
1878	216,294 lbs.	16,866	7.79c.	10,815
Total	174,110	21,459	7.82c.	13,705

Under the above official classification, apparently, the average rate per cent. ad valorem duty actually paid in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878, on each of the classifications for duty of imported sugar consumed in said year, liquidation of duty being complete, is as follows; but the true ad valorem rate can only be estimated, inasmuch as it depends on honest classification, which has not recently

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* Testimony of importers and refiners, No. 7 sugar costs 3.25 cents.
† From estimates of experts, No. 7 sugar costs 3.50 cents per lb.
‡ Average estimate of experts, No. 7 D. S. sugar costs 3.375 cents.
§ Testimony of importers and refiners, No. 10 costs 3.75 cents.
‖ From testimony of other experts, No. 10 costs 4.00 cents.
¶ Average estimate of experts, No. 10 sugar costs 3.875.
** Testimony of importers and refiners, No. 13 costs 4.00 cents.
†† From estimates of other experts, No. 13 costs 4.50 cents.
‡‡ Average estimates of experts, No. 13 costs 4.25 cents.

obtained in levying duty on centrifugal and other high grades of imported sugar:

XIX. 1878. Classsifications.	Quantity consumed, lbs.	Declared value.	Duties liquidated.	Per cent. ad val.
All not above No. 7	860,287,172	$41,516,497	$18,818,782	45.33
Above 7 N. A., 10 D. S.	618,019,876	33,232,883	15,450,497	46.49
Above 10 N. A., 13 D. S.	72,316,574	4,110,502	2,033,904	49.48
Above 13 N. A., 16 D. S.	1,474,118	73,831	50,673	68.63
Above 16 N. A., 20 D. S.	561,068	35,491	22,793	64.22
All above 20 D. S.	216,294	16,866	10,815	64.12
Total dutiable in 1878	1,552,875,112	78,986,070	36,387,464	46.00

The evident purpose of the sugar tariff of 1870 was to levy a specific duty on sugar equivalent to an ad valorem duty of about 50 per cent.; and the addition of 25 per cent. ad valorem levied upon said specific duty in 1875 would naturally increase the duty to 62.50 per cent. on the actual cost or foreign market value of all sugar, up to No. 16 Dutch standard, that cost not less than 3½ cents and upwards per pound. Sugar costing less than 3½ cents per pound in the foreign market would of course pay more than 62.50 per cent. ad valorem.

Under an honest classification of imported sugars, the average ad valorem duty in 1878 would have shown about 64 per cent.; for instance, about 20 per cent. of all sugar now entered into consumption is not above No. 7 Dutch standard. In the fiscal year 1878 there entered into consumption 1,552,875,112 pounds of dutiable sugar, 20 per cent. of which is 310,575,022 pounds, not above No. 7; average cost, say, 3.50 cents per pound; amounts to $10,870,-125.77; duty at 2.1875 cents per pound would be $6,893,828.58, or 63.41 per cent., instead of 45.33 per cent., as represented under the false classification for duty in 1878.

The case stands as follows for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878: Consumption, 1,552,875,112 pounds of dry sugar, valued in the foreign market at $78,986,070, or 5.086 cents per pound; paid a duty of $36,387,464, or only 2.34 cents per pound on an average grade equal to No. 8½ Dutch standard, while the actual foreign cost and value of the sugar consumed, evidenced in the declared value and confirmed in the home market, clearly prove the quality and natural grades have been on the average between No. 13 and 16 Dutch standard, individual trade experiences, theories, and testimony of interested sugar merchants to the contrary notwithstanding.

The above tabular classifications are from the official records, foreign values as declared included; the testimony in regard to foreign values of raw sugars was given before the sub-committee of the Ways and Means Committee in New York, September, 1878, at previous investigations, and since, by men of undoubted integrity, engaged in importing sugars from all sugar-producing countries, and by refiners. The deductions and classifications of facts are my own, and are incontrovertible.

It is now coolly purposed by the advocates of and petitioners for a uniform duty on sugar to No. 13 Dutch standard, in the face of

these exposures of systemized frauds on the revenue, to carry on a still more gigantic system of frauds upon the people; in plain language, they propose to outrage and punish American consumers by depriving the people of the refined product of low grade raw sugars, the importation of which is to be virtually prohibited by a uniform duty on all grades of imported sugars to No. 13 Dutch standard; not only this, but such results would be calamitous to home industries, revenue, and commerce, as I have elsewhere proved.

Shall Congress succomb to the imperious demands of men who boldly declare before this committee, in substance, that they do not want to make the refined sugars required by the mass of consumers because there is less money in it than in high grades, or yield to uniform duty men, who admit discolorations and false classification of imported sugars to evade duty, and claim reward for such nefarious practices of power to rob the people and deplete the Treasury legally hereafter?

Has the time arrived when, for the nonsensical reason alone that it will be easier to collect the duty from sugar under a uniform tariff to No. 10 or 13 or 16 Dutch standard (a reason which at first sight seems plausible, but which analysis proves to be mistaken,) the interests of fifty millions of American consumers, producers, and manufacturers of sugar shall be tossed bodily into the keeping of those whose hands and high-grade sugars are discolored by fraud for greed of gain already?

There is no theory about these statements; they are classified facts and reliable evidence. The intent of a uniform duty on sugar to No. 13 Dutch standard, in color—without check or legal means of detecting frauds, or even with them—means evil, and that continually, against the people and their industries and food necessities.

Mr. Searles, apparently in defense of discoloration of high-grade sugars to evade duty, in his closing remarks on Saturday, January 31, said in substance, that, having tampered (experimented) with low grade sugars the evening previous, after my practical illustrations of illicit high grade practices had been given before the committee, he found that by heating the sugar over the fire—in other words, by semi-refining the low-grade sugar, and then grinding it—the color was raised somewhat. Mr. Searles overlooked the fact that, in order to raise the color of low-grade sugar even somewhat, he was compelled, before grinding them, to change their natural texture entirely by semi-refining; in other words, by heat and evaporation.

I distinctly explained and illustrated this to the committee on Thursday, and again on Friday, when grinding low-grade sugars on the one hand, and Demerara and Cuban colored centrifugals on the other, and when unfolding Cuban and Demerara method of discoloring centrifugals and vacuum-pan sugars to evade duty; and I repeat, it is impracticable and unprofitable to tamper with sugars of natural make and color below No. 10 Dutch standard, or in the case of muscovadoes and molasses sugars above No. 10, to evade duty, until the intrinsic grade and color of the sugar has first been raised and the crystallizable strength brought above 90 or 91 per

cent. in 100 parts of raw sugar material. Then discolorations are practised to evade duty, as explained and practically illustrated in actual view of the honorable Committee on Ways and Means by me, wherein it was proved that the discolored centrifugals from Cuba and Demerara required no heat or change of inherent properties to develop No. 16 or No. 20 Dutch standard, actual in color, in a No. 7 Dutch standard, or No. 10 Dutch standard, *apparent* in color, made low in color by discolorants, while high in crystals to evade duty.

Neither should it be forgotten that Demerara official records prove that her sugar producers and manufacturers have testified against themselves, declaring boldly, under oath, their use of discolorants when making sugars for the Americam market of high crystallizable strength, but in color below 7 or 10, as the case may require. Premiums have even been offered in Demerara for the best samples of discolored sugars of highest test, for the American trade.

Surely it cannot be that Congress will reward these self-convicted manipulators and their American allies, by enabling them to deprive American consumers of the cheap and pure refined sugars they now obtain from low-grade raw-sugar material that would be prohibited under a uniform duty of No. 13 Dutch standard; which treachery against the nation is urged upon this committee and upon Congress, under the pretense that the Secretary can collect the revenue a trifle easier, and all such balderdash.

Mr. Brown also submitted the following paper in response to questions put to him by various members of the committee.

As to the effect of Hawaiian sugars on prices in San Francisco?

Answer. The effect has been merely to maintain prices on the Pacific coast at the highest point; in other words, not the slightest benefit to consumers has resulted from the importation of Hawaiian sugars into California duty free; on the contrary, the country loses the duty on said sugars and an equal amount in industry or labor expended in Hawaii in raising the grades or semi-refining her sugars for us, while Hawaiian free sugars cost or are sold for the same when landed in California as similar grades of dutiable sugars, plus duty, cost or are sold for when landed in Boston or New York.

As to the American production of sugar for the last forty years? In reply I present herewith the following tabular compilation, which exhibits the cane-sugar product in the United States during the last forty-three years and the market value thereof, compiled from the highest official authorities by myself:

Crop years.	Total crops.	Total value.	Crop years.	Total crops.	Total value.
	Pounds.			*Pounds.*	
1835–'36	30,000,000	$2,700,000	1857–'58	307,700,000	$17,900,000
1836–'37	70,000,000	4,200,000	1858–'59	414,800,000	25,000,000
1837–'38	65,000,000	5,063,000	1859–'60	225,100,000	18,200,000
1838–'39	70,000,000	4,375,000	1860–'61	263,200,000	14,469,000
1839–'40	115,000,000	5,750,000	1861–'62	528,300,000	25,100,100
1840–'41	87,000,000	4,785,000	1862–'63	96,000,000	7,750,000
1841–'42	90,000,000	3,600,000	1863–'64	84,500,000	13,800,000
1842–'43	140,000,000	4,750,000	1864–'65	10,800,000	2,000,000
1843–'44	100,000,000	6,000,000	1865–'66	19,900,000	2,847,000
1844–'45	200,000,000	9,000,000	1866–'67	42,900,000	5,360,000
1845–'46	186,600,000	10,266,000	1867–'68	41,400,000	5,800,000
1846–'47	140,000,000	9,800,000	1868–'69	95,100,000	11,610,000
1847–'48	240,000,000	9,600,000	1869–'70	99,500,000	10,442,000
1848–'49	220,000,000	8,800,000	1870–'71	168,900,000	14,261,000
1849–'50	269,800,000	13,396,000	1871–'72	146,900,000	13,911,000
1850–'51	231,200,000	12,678,000	1872–'73	125,300,000	10,900,000
1851–'52	257,100,000	11,827,000	1873–'74	103,200,000	8,555,000
1852–'53	368,100,000	15,453,000	1874–'75	134,500,000	11,265,000
1853–'54	495,200,000	15,726,000	1875–'76	165,450,000	11,578,000
1854–'55	385,700,000	18,025,000	1876–'77	194,960,000	15,646,000
1855–'56	254,600,000	16,200,000	1877–'78	149,469,200	11,957,536
1856–'57	81,400,000	8,137,000	1878–'79	245,319,150	18,398,936

NOTE.—Although the above table, from 1850 to 1878, of production in pounds, varies somewhat from the table of Messrs. Champonier and Boucherou, in the "Statistical Abstract of the United States," it is considered on the whole the most reliable data extant on the subject; and it is believed that the differences apparent between the various authorities consist of different estimates of the number of pounds per hogshead; Messrs. Champonier and Boucherou estimate an average of 1,150 pounds per hogshead; other authorities estimate 1,200 pounds per hogshead; while the fact is, that hogsheads vary in weight from about 1,160 to 1,200 pounds; some even estimate 1,300 pounds to the hogshead; hence the above is approximately accurate; the value is computed by using the average prices current in each year.—H. A. BROWN.

As to the importations of sugar each year, its annual value, and the annual revenue therefrom?

In reply I present a tabular exhibit of imported sugars entered into consumption each year, for the fiscal years 1867 to 1879, inclusive, the annual value thereof, the duty received therefrom, and the rate per pound, in each fiscal year.

Foreign sugar entered into consumption.

Years.	Dutiable sugars.	Valued.	Duty paid.	Rate lb.
	Pounds.			*Cents.*
1867	936,786,240	$38,300,320	$28,500,220	3.04
1868	997,298,331	43,307,769	30,359,400	3.04
1869	1,007,625,757	47,826,296	30,645,235	3.04
1870	1,183,089,146	59,021,588	35,986,347	3.04
1871	1,166,394,287	58,382,938	29,690,552	2.54
1872	1,346,942,550	73,318,299	27,876,769	2.07
1873	1,378,498,832	74,993,073	28,226,309	2.05
1874	1,511,456,915	76,080,510	30,492,526	2.02
1875	1,575,893,948	69,292,009	33,380,643	2.12
1876	1,561,880,545	63,860,713	37,625,064	2.41
1877	1.455,387,854	71,849,089	34,337,350	2.36
1878	1,552,875,112	78,986,070	36,387,464	2.34
1879	1.598,461,986	65,918,931	37,294,197	2.33

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Years.	Free Sugars.	Valued.	Duty paid.	Rate lb.
	Pounds.			
1877	30,685,142	$2,112,270	Free	
1878	30,368,328	2,274,430	Free	
1879	41,693,069	2,811,192	Free	

As to the qualities of sugars now imported from the Hawaiian Islands? In reply, I present the following tabular exhibit of the different grades or qualities of sugars imported from the Hawaiian Islands, also the quantities and value thereof, for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1877, 1878, and 1879, under the reciprocity treaty admitting Hawaiian sugars duty free:

Quality.	*Quantity.*	*Value.*
1877.		
	Pounds.	
Sugars not above No. 7 Dutch standard	None.	None.
Above 7, not above No. 10	3,980,804	$230,155
Above 10, not above No. 13	11,291,315	714,490
Above 13, not above No. 16	10,183,556	737,535
Above 16, not above No. 20	5,186,406	426,302
Above No. 20 Dutch standard, in all	43,061	3,798
1878.		
Sugars not above No. 7 Dutch standard	None.	None.
Above 7, not above No. 10	2,437,920	161,922
Above 10, not above No. 13	10,805,283	757,734
Above 13, not above No. 16	12,227,780	963,549
Above 16, not above No. 20	4,897,345	391,224
1879.		
Sugars not above No. 7 Dutch standard	None.	None.
Above 7, not above No. 10	8,174,146	501,850
Above 10, not above No. 13	16,615,686	1,099,164
Above 13, not above No. 16	15,670,564	1,118,117
Above 16, not above No. 20	1,232,673	92,061

As to the different grades of sugar imported from Hawaiian Islands before the treaty?

In reply I present the following tabular exhibit, which substantially indicates the quality and quantity of Hawaiian sugars prior to the treaty. The actual grades of sugar imported from Hawaii in 1874, 1875, 1876 are not officially stated except on invoice entries, but are readily approximated by comparing market values with quantities imported in those years.

Sugars imported from Hawaii, fiscal years 1868, *and* 1874, 1875, 1876.

Quality.	*Quantity.*	*Value.*
1868.		
	Pounds.	
Sugars not above No. 12 Dutch standard	12,622,159	$579,756
Above 12, not above No. 15	5,591,842	375,247
Above 15, not above No. 20	27,061	1,895
Above No. 20, in all	80	11
Average grade, 7 to 10	18,241,142	956,909
1874—Nos. 7 to 10 D. S., average	13,575,674	740,786
1875—Nos. 7 to 10 D. S., average	17,888,360	938,676
1876—Nos. 7 to 10 D. S., average	20,978,374	1,051,987

As to American capitalists engaged in the sugar business in the Hawaiian Islands?

Answer. There are well-known American capitalists and extensive refiners of sugar in California who, in co-operation with Hawaiian producers of sugar, control the sugar trade of Hawaii, and through this control of free sugars also regulate prices of refined sugar to consumers on the Pacific coast; keeping them as high as possible without admitting refined sugars from the Atlantic States in quantities sufficient for successful competition against sugars refined in California.

HENRY A. BROWN,
Ex Special Treasury Agent, United States.
Residence: Saxonville, Massachusetts.

March 1886

W. O. Smith Collection

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HAWAIIAN

RICIPROCITY TREATY.

Reasons Why It Should Not be Abrogated.

PRESENTED ON BEHALF OF THE MERCHANTS

OF SAN FRANCISCO.

FREEMAN & MONEY,

16–19 St. Cloud Building, Washington, D. C.

Gibbons & Bart, Prs., 605 7th st.

BEFORE THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

Gentlemen of the Committee:

We represent merchants of San Francisco, whose business largely springing from the Reciprocity treaty with the Hawaiian Islands, gives them a deep concern in your decision upon the matter under consideration. Realizing some of the beneficent results of the treaty, they look with anxious concern upon any proposition to terminate it; and having embarked their fortunes in the channel of trade opened by it, and under its sanctions, they feel that it is not improper that they should respectfully request a hearing upon a question so vital to their interests.

The convention was concluded by the respective plenipotentiaries of the two governments on the 30th of January, 1875; ratification advised by the Senate of the U. S., March 18, 1875; ratified by the President May 31, 1875; ratified by the King April 17, 1875; proclaimed June 3, 1875; bill making it operative passed by House of Representatives 1876; went into operation 9th of September, 1876. The convention was to remain in force for seven years from date on which it went into operation, and twelve months after notice of termination thereof by either of the contracting parties; the term of twelve months' notice not to begin before the expiration of the seven years. Nine and one-half years have been given as time for a fair trial of the treaty, and the proposition now is, to give notice of the wish on the part of the United States to terminate.

The treaty was the result of much diplomatic negotia-

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tion, grave deliberation by the Senate, and an elaborate and exhaustive discussion in the House, running through several months, in which all the reasons, pro and con, that ingenuity and research could produce, were offered.

It now devolves upon the supporters of the proposition to terminate the treaty, to prove that it has been a failure; *thet it has not accomplished what was expected and designed by its friends.* It is dehors the question to show that the treaty has been unsatisfactory to its *enemies.*

They must show that it has disappointed the Government; that the administration together with the Senate and the House of Representatives, speaking by their majorities in the making of the treaty, *now* find that they have been disappointed in the results.

The adverse arguments advanced when the treaty was being considered—proper enough *then*—will not be deemed of equal weight against a treaty made in spite of these arguments, actually existent and operative according to its terms.

Is the treaty a failure?

First, what was the object and purpose of the treaty?

What was it to accomplish?

Let itspeak for itself:

"The United States of America and His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands, equally animated by the desire to strengthen and perpetuate the friendly relations which have heretofore uniformly existed between them, and to consolidate their commercial intercourse, have resolved to enter into a convention for commercial reciprocity." To "strengthen and perpetuate friendly relations already existing, and to consolidate their commercial intercourse:" in law, consolidate means to unite, or combine into one.

Take the treaty as it now operates; consider its results in both the phases named, and in both countries, and we ask can it be truthfully said that it has failed in its purpose and design?

It will not be contended that the highest benefit the United States were expected to derive from this treaty should be commercial, and certainly not that the Government of the United States should derive a revenue therefrom. A remission of duty means of course a loss of revenue, and for that loss compensating advantages were required. The free traders demand the abolition of our custom's duties involving a loss of hundreds of millions of dollars annually, but they are prepared to prove that the consequence will be a greatly enhanced activity in the interchange of commodities, an impetus to industry generally from the right to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets, and the grand result, such an improvement of the financial condition of the citizen, that he can more easily bear the burden of taxation for the necessities of government placed upon him in another form. It has been said that reciprocity is the best free trade, because it excludes everybody else than ourselves. Everything connected with the process of making this treaty, shows that the loss of revenue was admitted. The Secretary of the Treasury attached no importance to the loss of revenue, but he did call attention to the fact of the unusual value of this commerce in proportion to its volume.

The committee, in their able report, admit as a revenue law it promised no advantage to the United States; this was acknowledged generally by the friends of the measure in debate, so that, in that respect, as nothing was expected of the treaty, this objection is of little weight. No man will seriously aver that the friendly relations of the two countries have been weakened by the treaty; its natural

tendency is to strengthen and proof must be strong to establish the contrary effect. The statements that American influence had declined, that drunkenness and vice, and disease have been the fruits of the treaty, is unworthy of contradiction. The Islanders are not asking for a termination. In the same breath we are told that the Islanders have been cursed by the treaty and that they have been made rich by it and are getting all the benefits derived from it. The fact is that the Islands have been decreasing in population from the time of Capt. Cook, by reason of causes implanted by the hand of the stranger. The appetite for strong drink is universal, and not so well governed perhaps, in partially civilized countries. That people have more school houses and churches to their numbers than we have, and education is compulsory. Their efforts in moral, intellectual and material progress have been praiseworthy and remarkable. At the date of the treaty the industries of the Islands, as shown by statistics, were languishing; wages were low, valuable lands were untilled, and as is usual in agricultural communities, all the trades and professions depending on agriculture were suffering: the treaty touched the Islands with revivifying power; the number of plantations were nearly quadrupled—the rate of wages was raised from $11 to $26 a month. The statement that cooley labor was employed is erroneous. All the springs of industry were touched; bankers, merchants, artisans, planters, sailors, laborers shared the new prosperity. It was the dawning of a new era. Can this committee believe that the instrument by which this improvement was wrought, the cause of these gratifying effects, has been a curse to the Islands? We are told that we lose the revenue on sugar and rice: that fact was considered and accepted when the treaty was made; but it is said our loss *now* is immensely greater than the revenue we *then* relinquished. Can that be shown? Can we lose that *by* the treaty

which but *for* the treaty would not exist? It would be like the case of the man who lost a splendid yearly income by not having capital to invest in city real estate. The revenue which we, with our eyes open, knowingly and deliberately relinquished to secure the advantages of this treaty was *then* $370,000 dollars per annum. and *decreasing*. It had that extent—no more. The powerful stimulus of the treaty alone created the wonderful industrial activity upon which these reasoners predicate our revenue losses. There is good reason to believe that we would soon have lost much of that revenue and without compensation, for the Australasian Provinces were reaching for the Hawaiian trade with a vigorous hand. They had subsidized a steamship line, touching at Honolulu at the rate of $450,000 per annum, they could take all the sugar of Hawaii and more. New Zealand charges only $\frac{3}{8}$ of one cent duty on sugar; New South Wales $\frac{1}{4}$ of one cent, and Victoria puts it on the free list. The British consume more sugar per capita than any people in the world, almost doubling our people who stand second. These British provinces are increasing in population, in wealth, in value of internal improvements, growth of cities, mines and fleets, faster even than ourselves; their production per capita is greater than that of any other people. In commercial policy their wisdom and liberality far outstrips ours; in every sense they were formidable competitors for the trade of Hawaii and were gradually winning it.

Our rejection of the treaty would have transferred it to Great Britain; our trade would have dwindled and it is a safe statement that our revenue would have been substantially destroyed. There is talk of our "giving bounties to sugar planters of Hawaii" as though our people were taxed and the money handed over to the Islanders, and that the Pacific coast reaps the only profits coming to us.

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If we should make a similar treaty with Jamaica would not the Atlantic States get the sole benefit and so if we should conclude the treaty negotiated with Spain? The convenient ports secure the trade.

The sugar of the Islands is consumed on the Pacific slope or in the mountains. It has never come in competition with the sugar of Louisiana. One shipment was sold in New Orleans by an importer who could not sell it in San Francisco because one refinery had contracted for a full stock and the other refinery "boy-cotted" the merchant for offering the sugar in open market: his sugar was not sold in competition with Louisiana but with Cuba sugar.

The transcontinental transportation was costly and for purely financial reasons that venture will not be repeated. The sugar refiners of New Orleans imported last year about 6,000 tons of Cuba sugar. The production of Louisiana and the importation from Hawaii together make about 15 per cent. of our consumption and it is impossible that the 7 per cent. received free beyond the Rocky Mountains should affect the price here to the injury of the Louisiana planter.

The sugar received from the Islands is not sufficient for the use of the West coast, which imported 15,000 tons from Manilla last year, and from Central America and elsewhere. They have almost reached the limit of production as estimated by the Commissioners sent by the Secretary of the Treasury to examine alleged frauds, which they report did not exist. The annual importation of sugar from the Islands does not equal 15 per cent. of the increase of sugar consumption in the United States since the treaty began. The trouble is, that the sugar refiners of the East are willing to sacrifice to their greed, not only the commercial but political advantages we enjoy under the treaty. It is not public spirit but private rapacity that wages a presistent fight upon the treaty.

It should be recollected by the Committee that the merchants of New York have the benefit derived from handling $\frac{3}{4}$ of the $193,000,000 worth of goods, imported annually free of duty. They enjoy immense profits and might be content to allow the Pacific merchants the profits on the $8,000,000 imports from Hawaii. The refiners and merchants of New York received last year about $14,000,000 draw-back on exported sugars; money actually paid to them out of the Treasury, twice the whole value of the free imports under this treaty and at a duty valuation more than three times the value. Nobody wants the draw-back discontinued; nobody envies New York merchants their good fortune; nobody would disturb them; they owe it mainly to their geographical position, but they should be satisfied with a little less than the earth. If the Hawaiian sugar paid duty at $2\frac{1}{2}$ cent per pound, it would be valued at $4,000,000 instead of $8,000,000, and keeping this in mind perhaps the New Yorkers will not so much begrudge their friends in San Francisco this humble portion of the feast.

The Pacific coast appreciates the treaty. Our citizens there realize its benefactions, and as they are most concerned it is wise legislation, even taking no broader view of the treaty, to allow them to hold what they have under it.

Our clients, business men of San Francisco, have invested their capital in the Island trade, diverting much of it from other trades, and surrendering investments of more

or less profit. They are satisfied with this commerce and are extending it. They feel that their business, lawful, honorable and profitable—the natural and expected outgrowth of the treaty and which justifies the promises of the treaty—is threatened by the proposed legislation and that it is entitled to protection, and that you work a great hardship, in fact, the ruin of many of them, by terminating this treaty, and that it should not be done except for grave and potent reasons of State, sufficient to warrant their damage for the public good.

They employ about fifty vessels, steam and sail, built in American shipyards in that trade. One-fourth of the commerce of San Francisco in American bottoms and in the foreign trade, go to Hawaii. Over $30,000,000 are invested by our people in agricultural and commercial interprises in Hawaii and California, dependent on this trade Our late minister at Honolulu, Mr. Daggett, reports in 1883, that two-thirds of the capital invested in sugar plantations in the Islands is American.

The San Francisco *Journal of Commerce and Price Current*, in its annual review for 1885, says—

"The Hawaiian trade is one of the greatest engaged in by San Francisco. * * *

"The Hawaiian Islands come in the second place, next to Great Britain and Ireland. * * *

"It is now proposed by some to sacrifice this trade, and give it to Great Britian and Germany by putting an end to our Hawaiian reciprocity treaty. We hope no such suicidal policy will be attempted. Nothing would better please either of the powers here noted than such a result."

Speaking of the sugar market, it says: "Our Eastern supplies were very scanty; but this was to be expected, as during a great part of the year our market was greatly below that of the East or about the same, which would of course allow of no shipments thither. * *

"The contest between the two refineries kept down prices. The American has increased its capital to one million dollars, and its capacity to 55,000 tons a year."

This authoritative statement from the organ of the business men disposes of thea lleged sugar monopoly of Claus Spreckles. The same paper gives a list of articles exported to the Hawaiian Islands, which list embraces several hundred different classes of articles, showing the varied character of the commerce and general participation in it of the business public.

The Secretary of the Treasury said in his report of 1883—

"The industry and the free market opened, have given rise to a trade in its nature and effects like our inter-state trade, covering a wide range of articles, affecting profitably the American farmer, grocer and manufacturer of small articles of household and farm use, as well as the larger manufacturers in metals, and of machinery and cottons. The exports in these commodities have so grown that the trade of San Francisco with the Hawaiian Islands is third in its importance; being equaled only by that with Great Britain and China, and exceeding that with Mexico, Australia, or British Columbia."

The power of the Hawaiians to buy, depends largely upon this treaty. They are now good customers of the merchants of our West coast. By reason of the treaty they

are able to buy lumber from the mills of Oregon and Washington Territory; to expend fifty dollars *per Capita* in our exports. By reason of it, Americans have invested fifteen millions of dollars in Hawaii. Of this three million dollars in steam and sailing vessels, in docks, wharves and ware-houses.

By reason of the treaty California loans the Islanders three million dollars advances on crops. We earn the freights on twelve millions of commerce. We earn the commissions of Consignees in San Francisco. We supply a fleet of sailing vessels and several steamers for the inter-Island trade; and in fact enjoy with them a commerce in character, more inter-state than foreign. It is difficult to believe that a proposition would be seriously made to abolish this treaty, because a remission of revenue duties has developed so magnificent a commerce. Nobody proposes to put back the tax on coffee because Brazil receives fifty-four millions of dollars from us and buys only seven million seven hundred thousand dollars, or 72½ cts. *per capita* of her population. When we removed the import duty on coffee we lost a revenue of many millions—and Brazil immediately placed an export duty on coffee. We may be said truly to have given a bounty to the coffee planters of Brazil—but we hear of no proposition to restore tax no coffee because of loss of revenue, or because of the profit to Brazilian planters.

The duty remitted last year on Brazillian coffee at five cents a pound would have amounted to $20,335,000. This loss of revenue for one year triples the value of our exports to Brazil, and the same may be said of most of the coffee-producing countries with whom we trade. That annual loss of revenue on Brazillian coffee equals the loss on Ha-

waiian imports for 50 years, taking the figures of the year of the treaty.

Nobody proposes to restore the tax on tea because China sells to us out of due proportion to what they buy of us, or because we lose the revenue. Yet we have no special advantages in our treaties with China or Brazil.

Our imports last year, free of duty from all countries, were 193,000,000 of dollars, and from the Hawaiian Islands free of duty, eight millions. Compare the loss of revenue on these two sums.

Does any one propose to put a tax on the greater sum.

Are there no compensating advantages in both cases, and peculiar and more striking advantages in the latter.

The treaty costs the Goverment nothing in direct out-lay and but little in loss of revenue. The alleged loss is of something which we never had, and never would have had—mere figures of the imagination.

Striking the balance in dollars and cents, we find a small loss to the Government has been an immense gain to our citizens; and in our opinion more of such treaties, working such results, would enhance our general welfare. Looking at the treaty in a commercial light, and considering that treaties of reciprocity are not intended to produce revenue for the Government, but free trade and larger commerce for the citizen, we can take the evidence of the business men of San Francisco as to its effect. These witnesses keep the books of our Hawaiian trade; they produce and sell the goods, make and sail the ships, buy and sell on commissions, insure cargoes and vessels, advance loans on crops and ventures, and they surely should know whether it pays. They testify that it does; they show you

invested capital amounting to millions that would be destroyed by your adverse decision—by the futile attempt to grasp a revenue that would vanish with the trade. It would be the old story of the dog losing the bone he had, snatching at the shadow in the stream.

The United States has never before had so favorable a treaty with any nation. The concessions we secured in this were never granted by any independent nation, except by a weak one in its helplessness.

Is the principle of reciprocity wrong?

The American people say that it is good. Some of the greatest political economists give good reasons for believing that reciprocity with all our neighbors would be beneficial to us. A repeal of this, our only reciprocity treaty, with its objects fairly accomplished, would be a step backward, not easily regained.

The opposition to the treaty has been summed up by one of its enemies as follows:

"THE TREATY SHOULD BE ABOLISHED.

First. Because of the enormous loss in revenue to this country, which is practically paid out of the pockets of our tax-payers to fill the pockets of a small company of sugar planters and speculators. The production has assumed proportions never dreamed of when the treaty was made, and the crop is still steadily increasing.

Second. It has not, either directly or indirectly benefited the consumers of sugar in this country, but has brought the product of the islands into direct competition with our sugar producers and manufactures.

Third. The treaty has not benefited, but has, on the contrary, injured the Sandwich Islands, demoralizing and destroying the native population, and substituting Chinese and other Asiatics, while American influence in the affairs of the islands, except in so far as it is exercised for the selfish interests of an individual, has been weakened."

Take these reasons seriatim. We have shown the "enormous loss" to be imaginary and impossible, and the petition of the "merchants manufactures and producers of San Francisco and the Pacific coast" sufficiently show who are the beneficiaries if the petitioners have sense enough to understand their own business. The larger the production of the Islands the greater their capacity as purchasers, the better customers they are. The limit of production of sugar is estimated at 100,000 tons by the commission sent in 1883 to the Islands by the Secretary of the Treasury to investigate alleged frauds which they report did not exist. It is to be regretted that the agricultural area has about reached its full development. The second reason is self-contradictory—one-half of the sentence destroys the other—for if the consumer is not benefited the manufacturer is not injured. The evidence is decidedly against the truth of the third reason; the facts show a financial improvement and an industrial progress, remarkable and gratifying.

The statement that the treaty "demoralizes and destroys the native population" simply tortures credulity. As to Chinese immigration, the Islands have had enough of it; their experience is like ours and that of other countries; like us they have laws regulating it, and besides it has been forbidden by a decree of the Chinese Emperor.

The labor laws of Hawaii were modeled upon the labor

laws of the State of New York and compare with them favorably.

The statement that American influence is declining suffers the misfortune of conflicting with the reports of our minister at Honolulu and wtth the testimony of disinterested travellers.

The grand advantage of this treaty which was recognized by successive administrations, by Tyler, Polk, Fillmore, Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, and Arthur, by all the Secretaries of State before whom the subject came, and by all the powers holding possessions or commerce in the Pacific, is mainly derived from the 4th article of the treaty. "It is agreed on the part of His Hawaiian Majesty that so long as this treaty shall remain in force, he will not lease or otherwise dispose of, or grant any lien upon any port, harbor, or territory in his dominions, or grant any special privilege or right of use therein to any power, state, or government, nor make any treaty by which any other nation shall obtain the same privilege, relative to the admission of any article free of duty hereby secured to the United States."

The Committee on Ways and Means, 44th Congress, in their report on this treaty say:

"But supposing that there were no reciprocity of commerce in this treaty; that the commercial advantages were largely against us, and that we were to lose even $400,000 annual revenue, yet there are political reasons of sufficient magnitude to warrant us to make it. We should consider it as a question comprehending interests beyond the mere free exchange of the articles named in the schedules. It involves matters of higher interests, of graver importance,

and greater significance than those which relate simply to reciprocal advantages likely to result from a free exchange of commodities."

This is the utterance of a far-seeing statesmanship. Are we willing, if we should denounce this treaty, that England or Germany shall enter into such intimate and exclusive relationship with these Islands? Even the opponents of the treaty say we cannot tolerate anything looking to the predominance of any other power, and that we would send a fleet to prevent it. It costs much to equip and sail fleets, and the ways of peace are cheapest and best, and we have not yet guns or ships to assert our supremacy on the sea. All the other islands of the Pacific belong to England, France, Spain, and Germany. The third Pacific power in importance is China, which, by reason of its vast resources in men and money, its rapidly accumulating naval armaments, its sudden interest in international affairs, and especially in view of possible complications on account of residence of Chinese subjects in the United States, must henceforth be considered a factor in problems of disputed rights in the western ocean.

If you abrogate this treaty for the opportunity to collect a tax on conjectural imports you must be prepared to surrender your best out-post for the defense of the Pacific coast. You cannot object that England or Germany should pick up what you fling away. The business men of San Francisco who would bear the brunt of hostilities in the Pacific, are not consoled by the threats that "we would fight before allowing the Islands to pass into the hands of a European power." It is *their* commerce and *their* property that would suffer. What right, under the circum-

stances of abrogation, the deliberate renunciation of exclusive privileges, would we have to interfere with another power? Would not our part as guarantors of Hawaiian independence cease with this treaty?

Germany or England would succeed us in influence as well as in trade, and our mouths would be closed to object. Irrational policy, that expects to reject the trade and retain the influence and losing both would fight because we have lost them!

By the effect of the treaty we hold the acknowledged key to the North Pacific. We have peacefully and cheaply what has been deemed essential to our security and tranquility by the prescient statesmanship of half a century. The importance of our advantage was so manifest to others, that British, French, and German statesmen earnestly protested, and Great Britain gravely assured the Hawaiian government that they could not allow the treaty to become operative. These powers recognize Hawaii as the gateway of peaceful commerce and the *point d'appui* for operations of war in the Pacific. Could Great Britain dictate Congressional action for one day this treaty would be abrogated as a first measure. A wise public policy made the treaty; a wise public policy will continue it if private interests are to be subordinated to the public good.

ANALYSIS OF

THE NEW HAWAIIAN TARIFF ACT.

The *Gazette* of last week informs the public that there are a number of very serious "international snarls" in which this government has become involved "by the carelessness and obtuseness of former administrations," and that "some of those complications with foreign governments are of a more serious nature than have ever arisen before in the history of the nation." No doubt the *Gazette* will in due time enlighten its readers as to the particulars of these very serious complications, but it is, I think, pretty well understood, that one, and perhaps the only important, subject of remonstrance by any foreign government, has been in connection with the reciprocity treaty lately concluded with the United States, and the new Hawaiian tariff act which was passed on the conclusion of that treaty.

With respect to any remonstrances which European governments have made or may make, as to our right to remit duties in favor of any nation which grants us an equivalent, I assume that it will be unnecessary to refer now, as not only does the whole community claim the right of making Reciprocity Treaties, but as most of us have always understood, no nation has ever seriously disputed it. And further, I am, I think, only expressing the opinion of the great majority of our people when I say that few political calamities that could befall this Kingdom would be looked upon as more serious than that of losing the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. I am not aware that any remonstrance against the principle of our Reciprocity Treaty has been

made by any power, and if it had, this country could not admit its justice.

But I am aware that a subject for remonstrance by foreign governments has presented itself in connection with the new tariff act, which remonstrance may be considered to be based, as far as it goes, on reason and justice, and when such is the case, no country can afford, or should desire, to neglect such remonstrances, even though the amount involved in dollars and cents may be trifling.

The point as I gather, is this; that although European governments might not object to a remission of our duties in favor of the United States in return for an equivalent granted by the latter; they do object to our placing a higher duty on their goods, after the bargain with the United States has been completed, which higher duty does not apply to those same goods from America, and which by that treaty must be admitted duty free; thus still further favoring the United States at their expense, without our receiving any equivalent whatever.

As I had the honor to be a member of His Majesty's Government at the time that the new tariff act was passed in the Legislature, and am therefore fully acquainted with the views of the late government in passing it, as well as with a good deal of what has occurred since with regard to it, it may be useful if I recapitulate the facts respecting it, as there seems to be much misapprehension, both at home and abroad, with regard to this act.

I will begin by stating that His Majesty's late government clearly recognized from the first the principle that it would be unfriendly, and even unfair to European nations, to attempt to raise the duties, after the Reciprocity Treaty had passed, on any foreign goods which by that treaty must came in free from the United States, and in the first tariff proposal that was presented to the Legislature there was not one article, on which the duties were raised, which we expected

would come in free from the United States. That is to say it was drawn up with the intention of excluding from the new tariff all those articles which came free from the United States by the treaty. In truth as the act stands to-day it shows for itself that this was the intention, and virtually it is the fact. It would indeed have been simply absurd, in devising a tariff expressly for revenue, to place high duties on goods which must come in free of duty from the United States. The few articles that are in the tariff and which are now admitted free from the United States, are either there by accident, or are admitted free from the United States by accident. Let us look at the facts in detail.

In Section 1 of the Act are enumerated 74 main articles or headings for goods on which the duty is raised from 10 per cent. to 25 per cent. Of these all but about half a dozen are clearly and unequivocally those that are not included in the duty free schedules of the treaty, and therefore have to pay 25 per cent. when imported from the United States. These few exceptions are as follows, and some of the articles have been allowed by the successive Ministers of Finance to come in free from the United States, under what appear to be somewhat strained interpretations of the schedules.

Sperm Candles, 25 per cent. in new tariff, have been admitted duty free from the United States under the clause in the schedule which admits free, "fish and oysters and all other creatures living in the water and the products thereof"! I presume pearls may properly be admitted free from the United States under this clause, as oysters produce pearls, but I am not aware of any creature living in the water that produces candles.

Fire-arms and Clocks, 25 per cent. in new tariff—have been admitted free from the United States on the ground that they are manufactures of wood, or of wood and metal. Wooden clocks have a sort of prescriptive right to come in

free from the United States, and I understand, that the plan is to import the glass, and enamelled faces and so on, separate.

Pipe stems, bowls and fixtures, and toys, 25 per cent. in new tariff, are admitted free from the United States when made of wood, and properly so, on the ground that they are manufactures of wood. His Majesty's late ministers in making up this tariff no doubt forgot all about wooden clocks and wooden pipe stems and wooden toys, and they may as well acknowledge it.

Scented soap, 25 per cent. in new tariff, may perhaps fairly claim to come in free from the United States as "soap."

So far it will be seen that these items are accidentally either in the tariff or in the free list from the United States, and are quite insignificant—in fact the discussion of them would hardly be worth the paper and ink consumed.

There are two classes of goods however in this section (if there are any such American goods at all) which are included in the American free list, on which the new tariff raises the duty to 25 per cent. when imported from other countries: these are, any textile fabrics containing linen or silk, *mixed* with each other or with wool or cotton, but of which either silk or linen must be the principal part. In other words a pure silk fabric or a pure linen fabric has to pay 25 per cent. duty whether imported from the United States or Europe, but a spurious silk or a spurious linen, or a silk or a linen which contains a proportion smaller than half of the other articles named comes in free from the United States under the treaty. This was such a very peculiar and so to speak unlooked for stipulation on the part of the United States, that in placing such goods in the new tariff it was overlooked, that they came in free from the United States. As a matter of practical importance they amount to little, but for this very reason, the simplest of all remedies presents itself, that is, let the next Legislature expunge these two

headings as well as the previously named trifles from the 25 per cent. tariff, when they will fall back to the old 10 per cent. rate of duty, whilst this section will then retain all the articles of any importance as far as regards the revenue, and will be absolutely free from just objection on the part of European governments.

The difficulties in Section 2 of the new Act have a still less serious aspect. The late government intended to confine this section to higher specific duties on liquors, and of course on liquors from the United States as well as Europe, as no liquors whatever are mentioned in the Reciprocity Treaty; so that this section, if the government had had its own way, would have been absolutely free from the objections now urged against the tariff Act. But the section unfortunately seemed to present an opening for certain financiers to propose specific duties on certain other articles besides liquors. One item, for which quite a lively push was made both inside the House and out was "*playing cards*" on which a duty of $1 per dozen packs was placed, and although the government did not like going out of its usual course to introduce the generally bad system of specific duties on ordinary merchandise, there seemed so little to urge against specific duties on playing cards when compared with liquors that they yielded. However the united ingenuity of government and opposition failed to enable them to foresee that their little plan would be killed by playing cards being allowed to be imported free from the United States under the Reciprocity Treaty as "manufactures of paper," so we lost our $1 per dozen packs, and unwittingly helped our successors to "serious complications" with the European powers, by yielding to outside pressure, with the object I admit of popularizing and passing our tariff Act.

Kid gloves, on which the government were urged to place a duty of three dollars per dozen pairs, are allowed to be imported free from the United States under the heading in

the free schedule—harness and manufactures of leather.

Another article is "*cigars and cheroots*," on which $10 per M duty was placed. It was foreseen and urged that the United States *might* claim that cigars would have to be allowed to come in duty free as "manufactured tobacco." It was replied that although cigars were manufactures of tobacco they were not properly speaking "manufactured tobacco" and could not come in free. Unfortunately this view prevailed, but as cigars *have* since been admitted duty free from the United States, the proper remedy is for the next Legislature to strike out cigars and cheroots as well as cigarets and paper cigars from this new tariff, and leave the duty as it was before, and although we have no treaty with China I should at the same time also suggest leaving out the fifty cents per pound duty on *China* tobacco, which was another small point pressed upon us from outside which would have been better omitted.

Last but not least, in this section and this tariff bill comes the item "on *matches* of all kinds, 25 cents per gross." This article after discussion has finally been admitted free from the United States under the treaty as a "manufacture of wood and metal," which it unequivocally is not, but as it would be ridiculous to open up the match question again with the United States, this item had better be expunged by the next Legislature from the new tariff bill with the other little nuisances, and at a sacrifice of revenue of about as much as the paper, pens, ink, red tape and clerk's wages would cost to discuss the question, thus abolish from the new tariff every tittle of just ground of complaint by the European powers.

The truth is, that although it may be proper for the European powers to guard what they may consider their rights by remonstrating against the principle which these accidents in the new tariff Act *seem* to admit, it is inconceivable that they would ultimately make any serious trouble about a matter of

such little real importance when the facts are explained. But under any circumstances, the remedy for this trouble on our side is so extremely simple, and so eminently proper at the same time, that we may still hope that the country will be safe, even though no Hawaiian Talleyrand, or Palmerston or Bismarck, should arise to lead us out of the "international snarls" and "serious complications" in which "the carelessness and obtuseness of former administrations have involved us."

W. L. GREEN.

Honolulu, June 15th, 1877.

STACK
Unit
Shelf

THE

HAWAIIAN

IMMIGRATION SOCIETY.

ORGANIZED NOVEMBER 6, 1872.

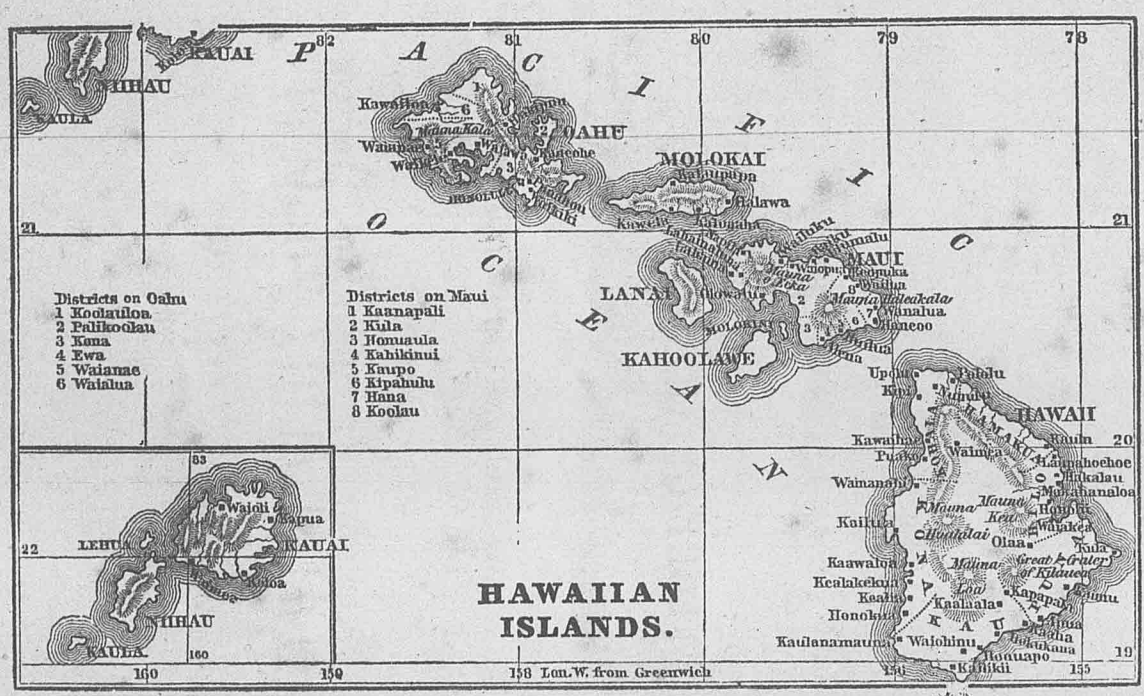
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY,

WITH A

MAP OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY.
BLACK & AULD, PRINTERS.

HONOLULU, JULY, 1874.


HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.
Districts on Oahu
1 Koolauloa
2 Palikoolau
3 Kona
4 Ewa
5 Waianae
6 Waialua
Districts on Maui
1 Kaanapali
2 Kula
3 Honuaula
4 Kahikinui
5 Kaupo
6 Kipahulu
7 Hana
8 Koolau
KAUAI
NIIHAU
OAHU
MOLOKAI
LANAI
MAUI
KAHOOLAWE
HAWAII
LEHUA
158 Lon. W. from Greenwich

ORGANIZATION

OF THE

Hawaiian Immigration Society.

In accordance with a resolution of the HONOLULU CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, setting forth "that it is the opinion of this Chamber, that an Association should be formed for the purpose of aiding the immigration of laborers and population into the Hawaiian Islands," the Hawaiian Immigration Society was established November 6th, 1872, and the following organization of Officers took place:

S. N. CASTLE, *President.*
W. L. GREEN, *Vice President.*
W. M. GIBSON, *Secretary.*
C. R. BISHOP,
J. C. GLADE,
With the above officers ex-officio, } *Executive Committee.*

MEMBERS

OF THE

HAWAIIAN IMMIGRATION SOCIETY.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

S. N. Castle,
Walter M. Gibson,
Charles R. Bishop,
H. Prendergast,
F. A. Schaefer,
A. J. Cartwright,
P. C. Jones, Jr.,
H. M. Whitney,
John S. Walker,
H. A. P. Carter,
A. F. Judd,
Theod. C. Heuck,
W. L. Green,
E. P. Adams,
W. W. Hall,
Afong & Achuck,
Godfrey Rhodes,
J. C. Glade,
J. H. Black,
Jno. O. Dominis,
A. S. Cleghorn,
H. A. Widemann,
Henry May,
Robert Stirling,
F. W. Hutchison,
Geo. C. McLean,
M. McInerny,
Theo. H. Davies,
F. S. Pratt,
M. Louisson,
Samuel G. Wilder,
G. W. Macy,
Ira Richardson,
A. Herbert,
E. H. Allen,
B. F. Bolles,
Daniel Smith,
John Nott,
Sam. Nott,
E. Hoffmann,
R. McKibbin,
Alex. Young,
Hyman Bros.,
E. Hoffschlaeger & Co.,
J. I. Dowsett,
A. W. Peirce & Co.,
Dillingham & Co.,
H. E. McIntyre & Bros.,
Hayselden Bros.,
M. Phillips & Co.,
F. L. Clarke,
C. S. Bartow,
S. H. Phillips,
J. B. Atherton,
Jos. P. Cooke,
N. F. Sayre,
Alex. Hutchinson,
Henry Cooper,
S. T. Alexander,
Thos. Cummins.

THE HAWAIIAN IMMIGRATION SOCIETY.

REPORT.

The Secretary begs to submit to the Executive Committee of the Society, the following Report of information respecting the condition and needs of labor and the want of population in the country, and the inducements for emigration to this Archipelago:

Immediately after the organization of the Society, November 6th, 1872, the Executive Committee devised a plan for a thorough canvass of the islands in order to obtain full and satisfactory information, by preparing a series of questions in a printed form, copies of which were addressed to every planter, grazier, merchant, mechanic, and other residents of the country. Replies in large numbers, showing a great intelligent interest in the matter of immigration, were received by the Secretary during the month of December, 1872; and he was occupied collating the information with a view to its consideration by the Committee, when an event took place on the 11th of this month, the demise of His late Majesty Kamehameha V., which so affected public opinion and the current of affairs, that all consideration in respect to the question of immigration was set aside, and hence the continuation of farther report or discussion of the subject of immigration was held in

abeyance. During the short reign of His late Majesty King Lunalilo there did not seem a favorable opportunity for the revival of the subject, owing to the fact that during this reign there was no regular Session of the Representation of the country to consider the question of means for carrying out any scheme of immigration, which the business or enterprise of the country was too much impoverished to undertake.

But by the accession of His Majesty now on the Throne, and on the occasion of the assemblage of the Representatives of the nation, and in view of His Majesty's enlightened recommendation to the Legislature to provide for immigration and the increase of the Hawaiian people, it has appeared most opportune and auspicious to bring forward the information in the hands of the Secretary, and lay it before the Society and the country, and especially the Representatives of the people in order to influence and guide their patriotic action, in reference to the question of the increase of the nation.

The information set forth in the annexed table, in respect to the condition of plantations, though partly collected more than a year ago, has been carefully revised after recent enquiry of planters or their agents, so that the Secretary feels assured that the statements approximate very near the truth, and may be regarded as a trustworthy account of statistics respecting the present condition of the chief industries of the country.

By reference to the table some interesting facts will be observed in respect to the industrial condition and agricultural capabilities of this archipelago. It will be seen that our chief staple, sugar, gives employment in its cultivation and manufacture to 3,786 hands, not including foreign mechanics, engineers, sugar boilers, &c.; that an area of 12,225 acres is occupied in the growth of the sugar cane. And the Secretary is enabled to state from ample information in his hands, that the yield for the crop of 1874 will be equal to 30,000,000 pounds. About 70 to 80 per cent. of the area in cane will be cropped during the year, say 8,000 acres. This gives us an average of about two tons per acre, and of over 8,000 pounds to the hand. And in view of the estimated area of our sugar lands, about 150,000 acres, they are capable with sufficient labor of producing at least 200,000 tons of sugar.

It may reasonably be supposed that such a capability of production constitutes a substantial basis for the prosperity of these islands; and

such would unquestionably be the case if there was a free market and supply of labor to afford profitable developments to the capabilities of the soil of the archipelago. The American tariff imposes a burthen of 60 to 70 per cent., in what may be termed our natural market, upon our principal product; and our isolation removes us from easy communication with sources for supply of labor, so that our chief agricultural industry struggles under difficulties that neutralize the advantages of climate and soil. But happily our difficulties are not natural or insuperable, but such as may be removed by changes of policy and commercial regulation. There may be presented considerations for discrimination in our favor in our nearest market; and there are grounds for appeal to be made to great and populous empires to aid our isolated situation by a few recruits of people, which would relieve their crowded ranks and fill with industry and increase our desolated lands.

The desolation by depopulation of the Hawaiian archipelago demands the most earnest consideration, and should be the one commanding subject to engross the largest share of the attention of every well wisher of this country. If our native population, small as it is, estimated in 1872 at 49,044 souls, was healthy and productive, there might be hope in the maintenance of the organization of our small state and in advancing the industries of our archipelago; but when we analyze the census tables and the report of the Board of Health, we are utterly discouraged from entertaining any hope of increase if not relieved from abroad, and we are obliged to anticipate, after the lapse of a very few years, that our population will have declined to a point so as not to be considered as sufficient to constitute the basis of an independent state, and no longer to be regarded by great powers as entitled to diplomatic intercourse.

By referring to the census table it will be seen that of our population, 17,536 are over forty years of age; and there are 23,561 between the ages of fifteen and forty years, and if we deduct from this number those who are in the immediate vicinity of forty years, say twenty per cent. of the number, we have 4,712, which added to the above will give us 22,248 of our population, past the vigorous age of industry, and upon whom little or no hope of increase may be founded; then if we add to this number 945 lepers removed to Molokai in 1873, and then consider our ratio of decline which has been going on for several

years, we must deduct since the census of 1872 a loss by death of not less than 2,000; and so we have a total of 25,193 people impaired by years utterly prostrate by disease or destroyed by death, to be deducted from an estimated population of 56,897 souls, which will leave us, we will say, a healthy and productive remainder of 31,704 souls.

Now in considering the capacity of the population for present production, we observe that 6,869 are under the age of six years, and 8,931 are between the ages of six and fifteen years; the sum of which numbers, 15,800, we must deduct as not yet fitted for production from our estimated healthy portion of the population; and if we add to this latter number the females between the ages of fifteen and forty, less twenty per cent. before estimated and amounting to 8,224, we have in all 24,024 juniors and females to be deducted from this, we will say, hopeful portion of the population, which will leave 7,680 able bodied males. But again, as it must be borne in mind that we have a foreign white population of 3,054, the largest portion of whom are adults, who contribute little or nothing to the manual labor of the fields; and considering the disabilities by disease prevailing among our native young men, it may be safely stated that we have not on these islands more than five thousand able bodied men for productive labor. Now in view of the fact that the Hawaiians have had no industrial training, it is certainly creditable to the spirit of industry of the race, that so large a portion is engaged in toiling to produce the chief export of the country; for if we deduct from our plantation force 446 Chinese and 214 Japanese and other foreign hands, we have left 3,186 natives, and of these 364 being females, we have finally 2,830 native males, or more than fifty per cent. of the able bodied laboring native male population of the country; and besides these there is a large number not less than 500 industriously engaged in patch cultivation, grazing, fisheries, job work in the towns, and in domestic service.

If the exhibit of the condition and numbers of our native population is very discouraging, and might lead to an inference that we are living under unhealthy conditions, it is but just to say that the health of foreigners, of every race, is of the most satisfactory character. There has been a steady increase of those of foreign blood by births in the country. According to the census of 1872 there are 851 children of white foreign parents, and considering that the whole number of females of European race in the islands, is estimated at 533, of which we may not estimate more than one third as mothers, or say 175, we have in these facts, after making allowances for deaths and departures, the evidences of healthfulness and fecundity on the part of the foreign population in the archipelago. This is shown farthermore in the increase of the half-castes, who numbered 1,640 in the year 1866, and numbered 2,487, or an increase of 847, in the year 1872. And Chinese, Africans and other colored foreigners, seem to enjoy health and vigor, and are prolific in these islands. Therefore the decay of the native race must be owing to causes not inherent in the climate, soil or other physical conditions of the country; and it cannot be said that the native adopts habits more prejudicial to his heath, than many foreigners who have a more enduring and a more productive vitality, though not a greater physical vigor than the native.

The problem of Hawaiian decay will be better understood perhaps, if we study the constitution of the race by the light of physiological laws which govern all animal life, and if we consider how far long ages of isolation and inter-breeding may have tended to deteriorate this people. If such a result from the causes mentioned be admitted, it is evident that the remedy for recuperation lies in the infusion of fresh blood into the decaying race from kindred foreign stocks. By mingling other Asiatics with these people of insular Asiatic origin, we adopt the simple policy which the ingenuity of man devises for the improvement and invigoration of every genus of animal life, susceptible of control, by a system of crossing, which is not violent but homogeneous in character.

In taking this view of the conditions and requirements of the race, and considering the general sentiment expressed by every planter, grazier, and other employer of labor in these islands, that it is desirable to recruit our laborers, and consequently our population, from Asiatic sources—from Japanese, Hindus, and certain Indian islanders, who all have more or less relationship to the Hawaiian, it is the earnest opinion of the Secretary, and one which he urgently recommends to the favorable consideration of the Committee, to be submitted to His Majesty's Government and to the Legislature of the Kingdom, that measures be adopted to open up negotiations with the empire of Japan, with the British Government in respect to India, and with other powers having control in Asia; so that we may be enabled to obtain by free immi-

gration the increase of people to meet our wants of labor, and to check the decay of the Hawaiian people.

If it be asked what are the inducements to bring more people here? —it may be stated that our archipelago has an area of about four million acres,—that it once supported a population no doubt eight or ten fold the present number of people; that its arable soil is surpassingly rich; that its climate is most genial and salubrious; that the several industries in the country, according to reports from them in our hands, desire and are ready to employ additional foreign laborers; and that considering the small portion of our soil under cultivation, only about one fifteenth of the area of arable land, it is evident that there is a large and productive area of our islands which awaits to be occupied and developed by labor and enterprise; and farthermore because it is the patriotic desire and purpose of the present Occupant of the Hawaiian Throne to encourage immigration, in which purpose His Majesty's Government and all intelligent people in the country will assuredly concur.

Besides the area of 150,000 acres especially adapted for sugar cane, there are numberless fertile spots, of a few acres, in glens and ravines, in small valleys and on the slopes of our fertile and picturesque mountain ranges, which are especially adapted to patch cultivation of the most profitable character. One acre of these favorably situated lands planted in bananas will grow one thousand stems, which are capable of producing in one year ten tons of fruit, which is worth $2.50 to $3.00 per bunch of twenty pounds in San Francisco, and which can be produced and shipped for 75 cents, and pay at that price a handsome profit to the cultivator. This appetizing and nutritious fruit, after the first season of planting, requires little or no subsequent cultivation for many years,—new crops being propagated by offshoots or scions. Another of the banana family, the musa textilis of botanists, from which the Manila hemp is obtained, can be grown very successfully in these islands, and an experiment for the culture of this valuable fibrous plant has already been established. The pandanus or screw palm, is another fibre producing vegetation which grows very luxuriantly throughout these islands. The American aloes and the Mexican maguey grow with great rapidity and attain to unusual dimensions. Cotton, ramie, flax and other fibrous plants only require skill and a steady industry to make them agricultural successes with our soil and climate.

All dyes and drugs can evidently be produced here under the most favorable circumstances, such as indigo, cochineal, buchu, opium, camphor, along with pepper, nutmegs and other spices. Certain small herbage of the temperate zone, such as lamb's quarter (chenopodium), the water lemon, the Indian pea, and other insignificant and common plants in America, attain to extraordinary proportions in this archipelago, and become trees or wide spreading vines. The castor oil produces most abundantly, even when growing under the most unfavorable circumstances, in fields of grass; and the bean and its expressed oil would be an important article of export, were it not for the onerous American duty. This valuable oil has been expressed in Honolulu at a cost of 25 cents a gallon, but the duty of one dollar per gallon prevents its export at this time. Tobacco grows most luxuriantly and even spontaneously in the midst of other herbage, and our soil is evidently well calculated for the abundant and easy production of this plant. When a proper process of curing is availed of, these islands will add tobacco to their list of staple exports. Our coffee, which has become renowned for its superior flavor, can be grown to great advantage in the fertile and sheltered recesses of the interior of the islands; and as the bush produces three to five pounds the third year after planting, and as four hundred plants will stand conveniently upon an acre of ground, it must be seen that at present prices, 18 to 20 cents per pound, coffee is an admirable culture for the industrious farmer without capital. Silk thread can be produced very advantageously in these islands, as the climate particularly favors the cocoon making worm; and every variety of the morus or mulberry family flourishes advantageously. The honey bee swarms all over our archipelago, and along with our well supplied dairies may warrant the saying that these islands "flow with milk and honey." The pine-apple can be grown as easily as potatoes, and far more abundantly. Grapes, strawberries, and other small fruits grow luxuriantly in certain localities. The common apple, the custard apple, and rose apple, the chirimoya, the alligator pear, the guava, the mango, and orange, all reward the cultivator in these islands with a superabundance of fruits; and he is tantalized with an overflowing cornucopiæ, whose surplus must go to waste for the want of local market, unless his skill and industry can hermetically seal his horns of plenty, in other words tin cans, and supply countless

people elsewhere with our excess of products. No soil can surpass that of our elevated lands in the production of all cereals and esculents. Wheat and oats have been grown very successfully at an elevation of 1,000 feet and upwards. The yield of the sweet potato is very large, as much as 200 barrels an acre in favorable localities; and it is estimated that this space of our irrigated lands will produce in a year enough of taro (the arum esculentum), a food equal to wheat bread as a nutriment, to supply twenty or more people with their staple of food for a year.

Therefore we have a soil capable of great production, although we have a depopulated land. There is not, and ought not to be reasonably, a pauper in these islands. Though large industrial interests and combinations of capital and labor may be unfortunate and insolvent, owing to difficulties connected with a market, labor and transportation, yet every human being in these islands may be sure of comfortable subsistence. There may be and may continue to be for some time, difficulties in the way of speculations and enterprise in this group; but there are none in the way of an industrious man readily acquiring subsistence and a comfortable home under most favorable conditions.

Of course the Hawaiian Islands are mere spots, when we contemplate the vast and fertile areas which attract the emigrating multitudes of the world in America, Australia, and Africa; and our islands offer no field for immigration on any scale of consequence; yet the lands we have indicated, small and fertile valleys and ravines, afford a chance for a few more healthful and pleasant homes to men, should they be willing to work, even only half as well as they have done in their own rude wintry lands, and who would be happy to pass a constant spring amid groves of orange trees, coffee trees, mangoes, bananas, and amid fields teeming with other choice fruits and products, all fitted for valuable export by some skillful industrial process; or which will be ready to become a source of wealth when increased communications, an enlarged population, and more favorable relations with our market on the continent, shall have so improved the commerce of the islands, that we shall have eager buyers for all our products at our very doors.

In this respect, our islands may offer great advantages over many harsh and inclement situations in greater and more favored countries. After the cost of getting here, which may be reduced very low to the

emigrant, the expense of acquiring a small estate and establishing a modest home for a poor emigrant may be estimated at a very moderate sum.

No doubt there are multitudes of people in Europe and even many in America, who are working painfully hard as peasants or single handed farmers, who would be most happy to obtain for their small savings of a few hundred dollars, a beautiful homestead in a mild climate—where with moderate toil they could get a luxuriant bounty of comfortable subsistence, and be cultivating products that would bring a good income in their old age. These islands can afford an excellent opportunity for success to people who are content with an income of two or three hundred dollars a year, to be derived from their personal industry. They have proved unfortunate to many capitalists and speculators; but all the financial successes of the country are found in men who put their own hands to the plow, and were content with small operations which a single pair of hands could manage. There are no doubt opportunities for many fortunes in these islands to be won by energetic and experienced people with means, but here as well as elsewhere, the industrious man who lays a foundation of fortune with his own hands has the surest guarantee of success.

As set forth in the numerous reports the Secretary has received, many planters and other landholders are ready to offer land on shares, and would afford to satisfactory immigrants an opportunity to establish themselves and secure a comfortable home, without any immediate outlay on their part. Therefore we may assume that there are favorable conditions for the settlement in these islands of a few small farmers or laborers from foreign lands, who might hope to procure a very comfortable subsistence, and look forward to a competence in a salubrious climate, with moderate labor on their part and on a very small basis of means.

However, it is deemed just to mention that our mild climate and fertile soil are associated with many drawbacks. Owing to the absence of insectivorous birds, though some have recently been introduced, the patch cultivator and small farmer are liable to serious damage by innumerable grubs and cutworms, which are favored by mildness of climate and abundance of herbage. And the islands occasionally suffer from drouths and the prevalence of high winds. But these usual

drawbacks to the farmer in all parts of the world, are not unusually severe in the archipelago; and to them are not superadded destructions by frost, hail and crevasse. The chief drawbacks to the country are unquestionably the difficulties in respect to labor and a market; but the industrious man, seeking a more salubrious home for himself or family, will surely not be disappointed in gaining ample subsistence if he will make an effort.

But considering the especial adaptation of the sugar cane to this soil and climate, and that it is a cultivation which requires a large capital and an organization of labor of a kind suited to tropical conditions, it is evident that some system of plantation labor must be maintained; and that to carry on the culture of the staple, we must obtain races who will work harmoniously with our native laborers, and who will feel themselves well remunerated with a compensation suited to the economic production of sugar, and at the same time is much in advance of what they receive in their own countries. We can offer as we have offered heretofore, inducements to the Chinese and Japanese to labor in our islands. We would also be glad to obtain from Hindustan some of the same race who have so largely advanced the production of Mauritius. And it might be advantageous for our native stock to add to their numbers an experimental immigration of certain East Indian islanders, who are accustomed to regular labor, cultivation of products, and civilized arts.

It will be seen by reference to the table that planters, graziers, and other residents of the islands desiring labor, have expressed a desire to engage 1,060 Asiatic male laborers with about fifty per cent. additional of females, "that may cost each $60 to $100 for passage money and incidental expenses," and that may be engaged on arrival in this country for a "term of three or five years at not more than $6 per month with food and lodging for males, and $4 for females." But it must be borne in mind that this proposition to engage imported labor was made eighteen months ago; and during the time that has elapsed all the industries of the country have suffered a serious decline, so much so that it is generally felt that our chief industry, the planting interest, could not encourage immigration to the extent then intimated. Still, making large allowances for financial depression, it may be assumed that the plantations of the country could provide employment and homes for at

least 800 Asiatic laborers male and female, if now brought into the country, on terms and under conditions as above stated, so that the planter could be assured of steady labor for a term of years at about the present cost. The planter now pays an average of $8 per month with food; or say $12 is the whole average cost of every plantation hand in the country, which is somewhat more than the price of labor in Mauritius, the Phillipine Islands, Java, Cuba, and other sugar producing countries. We ought by the exercise of a proper diplomacy to obtain access to labor markets, which will not only supply our plantations with labor at less cost, but also recruit the land with a healthy and productive population. The overcrowded peninsula of India, subject to occasional famines among portions of its dense population, would seem to offer a favorable opportunity to recruit this archipelago with people for labor and increase.

No doubt increase is our most vital question as a nation, as we cannot hope to maintain an independent organization, unless we have sufficient population to supply a basis of means to maintain an efficient internal organization of government, that will guarantee an enlightened administration of public affairs, perfect security to person and to property, and keep up satisfactory diplomatic relations with powers with whom we have intercourse. In comparison with any other recognized independent state in the world, it may now be urged that our present reduced population, which will only afford about five thousand able bodied men, is entirely too slender a basis for an absolutely independent national status; but by the generous recognition of great powers, the courtesies and diplomatic privileges of such a status are fully accorded to us. And therefore it behooves us all the more to endeavor, in the spirit of enlightened and honorable statesmanship, to make such an effort in the way of increase of people and consequent production, as will cause our independent national existence to seem less and less the concession of a charitable and kindly permission on the part of great powers, than what it is now.

In the consideration of the increase of the nation, the Society and the whole country must be fully aroused to a contemplation of the lamentable condition of our population, in respect to the disproportion of the sexes in the population of these islands. According to the census of 1872 there are 6,403 males in excess of females, in a population

of 56,897 souls. With such a disproportion of sex, which would be regarded as a deplorable state of society among the most enlightened and virtuous races in the world, what must be its results with a race whose standard of virtue must still be depressed by the influences of its former savagery? This sad deficiency of the weaker sex among a people untrained to habits of continence, must unquestionably lead to results morally and physically deplorable, and which must be disastrous in the extreme to any future increase of the Hawaiian race. This subject should occupy most earnestly the attention of every thoughtful person having any interest or influence in the country; and its consideration should lead to efforts that would arouse the attention of christian and philanthropic nations, which command resources and populations that would enable them, without any sensible sacrifice on their parts, to make concessions in behalf of this poor and isolated country, which would enable it to relieve its present depressed and most unfavorable moral condition; and in so doing these great and enlightened states would but fulfill that which the principles which regulate their societies would impose upon them as a duty.

WALTER MURRAY GIBSON,
Sec'y Haw'n Im. Society, Honolulu, H. I.

TABLE OF STATISTICS

....OF....

SUGAR CANE PLANTATIONS

ON THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

	Hands employed	Males, native.	Females, native.	Chinese & other races.	How many more would employ.	Acres in cane.	Cane land in neighborhood.	Race preferred.
HAWAII.								
Kaiwiki	175	132	36	7	50	650	7000	Japanese.
Kaupakuea	245	125	20	100	50	600	1500	Polynesian.
Paukaa	100	.....	...	...	25	180	1000	Chin. or Jap.
T. Spencer	150	128	12	10	...	400	1000	Chin. or Jap.
Kohala	200	182	18	...	50	900	2000	Chin. or Jap.
A. Hutchison	39	29	...	10	45	150	500	Japanese.
Onomea	180	127	...	51	50	500	3000	Polynesian.
Dr. Wight	50	50	...	...	10	100	.....	.....
J. C. Costa & Co	14	12	2	...	15	60	300	Japanese.
E. C. Bond	5	5	...	...	...	30	3000	Polynesian.
D. Hitchcock	32	32	...	...	40	60	5000	Chinese.
Hinds	100	100	...	...	20	150	.....	.....
MAUI.								
Makee's	170	78	...	87	100	1200	3000	Japanese.
Haiku	200	90	37	73	50	850	3000	Japanese.
A. H. Spencer	77	60	12	5	...	400	600	Polynesian.
Wailuku	250	170	60	20	100	500	3000	Japanese.
Waihee	180	156	24	...	25	800	1000	Japanese.
Waikapu	130	120	10	...	50	900	1200	Chinese.
Hana	80	70	...	...	25	150	500	Chinese.
Bailey	60	60	...	...	...	100	.....	.....
Hobron	60	60	...	...	...	150	.....	.....
Campbell & Turton	268	180	43	35	50	600	1200	Chinese.
W. Maui S. Association	150	130	20	...	...	400	.....	.....
H. P. Baldwin	60	40	...	20	30	400	700	Chinese.
OAHU.								
L. Chamberlain	36	20	5	11	20	140	3000	Japanese.
Laie	60	50	10	...	...	200	300	Polynesian.
Waialua	25	19	6	...	10	50	.....	Japanese.
Keaahala	25	20	5	...	...	125	.....	.....
Kaalaea	120	100	20	2	25	400	.....	Japanese.
Kaneohe	60	40	...	20	25	150	.....	Chin. or Jap.
McKeague	60	35	...	25	25	200	.....	Chin. or Jap.
KAUAI.								
Princeville	155	80	10	65	120	350	3000	Hindus.
Lihue	120	87	8	25	30	180	1600	Japanese.
Waipa	30	30	...	20	...	100	.....	.....
E. Lindemann	20	10	6	4	20	100	40	Chinese.
	3786	2627	364	600	1060	12225	52040	

APPENDIX.

USEFUL INFORMATION IN RELATION TO THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Cabin passage steamer between Honolulu & S. Francisco,	$50 to $75 00
Steerage " " " " "	40 00
Cabin " sailing packet " " "	50 00
Steerage " " " " "	30 00
Freight, Honolulu to San Francisco, per ton	6 00
Honolulu to Lahaina, steamer cabin	6 00
Do. " Kailua, Hawaii	10 00
Do. " Hilo, Hawaii	12 50
Do. " Any port on Kauai	8 00
Distance, Honolulu to Lahaina	76 miles.
Do. " " Kailua	178 "
Do. " " Hilo, nearest point to Volcano	234 "
Do. " " Kauai, nearest port	90 "
Deck passage by steamer to any inter-island port	2 00
Deck passage by schooner " " "	1 00
Charges Hawaiian Hotel per day	3 00
Good furnished rooms in Honolulu, per week	$2 00 to 4 00
Good restaurant board per week	5 00
Flour per barrel	$9 00 to 10 00
Butchers' meat, Honolulu markets, per pound	5 to 8 cents.
A fat bullock in the country	$8 00 to $12 00
A mutton sheep in the country	$1 00 to 2 00
A good work horse in the country	$5 00 to 20 00
A good milk cow in the country	$8 00 to 12 00
A good milk goat in the country	1 00
Patch lands in valleys and ravines for coffee and banana culture, per acre	$1 00 to 5 00
Product in sugar of one acre, of best upland cane, of two years' standing	7 tons or 14,000 pounds.
Average product of sugar per acre, per annum	2 tons.
Average range of temperature at Honolulu	66° to 76°

Average temperature at Haleakala School, East Maui, at an elevation of 2,175 feet ..... 70°

(This point has been selected by the Storm Signal Bureau, Washington, D. C., as a meteorological station under the superintendence of Prof. F. L. Clarke, in connection with the Home Department of the United States).

Average rain-fall at Haleakala School for 1873 ..... 61 inches.

Postage single letter between Hawaiian Islands and United States, prepaid ..... 6 cents.

Inter-island postage, single letter, prepaid ..... 2 "

BANKERS AND COMMISSION MERCHANTS.

C. R. Bishop & Co., Bankers, Honolulu.
H. Hackfeld & Co., Commission Merchants, Honolulu.
C. Brewer & Co., Commission Merchants, Honolulu.
F. A. Schaefer & Co., Commission Merchants, Honolulu.
E. Hoffschlaeger & Co., Commission Merchants, Honolulu.
Theo. H. Davies, Commission Merchant, Honolulu.
A. S. Cleghorn & Co., Commission Merchants, Honolulu.
John Thomas Waterhouse, Commission Merchant, Honolulu.
J. S. Walker, Commission Merchant and Insurance Agent, Honolulu.
E. P. Adams, Auctioneer and Commission Merchant, Honolulu.
C. S. Bartow, Auctioneer and Commission Merchant, Honolulu.
S. G. Wilder, Agent Inter-island steamer Kilauea, Honolulu.

The "Hawaiian Gazette," (weekly) Honolulu, H. M. Whitney, Editor.

The "Pacific Commercial Advertiser," (weekly) Honolulu, Black & Auld, Proprietors.

"The Friend," (monthly) Honolulu, Rev. S. C. Damon, Editor.

"The Church Messenger," (monthly) Honolulu, Right Rev. Bishop Willis, Editor.

AREA AND POPULATION.

	Acres.	*Height in feet.*	*Population in 1872.*
Hawaii	2,500,000	13,953	16,001
Maui	400,000	10,200	12,334
Oahu	350,000	3,800	20,671
Kauai	350,000	4,800	4,961
Molokai	200,000	2,800	2,349
Lanai	100,000	2,400	348
Niihau	70,000	800	233
Kahoolawe*	30,000	400	
Total			56,897

*About 23 estimated in the population of Maui.

	Population in 1872.
City of Honolulu	14,852
Total number of natives	49,044
Half Castes	2,487
Chinese	1,938
Hawaiian born of foreign parents	849
Americans	889
British	619
Portuguese	395
Germans	224
French	88
Other foreigners	364

Number of beef cattle	75,000
Number of sheep	200,000
Number of goats	70,000

E. A. MOTT-SMITH
FILE No. 75
No. 1

1882

THE HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY.

Judd & Detweiler, Printers, Washington.

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THE HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY.

Our policy towards the Hawaiian Kingdom has always been simple and uniform. We have never sought or desired dominion over it; on the contrary, we have always deprecated and sincerely disclaimed any such idea. But we have also deprecated even more strenuously the possibility of their acquisition by any other great power. Conformably to these views every administration, from that of John Tyler down to the present, has maintained the policy of conceding to the islands a fully recognized place in the family of nations with all the attributes of independent sovereignty, and of upholding their autonomy. No better expression of our attitude can be found than that of President Tyler in his message to Congress in 1842:

> "Just emerging from a state of barbarism, the government of the islands is as yet feeble; but its dispositions appear to be just and pacific, and it seems anxious to improve the condition of its people by the introduction of religious and moral institutions, means of education, and the arts of civilized life. It cannot but be in conformity with the wishes of the Government and people of the United States, that this community, thus existing in the midst of a vast expanse of ocean, should be respected, and all its rights strictly and conscientiously regarded. And this must also be the true interest of all other commercial States. Far remote from the dominions of European powers its growth and prosperity as an independent State may yet be in a high degree useful to all whose trade is extended to those regions; while its nearer approach to this continent, and the intercourse which American vessels have with it—such vessels constituting five-sixths of all which annually visit it—could not

but create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States at any attempt by another power, should such an attempt be threatened or feared, to take possession of the islands, colonize them, and subvert the native government. Considering therefore that the United States possess so very large a share of the intercourse with those islands, it is deemed not unfit to make the declaration that their Government seeks, nevertheless, no exclusive control over the Hawaiian Government, but is content with its independent existence, and anxiously wishes for its security and prosperity. Its forbearance in this respect under the circumstances of the very large intercourse of their citizens with the islands would justify this Government, should events hereafter arise to require it, in making a decided remonstrance against the adoption of an opposite policy by any other power." (President's Message, Dec. 31, 1842.)

These views have never been modified by any subsequent administration, but have been frequently reiterated in language which was, if possible, still more incisive. Every decade has added force and importance to them, and their significance will increase rapidly in the next thirty years. The giant empire of the next century, second only to our own, will be Australasia; and Honolulu is almost exactly on the straightest course from San Francisco to Sydney. In a few years a canal will cut the isthmus of Darien, and another will cross Nicaragua; and Honolulu is almost exactly on the shortest and best track from Panama to China and Japan. Thus two of the three great streams of commerce on Pacific will intersect at these islands. The long voyage across the sublime expanse of that ocean must be broken to renew supplies of coal and fresh provisions, and here the storm-beaten craft of the North Pacific must find their only accessible harbor of refuge within the trade-wind belt. The commerce of the Pacific is growing with portentous rapidity. He is very short-sighted who supposes that the present torpor which benumbs our foreign trade is to be

perpetual. The time cannot be far distant when it will awaken and assume its rightful importance; and nowhere will its ascendency be so commanding as on the Pacific. To this commerce the Hawaiian Islands will hold a relation far too important to permit us to be indifferent to their political control or affiliations. A great naval power in possession of the island of Oahu would in time of war have our whole western seaboard at its mercy. Seven miles from Honolulu is Pearl River harbor, which seems designed expressly by nature for a great naval station. It is commodious, deep, land-locked, well supplied with fresh water, accessible in all conditions of weather, its entrance easily defended, and its interior safe from bombardment. Coal from New South Wales or Puget Sound can be landed there at six dollars a ton, and supplies and munitions of war brought there from the Atlantic ports by sea. The distance to California is less than that from Halifax to Cork, and the intervening ocean is rarely troubled with storms. Such an occupancy would probably be regarded by every American with feelings akin to those with which a Spaniard looks upon the occupation of Gibralter by England.

There is little cause of fear that any great power would resort to a flagrant seizure of the islands in face of the standing protest of the United States. In times past, however, the residents of Honolulu have been fertile in intrigues, the real purposes of which were to inveigle a weak government into some step which might be construed as a breach of the rights of foreigners; and the naval commanders of their respective countries were eager for any pretext, however flimsy, for resorting to aggressive measures. In 1840 a French commander forced upon the islands a treaty so obnoxious that he never expected that it would be submitted to, and announced his intention of seizing the islands in the name of France if the treaty were not signed by the native king within twenty-four hours. His demand was complied with. The fate of the Society Islands seized by the French

the year before under exactly the same circumstances was a sufficient reason. In the year 1843 the Hawaiian Islands were seized by the captain of an English frigate upon a still weaker pretext. The king appealed to the English Government, and his appeal was conceded to be just. But that government never gave the order to relinquish the occupancy. Fortunately it was unnecessary. An English admiral appeared at Honolulu a few months after the aggression, and, having investigated the matter, decided that the proceedings had been wholly without justification, and withdrew the English flag. So far as concerns England, however, the time has probably gone by when her government will tolerate any more of such high-handed aggressions. It is much too bad an example to set for other powers, which just now seem to be glowing with colonial aspirations; nor is it necessary or even desirable. Her difficulty at the present time is not at all the want of honorable means and facilities for acquiring new dependencies which will strengthen her empire, but rather in avoiding the acquisition of those which would weaken it. Unquestionably the acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands would be regarded as a great prize by England, and equally so by France. And ten years ago the little kingdom was fast approaching a state of affairs, a continuance of which would have made it by this time virtually a British dependency, and before the close of the present century would probably have made it a British colony. No act having the faintest semblance of aggression would have been resorted to. The transformation would have taken place slowly and almost imperceptibly; and before we had become fully aware of its nature or extent it would have proceeded too far for remedy. No ground of protest or objection would have been left us, except such as would have made us a laughing stock to the rest of the world. Had it not been for the reciprocity treaty it is morally certain that within twenty years from now the entire commerce of the islands and the whole inter-island

traffic would have been under the British flag; nearly all the real property in the islands would have been owned by Englishmen, and the majority of the population would have been British subjects. Whether Great Britain would after this have formally assumed dominion over the islands is a question we need not raise. Under such circumstances what difference would it make to us whether she would or not? The successive stages of their transformation are probably not understood in this country by many people. In the islands they are patent to every eye. They are easily recited, and the examination will lead to subjects which may prove to be more interesting than might at first have been anticipated. To comprehend them it is necessary to glance briefly at the conditions which control the industries and commerce of the tropics.

The lowest scale of wages in any civilized industry is to be found on tropical plantations. Not many years ago the tropical laborer was merely the negro slave. When the slave trade was suppressed the demand for labor of extreme cheapness led to the substitution of the most abject class of Chinese coolies. But the coolie trade proved, at first, to be more atrocious than the slave trade, and the humanity of the white nations was aroused against it with a sentiment as resistless as that which led to the partial suppression of slavery. It is needless to recite the action taken to satisfy this humane demand, for the deportation of Chinese coolies gradually diminished through natural causes. Chinese labor soon ceased to be cheap labor, and the Chinaman was not long in demand for tropical agriculture, except in some parts of the East Indies. A class of laborers as much cheaper than the Chinese as the latter are than the mechanics of New England took their places, and are to-day deported in numbers greater than ever before. They come from British India.

The indenture under which the Hindoo agriculturist is sent abroad shows upon its face nothing essentially different

from the coolie contract of old. His rights under it are neither greater nor less than were formerly those of the Chinese coolie; nor are the obligations of his employer any different. It is simply an agreement to work at stipulated wages for a term of years, at the end of which term he is to be brought back, if he desires, to his native country. Nor does the indenture differ essentially from the articles drawn by thousands to-day in England, France, and Germany, or from those which are still authorized in the statutes of some of our Northern States. The real difference between the coolie system of to-day and that of forty years ago is a difference of performance and not of agreement. Formerly the contracts were violated most infamously; at present they are carried out in letter and in spirit. England has taken the matter of the coolie trade in hand, and from a crying shame she has converted it into a benefaction. From the day the contract is signed until the day he is brought back, the laborer is under the full ward and protection of the English government, and public sentiment in England has decreed that if these wretched creatures are to be sent abroad to labor, they shall not be sent where they will be robbed and enslaved, or ground to death by overwork and privation. They are regularly visited by inspectors, and whatever is amiss is brought, if necessary, before colonial courts or special commissioners clothed with abundant powers. The jurisdiction is ample and summary, and it is enforced with the fullest exercise of English power. The Hindoo coolie is the type of the tropical laborer, and his wages may be roughly averaged at six and a half dollars a month, out of which he must support himself.

The number of indentured laborers deported from India in the last twenty years has been quite large. It is stated credibly that nearly 200,000 have been sent to the little island of Mauritius alone, over 100,000 to Demerara, and over 300,000 to the West India Islands. Nor is this deportation limited to British colonies. By special treaties with

France and Holland many have been sent to the colonies of those countries, subject to the stipulation that all matters at issue between employer and employee, so far as covered by the terms of the contract, shall be tried before an English commissioner, whose decision is final. The treaty with Holland was soon after denounced, because complaints of ill-treatment were common, and the commissioners reported that unnecessary obstacles were thrown in the way of their jurisdiction. Recently the treaty with France has also been denounced, for reasons not fully disclosed. Cut off from this important source of labor supply for her colonies, there is no doubt that the recent French aggressions in Madagascar have been in a large degree stimulated by the necessity of supplying the deficiency.

The labor system of the Hawaiian Islands is in complete contrast with that of all other tropical countries. In the West Indies the laborer costs his employer from six to eight dollars a month; in the East Indies he costs from four to six dollars a month. In the Spanish colonies and Brazil he is still a slave. In the Hawaiian Islands the wages of the plantation hand are from eighteen to thirty dollars a month. Labor is abundant enough, but for the tropics it is inordinately expensive. By far the best laborers are the "kanakas," or aboriginal natives. They are superior to the Chinese, being stronger, more enduring, "handier," more versatile, and in every way more efficient. They are paid the highest wages of any, and are preferred by the planters to all others. But though there are thousands of them able, willing, and even anxious to work, they will not work for coolie wages. Nor is there the slightest necessity that they should. The kanaka can feed himself with beef, pork, fish, and taro in abundance, and clothe himself sufficiently by working on his freehold, or by hiring out in other occupations. There is a prevalent idea that the native Hawaiian is merely a squalid savage, with a feeble gloss of civilization. This is an egregious error. Of all the dark-skinned races

of the world, the most civilizable has proved to be that branch of the Polynesian family which people the Hawaiian, Society, Friendly, and Navigator groups. Of the same race, and speaking the same language, are the Maoris of New Zealand, which the disciplined troops of England have not yet been able to conquer. Of this branch the most advanced is the Hawaiian, and he is in all essential respects as well civilized as the lower classes of European countries. He dresses quite as well, and in the same fabrics and fashions; he is better fed and, on the average, better educated, for education has long been compulsory by law, and it is hard to find a kanaka who cannot read, write, and cipher. His economic and political condition is quite equal to that of our own laboring classes, and his scale of living at present is, on the whole, rather superior to theirs. The kanaka will not work for a pittance any more than our own people will, and his reason for refusing is the same.

It appears then that the islands, though situated within the tropics, and producing both tropical and sub-tropical products, have a social and economic organization which belongs to the temperate zones. Nor is the climate adverse to this organization. It is the climate of paradise—neither cold nor hot, but always warm and mild, with only slight fluctuations of temperature. It never brings languor or lassitude even to white men. It is salubrious to a proverb, and free from the visitations of malaria and tropical fevers. Labor out of doors is as easy as in the Eastern and Middle States.

In the year 1875 the industrial interests of the islands were in a precarious condition. Their great staple was sugar, and their only market for it had been—up to a few years before—California. In that year Congress had imposed an increase of 25 per cent. in the sugar tariff, and the effect bid fair to be utterly ruinous to the industry. For ten years they had been struggling feebly against the adverse influences of a market where their produce was heavily taxed,

and the competition of Batavia and Manila, where wages are on the lowest scale. Some means of relief must be found, or else the whole business must be abandoned. Two courses were considered as holding out some hope of relief. The United States might be induced to take the islands within the barrier of their protective system. If this was refused then there was nothing left but to fall into line with other tropical countries and do as those countries do. England could furnish cheap labor which would enable them to compete with the East Indies, and Australia could furnish a market on the whole more remunerative than California. The hope of a reciprocity treaty was small, for it had been solicited many times before without avail. It was believed in Washington that the United States possessed and would continue to possess without any treaty all that they could hope to gain by conceding one, and come what would the islands would be as they always had been a commercial and industrial dependency of this country. This it was supposed was the inevitable consequence of their geographical position, and nothing but violence could make it otherwise. Why should we buy what we own already? But the Government at Washington was mistaken. Our high tariff, while it has brought unexampled prosperity within our borders, has been death to our foreign commerce. In one market after another our trade has perished by the universal blight. It had survived with uncommon tenacity of life at Honolulu, but even there, like the last rose of summer, it would have soon followed its lovely companions.

Three or four years before, the island planters had discovered that they could make the fine quality of raw sugar, which is the staple article of direct consumption of two-thirds of the people of England and her colonies—an article which is never seen in our markets, for our tariff has completely excluded it. There is a great demand for it in Australia, and the only important competitor of the Hawaiians in that market would have been the little island of Mauri-

tius, or perhaps, at some distant day, the Fijis. A trial of the Sidney market was made and proved promising. In 1875 more than a third of the Hawaiian crop went there, and the result proved that, with cheaper labor the returns would be decidedly better than those from San Francisco. Would England consent to furnish Hindoo coolies? The English Commissioner at Honolulu was sounded, and in due time gave an affirmative answer. It would have been an easy matter to have closed their connections and agencies at San Francisco, and reopened them at Sidney, but the jealousy of the American residents was at once aroused. That step would have been upon a path in which there is no turning back, and there was no intelligent man in the islands, white or native, who did not know perfectly well whither that path led; and every one of them, excepting a small coterie of Englishmen, recoiled from it. It was not from dread of English dominion and rule, for her rule is wise, just, liberal, and firm. The recoil was from the prospect of an economic and social condition which would be about on a par with that of Jamaica and Trinidad; a few rich planters, a few large plantations swarming with gaunt, cringing, rice-eating Hindoos, and the native population relegated to bananas and taro, living in grass huts among the mountains and forests, and idling away their lives in listless tropical animalism. But it was the only alternative, and if the reciprocity treaty was finally refused, it was inevitable. There were riches in the soil, and it was no more possible to keep white men from digging for them than it was to keep out the trade-wind. The Hawaiian Government resolved to make one more earnest attempt to obtain from the United States a reciprocity treaty. If it failed, it was determined to accept the Hindoo coolie.

It is now easy to follow out in detail the stages of the process which would have transformed those islands into a British dependency, had the reciprocity treaty failed. The same causes which have suppressed our trade with other

foreign countries were at work in Hawaii. Whatever they imported could be bought more cheaply in England or Australia than in California, and whatever they sold would realize more in Sidney than in San Francisco. Thus their trade was gradually abandoning our ports and seeking those of Australia and England. But this was only the beginning. English trade on the Pacific and Indian Oceans is a term of far-reaching significance. It is controlled by gigantic corporations with immense capital and unrivaled appliances, and an organization as perfect as a disciplined army or navy. They have agencies established wherever they can find a secure and profitable station. They not only carry merchandise in their ships, but transact a general banking and agency business, lend money on bond and mortgage, make advances on the security of crops, furnish labor and supplies, and factorize the produce of their clients. With these companies the island planter would find it greatly to his interest to deal exclusively. They would not only furnish him with an abundance of cheap labor, but would lend him money at six or eight per cent. to take up mortgages on which he was paying ten and twelve per cent. They would furnish him with machinery, provisions, and planters' supplies more cheaply than he could purchase them from America. The American agents and merchants at Honolulu, who formerly almost monopolized this business, would have found their occupation gone. Driven out of business themselves, they would have called upon the planters to liquidate their indebtedness. The solvent planters would have found the means of doing so. The insolvent plantations would have gone through bankruptcy and been reorganized with English stockholders and mortgagees. Many new plantations would have been opened, but not with American capital. In a word, the industrial interests of the islands would have been as completely in British as they now are in American control. There would have been a sufficient demand for thirty or forty thousand Hindoo

coolies, and the islands would have become a repetition of Mauritius upon a larger scale. That this is no fanciful picture scores of New York and Boston merchants, who, within the past twenty-five years, have been obliged to surrender their foreign agencies to Englishmen, can abundantly testify.

It remains to glance briefly at the results of the treaty, and to inquire whether the commercial advantages which it contemplated have really been secured by it. The answer to that inquiry is without doubt in the affirmative. The treaty went into operation in the year 1876, and the following table shows the condition of our trade with the islands from 1875 to 1882:

Showing the total trade between the Hawaiian Islands and the United States, from 1875 to 1882, both inclusive, (from Statistics of the U. S. Treasury.)

Year ending June 30th.	U. S. exports.	U. S. imports.	Total trade.
1875	$662,164	$1,127,191	$1,789,355
1876	769,662	1,376,681	2,146,343
1877	1,272,949	2,550,335	3,823,284
1878	1,736,099	2,678,830	4,414,927
1879	2,374,918	3,257,938	5,632,856
1880	2,086,170	4,606,444	6,692,614
1881	2,778,072	5,533,000	8,311,072
1882	3,350,775	7,646,294	10,997,069

For several years before the treaty four-fifths of the sugar consumed west of the Rocky Mountains was bought at Batavia and Manila, and paid for almost wholly in gold coin. It was imported in foreign vessels, and through foreign agencies. The entire profits upon it went to foreigners. Four-fifths of the sugar now consumed west of the Rockies now come from Hawaii. From the time it leaves the plantations until it is delivered to the refiners it is in the hands of American merchants, and in American vessels. Not only the entire traffic between San Francisco and Honolulu, but the whole inter-island trade, which is even larger, is controlled by American merchants and ships. All this is just so much foreign commerce won back from foreign nations. The trade of San Francisco with the islands exceeds greatly its trade with either Australia, Mexico, or British Columbia, and is surpassed only by the trade of that port with China and Great Britain. In point of profits there is no comparison; the profits in the Hawaiian trade are very large, and those with other countries small.

The value of the sugar plantations has increased nearly five fold. The money to open and develop them came chiefly from the United States. Two-thirds of the stock, and nearly all the mortgages are owned by our people. The assessment rolls of the Hawaiian Government estimate the value of the sugar plantations at $15,886,800, of which $10,180,464 are accredited to American ownership, and the remainder to Hawaiian, English, German, and miscellaneous. The assessed valuation is much below the actual cost or market value. But the market value has suffered in consequence of the efforts made last year to induce Congress to denounce the treaty. Upwards of $3,000,000 borrowed from United States banks and mercantile houses are employed in the banking and agency business, and about $3,500,000 are invested in shipping, railroads, warehouses, and commercial appliances. The amount of mortgages and private loans negotiated in this country is unknown, but is believed to be quite large. Thus our total stake in the island commerce and industry may be roughly estimated at over $30,000,000, of which $11,000,000 represents (for the year 1882) the amount of merchandise handled, and the remainder, of nearly $20,000,000, the amount of capital invested there.

The profits accruing to this country from its investments and commerce with the islands are very satisfactory. On the above gross sum or principal of $30,000,000, the profits for the year 1882 undoubtedly exceeded ten per cent. Of this there is good evidence. For example, the entire exports of the islands come now to America, and in that year they amounted to $7,646,294, while we sent them in return only $3,350,775. Their exports must have paid for their imports, and they imported from other countries $1,151,969. Deducting their total exports from their imports, leaves a balance of $3,144,550, which must have remained in this country in the form of profits, as no specie of any account appears to have been interchanged. On the other hand, the United States remit in their favor a large amount of duty, which, according to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, would have been ratable at about $3,600,000. But it does not follow that the Treasury lost that amount by the remission. The loss of revenue can be estimated only at such amount as would have been collected on merchandise which, without the treaty, would have been imported in place of that actually received, and this can only be guessed at. It is certain, however, that instead of the high grade Hawaiian sugars now imported, only the lowest grades would have taken their place, and as the former rate very high in the tariff schedule and the latter comparatively low, the revenue computed to be lost by the remission is in great part imaginary. Inasmuch as the great fiscal problem of the day is how to reduce the revenue with advantage, or at least without injury to our own interests, it may be considered as very satisfactorily solved so far as affected by our relations to the Hawaiian Islands. The profits derived from island commerce and industry by this country are in any event greatly in excess of the real loss of revenue.

The treaty went into effect in the year 1876. It was to continue in force for the period of seven years, and for so long a period thereafter as should be agreeable to both governments, and terminable at the pleasure of either, upon giving notice one year previously of its desire to terminate it. Either government, therefore, can now denounce the treaty. There is no obvious reason why the Hawaiian government should wish for its abrogation, and the indications are that it would look upon such a cessation as disastrous. As some earnest efforts have been made in the last two or three years by the sugar refiners of the Eastern States and the planters of Louisiana to take such action as would lead the Executive to denounce it, we may look for a moment at the probable consequences of such a step.

The magnificent sugar plantations which have been opened at such expense would not be turned over to solitude and decay. Without doubt, however, a large number—perhaps a majority of them—would first have to go through bankruptcy, and the shrinkage of value would be very great in all. Ultimately they would, with few exceptions, adjust themselves to the new conditions. Under our present tariff laws the United States would cease to be the market for their produce, for their sugars could be sold to better advantage in Australia, or even in British Columbia and Canada. Brought into the closest competition with Mauritius, the Fijis, and Batavia, it would be necessary to have equally cheap labor, and the rates of transportation and of interest must be equally favorable. The Hindoo coolie would at once become a necessity, and British ships and capital are cheaper than American. So, too, are British supplies. Less than one year would be necessary to sweep from the ocean every vestige of the only commerce with a foreign country, which is exclusively, or even chiefly, under the American flag. The positions of the American merchants, factors, and bankers, who now transact the business of the islands at Honolulu, would for the most part become untenable. Their capital is largely borrowed from, or through the assistance and credit of, their corresponding houses in this country, with which they deal. These connections would be severed

and the business wound up. It is easy to see that in a case like that of the islands, where capital is borrowed from a greater and richer country, and where so large a proportion of the commodities consumed are imported, the whole body of industry, trade, credit, and commerce is a compact system which cannot be subdivided among different nationalities to any great extent. The fact that our country is made by the treaty the exclusive market of the islands, has given us entire control of all their commercial and industrial interests. In precisely the same way, and by virtue of the same natural laws and forces, the loss of the treaty would make England and her colonies the purchaser of the island produce, and the farmer, banker, factor, and almoner of the little kingdom. The geographical situation of the islands makes them a natural dependency of our Pacific coast. But the artificial barrier of our high tariff and high prices would shut them out, and compel them to take refuge with the only great, rich, and liberal nation which can give them even a partial compensation. It is the fate of these little helpless provinces to be pulled about in the leading-strings of the great commercial nations. They are too weak to stand alone, and must be upheld by the stronger arm of some great power, or else be absorbed by one of them. That power which controls their commerce, capital, and industry is, from the necessities of the case, the natural protector or sponser. But the protection which England and France have thus given to the far-off islands and principalities where their commerce and capital have been dominantly employed, has hitherto had a uniform ending. Sooner or later some emergency arose. Jealousy of some great rival, or the exigencies of war, or some foolish act committed by weak, indiscreet native chiefs, or their inability to secure full protection to foreigners and their property, or the animosity of the native population, or any one of a dozen causes, furnished a good pretext.

To use the English expression employed in the case of the

Fijis, "England's hand was forced." Of course she trumped the trick, and the public sentiment of the world justifies the course she pursued. It was best so. Under precisely similar circumstances the hand that was forced for the ninety-ninth time in the Fijis would be forced for the hundredth time in Hawaii. In a few years, through the decay of the native race, the little Hawaiian crown will be laid aside for want of a wearer. The old line of kings who reckoned back their pedigrees fifty or more generations, who ruled wisely and well, who were regarded by their dusky subjects with a loyalty devotion and love, in comparison with which the loyalty of an Englishman is a feeble sentiment, is gone and has left no issue. Sooner or later the government of the islands will have to be reconstructed. What shall be the new regime will depend wholly upon the character and nationality of the white men who dominate the industry, commerce, and wealth of the islands. That control has always been by an overwhelming preponderance in the hands of Americans, and it is easy enough to keep it and equally easy to let it slip. The islands are a natural dependency of the United States. So long as we keep them within the barrier of our commercial system, making them in economic respects a part of us, nothing but war and conquest can wrest them from us. But if we proceed to thrust them once more outside of that barrier, nothing but war and conquest can hold them even where they now are.

The foregoing views are the conclusions formed after a recent visit to the islands occupying seven months, and under circumstances especially favorable for a careful study of the political and economic aspects of the treaty.

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The Hawaiian Treaty.

A REVIEW OF ITS COMMERCIAL RESULTS.

JUDD & DETWEILER, PRINTERS.

THE HAWAIIAN TREATY.

The Hawaiian Treaty was negotiated for the purpose of securing political control of those islands, making them industrially and commercially a part of the United States and preventing any other great power from acquiring a foothold there, which might be adverse to the welfare and safety of our Pacific coast in time of war. They are situated midway on the direct way from Panama to Hong Kong and directly on the shortest line from the Columbia river or Puget Sound to Australia. Here the two great lines of future commerce of the Pacific Ocean intersect, and vessels must stop there for refreshment and refuge.

The islands prior to the treaty were declining in population, and, owing to the decay of the whale fishery, were declining in wealth. Their soil is, perhaps, the most productive for sugar raising of any known in the world. But the high tariff on sugar and the exceedingly low wages which must be paid in tropical countries for raising sugar to supply the United States rendered the industry difficult. In 1875 a movement arose in the islands for the importation of Hindoo coolies to supply the requisite cheap labor, and the consent of England was promised. The growth of the Australian colonies had gradually developed an improving market for Hawaiian sugar, and after a trial of it by some of the Hawaiian planters it was found that better prices could be obtained in the free-trade port of Sydney than in San Francisco, and return cargoes could be bought there much more cheaply. Preparations were making for sending there the entire crops of 1876–77. These matters came to the knowledge of the State Department. The Hawaiians had been pressing for many years for a commercial treaty with the United States, but without success. It was now felt in the State Department that the question was assuming graver importance, and, as political supremacy in the islands must inevitably follow the commerce, it was recognized that this country must make favorable concessions to them, or else let them follow the inevitable tendency and drift slowly into the status of an English colony. The result was the negotiation of the existing treaty and its ratification by the consent of the Senate. The effect of the treaty was as follows:

It was anticipated that the remission of duties would make the profits of sugar culture very great. But a sugar plantation requires

for the most economical work a large amount of capital—$500,000 being very moderate for a single plantation, and $250,000 being about as small as is prudent. The islanders had no capital of any consequence and were obliged to borrow it from the United States (*i. e.*, from or through the mercantile houses of San Francisco who import their sugar and act as agents to the planters for selling it to the refineries). The opening of plantations proceeded rapidly until the output of sugar has now nearly reached the full capacity of the soil, and is seven or eight times greater than in 1874–75. Our exports to the islands have increased in very nearly the same ratio, being five or six times greater than in 1874–75, or, if measured in quantity rather than by price, are about seven times as great. A new merchant marine has been created, consisting of vessels built expressly for the service, costing over $3,500,000. Of this total tonnage over 90 per cent. is American built, and the rest was bought. These mercantile houses, with their shipping, transact the entire commerce both ways, and transport annually about $12,000,000 worth of merchandise at very high rates of freight, commission, and exchange.

In general, the effect of the treaty has been to make the islands a field for very profitable investment of American capital. It has created a demand which would not have existed otherwise for American produce to an amount which may seem small ($23,000,000 in nine years) when viewed in comparison with our total export, but which, when viewed in connection with the fact that the population which has made that demand is less than 80,000, is remarkably large. During the last four years it has averaged about $40 per capita per annum, and, if the transportation charges be added as they properly should be, it will amount to over $50 per capita per annum. This is four or five times as much per capita as England or Canada buys of us. The general results of the trade may be seen in the following tables:

Values Delivered by the United States to the Hawaiian Islands for Nine Years—1876 *to* 1885.

Invoice value of United States exports to Hawaii	$23,686,328
Bills of exchange to pay for all Hawaiian imports from third countries	9,868,674
Difference between coin exported to and received from Hawaii	2,222,181
Outstanding liabilities of United States to Hawaii not known	
Total values paid by United States	$35,777,183

To balance the account:

Profits already realized on merchandise account	18,414,766
Cash debts payable to United States at maturity out of future shipments	6,500,000
Increased values of productive properties in the islands owned by Americans	11,680,164
	$72,372,113

Values Received and Receivable by the United States from the Hawaiian Islands for Nine Years—1876 *to* 1885.

Invoice value of Hawaiian exports to the United States	$51,294,764	
Add freight and insurance to obtain value in United States ports	2,897,185	
Value of merchandise received		$54,191,949
Liabilities of the islands to the United States for advances on crops	$3,000,000	
Bonded debts payable in United States and secured on island property	2,500,000	
Hawaiian government bonds paid for in silver, coined on Hawaiian government account	1,000,000	
Total liabilities to United States		$6,500,000
Increased value of plantation properties owned by United States citizens, as assessed in 1883	$10,180,164	
Value of other productive properties	1,500,000	
		11,680,164
Total values received and receivable		$72,372,113

General Distribution of Profits.

To American shipping:

Freights and insurance on imports from the islands	$2,897,185	
Freights and insurance on exports	5,127,964	
Passenger receipts	1,325,000	
		$9,350,149

Commissions on purchases for export to the islands	$592,158	
Commission on sales of island's produce	2,209,463	
		$2,801,621
Premium on exchange		812,839
Interest on loans and advances		2,160,000
Dividends and miscellaneous profits		3,290,157
Total profits already realized		$18,414,766
Debts receivable held chiefly by the San Francisco banks		6,500,000
Increased values of productive properties owned by Americans		11,735,464
Total gross profits		$36,650,230

1. In the foregoing table, beginning with values delivered, the first item is the invoice value of our exports to the islands, as shown in the Treasury statistics for the nine years. It is the home value, and, since we are comparing San Francisco values with San Francisco values, freights are not added.

2. The second item represents what we have paid in the form of bills of exchange to settle the balance of trade against us. Since the Hawaiians export almost nothing to third countries, but do import considerable from them, it follows that they must draw upon shipments to the United States to pay for all they import from third countries. They have no other source of credit to draw upon. Hence turning to Hawaiian official statistics we find their total imports in nine years to have been $9,181,522. The freight and insurance must be added, and, as these are known to be about ten (10) per cent. of the value, we get $10,099,674. Deducting $231,000, which is their *total export* to third countries in nine years, and which liquidated just so much of their indebtedness to third countries, we have $9,868,674 on merchandise accounts, which we must pay in bills of exchange drawn in San Francisco against Hawaiian account and in favor of third countries.

3. In further settlement of the balance of trade are coin remittances. In nine years the excess of coin shipped to Hawaii over coin received from Hawaii amounts to $2,222,181. Of this $1,000,000 was a silver coinage for the Hawaiian government struck at the San Francisco Mint, for which that government gave its bonds for $1,000,000, which are now held in this country.

If we have given Hawaii any other consideration it must be in the form of obligations of some sort which do not appear in statistics. None such are known, and in a small community like the islands, where everybody's business is known to everybody else, it is hardly possible that if any appreciable amount of them existed it would not be known. As the Hawaiians are deeply in debt to the United States it is not likely that any such obligations of importance exist. This side of the exhibit is therefore as complete as present knowledge can make it. On the other side of the account we have:

(1.) Value of Hawaiian exports to the United States, $51,294,764. This is the invoice value at Honolulu. As we are comparing San Francisco values with San Francisco values it is necessary to add freights and insurance. (*The American consul at Honolulu requires invoices* to state the values delivered, less cost of transportation.) This requirement being a matter of indifference to shippers is complied with. If the merchandise had to pay an *ad valorem* duty they would put the invoice value as low as possible in accordance with the actual export costs.

(2.) Liabilities of the islands to the United States.—The sugar crop is an enormously expensive one to raise. It requires fifteen to sixteen months to mature, and employs hundreds of laborers to each plantation and sugar mill. The planter must, therefore, borrow large amounts of money to mature it, giving a lien upon the crop as a security to his factor. The factor in turn borrows the necessary amounts from the San Francisco banks. On an average this lien amounts to nearly or quite half the market value of the crop. I have estimated it for safety at about one-third that value, or $3,000,000.

(3.) Many plantations have also mortgaged debts held in San Francisco. The amount of these is not fully known; but I am sure of at least $2,500,000, and believe the real amount to be much more than that.

(4.) The value of the plantation properties held by Americans was assessed by the Hawaiian government in 1883 at $10,180,164. This was assumed to be about two-thirds the real value. This value has been created almost wholly since 1876 out of the ground, buildings, and machinery.*

* This is reckoned as profit for the following reasons: Among the commodities which we send to the islands, and also among those which we buy in Europe and send there on Hawaiian account, are machinery, building materials, &c. These are used in construction. The labor which is employed, the improvements which

(5.) Other productive properties held by Americans are the inter-island mercantile marine, two railroads and equipment, a marine railway, warehouses, etc., all of them the creation of the treaty. The estimate of $1,500,000 is a very low one. The value of these properties far exceeds the sum of their mortgages and capital stock indebtedness. No man is rated in this argument as an American citizen unless he has the right *to vote in the United States without naturalization* and has the right to the protection of our Government under public law.

The most striking feature of this exhibit is the very large profit to the United States—so large that it seems at first unaccountable; but the great discrepancy between the exports and imports will vanish when we take full account of the fact that the whole carrying trade and mercantile business is ours in both directions. All economists regard transportation and mercantile functions in the passage of commodities from the purchaser to the consumer as a part of the production. To the value of our produce at San Francisco must be added all further accessions of value until it finally leaves our hands and passes into those of the Hawaiian. Add then to the invoice value of our exports the cost of transportation, commission, and insurance until we have put the produce into the Hawaiian's hands, and the $36,000,000 becomes not far from $44,000,000. It costs the Hawaiian not far from one-sixth of the value of his crop to get it to San Francisco. Deduct that from $54,000,000 and we have $45,000,000. Thus if we reckon Hawaiian values against Hawaiian values the exchange becomes less unequal, as it should, for the real exchange takes place in Hawaii. It is there that our own products finally leave our hands, and it is there that Hawaiian values first come into our hands.

The Committee on Ways and Means, seeing that our exports in nine years have shown an invoice value of $23,000,000, while our imports show $54,000,000, have hastily concluded that the apparent balance of trade against us of $31,000,000 had to be liquidated in coin and exchange. In fact only about $13,000,000 is liquidated in

come from cultivation, and the natural appreciation of land make up together the final value of the property. The cash outlay directly applied to the creation of this value is, of course, small in comparison with that value. Whatever cash value has been so applied is already accounted for and included in the table showing values delivered to Hawaii. The value of the properties thereby acquired should of course appear on the other side of the account, and also in the list of profits, for such it clearly is. It pertains, however, to a capital-stock account and not to simple mercantile profit. The figures here given largely understate the value of these properties.

that way, and the $18,000,000 remaining is paid over to our own people and may be reckoned as a *gross profit already realized.* Over $9,000,000 has gone to American shipping, nearly $3,000,000 to San Francisco commission houses, nearly a million to the banks, over $2,000,000 for interest on loans and advances, and over $3,000,000 as dividends and miscellaneous profits.

In addition to this we hold $6,500,000 of Hawaiian debts which they must liquidate out of future shipments, and have created $15,000,000 worth of magnificent productive properties in the islands out of the soil by the combined action of capital and labor. It would be difficult to find in all the annals of trade and production a result more gratifying.

The Committee on Ways and Means have taken it for granted that the loss of revenue to the Treasury is equal to the computed remission of duty. This is a grave error.

First. The tariff on sugar for more than twenty years has been so graduated as to become more and more forbidding, and, finally, prohibitory as the grade and quality of raw sugar increases. This excludes all *eatable* raw sugar from the *grocery trade* and makes it more profitable to the refiner to buy the lowest grades he can get. But if raw sugar is duty free, it is the interest of the refiner to buy the highest grades and the interest of the planter to make them. Accordingly the Hawaiian planter makes the highest grades, not exceeding No. 20, above which grade he must pay duty.

But without the treaty he would do as the Cuban does, *i. e.*, make them of as low grade as possible, so as to pay the minimum duty. The Committee on Ways and Means has computed the remitted duties on Hawaiian sugar as actually imported in the highest grades at $3.18 per cwt. prior to June 30, 1883, and $2.40 per cwt. subsequently; but Hawaiian sugars which would have been imported had the treaty never existed, would have been in lower grades and paying presumably the same average duty as all imported sugars. This was, prior to 1883, about $3.41 per cwt. and about $1.96 subsequently. Of course we cannot reckon a duty *we never could have collected* as a loss of revenue.

Instead, therefore, of losing on sugar $23,000,000 in nine years the loss has not been over $18,000,000.

Second. But this loss must have had very large compensations to the Treasury. Fully five-sixths of the Hawaiian crop has been bought and paid for by exports, transportation services, and otherwise, for which the treaty has created a demand, and for which no demand would have existed elsewhere without the treaty. Our exports to

third countries could not possibly have been diminished by it. Now, the free entry of Hawaiian sugar has no doubt caused us to purchase from third countries less dutiable sugar. Obviously the exported values withheld from the purchase of dutiable sugar remain available for other purchases. The full value of our exports must come back to us somehow, and if we get less dutiable sugar we must get just so much more of something else. The only question is whether this "more of something else" pays as much duty as the sugar would have paid. Probably it does not; and so far there is a loss, because some of these residual values come back in the shape of duty-free articles and because the duty on sugar is higher (computed ad valorem) than the average of our total imports. A part of the California bullion and wheat and wine sent to England pays for Hawaiian sugar, which is duty free. About one-sixth of the Hawaiian crop is thus paid for, and to that proportion there is a total loss of revenue. While it is impossible to compute what the real loss is, I think it safe to say that it probably does not exceed one-third, and certainly does not amount to one-half of the $18,000,000 computed as lost on sugar. In any event the duty never leaves the country. It is paid over by the refinery to the consignee of the Hawaiian, and is paid out again, with much more besides, to American shipping, banks, merchants, and stockholders. The gross profit of $36,000,000 throws into insignificance the possible loss of $6,000,000 or $8,000,000 of revenue.

It has been said repeatedly that all the profits of this magnificent trade and industry go to the benefit of Claus Spreckels and a small clique of speculators. What nonsense! If it did, he would richly deserve it, and a vote of thanks by Congress besides.

It will be going to the root of the matter at once to say that the opposition to the treaty has arisen from the systematic and in some measure successful attempts to saturate the public press and Congress with utterly false ideas about Claus Spreckels and his relation to the islands, to create a bitter personal prejudice against him, and by implication to illogically and unjustly extend that prejudice to the commerce and industries of the Hawaiian Islands. Claus Spreckels certainly has for many years monopolized the manufacture and sale of refined sugars on the Pacific coast, and ruled that market to the extent of his powers with a rod of iron. But the first grand mistake consists in supposing that the Hawaiian Treaty has or could have given any assistance to the establishment of his monopoly or to its maintenance or confer upon it any benefit whatever. The second mistake consists in wholly false impressions

about the wholly distinct personal relations of Mr. Spreckels to the industry and commerce of raw sugar. In these he is only one of many men, and though individually his relations are large, yet relatively to the whole they are small, and he can no more control the whole than the Cunard Company can control our commerce with England. As a monopolist of refined sugar, he cannot escape the odium which always attaches to a monopoly. As a planter and stockholder, as the director of an American steamship company, and a banker, his whole career and course of conduct will compare favorably with that of any great and successful merchant in America.

The monopoly of refined sugar in San Francisco is like all other monopolies—a perfectly legitimate object of attack; and if it can be broken up in any way such an end is devoutly to be wished.

But Claus Spreckels' relations to the island trade and industry are a totally different matter, and when rightly understood will present themselves to the unprejudiced mind in a totally different aspect. In this field his operations are perfectly legitimate. It is my purpose to point out that any attempt to terminate the treaty is simply an attempt to strengthen and fortify his monopoly and to break down commendable enterprises which should be built up and sustained, and in which Claus Spreckels is merely one of many participants. Whatever damage might be inflicted upon him in respect to his island interest would be more than compensated to him out of enlarged profits of his monopoly as a refiner, while the blow would fall with full and disastrous effect upon thousands of innocent third parties, both in Hawaii and California, whose interests should be dear to Congress and to the American people.

The Hawaiian Treaty has become an object of attack by the sugar-refining interest of the Eastern States and of the sugar-planting interests of Louisiana. The motives which have led to this attack are as follows:

During the last few years the sales of sugar imported from Hawaii, Manila, and Central America, and refined in San Francisco, have been extending gradually into the markets of the Mississippi Valley, advancing further eastward every year, thereby displacing the sales of eastern sugars in the States and Territories west of the Mississippi river. The Eastern refiners and the Louisiana planters believe that the possibility of this arises from the free entry of Hawaiian sugars, thus enabling (as they suppose) the San Francisco refiners to purchase raw sugar much more cheaply than they otherwise could. Thus they believe that the treaty discriminates severely against their interests, and is unjust to them.

This position is denied by the San Francisco refiners and importers of sugar and by the owners of Hawaiian sugar properties in California. They contend that the San Francisco refineries get their raw sugar *no cheaper by reason of the treaty*, but are obliged to pay the same price for it as for equivalent dutiable sugar from Asia; that the ability of the Pacific refiners to compete successfully with the Atlantic refiners is founded upon conditions wholly independent of the treaty, viz: First, because unlimited amounts of Asiatic sugar can be laid down in San Francisco cheaper than raw sugars can be laid down in New York; second, because through eastward freights over the Pacific railways are scantier than westward through freights, and the railroads naturally prefer to carry sugar at low rates to hauling empty cars. They contend that this competition is a natural one; that it is not helped by the treaty and will not be hindered by its abrogation; that it is destined to grow, and would grow if the Hawaiian Islands did not exist.

Since it is also claimed by the opponents of the treaty that it fosters and sustains a monopoly of refined sugars, and that the benefits of the treaty accrue only to that monopoly, and since the whole complaint is founded in a gross misunderstanding of the nature and conditions of the sugar business *on the Pacific coast*, it seems proper to discuss the facts at some length. From these it will appear that these charges, as well as others, are utterly without foundation.

It is a self-evident proposition that a cargo of Manila sugar delivered in New York must sell at a price just equal to that of so much Cuban sugar of equal grade. It is evident, also, that the price of that cargo at Manila "free on board" must be less than the New York price by an amount equal to the cost of transportation. It is further evident that the price of a similar cargo of Manila sugar delivered in San Francisco must exceed the Manilla price by an amount equal to the total cost of transportation. It is therefore an easy matter to compute whether Manila sugar in San Francisco ought to be cheaper than Cuban or Manila sugar in New York.

The rate of freight from Manila or Hong Kong to San Francisco on sugar is very low. A vessel can be chartered to go from San Francisco to Manilla in ballast and bring back sugar at $5 or $6 per ton, but during the last eight years Asiatic sugar has largely come as *mere ballast*. Freights from Manila to New New York range from $9 to $12 per ton. Interest, insurance, and shrinkage being proportional to the time of the voyage are evidently in favor of San Francisco as compared with New York. In brief, the San

Francisco price of raw sugar is lower than the New York price by three-eighths to five-eighths of a cent per pound.

Hawaiian sugars are shipped by the agents or factors of the planters in Honolulu to commission merchants and importers in San Francisco and sold by the latter to the refinery. The terms of purchase after the treaty took effect were known as the "Manila basis." The refinery agreed in substance to take the whole of each planter's crop at a price which should be equal to that of an equivalent quantity and grade of Manila sugar delivered, duty paid, in San Francisco. The price of a certain grade of sugar at Manila known as "extra superior," polarizing 91, and in color No. 10 Dutch standard, was telegraphed daily to San Francisco. To this price was added $6 per ton for freight, two per cent. insurance, the cost of sixty days' exchange, and a specific allowance for the remitted duty. This constituted the Manila basis for the day of quotation.

Just here is one point of dispute between the sugar men of New York and those of San Francisco and Honolulu. The New Yorkers refuse to believe that Spreckels pays the full normal price and entire duty to the Hawaiians. If anybody is particularly interested in knowing whether he does not it must be the Hawaiian planter and his Honolulu factor, for an eighth of a cent per pound means to them a profit or loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars. Time and again they have examined this question and put it to the most crucial tests, and the verdict is universal that Spreckels has dealt with them fairly and squarely, and this is the testimony alike of friends and enemies whose bread and butter depends on knowing the truth and abiding by it. Who ought to know best about it, they or people who live 3,500 miles away?

A little over a year ago Spreckels withdrew the tender of the Manila basis and would only offer the Cuban. The result was, a new refinery competing with him. Spreckels has always contended that the Manila basis was higher than it ought to be; that he was overpaying the planters and giving them more than Manila and China sugar would have cost him. A second refinery, C. Adolf Low & Co., which was pooled with Spreckels up to 1885, also seemed to think so, for, while having the option of taking as much Hawaiian sugar as they wanted, they declined taking any on the ground that Manila and Central American sugars were cheaper. My opinion is that Spreckels was in a great measure right.* To show this would

* For the following reasons: Spreckels allows ⅛c. per lb. for the value of every degree of polariscope. The Manila standard polarizes 91°. The average polarization of the whole Hawaiian crop is about 94°, and the allowance, therefore, is, on the average,

require a detailed examination, which no one but a sugar expert would easily understand. At the same time it seems to me that the TRUE price, while lower than the Manila basis, ought, during the extremely low prices of sugar last year, to have been a little better than the Cuban basis. Be this as it may, the vital fact remains in any event that the price on either basis would be considerably lower in San Francisco than in New York. It also remains true that the attempt of Spreckels to better himself in respect to the terms on which he purchases Hawaiian sugar has cost him very dear in the organization of an opposition refinery, and the end is not yet. And this brings to us the next link in the chain.

Mr. Spreckels was obliged to buy the whole Hawaiian crop and pay the full market price for it, including the entire duty, or else subject himself to competition. To understand this it is necessary to look at the nature of this monopoly. A monopoly means the want of effective and full competition. What are the possible sources of competition in the sale of refined sugars in California? There can be none from foreign refined sugars, because the duty upon them is prohibitory. There can be no effective competition from Eastern refined sugars, because their price is established on the Atlantic seaboard, where sugar is dearer and the railway transportation is prohibitory. Why is there no local competition? Because there is not work enough for two refineries. A single refinery half as large as Havemeyer & Elder's can saturate with sugar the whole country west of Denver. If, then, there are two refineries, as has actually

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$\frac{3}{8}$c. above the Manila basis. Suppose, now, the price of Hawaiian sugar delivered is 5c. per lb. for 91°; for 94° it is 5$\frac{3}{8}$c. But a 94° sugar contains $\frac{3}{91}$ more of pure sugar than a 91° sugar, which at 5c. is 1$\frac{1}{2}$c., or about $\frac{1}{2}$c. In other words, Spreckels pays $\frac{3}{8}$c. for what is worth to him only $\frac{1}{2}$c. The lower cost of refining a 94° sugar than a 91° is fully covered by the $\frac{1}{20}$c. allowance for every color above No. 10, D. S. This difference, computed on the last Hawaiian crop, amounts to over $350,000. If it be asked how Spreckels came to concede too much for quality the answer is that when it was first agreed upon, in 1876, the price of raw sugar was very high, and at that time the allowance was not very excessive. The New York allowance was $\frac{1}{10}$c. per degree of polarization. Moreover, it was at that time anticipated that the run of the Hawaiian crop would not be above 91° or 92°. Once fixed, the allowance became a custom, and custom is a powerful conservative force sometimes in matters of price.

Again, the great bulk of the Hawaiian crop comes to San Francisco in December to March, inclusive, and Spreckels must pay for it on delivery. Hence he must carry an enormous surplus stock, worth $3,000,000 to $4,000,000, during a great part of the year, and the interest on that is no trifle. If he could buy Asiatic sugars as he wanted them, or take advantage of the favorable stages of the market, he would have an advantage he does not now possess. All things considered I have no doubt that the practical working of the Manila basis was to make Spreckels pay more for Hawaiian sugar than Manila sugar would have cost him.

been the case, they must either pool and divide the market, which they did, or else begin a war of extermination, which they are now doing. The causes which have rendered a monopoly easily possible are, therefore, a prohibitory tariff on refined sugar, the isolation of California from other States where sugar is refined, its comparatively small population, and the fact that one ordinary refinery is ample for all needs. Under such circumstances a monopoly, or else a pool, which amounts to the same thing, is inevitable. Nothing on earth can stop it but time and the changes of conditions, which time will ultimately bring.

The Hawaiian treaty has had nothing to do with the establishment of this monopoly; the monopoly was fixed before the treaty, and, so far from being helped by it, has been embarrassed and weakened by it, and may be yet more seriously embarrassed by its continuance, for the treaty rendered possible two new sources of competition. The nature of this competition is very instructive and will repay careful examination.

The duty upon raw sugars not only increases with their purity and lightness of color, but increases in a faster ratio than the value of the sugar itself. The result in New York is that it is cheaper and more profitable for the refineries to purchase the impurest sugars they can get, and that raw sugars of fine high quality are, in consequence of this disproportionate duty, dearer than refined sugars. In short, the duty on raw sugars which are fit to eat is, to all intents and purposes, prohibitory. This is the reason why raw sugar has entirely disappeared from our grocery stores. In England, the greatest sugar-eating country in the world, where sugar is duty free, a large proportion of the sugar consumed does not go through the refinery at all, but is sold to consumers just as it comes from the plantations. If the tariff on sugar were exactly proportional to its purity, vast quantities of raw sugar would be sold in the stores in the place of just so much refined sugar. So it would be in the Eastern States if raw sugars up to 20 Dutch standard were duty free. It is easy to see that in California the free entry of Hawaiian sugar up to No. 20 put the refinery into the following difficulty: It must not permit the sugars to go upon the open market. How was it to prevent it? By making it more profitable to the planter to sell to the refinery than to the grocery store. How was it to do that? First, by paying a maximum price for the raws; and, second, by keeping down the price of refined sugar to points which should not exceed the price of raws by more than a certain small percentage. The maximum price of the raws was the Manila basis, and if the

price of the refined exceeded the Manila basis by more than a certain small percentage, the Hawaiian sugar would be tempted into the grocery trade direct.

Congress has been saturated with the idea that Spreckels has bought Hawaiian sugar at his own price, appropriating the remitted duty to himself and at the same time increasing the price of refined sugar. The idea is absurd and impossible. The truth is just the reverse. The command of prices for raw sugar up to the Manila basis rests with the planter, and Spreckels must yield or provoke a competition in which the planter is sure to win. Above the Manila basis the planter cannot go without loss to himself. Spreckels, moreover, has been obliged to sell refined sugar at lower prices than he could command if the Hawaiian crop were out of the way. To restore the duty would crush the planter, leaving him to Spreckels' dictation and give him (Spreckels) the power of exacting a larger price for his output without without fear of any competition from the planter. The effect of the treaty upon the monopoly has been to hold up the price of raw sugar to the full normal price and to bring the price of refined nearer to that of raws than it would otherwise have been.

(2.) The second source of competition is a new refinery. Mr. Spreckels himself controls as a majority stockholder only one plantation on the islands. He has a minority interest in each of four others (unless he has acquired more since 1884). He and his friends together cannot control more than a fourth part of the Hawaiian crop except by buying it on terms satisfactory to the planters. Suppose the other planters to become dissatisfied with the terms of purchase he may offer, what is to prevent them from joining hands and starting a new refinery in San Francisco to work their own sugars? Nothing, except the want of an inducement. The question of capital offers no difficulty if there is anything to be gained. What would constitute an inducement? Not the prospect of profit on the sale of refined sugars unless they are prepared to crush Spreckels out completely and set up a new monopoly in place of his. But a genuine inducement would be established at once if Spreckels were to insist upon paying too low a price for their raw sugar. Suppose the cost of Asiatic sugar duty paid in San Francisco is five cents and Spreckels will only pay the Hawaiians four and a half cents. Suppose two-thirds of the planters refuse and start a new refinery. A war of rates instantly follows. How low can Spreckels afford to sell refined sugar? As low as the price of Asiatic sugar plus the cost of refining. How low could the planters afford to sell sugar?

As low as the cost of raising raw sugar, shipping it to San Francisco, and refining it. When Spreckels has touched the bottom price the planter is still making the full profit on his raw sugar, but nothing on his refined, and Spreckels is making no profit out of his refinery.

This is precisely what has happened. When Spreckels dropped from the Manila to the Cuban basis some of the California stockholders and some of the keen Yankees in the islands thought he was going too low. They clubbed together, and, with the aid of San Francisco capitalists who hold Hawaiian plantation stocks, they started a new refinery. They did not expect to make much profit out of refined sugar, but they do expect to get the fullest price of their raws. The ultimate result of this contest will depend upon whether Spreckels is right in his assertion that the Cuban basis is the normal price of sugar.

GENERAL RESULTS OF THE TREATY.

The treaty has developed a trade with the islands which, relatively to the population, is enormous, and of which the profits have been and still are exceedingly large. The profits have not, as generally supposed, accrued to the great sugar monopoly, but chiefly to the American shipping which was evoked by the treaty, to the mercantile houses which have handled the merchandise, and to the investors who have advanced the capital to open and develop the productive properties. These profits have been nearly double the remitted duties and four or five times as great as the probable loss of revenue.

So far has the treaty been from benefiting a monopoly of refined sugars in California that it has restricted its powers and embarrassed it, and may even yet destroy it. The refinery is powerless to obtain the benefit of the remitted duties in any degree whatever. It must must pay them in full to the consignee of the planter, who, in turn, pays them, and more besides, over to our shipping, banks, mercantile houses, and investors. The remitted duties never leave the country.

The treaty has brought up a mercantile marine of our own, employing American-built steamers and sailing vessels, and the entire commerce, amounting to $12,000,000 annually, is in our hands. It is the only foreign commerce to-day which we can call our own. Before the treaty the sugar and rice imported at San Francisco came chiefly from Asia and the East India Islands, where it was bought with London exchange and shipped in foreign vessels.

The treaty has had no assignable effect whatever upon the sales

of sugar in the Mississippi valley. These sales would have been the same and would continue to be the same without the treaty as with it. San Francisco is the natural source of supply of sugar for almost the whole country west of the Kansas Missouri line and of a considerable territory still farther east. The only real competition of San Francisco in that region is the Louisiana planter, who has no more right to complain of it than of the competition of New York. This competition is independent of the treaty. Congress cannot prevent it, and ought not to, if it could, for it is a normal and healthy one.

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HAWAIIAN BANKING DEPARTMENT.

MAY – 9 1911

A Complete and Comprehensive System of Government Finance and Currency. What It will Do, and How It will Do It. Its Claims. A Bill for Its Organization and for Its General and Detail Management. A Currency for the Use of the Government and People of Hawaii.

By JNO. M. HORNER.

HONOLULU, H. I.:
Press Publishing Company.
1886.

PREFACE.

Having thought much and written upon the subject of national finance and currency the past twelve years, and evolved a system for Government adoption, and having been requested to get up a bill adopting said system to the use of the people and Government of Hawaii, I present the following with claims and arguments showing the advantage to both Government and people if adopted.

AN ACT

TO ORGANIZE THE "NATIONAL BANK OF HAWAII" AND AUTHORIZE ITS OFFICERS TO COIN, ISSUE AND CIRCULATE A FULL LEGAL TENDER CURRENCY FOR THE USE OF THE PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF HAWAII.

Be it enacted by the King and the Legislative Assembly of the Hawaiian Islands in the Legislature of the Assembly:

SECTION 1. That, to meet the currency requirements of the people and Government of Hawaii, a bank shall be organized and known as the "National Bank of Hawaii," and the officers shall have power to make, issue and redeem in pursuance of law a full legal tender currency, and said currency herein authorized shall be receivable in payment of all taxes, duties, imports, excises, debts and demands of every kind due to the Government of Hawaii, to individual corporations, associations within the kingdom of Hawaii. And shall also be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts public and private within this kingdom.

REMARKS ON SECTION 1.

It will be observed that all currency made and circulated under this Section, of whatever material, is made "money," not a bank note to be redeemed in greenbacks, nor yet greenbacks to be redeemed in some other currency, but "Money of Hawaii" and all of it a full tender, a just measure and a representative of value, all of it of the same significance as coined gold made a full tender.

Should this bill become law, this country would no longer be cursed with currencies of different values, or with a limited, inflated, irredeemable, debased, illegal tender currency.

SECTION 2. And be it further enacted: That to enable the bank to pay the certificates (hereafter mentioned) and the interest thereon when demanded, and to circulate the currency justly over the country, and to pay the expenses of the bank, and for other advantages, the bank directors shall loan the bank currency direct to the people and to the Government in sums not less than $100 (provided the Legislature shall give the Government authority to borrow), on their securities —Hawaiian Government bonds, bullion and improved real estate at half its value, and at a rate of interest not to exceed 4 per cent. per annum payable in advance semi-annually. It shall be unlawful for the directors to accept any other securities for currency than those named

above. No personal notes or perishable property shall be received, and no discount business shall be done by the bank.

The income (interest) of the bank is the only money that can be used by the directors for any purpose, save loaning upon the securities above mentioned.

The adjusting or changing the rate of interest at the bank either on loans or deposits, shall not take place oftener than once in five years.

REMARKS ON SECTION 2.

This Section distributes the currency over the country in a just and liberal manner by loaning direct to the people, upon their securities at a rate of interest approximating the net income of the industries, thus enabling the producers everywhere to obtain money upon the same terms and rate of interest as bankers and other business men; thus making interest uniform and the supply of money ample and certain, and making money panics impossible with money thus distributed. The enforcement of the principles of this bill would date a new era in Government finance and currency, making as great a revolution in government finance and currency as steam has made in commerce or electricity in the transmission of news.

To circulate money after making it sufficient for business purposes is as much the duty of the supreme government of a country as it is for them to make it.

And it seems as much out of place for a Government to shirk or farm out this important duty, as it would be for them to shirk any other constitutional duty, or to farm out the Finance Department, the Post Office Department, the Judiciary, or any other department of the government; as currency, like manure, becomes useful by being properly distributed.

It will be further seen by this Section that this bank will be self-supporting and in course of time produce a revenue for the use of the Government.

All governments have power to make, loan and borrow money, and are justly entitled to any revenues that may be derived therefrom. And it seems unstatesmanlike for governments to go abroad to borrow money which they have full power to supply.

SECTION 3. And be it further enacted: That all notes issued and money coined and circulated by the officers of the Bank under this Act shall always be received by the bank on deposit, in amounts not less than 50 cents, and a certificate of deposit issued to the depositor bearing an interest of 3½ per cent. per annum, principal and interest payable on demand in public money.

REMARKS ON SECTION 3.

In this Section, in connection with Sections 1 and 2, may be seen one of the most perfect, useful, profitable and safe Government Savings Banks ever organized, where all amounts above 50 cents can be deposited during the bank's business hours, and the amount with interest returned to the depositor on demand.

In this Section also may be seen Horner's magic wand that will change Grashem's currency law, viz., "poor currency always drives out the better" into the new law, viz., "the better currency will always drive out the poorer." More properly speaking, Grashem's is the natural law working against all of the old currency systems, and Horner's is the natural law working in harmony with this new system for the good of man by driving out the poor currency, leaving him the best.

When man's systems are made to work evil by a natural law, or in other words, when man's systems naturally work evil, man should change his systems so as to have the natural law work for and not against him. It is no doubt the plan of beneficent wisdom for the natural law to work for man when he does right, and against him when he does wrong. It requires no argument to show that man's currency systems and the natural law governing them, have worked in conflict for ages, creating distrust, panics, trouble and misery. But man, instead of changing his systems, tries to sustain them by experiments and props, but all have signally failed; for all systems of currency are still laboring under the curse of an outraged natural law, and must so continue until they are changed to work in harmony with it; and so with all of man's systems and plans, if they are right, natural laws seldom work against him. When forming our plans for the establishing an extensive sugar plantation on Hawaii we fully realized the importance of working in harmony with the natural law of gravity; otherwise we would have up hill work, as from the lowest to the highest point of the plantation, a distance of two miles and a half, there is 1,500 feet elevation, with deep gulches and ridges from bottom to top to be crossed, and hills and valleys intervening. We turn the furrow down hill when plowing; thus, five horses can turn an 18 inch furrow as easily as they could a 14 inch on level ground. And by locating our mill on the lowest land and laying our 14 miles of roads with a continuous descent to the mill, gravity works with us a most efficient, cheap, faithful and willing servant. This service is the more appreciated by us seeing we have to transport to the mill annually over 20,000 tons of cane, and so with all the schemes of man, if made right and just, the natural law will work for, not against him. All of this currency would be honest money, although made of different material. The Government, by authority, makes all

and "fixes its value" by law, as it does its revenue and postage stamps, and none of it could be depreciated below its face value any more than the revenue or postage stamps can be depreciated. As the bank would take back all or any part at its face value, and the way being always open, the poorer currency, if any, would be carried back to the bank and deposited at its face value, and thus prevent depreciation and leave the best to circulate. Demand, being the law of volume, no money would be circulated by the bank (except interest) only on demand and as in Section 2. This Section, in connection with Section 2, would also settle not only the quality and quantity of the currency, but that much disputed point, viz., what material the people would prefer for use as currency in their business, and what proportion of each. If it is too bulky or otherwise objectionable, they carry that part back. The question of quantity, quality and kind of material of the currency, is left to the people to decide in their regular order of business.

SECTION 4. Be it further enacted: That the standard of value of all Hawaiian currency circulated by the Bank of Hawaii shall be of the same significance as the coined gold of the United States of North America. And the gold "measures of value" shall be $5, $10, $20; and the silver "measures of value" shall be 5c., 10c., 25c., 50c., and 100 c.; and the paper "measures of value" shall be $2, $3, $5, $10, $20, $50 and $100. The bank directors may, at their discretion, issue notes of other amounts in addition to the above.

REMARKS ON SECTION 4.

It will be seen that this Section discriminates between a "standard" of value and a "measure" of value. Yet, while value is indispensable in both, a standard of value must have intrinsic value; but a measure of value requires—in fact, can have only legal value. No national money ever existed that did not have its value fixed by law. "They shall coin money and fix its value," like value is fixed on revenue and Post Office stamps, etc. Money is only a representative of value, not the value it represents, and no more requires it than a representative at a foreign court should be the whole country he represents.

ELECTION OF BANK DIRECTORS.

SECTION 5. Be it further enacted: That the Legislature shall elect their Bank Directors, viz., a President, Vice-President and Bank Attorney, who shall hold office six years, or until their successors are elected and qualified; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the Legislature, His Majesty the King shall make temporary appointments untill the meeting of the next Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancy. Two Directors shall constitute a quorum to do business. The Directors each shall receive for their

services the same compensation, giving the same amount of bonds for faithful performance of duty, and be subject to the same punishment for malfeasance in office as the Treasurer of this kingdom.

REMARKS ON SECTION 5.

The directors of the bank being elected by the Legislature should be most satisfactory; as indirectly the people would participate in the choice. If the government appointed them, the party in power could use the whole influence of the bank to perpetuate their official life.

DIRECTORS DUTIES.

Be it further enacted: That at their first meeting in consequence of their first election they shall decide by lot which one shall vacate at the expiration of two years, and which one shall vacate at the expiration of four years, so that one director shall be elected every two years.

The directors shall manage the general and detail business of the bank subject only to the laws of the kingdom. They shall appoint their subordinates, fix their salaries and require of them bonds for faithful performance of duty. They shall decide the legality of all applications for loans, and lend to all legal applicants, stamping all unissued paper money with the public and private stamp of the bank before lending.

They shall receive on deposit all the bank currency that may be offered and give a bank certificate of deposit for the same, bearing an interest of three and a half per cent. per annum, and redeem or pay the same on demand in public money. They shall collect interest on all loans and pay interest on all deposits. They shall send a weekly report of the business of the bank to the Treasurer of this kingdom, stating the amount of money loaned since last report, the loans paid, the interest received on loans, the amount deposited and interest paid on deposits, the expense and net proceeds of the bank, and make a quarterly report and a settlement with the Treasurer of this kingdom every three months, passing over to the Treasurer at such settlement all net proceeds of the bank to date of settlement. As often as the bank is inspected by the inspectors they shall certify the same in their weekly and quarterly report, giving names of inspectors, date of visit, etc.

ELECTION AND DUTIES OF BANK INSPECTORS.

SECTION 6. Be it further enacted. That the Sovereign shall appoint and commission yearly three competent men as Bank Inspectors, whose duty shall be to visit and inspect critically the business of the bank once, at least, every three months, and make a quarterly report to the Treasurer of the kingdom of its condition and business, its loans, its deposits, interest paid and received, its general and detail management,

number of employees and their salaries, the expense and net proceeds (if any) of the bank, etc.

The salaries of the inspectors shall be one hundred and fifty dollars per quarter each. Two shall constitute a quorum to do business. A pro rata shall be deducted from the salaries when the legal duties have not been performed by an inspector.

SECTION 7. Be it further enacted: That the Legislature shall make an appropriation to pay all expenses incurred by the directors for buildings and preparations while putting the bank in operation.

REMARKS ON SECTION 7.

No currency, save interest, can issue from or be paid out by the bank only on security as prescribed by law; thus making the interest the only fund legally useable by the directors for expenses; which interest being payable in advance, becomes the income of the bank as soon as the loan is completed, and may be used for salaries or other expenses. After the bank is in working order it could help itself by paying its own way; help the government pay its debts, and help the people by giving them a par and a permanent currency adequate for all business, never too much nor too little, and at one half the interest they now pay for the use of money. This bank currency would be not only a measure of value but a representative of value as well; as not a dollar could ever get into circulation without leaving its full face value of tangible property in the bank to insure its full redemption at any time the owner of the pledged property wished to redeem it.

This would be double redemption, as the redemption of the pledged property would also be a redemption of the money for which the property had been pledged. This would be a responsible bank—a bank of sure redemption, being backed by the government, and also having property sufficient always in the bank to redeem every dollar of the bank currency outstanding. This would be much safer than the old specie payment system that was required to have only one dollar in coin in bank to redeem five dollars of the bank currency, and that one dollar was frequently used by the directors for other purposes, leaving the bank currency without a redeemer. This would be the most efficient bank of issue, the safest bank of "savings and deposits" and the surest bank of redemption that the world has ever known, all combined in one, with only one set of officers.

It is unquestionably the right and duty of this government and every other civilized Government, if required to issue bills of credit (bank notes), coin money and fix its value, and thus make a currency for the use of the people, to enable them to create values, exchange values and measure the values they create. And this bank would be the

machine which would enable the directors to perform systematically this duty with efficiency and profit to both government and people.

THE NATURAL LAW OF CURRENCY.

I copy—"Among the things which may be considered fixed and settled is this:—that whenever two currencies of equal nominal, but different actual values are put in circulation side by side, the cheaper will invariably drive out and take the place of the dearer by a law as inexorable as that of gravity." This is said to be Grashem's law on currency. The writer above evidently means that the above is the effect of the natural law working upon all currency systems used in his days; and he believes that it is not in the power of man to make a currency that can change its effect. The law refered to above as a controlling power over currency circulation is nothing but the effect of the natural law working upon man's unwise currency laws. It is man's fault, not nature's, if the effect of the natural law is to drive out the better currency.

If governments should pass the above bill into a law and supply the country with a currency under it, the effect of the natural law upon it would be the reverse of what it is now. The better currency would drive out the poorer, and as inexorably as it acts the other way now. That man should be able to change or control the effect of a natural law, is contrary to our traditions; but such is the fact as may be seen by a little reflection. If I put my finger in the fire the natural law is I will get burnt. If I jumped from the Waipio bluffs to the rocks, 1,000 feet below, the natural law is I would be crushed—killed. But my own foolishness would be at fault, not the natural law, and so I might mention many similar cases; and the above mentioned law on currency is one of that class. It is man's foolishness that he gets burnt, crushed on the rocks, and universally and always troubled with his currency, for the reason that he is trying to run a bad finance system for the benefit of sharpers and shavers, and wants it to run smoothly and the natural law won't allow him to do it; hence he is troubled with a bad currency, broken banks, revulsions in business and financial panics; all being the natural effect of false financial systems.

The natural law, or the natural effects flowing from these rotten currency systems, cannot be changed; but man's laws may be changed, and thus change their natural effect. So to avoid trouble, man must keep away from the bluffs, keep his finger out of the fire, and be sure to change his currency systems and in such a way that the natural law will work for, not against him; and that way is as plain as A B C, as every reflecting mind must acknowledge that reads and mentally digests the provisions of the above banking bill.

This Bank, being a well-spring of currency that never dries, would insure all nations that used one against financial panic, as there would always be money enough for all to borrow, and borrowers enough for all to lend.

THE TRADE DOLLAR.

A Copy.

It has always been a puzzle to many people why the trade dollar should sell at a discount, containing more silver than the ordinary dollar, while the ordinary dollar commands one hundred cents. An Eastern newspaper contemporary, putting the suppositious case of a teacher drilling his class in school, gets off this satire:

"Teacher—Now, boys, what is this I have in my hand? All the the boys—It's a dollar. Teacher—Yes; its a legal tender dollar. It is called the dollar of the fathers. How much silver does it contain? Small boy—412½ grains. Teacher—That's right. Now what do you call this? It's also a silver dollar; but what is it called? Small boy—(after examination); It's a trade dollar. Teacher—That's right. Now how much silver does it contain? Small boy—420 grains. Teacher—how much is it worth? No answer from the boys. Teacher—Well, its worth 90 cents. All the boys—It is worth 90 cents. Teacher—Now, boys, tell me why it is that the dollar containing 412½ grains of silver is worth 100 cents, while the dollar containing 420 is worth only 90 cents. None of the boys could answer."

THE TWO DOLLARS.

The fact that the United States "standard dollar," containing 412½ grains of silver, is worth more than the trade dollar which contains 420 grains of silver, appears to puzzle all minds that fail to distinguish between bullion and money. The trade dollar is not money, but it is coined bullion, a commercial commodity, to be bought and sold like other commodities, and represents itself. It has no legal value, and is worth about 420 grains of silver bullion. The "standard dollar" was made a legal tender; a representative of sovereign power. In fact, made money—a tool to work with.

With money we can measure and float values, pay debts, tariffs and taxes, build and run railroads, telegraphs, factories, etc., open, cultivate and improve farms and mines, develop the country, transact business and create wealth. Comparatively all things can be done with money; without it, but little; all of the above-mentioned powers were given to the standard dollar by law, not by grains of silver. The "trade dollar" possesses no legal powers and only grains of silver gives it value.

Yes, the Government coined both dollars, and as a mechanical piece of work, did a creditable job. But, wanting some money to

assist in specie resumption and to satisfy the demands of the people, Congress made the standard dollar *money* a full tender in payment of debts and redemption purposes, and by that Act gave it all the advantage it has over the trade dollar; and if it had contained only 82½ grains of silver with all of the above sovereign or legal powers, it would have been worth 100 cents for all of the above mentioned purposes. As legal value is the only value required for national money, the metal upon which the sovereign power is stamped is only the legalized agent of the sovereign to express the power of money, and 82½ grains of silver would be ample for that purposes.

And (let me whisper it) if the United States standard dollar was relieved of four-fifths of its objectionable bulky nature, we would think the coin greatly improved, and be more acceptable as a business tool than the present standard dollar; as the same weight of metal would then perform five times as much labor as it does now, and yet circulate more readily at 100 cents to the dollar, if coined and circulated as this bill provides.

"STANDARD OF VALUE" AND "MEASURE OF VALUE" DEFINED.

What confuses the common people, when considering the money question, is the confused utterences made by legislators, editors and others in their speeches and writing upon the subject. We don't like to say this is purposely done; neither do we charge it to ignorance; but the following utterences certainly confuse, if they don't shroud the subject in mystery: "It won't do to have more than one standard of value, and that should be gold." "We must have a double standard of value, using both silver and gold, as gold is too scarce to use exclusively as a standard." "We must use paper as a standard to supplement gold and silver, as the latter is too scarce to do the business of the country." These together with a gold standard, a gold and silver standard, a double standard, a single standard, a measure of value, a standard of value, and similar expressions serves more to darken than to enlighten the understanding.

The above and similar expressions as used make no distinction between a standard of value and a measure of value, but indicate that if gold is the standard, silver and paper if used as money at all must also be standards. Yet the difference is so great and the subject has been so much discussed, one is surprised that all thinkers should not be able to distinguish between them. The difference is: a standard of value must have inherently a fixed and permanent value; whereas, a measure of value is fixed by law. "Congress shall have power to coin money, regulate the value thereof." They have power to make two cent, five cent or ten cent letter stamps, or $2, $5, $20 greenbacks, upon pieces of paper intrinsically of no value; or they can say that so many grains of gold and

so many of silver shall constitute a measure of value, according to a gold standard; although the bullion value of each measure may be much less than its face value fixed by law.

To illustrate, 3 barley corns make one inch; 12 inches 1 foot, etc.: We see by this that barley corns are the standard of length, yet no one would think of using barley corns for measures of length, but instead they use rules, yards, rods, chains, etc., made of tape, wood, iron, steel, etc. Again, 24 grains make 1 pennyweight; 20 pennyweights 1 ounce; 12 ounces 1 pound. Here grains are again used, but this time as a standard of weight. But who ever saw a weight, even a pennyweight, made of grains? But, instead, weights are made of lead, iron, brass, etc., into pennyweights, ounces, pounds, etc., but never of grains, although grains are the standard of weights.

No two materials that differ intrinsically from each other can be taken as a standard without confusion. Gold and silver can no more be taken jointly as a standard of value without confusion than barley corn and Indian corn, can both be declared standards of length. But gold may be chosen as the standard of value and any suitable material may be used as measurers—gold, silver, copper, paper or any other material the sovereign may choose.

The above bill provides only one standard of value, but many measures made of several different kinds of material, and for all purposes of trade the measures equal the established standard, their value being fixed by law to that of the standard. The law makers select the standard, but its value is inherent and by nature comparatively unchangeable; but the value of the measures, as above stated, must be fixed by law, and intrinsically no value is required.

CURRENCY VOLUME.

Who should decide.

President Garfield, when speaking upon the above subject used these words: "But I admit freely that no Congress is wise enough to determine how much currency the country needs. There never was a body of men wise enough to do that. The volume of currency needed depends upon laws that are higher than Congress, and higher than Government. * * * * The laws of trade alone can determine its quantity."

General Grant said: "The experience and judgement of the people can best decide just how much currency is required for the transacting the business of the country. It is unsafe to leave the settlement of this question longer to the Secretary of the Treasury or to the Executive."

The above truths uttered by these noted men are just what every man would say that had ever investigated and mastered the subject. But while the sayings of these noted men were wise, their actions in regard to this subject does not appear so very commendable. At the time President Garfield uttered the above quoted truth he was making a speech on Resumption, and urged a reduction of the currency in the following language: "No theory of currency that existed in 1860 can justify the volume now outstanding. Either our laws of trade, our laws of value, our laws of exchange have been utterly reversed, or the currency of to-day is in excess of the legitimate wants of trade;" and thus he urged a decision upon the volume of currency, upon a question "that no Congress is wise enough to determine." And General Grant in his messages and in his vetoes and approval of bills showed his action in trying to regulate the volume of currency, notwithstanding his matured judgement, had decided that "the experience and judgement of the people can best decide" the question.

But these emminent men, with thousands before them, had got into grooves from which they could not extricate themselves, and were forced to act on questions which "the laws of trade alone can determine." We see all through the past ages, Emperors, Kings, Presidents, Parliaments, Congress trying to regulate the amount of money required for their people's use. But, assuming to decide a question that belongs alone to trade, they invariably failed, as the trade depressions, financial flurries and money panics fully attest.

And after all these lessons of failures, it is only the advanced thinkers like Grant and Garfield who have discovered that "the volume of currency needed depends upon laws that are higher than Congress and higher than government. The laws of trade alone can determine its quantity." Yet, speakers and writers the world over, bullionists and greenbackers, assume to dictate about the quantity of currency trade requires. Witness the writers of our own Island home, and the speakers upon the question in our last Legislature, and what a botch they made of it trying to legislate upon a question "there never was a body of men wise enough to determine."

Mr. Sears says, "The volume of money required for producing, utilizing and exchanging property is necessarily determined by the same law which governs production and exchange, viz., demand for use. Enough money for equivalent exchange is the law of volume. Therefore, arbitrary limitation of the volume of money is a violation of the natural law of exchange, and is void of right, as would be a like limitation of production and exchange."

The Bank bill here advocated leaves the volume of money to be decided by the natural law of trade, and as long as the natural law is

allowed to act, there will never be a surplus or a deficiency. When there is money enough for all to borrow, and borrowers enough for all to lend, our money system will be perfect. When there are borrowers with good security but no money to be borrowed, or plenty of money but no borrowers, the system is imperfect and the country suffers loss; labor and capital are both idle, trade languishes, failures are frequent, distrust prevails, and suffering and misery abound.

DOMESTIC MONEY.

This bill, if enacted into a law, is not intended to make a currency for America or Europe, but only for the use of the people and Government of Hawaii. This system is based upon the idea that any material the Government may select and coin or issue as its agent to express the power of money, and stamps the same as money is "money;" and all its powers for measuring values, purchasing and paying, is given to it by law. Money was created to facilitate business and assist production. The measuring value and interest value of money *must be fixed by law.*

Money can have only legal value; and it is believed that our government has as much right to make money for home use as any other government; and if it was made under the authority of this bill it would be a good money, always worth 100 cents to the dollar—no more, no less.

Now we ask intelligent, thoughtful men, did the world ever use a system of money that equalized the measuring power of all our currencies? Or a currency system that drove out the poor currency leaving *only the best?* Or a system that would distribute money to rich and poor upon the same terms and in large or small amounts? Or a system that would distribute money in all districts to every citizen upon the same terms.

We now ask if the system outlined above would not perform every item of them? Does any one dispute the Constitutional right of the government to do that business? No? Then go to work and see that she does it.

It is claimed for this system: 1. With such a banking system, if the people had too little money they could get more; if too much they could return what they did not want. Then trade would never suffer for want of money, nor the country be cursed with a surplus that could not be used.

2. No capital would be required to start this banking department save only for buildings and preparations.

3. This banking department would enable a poor man to borrow a small sum at the same rate of interest, as a rich man could borrow a large sum.

4. Interest being always the same at this department, its currency would be of uniform value, hence a just measure at all times. Investments could be made and enterprises inaugurated with a surety that money would be obtainable and interest for its use unchanged during its prosecution.

5. The currencies being all equalized by the working of this banking department, no bank reserves or national treasury hoardings, at great expense for redemption purposes, would be required.

6. The currencies would be all equalized by this system to 100 cents to the dollar, as that is the sum the government by stamp and law says they are worth, and just what the government must receive them for, for all dues, taxes, revenues and deposits, and of course before any one currency could depreciate it would be returned to the government at its face value.

7. It claims that any coin, or paper money, issued or coined by this department, could be exchanged for gold coin in any bank or broker shop in this nation upon the same terms that gold coin could be exchanged for silver coin or paper money. Thus making all our currencies practically interchangeable upon the same conditions.

8. This banking department would give us a national currency always equal to and never in excess of our actual requirements and made of gold, silver and paper, all of one standard of value and uniform purchasing power.

9. The government, railroads, etc., having securities that would draw the gold from Europe, could always be supplied with money by this department at a comparative low rate of interest. Thus would be stopped that flow of gold that now goes to pay interest on foreign loans.

10. This department loaning—issuing—for 4 per cent. per annum, and redeeming—receiving on deposit, borrowing—for 3½ per cent., could always loan and always borrow without loss.

11. The net income of this department, would pay our national debt without assistance of revenues from other sources.

12. No foreign banks, corners or combination of capital could ever affect the solvency of this banking department. It would have one sphere in which it must act and that would be independent of all the world outside of the government that created it.

13. No money panic could ever afflict the country with money supplied to the industries by this department.

14. The money circulated by this department would be self-redeeming, revenue-producing, and representative money; national in its true sense, and would circulate readily in all parts of this country.

15. The establishing of this banking system would mark a new era in Government finance, and make the change in the money system of this country so much required. The past and present money systems of

this country being wrong in principle, has and always must produce trouble in practice, and no patching or propping by Legislative enactments can ever remedy their defects.

16. With the supply of money ample, and distribution certain, interest low and uniform, many enterprises and improvements, railroads, factories, farms, ships, etc., could be built, opened, operated and improved, which cannot be done under our present money system with its uncertain supply and its high and varying rate of interest. But under the invigorating effect of this department "the mill and shop, the forge and farm, would constantly echo the music of industry, giving remunerative labor to thousands of honest, willing, idle hands to do."

17. With this banking department in operation all usury laws could be stricken from the Statute books without any fears of oppressive demands of money lenders.

18. The industries being supplied with money at about an equitable rate of interest would be permanently restored to prosperity having a sure foundation upon which to rest. Then the people would never be compelled to pay a larger interest for the use of money than business would justify.

19. This department would supply money to the industries as freely and at the same rate of interest in times of panic (if panics were possible under this system) as when money was plenty among the people.

20. A "run" upon this bank would make money plenty and the bank rich. The more money legally drawn from it the richer it would become.

21. By establishing this department our government will have performed its whole constitutional money duty; as this bank would supply amply all the money demands of this nation for all time, never too much nor too little, and at an equitable rate of interest.

22. As "demand for use" is the law of volume, the issuing and redeeming, or loaning and borrowing this department currency, would be on demand only, which must settle justly the amount of money required for the nation's use.

23. This department would greatly simplify the business of the Treasury department, and remove much of the labor and anxiety of the treasurer by relieving him of bond negotiations, and other labors for supplying the Treasury and maintaining the credit of the government.

24. This bank could lend the government all the money that the Legislature would give the Treasurer authority to borrow, and thus obviate the necessity of the government going abroad to borrow, and of any further foreign absorption of government bonds.

25. If this bank was organized according to the proposed plan, it would possess the principle of self perfection. Thus differing from all

other banking systems; all of which contain the seed of their own dissolution.

26. This bank could supply the maximum and minimum money requirements of this nation without loss to any one, or a depreciation of any part of the currencies.

27. This department would make the finances of the country so healthy that there would be money enough for all to borrow, and borrowers enough for all to lend. No individual, bank or corporation would be compelled to hold over large sums of money for which they had no use; all could find customers. No stagnation possible in the circulation of this currency.

28. If this banking department was established according to the proposed plan, its currency would be good for all time, thus saving the expense to the country of the yearly discussion of the subject, and remove the great solicitude felt by the business community at such times, lest some change should be made in the currency, whereby their business would be unfavorably affected.

29. The officers of this department could report daily just how much money is required to do the business of the whole country, and with comparatively as much certainty as a barometer tells the state of the atmosphere, or a thomometer its heat.

30. The organization of this department would settle justly the perplexing question as to whether the people preferred paper, silver or gold for their money, or a portion of each, and if the latter how much of each. What they rejected they would carry back to the government.

31. This department would spread its money over the country so justly and so effectually, that the extremes of our country would be supplied with money at the same rate of interest as the great business centers, and with the same certainty of supply.

32. This currency would increase and decrease in quantity to conform to the industrial demand, never a surplus nor a deficiency.

33. This department currency being distributed to the extent of the nation's needs, would add as much wealth-producing power to the nation as so many dollars of gold.

34. All other departments of our government are expensive, and mostly maintained from the public treasury. This department would not only pay its own way, but produce thousands annually for government use.

35. If this department was in operation no limited, inflated, irredeemable, illegal tender currency that is constantly fluctuating in value, and so rigged that it will neither increase nor diminish to conform to the demands of business, will ever again curse this country.

36. If this department was organized according to this theory no

party in power could possibly use its influence to perpetuate their official life.

37. This department would be the people's bank and national in its true sense. It would benefit the moneyed man by enabling him to loan all his money; it would be the poor man's savings bank where he could deposit his small savings and have it increase without fear of loss; it would also enable him to borrow a small sum of money at the same rate of interest as the rich man could borrow a large sum, thus extending equal money rights to every citizen.

38. If this department was in working order no more foreign national debt, or high and varring rate of interest for the use of money would again curse the country.

39. With this bank in operation the interest for the use of money and the net income of the industries, would and should approximate the same.

40. This department would take out of circulation all objectionable currency leaving only the best to circulate among the people. Thus reversing that old currency law which our present money system forces upon the people, viz: "Inferior currencies always drive out the better."

41. In justice to the industrial arm of this nation this bank is demanded, seeing industry produces all our wealth and progressive greatness.

42. This banking system differs from all other banking systems in two important particulars not above mentioned, viz.: This bank can never be broken, and its income goes into circulation without security and without interest. First, by paying the expense of the department. Second, the net income is passed over to the government Treasurer at every quarterly settlement he has with the bank officers, and to be used by him as the law directs. No money save interest only can be drawn from this bank, not even by the government itself, only upon security prescribed by law.

Interest on loans or deposits should never be changed oftener than once in five years. An equitable interest should be aimed at by the bank. An equitable interest would be the average net income of all the industries. But that average changing yearly would render it impossible to adjust the interest to and keep it at that point; but an approximate may be made every five years and interest so settled.

The world having suffered so much in times past with the old time currency, with its deficient supply, its usurious and varying rate of interest, its panics, suspensions and resumptions, it would now seem wise and statesmanlike to try once, a money system founded upon constitutional powers and the natural law of common honesty. And we believe the above bill contains every ingredient for the purpose, at the same time has not one objectionable feature. We believe this system possesses

every principle worth preserving that can be found among all the money systems known. If any one d s outes this let him cho se his favorite system, and jot down every advant ge he may see in it, and then turn back and compare them with the advantages of this system and if he don't find them all here numbered, what remains will be comparatively insignificant. Besides all other systems have some objecti nable feature, whereas this is so perfect that no argument can h ld aga nst it.

The system outlined in this bill never having been tried, but few if any of the numerous and truly great advantages numbered above, have ever been enjoyed by the people or their governments. The fact is, no people depending upon money were ever prosperous, only comparatively so; no c untry can long prosper where interest for the use of money is three times gr ater than what that same money will yield invested in productive industries.

If money was always plenty more would be used than if it was scarce or spasmodically plenty. More money would be used if interest was low instead of high. A man will use money in his business at 6 per cent. which he would not do if he had to use 8 per cent., and more at 4 per cent than if he had to pay 6 per cent.

Money is as much the life of busin ss as food is the life of the physical man. Hence, to keep business healthy it is imperatively necessary to have money ample for all purposes, always obtainable upon security and interest comparatively low and uniform. The above bill provides for it all; and nothing with less power to serve the people, or less responsibility, less dignity, or more selfishness than a banking department of our government would have, should ever be intrusted with the business heart-throbs of a people, by which they create wealth, live and enjoy life.

This bank would be Democratic—a people's bank, where every citizen would enjoy equal legal financial privileges. It would fill the popular doctrine, "The greatest good to the greatest number." Yea, more: it would be the greatest good to the whole people.

This banking department is as susceptible of being adopted by kingdoms as well as republics, and all people that do adopt them must surely enjoy the full measure of the blessings numbered above; and, no doubt, scores of others not yet seen, that practice would reveal.

The adoption of a principle that promises so many blessings unmixed with evils, as this department surely does, is a duty of the sovereign authority of all countries both to themselves and their subjects.

MONEY.

Money, when studied in all its bearings of blessings and powers, presents to the student one of the most important and happy mediums ever conferred by a government upon any people; and were it possible

that "money" with all its advantages could be presented, the unthinking would exclaim, "impossible that mortal man could invent anything of so much importance!" Money being the moving power in all enterprises of productive industry, trade and commerce, it behooves the government to do its duty and provide the "needful," the "life blood of business" in amounts sufficient to supply every demand, that production may not be checked, or trade crippled with a short or a too costly supply.

Money is not only a "measure of value," a "representative of value," a "machine to float value," a "tool to work with," an "instrument of commerce," as is stated by other writers, but it is also the connecting link between man and the undeveloped elements. Under our laws, wealth can no more be created or drawn from the elements without money than an engine can draw a train of cars without the connecting link to fasten them together

Please look at the following illustration: America is said to be "a land choice above all other lands of the earth," and the United States the "garden spot of America." Truly rich in element wealth—air, earth, water, light, heat and space—with their mineral and vegetable wealth and other properties sufficient to sustain comfortably one third of all the inhabitants of the earth, without crowding or tramping upon each others rights. Yet with only 60,000,000 people we find destitution and much suffering in this land of plenty. It is the opinion of the author of the New Encyclopedia Britanica, and other publications, in which we fully concur, that if the natural resources of America were fully developed they would afford sustenance for 3,600,000,000 inhabitants. Assuming the above statement as approximately correct, the United States should sustain at least 500,000,000 as her share of that number—a figure not improbable, as some of the old countries sustain a proportionate greater number. Yet, with all the element wealth above referred to and only a tenth of the inhabitants that could be comfortably sustained by it, tens of thousands are suffering for the necessaries of life; no work, no business, few comforts; the raw material is unused, and the elements of wealth undeveloped, laborers are striving with each other for a mere subsistence, and trying to prevent more laborers from landing upon our shores. They honestly believe if more arrive, their chances of employment must be further curtailed. Let me here ask, what is the reason that 60,000,000 of people cannot be comfortably sustained in these United States without government financial disasters, general bankruptcies, and individual physical suffering for the necessaries of life? I will briefly answer the question. The laws of our country require that we buy, sell, receive dues and pay debts, tariffs, taxes, etc., in money, thus making money necessary not only in all our business relations to exchange our labor and products, but make it the connecting

link between the brain, skill, and muscle of man on one side, and the elements that are so rich with human comforts on the other. As matters are now arranged, man may suffer and starve in the midst of plenty: at the same time he may possess intelligence, physical strength, skill and will, those essential qualities that create human comforts from the elements and mark the difference between the savage and civilized man, yet with all his qualifications he suffers with anxieties for creature comforts which he is so able and willing to create; but money being wanted there is no connection between him and the undeveloped elements that surround him.

Tradition as well as law forces this condition of things upon the people. It is money, money, money: everything must be done with money. Farmers, factories and mines may be numerous, yet neither they nor their product can be used without money. How important then that money should be issued and distributed sufficient for all purposes. And we believe that governments are more deficient in their system of distribution of money, than in a short supply—for money, like water and manure becomes valuable by being distributed. The bill herein is unobjectionable in its supply, and *perfect* in its system of distribution; and being distributed by sovereign authority all the people share in the profits.

Less than forty years ago in California money was almost unknown, certainly unseen by many for months at a time. Yet by a custom then prevailing among the people, an anaka of wheat and a bullock hide passed for two dollars each, and a bar of soap (made by most farmers) one real each, as legal tender, the same as gold and silver money. Now we have no such traditional practices; no farmer or manufacturer can pay his help from the product of his farm or factory, and no grocer or trader would accept such as money for supplies. Money, money, money, the law and custom compells all to pay and all to receive. Now even gold and silver is objected to if it is not of full weight with the merchants. Currency rightly instituted and properly distributed, is the one thing needful for healthy, domestic exchange, and constant, lively and permanent business. The following quotation from Jonathan Duncan's work entitled, "Bank Charters," shows the middle ground occupied by money, its power to connect labor with the raw material, etc. Daniel de Lisle Brock, Governor of Guernsey was waited upon by a deputation of the principal townsmen of St. Peters, who requested his countenance and assistance toward the erection of a coverd market, much wanted in that place. The Governor readily consented, and asked in what way he could assist them most effectually. He was informed the principal difficulty was to raise the required funds. The Governor replied, if that was the only difficulty he thought he could surmount it, but would first

ask, if they had the required amount of stores of brick, timber, granite, and flags; but above all had they the skilled artisans and laborers required for the building of the market. They replied, there is no want of labor or raw material; that their difficulty was chiefly financial. "Oh!" said the Governor, "if that is all you want, I will as Governor, sign, stamp, declare legal tender, and issue five thousand one pound market notes; with these to pay for material and labor, go to work and build your market" In process of time the market was finished.

It will be observed in this case that money was the *connecting link* that enabled the laborers and skilled artisans to organize or build the raw material of brick, granite, etc., into a market, and without the currency the laborers would not have been employed, nor the raw material appropriated in the construction of the market for the use of the people of Guernsey. Even so the United States or these Islands have no lack of raw material or element wealth, nor laborers, nor skilled artisans, to construct, to develop and to produce food, clothing and habitations for all the people to fare sumptuously; all we lack is money, plenty and properly distributed, and we claim that our government can coin "stamp and declare legal tender," and issue sufficient for all exchange, and if instituted and distributed according to the provisions contained in this bill, it will be a self-redeeming and a revenue-producing currency, and always worth one hundred cents to the dollar for all domestic purposes. It will be self-redeeming, because the borrower is compelled to carry it back to redeem his property, etc. It will be revenue-producing because the government receives the interest for all outstanding currency. The great importance of money, its power for good or evil, its governing influence in all enterprises, in all departments of business or productive industry, demands that its supply should be controlled with judgment and responsibility, and issued, distributed and redeemed with a certainty heretofore unknown.

All of the above advantages would be realized by the government and people under the provisions of this bill if made into a law. Then we would no longer be depending upon America, Europe or private individuals to make our money for us, or be compelled to go abroad to borrow money for home use which our government would have full power to supply, and as good a money as is now in use in Europe or America. "What," says one, "this insignificant kingdom of Hawaii make as good a money as England or the United States?" Yes, sir. If coined, issued and redeemed as this bill provides. As every dollar of it would be a representative of value, and the value it represents would be the most durable property known to man—mostly improved real estate. As this money became known among the nations, its value would be as fixed among them, as a Bank of England note, or American gold coin or greenbacks.

A principle that promises as much good, unmixed with evil, as this bill does, should at least be tried, as it combines every good quality existing in all other money systems. There is nothing, but the morals of man, that so much needs improvement as government finance and currency.

Man has enlarged his dominion over matter by various discoveries and improvements the past half century; but no improvement has been made in government finance and currency the last two hundred years, without the mutilated greenback of America could be called an improvement. General Grant said the greenback as a national money "is the best that has ever been devised."

For further reasons why this bill should pass into a law, and showing its superiority over all other money systems, see a larger work entitled, "United States Banking Department," soon to be published.

JOHN M. HORNER.

Hamakua, Hawaii, H. I.

Mrs. Mamam
with the author's
Compliments

AN ESSAY

ON THE

HAWAIIAN CURRENCY

AND

The Silver Question.

—BY—

A. F. JUDD.

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A. F. JUDD.

Read before the Honolulu Social Science Association, January 14, 1884.

I wish at the outset to disclaim the assumption of the part of a professed political economist or of an original thinker on these subjects. I have no pet dogmas to ventilate, and this paper is but a compilation of the thoughts of other men of greater learning and larger experience with an adaptation to the circumstances that surround us.

We live in a cluster of islands just within the tropics, thousands of miles from the continents on either side of us. This fact, which means to us that our seasons bring no winter to provide against, and that the sun shines on our mountains and valleys at some part of every day in the year, does not, however, prove that human nature here is essentially different from what it is in other lands. We now import from abroad materials for our houses, whatever we need to clothe us with, the larger part of whatever we eat and many of our domestic animals; but these facts do not exempt us from the operation of those laws which have been evolved from the world's experiences. The history of human life as developed in England and on the continents of Europe and America, is no less our precious legacy because we do not happen to live in those countries.

Those who have cast in their lot with us have found with the Latin poet:

"They change their skies not their minds who cross the seas."

The clergyman educated in the University whose walls are gray from age, finds here the same human heart with its same sins and needs.

The physician finds that the experience he derived from observation of the physical man in his own land serves him well here. The lawyer brings hither his knowledge of the common law and enters our courts with confidence. The principles upon which government should be conducted so as to promote the prosperity, happiness and safety of the citizen, find in Hawaii nei a congenial soil in which to grow. The fact that there are many diverse races of men living on these islands, affords no reason why the ideas of the race that has given this country its laws, its religion, its literature and its agricultural and commercial enterprizes, should not continue to control its policy.

Political economy is defined to be the science of exchange, or what is equivalent, the science of wealth or values.

Says Professor Sumner (1): "This is not a science which varies with climate, period or continents."

Says Bascom (2): "The forces of human nature, the agents of production, the arithmetic of gains, are the same everywhere and lead to the same principles of economic action." "We arrive at its data through experience." But as in all sciences, so in this, we must get our data from the observation and experience of ages and not from the isolated facts as seen by one observer. The daily round of buying and selling of the tradesmen of our little city, cannot be presumed to be as valuable in teaching him the laws of finance as reading Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, the speeches of John Sherman on finance, or the report of the Bullion Committee of Parliament. But some say that books teach men theories which do not apply to our case. Others say the subject is too intricate to be unravelled and ought not to be meddled with. Professor Perry says in his homely but forcible way: "There is no use in saying that money is such a mysterious and complicated agent that nobody can understand it. That is the language of indolence. Money is wholly a matter of man's device; it was invented just as any other instrument, to accomplish a certain purpose; and it would be strange if men cannot comprehend what men themselves have devised."

I have enlarged upon these matters as there is reason to believe that most of our leading business men are divided into the two classes indicated above. One class who believe that there is something peculiar in the circumstances of these islands to take us out of the operation of the well ascertained laws of currency, and who are endeavoring to solve the problem by reference only to the facts which are within range of their

own horizons, and the other class who say that currency should not be meddled with, for no one can understand its laws. The true philosophic method is to look at the facts of our case and compare them with a similar state of facts in other countries, and knowing from history what results there followed, we are in a position to predict what will be likely to follow here. If the Chamber of Commerce would buy a well selected library of works on finance and political economy and study them, a solution of our difficulties would be more likely to result therefrom than from days of discussion with closed doors. It is not necessary here to discuss the dangers from an inflated, irredeemable paper currency, or many kindred questions that have agitated the human race in times past, but some rather elementary doctrines in regard to money must be enlarged upon to a proper understanding of our case.

In all primitive society barter obtains. It is the direct exchange of one thing of value for another, or for services, and is the first method of commerce. In order to facilitate exchanges money was invented—that is the selection of some product which by general consent shall have a universal purchasing power. Money is therefore a medium of exchange. As expressed by Bascom, "As the wheel of exchange revolves, a man puts on any commodity he will, and receives a ticket which, to the amount on its face, allows him to take off from that wheel anything that he will." Money has no value except for the things it will buy. Calling a thing money does not make it so. Gold and silver have been found to constitute the best money and for several reasons: *(a) On account of their comparatively steady value.* Gold and silver are not the representatives of value. They have value in themselves—that is, purchasing power, like any other commodity. Their value is comparatively steady on account of the steady demand for them, first to be used as money, and secondly to be used in the arts: and it is used for these purposes in the ratio of two-fifths to three-fifths. *(b) Their value is steady on account also of the tolerably uniform cost of production*, for where to a steady demand there answers a steady supply realized under conditions of pretty uniform difficulty, there will be a pretty steady value. *(c) On account of their quantity.* The yearly supply from the mines and the yearly waste and loss, are small as compared with the accumulations of ages. *(d) On account of their fluency.* Having great value in small bulk they are easily transported from continent to continent, and when from any cause they become relatively in excess in any country and then lose a portion of their purchasing power, there is an immediate

motive to export them to where their power is greater and thus the equilibrium is restored. The value of gold and silver is thus kept steady by the facility with which they can be carried from one country to another. Whatever has been said as to the superiority of gold and silver to be used as currency over other metals or materials, applies with equal force to the superiority of gold over silver, and especially so because silver weighs twenty times more than an equal value of gold—and its fluctuations are much greater. The precious metals will go where they are needed, and so, as it seems to me, all laws which forbid the exportation of these metals as well as those that tax the importation of them, are foolish and unreasonable. The value of these metals is self-regulating. As I have said, they have value in themselves. Government coins them, but coinage is nothing but the public attest or certificate to the quantity and quality of the metal contained in the coin. The law of Hawaii says the dollar shall be the gold dollar of the United States, and the laws of the United States says a gold dollar shall weigh 25.8 grains of gold of 900 fineness, that is 900 parts of pure gold to 100 parts of alloy. Now no government can say what value this gold dollar shall have. Government has no such wonderful power of giving value to money. The coined money of all nations is worth only the gold which is in it, except that the coined money commands a slight premium over crude bullion owing to the certainty that it is real metal. Calling a piece of money a dollar does not make it worth 25.8 grains of gold—as Professor Newcomb puts it, "any more than calling a piece of paper a horse and having it stamped and declared a horse by act of congress, would make it draw a carriage." Government can determine as well as it can, however, not the absolute value but the relative value of one metal to the other. And here, too, the value of each, estimated on the other, regulates itself independently of laws or edicts. And a relative value once fixed must be subject to constant revision.

A rapid sketch of the fluctuating value of gold as compared to silver as illustrated in the United States is here necessary to the complete understanding of the subject. In 1792 when the mint of the United States was established, the relative value of gold to silver was fixed by law as 1 to 15. This was the rate in France and in Europe generally. But it was found that this was an undervaluation of gold and it was noticed says Perry's Political Economy, p. 223, "that the gold coins issued from the mint did not go into circulation, but were always sent abroad in preference to silver to liquidate balances in trade." I prefer to state

it that silver being overvalued, that is its nominal or face value being greater than its real value, it forced the gold out of the circulation. To remedy this, the legal ratio was changed in 1834 to 1 to 16, or, more strictly, 1 to 15.988. "This was going too far," says Perry. "Thereafter silver coins being undervalued were worth more in commerce than in the currency and so the foreign balances were liquidated in silver." I prefer to consider this as another proof of the impossibility of a bimetallic currency, for the silver being worth more in the world's market than its nominal or stamped value would not stay, but went where it was appreciated.

In 1853 the laws which allowed gold and silver coins to be each legal tender for any amounts were repealed and silver ceased to be legal tender except for amounts of five dollars and under. Gold was then made the legal tender of the country and silver was solely subsidiary. Concurrent circulation of gold and silver could not be effectively maintained, and yet this loud voice of history was unheeded even by the people of America. The war of the Rebellion of 1861-5 disturbed the currency. The government was obliged to suspend specie payments and to issue as a war measure paper currency. I pass over those years of postage stamps, fractional currency and greenbacks, when nothing in the shape of coin were seen (except greasy coppers and nickels) and gold and silver was only found in the brokers' windows. The irredeemable paper drove coin out of circulation. From 1853 to 1873 silver dollar pieces were not coined in any quantity nor were they in circulation. The Act of 1873 made the gold dollar the unit of value and omitted the silver dollar from the coins to be struck. As says Linderman, Superintendent of the United States mint in his Treatise on Money: "It had become obsolete in fact and the Act of 1873 merely conformed to that fact." Silver soon commenced to decline in value, both from great production of the silver mines of California and Nevada and Colorado and from the fact that the German Empire changed from the silver to the gold standard and thus threw much silver out of employment. On January 1, 1879, the United States resumed specie payment and there was gold and paper enough in the country to do the work of the country on account of the excellent system of National Banks whose circulation is secured by bonds of the United States. I omit to speak of the episode concerning the trade dollar. Now politics commenced her work. The silver kings of the Comstock Ledge with a large following commenced the outcry that the silver "dollars of our daddies" had been despised and

should be resuscitated and agitation was made throughout the land and in Congress which resulted in the Bland bill. By this law a silver dollar of 412½ grains in weight was to be coined at the rate of not less two millions nor more than four million dollars per month and was to be legal tender in unlimited amounts. What a piece of stupendous folly! With the gold dollar as the unit of value and a splendid gold reserve in the treasury to redeem the paper with, the United States were in as good a condition as Great Britain with its sturdy allegiance to monometallism, and how has this resulted? Let others speak. I quote from an address of Mr. G. S. Coe, President of the American Exchange National Bank of New York to the Banker's Convention, held at Louisville, Ky., in October, 1883. "But equally, if not the more important financial question before this nation, is the silent progress of the congressional mandate by which two millions of dollars, containing each 412½ grains of silver bullion, are minted every month and buried in the vaults of the Treasury as cash in hand. These dollars are not created in response to any commercial demand. In fact, commerce repels them. Yet the mandate is imperative and inexorable. They must be produced in defiance of all rules which govern supply and demand. Congress has solemnly decreed that commerce *shall* want at least two million silver dollars a month. These coins have accumulated and are accumulating in overwhelming quantity, until new vaults of extraordinary capacity, like artificial silver mines, have had to be constructed to contain them. They lie side by side with gold dollars, under the reign of law commanding them to be of equal value. Yet the treasury, which executes the law, declares that they are not, because it is daily purchasing the contents of one of them for 81 to 83 cents with that of the other for 100 cents; and with seven dollars of the one it is making more than eight of the other. And the newspapers all over the land daily declare this to be the difference in the commercial value of the two coins; so patent is the absurdity of the claim that two pieces of metal of such confessedly unequal intrinsic value can, by any miraculous force of a Government stamp, be instantly endowed with equal power for paying just debts. Here then are two coins of the same denomination, yet of such varying inherent power, contending for supremacy, the weaker one sheltering its acknowledged defect under the strong arm of this great nation. The American eagle against justice and against the world. Can such an anomaly constitutionally exist in this free Government? Here are two weights of different ponderosity; two measures of varying length, both legally required to mete out equal justice; two chronometers keeping different time, both legally appointed to regulate the hours of labor; and this most remarkable act is done before the world, in the nineteenth century, by a nation overflowing in wealth and holding commercial relations of vast magnitude with other nations of the earth! The change was inaugurated under the assumption that, by launching boldly into the experiment, these two, once equal, but now differing values, would return again to their ancient unity; but they do not. On the contrary, they obstinately further separate and refuse to obey the mandate even of the American Congress.

With this steady stream of two millions a month running into the Treasury, it is manifestly only a question of time when these silver dollars must become the preponderating quantity in the cash reserve, and when the swelling volume will exceed the limits beyond which they cannot longer there accumulate, but must, from obvious necessity of Government, be paid out and become the current money of the nation.

When that unfortunate moment arrives, the governmental measures for all business of the country will suddenly descend from the standard of to-day to one of about *five-sixths its value*, and all debts and commercial obligations, and the prices of all property and merchandise must become adjusted to the change. Two standards of so widely different purchasing power cannot simultaneously prevail. Gold coin will be hidden away, and be exchanged with other nations whose standard money it is, and who will eagerly seize the occasion to make the trade for it at the difference in market value; and this great nation will be then irretrievably launched into a *single metallic money, and that of silver*. All this, so self evident, must have been in contemplation when the measure was adopted. Is the prospect brighter now as the time draws near?"

The present condition of the currency at these islands is exactly what Mr. Coe predicted will be that of the United States if the coinage of silver continues.

Later still, Senator Morrill of Vermont, in a speech delivered in the Senate of the U.S., December 5, 1883, says: "When our silver dollars were first authorized their intrinsic value was equal to their nominal value, and no more were coined than were wanted for circulation. This was the doctrine and practice of our fathers: Now the actual value of the silver dollar is 85½ cents, instead of 93 cents in 1778, at the start of compulsory coinage: and we are daily doing all we can to

depress its value at home by laborious additions to the enormous pile in the Treasury, until it threatens to topple over, carrying with it its false and flimsy scaffolding of equivocating silver certificates, which, when redeemed, must be redeemed in a metal of quite another color Silver will not be accepted for certificates while anything much better can be had.—— * * * * The accumulated tons of silver dollars now held by the Treasury are a conspicuous over-production, recognized, distrusted and avoided by everybody. A glut appears for the moment to make silver, as it does any other commodity, scarcely worth having. We are compelled to seek and to use at least $24,000,000 of revenue annually with an option which allows the use of $48,000,000, above all that would otherwise be required, in order to perpetuate the colossal folly of hoarding 3,455 tons of silver dollars, 742 tons of fractional silver and 140 tons of silver bullion, as useless, either to the Government or to the people, as the buried treasure of Captain Kidd.

It is not proposed to deprive outstanding silver certificates of any existing functions. Let the nearly one hundred millions now afloat circulate with all of their privileges, but their bulk already excessive cannot be increased without danger to our whole monetary system. It may be falsely supposed that the large accumulation of silver dollars in the Treasury is there for the redemption of outstanding silver certificates, but not one of these certificates ever has been or ever will be presented by the holder for redemption in silver. They will all be tendered at the Custom House, instead of gold, the first moment our exchanges feel the shock of an adverse balance of trade, or whenever there is an excess of imports over exports; and then the real difference between the standard of our gold and silver coins will become painfully manifest.—— * * * * * Does any one propose that we shall step down and out from among leading industrial and commercial nations by having hereafter to base all of our financial and business interests exclusively on silver? Can anyone propose at a blow to cut down the wages of labour and the terms of all contracts to the extent of 15 or 20 per cent? Must all of our trade and business enterprises be kept for ever on the lookout for a financial convulsion suspended only by a hair's breadth in the rate of exchange? If not, then may we not hope that all will unite upon some proper measure that will save to our people the use of both gold and silver."

The logic of events is converting some. The Nation of December 13, 1883, speaks of them as follows:

"The conversion of Mr. W. D. Kelley on the silver question, so far as to make him introduce a bill for the stoppage of the silver coinage, is a curious and interesting phenomenon. There are other conversions among the furious silver men of seven years ago, such as that of Murat Halstead, almost equally remarkable. That these gentlemen have been converted is, of course, creditable to their candor and common sense. When they were furiously preaching the bi metallic gospel they refused to be guided by the recorded experience of mankind, or by the deductions therefrom made by leading economists. They insisted on having experience of their own. Now they have had it, and they admit that they were wrong. It would be ungracious to reproach them for all this, but we must call their attention to the enormous inconvenience of having the affairs of a great nation conducted in disregard of the history of the doings of the rest of the human race. Of course the world goes forward in large part by the trial of novelties, but it would not go forward at all, or would only go forward to a general smash-up, if some things, at least, were not treated as settled and beyond dispute. We hope, too, that the experience of the country on this silver question will produce greater sober mindedness and moderation in future financial discussions." This language can well be applied to some of the statesmen and financiers of Hawaii. *They wish an experience* of their own before they are convinced, but as a taxpayer, I object to my paying for their experience.

The New York Independent of November 1, 1883, has the following financial article:

The Director of the Mint has recently published a statement, showthe amount of coin, bullion, and paper currency in the country on the 1st of October, 1883. The aggregate amount at that date was $1,780,597,823. Of this amount in the Treasury, $61,683,816 was gold bullion, and $5,107,911 was silver bullion. The total amount of gold coin was $544,512,698, of which the Treasury hold $144,446,726, against which gold certificates to the amount of $82,495,240 had been issued. The total amount of silver dollars was $154,370,899, of which the Treasury held $114,587,572, against which silver certificates amounting to $94,490,241 had been issued. The total of fractional silver coin was $80,920,424, of which $54,170,263 was in banks and in circulation among the people. In banks and in general circulation were $309,486,596 in United States legal tender notes, $347,324,961 in national bank

notes, and $6,987,103 in fractional currency not yet presented for redemption. This amount of currency, made up of gold and silver, coined and uncoined, of gold certificates and silver certificates, and of legal tender notes and national bank notes, and forming an aggregate of $1,740,597,823, would seem to be abundantly adequate to the utmost "wants of trade." It presents a singularly mongrel system; and yet if it were symmetrical, the amount is largely in excess of the real wants of trade. The silver element of this currency is gradually gaining upon the gold element and taking its place, and has been ever since the enactment of the Silver Law in 1878, and in the end, unless the law is essentially modified, will become the larger element and practically displace gold as the standard of value. The Treasury, if the coinage of silver dollars is continued, will at last be compelled to disgorge its silver contents and force them upon the people; and when it does this, silver dollars will become the chief coin factor in our currency system and paper notes will be graded to their value, while gold will retire and seek its home in other countries, leaving the people to enjoy all the luxury that can be found in "the dollar of the fathers."

David A. Wells in the Princton Review for July, 1883, puts the case as follows:

"1st. An annual present cost, defrayed by taxation, of twenty-four millions in the purchase of bullion and its conversion into coin, which is only not needed, but which the people seek to avoid. 2nd. A present annual loss of interest on some sixty millions of silver coin, idly hoarded in the vaults of the Treasury, which at an estimate of 3 per cent. would represent 1,800,000 c. per annum; a no very large sum in the accounts of a nation; but which nevertheless represent all the profits, assumed at 20 cents a bushel on the growing by somebody of 900,000 bushels of wheat."

Having concluded the sketch of the history of money in the United States it is necessary to go back to some more elementary matters before approaching the immediate question of our own currency. All Political Economists agree in the rule first formulated by Sir Thomas Gresham in the reign of Queen Elizabeth that "*An inferior money so long as it circulates at all invariably drives a superior money out of the circulation.*" Says Perry, p. 235, "This is a fundamental law of finance, and has been illustrated over and over again in every age and nation. It is as solid as the substance of truth can make it, though it looks at first sight like a paradox." "We naturally think that what is excellent tends rather to displace what is inferior, but with money the exact reverse is the law,

and the perfect coin of full weight instead of driving out the light and debased pieces is always itself driven out of the circulation by them." This is on the principle that nobody will give in payment of debts what is really worth more when what is worth less than the debt will pay it. When the taxes on lands in these islands were paid in kind, I presume the tenant gave the poorest pig he had of the requisite length to the Konohiki.

Macaulay is authority for the statement that Aristophanes in the 5th century B. C. noticed the fact that bad money drives out the good. A most interesting instance is that of Amersdam in the 17th century (See Perry, p. 237) and in Great Britain at the close of the same century. (Macaulay's History of England, Chapter XXI.)

This financial law has the same operation if the currency be a mixed one and the paper irredeemable. The coin will disappear as if by magic as it did in the United States in 1862 and as is the case now in Austria and some other countries. And this law has the same effect in countries where the attempt is made to have gold and silver circulate concurrently.

I have shown that this was the case in the U. S. previous to 1834, and this has been abundantly proved in these islands. Previous to 1872 we had U. S. gold in circulation. Our relation to California as the market for our sugar was the same as now, only less favorable, for we were importing beyond our exports. In 1872, an act was passed making the silver half-dollar the standard and legal tender in payment of all debts. Soon the gold all disappeared from circulation. The act of 1876 made the U.S. gold dollar the standard but allowed debts up to fifty dollars to be paid in silver, and allowed silver to be legal tender in certain large proportions over this amount. In May, 1879, I called the attention of the public through the newspapers to the defect in the law, and accompanied my letter with one from Professor Sumner. I said then, "We have endeavored to enforce a double standard, *i. e.* both gold and silver—an impossibility. According to the well-known law of political economy that coins of lesser intrinsic value in circulation side by side with coins of greater value, which pass at the same nominal rate drive the more valuable coins from the circulation, we have found the American half-dollars, French five-franc pieces, and U. S. trade-dollars, in fact our heterogeneous silver has driven out the U.S. gold, and silver is practically our standard. This will continue to be the case; for so long as by law every debtor can pay claim against him amount-

ing to fifty dollars or less, in silver, he will use the cheaper coin to do this with and the gold which would otherwise be used, finds its way a road where it is more valuable.' Mr. Sumner said, (see P. C. "Advertiser," May 5, 1879): "The diagnosis of your disease is not difficult. Your law-makers have tried the old game: to make it easy for debtors to pay debts. You have simply gone over to the silver standard and you have nothing else. If your coin is American halves and quarters, your currency is simply depreciated over 20 per cent. below its assumed standard and the consequences are natural: exchange is high, and the exportation of gold is profitable, while silver goes to you. You cannot get gold into circulation while your law stands as it does. (1) The limit for payment—fifty dollars—is far too high. (2) Silver ought to be payable for not over $10, better still $5, if you want a gold standard and silver subsidiary. (3) The restoration of the gold standard in fact has nothing to do with the exports and imports one way or the other. The reform of your money laws would correct the exchange and bring you into sound relations to other countries, according to the value of your products. If you use gold and nothing else (except subsidiary silver) you need have no fear that it will go out in any way to do you harm. What harm could it do you? You would drain from California all that was drained from you and keep all you needed all the time."

This provoked but little discussion. Merchants predicted that as soon as we exported more than we imported, gold would flow hither and remain in circulation. I predicted that it would not so long as we had a depreciated currency here. Now, this whole question was settled in 1811, by the Report of the Bullion Committee of the Parliament of Great Britain. The Committee reported among other things as follows, (Prof. Sumner's History of American Currency, p. 352): "It appears to your Committee to have been long settled and understood as a principle that the difference of exchange resulting from the state of trade and payments is limited by the expense of carrying and insuring the precious metals from one country to the other; at least, that it cannot for any considerable length of time exceed that limit. The real difference of exchange, resulting from the state of trade, and payments, never can fall lower than the amount of such expense of carriage, including the insurance. The truth of this position is so plain, and it is so uniformly agreed to by all the practical authorities, both commercial and political, that your Committee will assume it as indisputable." It is equally true as a corollary that if exchange is in demand it is as likely to go as high

as the cost of the carriage of the coin to where the debt must be paid. The Committee found that the balance of trade for 1808 was £12,000,000 in favor of Great Britain and for 1809, £14,000,000, and yet gold could not be kept in the country and the real difficulty was found to be the large issue of inconvertible paper by the Bank of England. Mr. Sumner says, (p. 265 in "American Currency"): "If, therefore, there is an outflow of gold, serious and long continued, accompanied by an unfavorable exchange, it is a sign that there is an inferior currency behind the gold which is displacing it. The surplus of imports of goods over the exports of goods is nothing but the return payment for this export of gold, and is not a cause, but a consequence. If, financially, we want to turn this tide and produce an influx, there is only one way to do it, and that is to remove the inferior currency. As for waiting for the balance of trade to turn, and bring gold into a country which has a depreciated (paper) currency, one might as well take his stand at the foot of a hill and wait for it to change into a declivity before climbing it."

A comparison of our exports with our imports (see Thrum's Annual for 1884) shows that from 1845 to 1868 our imports exceeded our exports, and during this period and later we had gold in circulation. From 1868 to 1883 the tables are turned and we exported more than we imported and during this period gold is not in circulation. In 1882 the imports were $4,974,510, and the exports $8,299,017. Making all due allowance for freight, insurance, overvaluation of exports, remittances for absentee owners, etc., etc., the balance of trade is clearly in our favor, and yet we find an American twenty-dollar piece as rare a sight as it was in the United States during the war of the Rebellion. Can any argument make these facts any stronger? The presence of a depreciated currency must account for the phenomenon. What makes exchange so high? We sell our sugars in California and in the Pacific slope for United States gold. Planters' agents draw exchange on the shipment of sugar, and sell it to the bank for a premium, and the bank charges customers who need it to remit for payment of goods bought, and are charged 2 to 2½ per cent. The cost of sending the gold to San Francisco, if it was in circulation, would not exceed, for freight and insurance, *one* per cent. The deduction is inevitable to my mind. The cause of this is the presence of an overvalued or depreciated currency here. Even the learned Secretary of the Treasury of the United States does not seem to hit upon the true solution. He says on page 35 of his report to Congress for 1883: "The ballance of trade growing from the

earnings of American commerce; the commissions of merchants and bankers, and the profits of American citizens is believed to be in favor of this country, as the course of exchange, as this Department is informed, is constantly against the Hawaiian remitter to the extent of 1½ to 2 per cent." I see no reason why exchange, even if our exports should treble our imports, could not be forced, by a combination between the banks and planters' agents, to 6, 10, 15, or 20 per cent.—up to just a little below what it would cost to box up our polyglot silver, send it to San Francisco, and realize upon it as bullion. The conversatism of our bank and the patriotism of planters' agents, who are content with a profit already large, and which the producers are really entitled to, alone save us from this result. If this combination, however, should be made, it might have the result of opening the eyes of some who now think that two half-dollars, worth 82 cents, are worth as much as a gold dollar worth 100 cents. I predicted in April, 1880, that the trade dollar, weighing 7½ grains more than the standard dollar would go out of circulation, and it has proved true. They have all gone to China or elsewhere. Sovereigns have been imported here during many months past at a profit, at the rate of some $20,000 worth by every steamer from Sydney. They pass for $5 though worth only $4.84, but there is still a profit in exporting them to China over buying exchange, and so they go out as speedily as they come in.

But it is said we have no mines and no mint, and so there is no one to provide us with gold. Perry says ("Political Economy," p. 231): "Every nation has natural advantages in some sort of products. Just so soon as these are properly developed, it has some things to offer to the world at a better rate than anybody else can offer them. Thither and to buy those things will gold flow, if not directly from the gold producing lands, then indirectly, but inevitably from those lands where the gold is."

Mr. Sumner says in his letter to me of May 29, 1880, (See Hawaiian Gazette): "You will have all the gold you need if you will dispense with everything else except the subsidiary purposes. You do not need a mint. It would be a foolish expense for you when you can use American coins. The fact that you have no mines makes no difference. It is easier for you to get gold by raising sugar and sending it to California, than it would to get it out of the mines in the islands, if there were any."

For myself I cannot see why with a market only seven days distant where our sugar is sold for United States gold, we cannot have it here,

as well as in the State of Nebraska. That State has no mines and no mint. But it has wheat, corn, beef and pork to sell and it gets in exchange for these all the gold it needs.

The difficulty in our situation is as stated by Mr. Summer that the "islands have *in effect* the silver standard. The islands are eager buyers and strain their capital and credit to buy abroad. Exchange is therefore against them as a rule. This would cause them to spare their metallic money and send it away or would check the flow of metal towards the islands. This is why you have so strong a tendency towards any "cheaper" medium. It is the strongest reason why you should hold to the best medium, since, if you yield to the tendency, your currency will degenerate more and more and the financial state of the islands will be chronically bad.'" "So long as the limit of silver legal tender is kept at $50, no reform at all can be effected. When you say you will use nothing but gold and stick to it, you will have nothing but gold. As long as you put off this resolution and dabble in silver you will find it hard to get gold and reform will be impossible."

But, says the merchant, the Chinamen will box up the gold and send it to China. A Chinaman is no different from anybody else. If law and rigidly enforced custom makes him pay all of his debts over $10 in amount in gold, he will keep his gold for this purpose, as will every one else.

I have not said anything in reference to the recent importation of $425,000 worth of Hawaiian half and quarter dollars, and I touch it lightly as having to some sensitive minds a possibly political aspect. I can say, however, that as a piece of statecraft, with a law on our statute books making the United States gold dollar the standard, and requiring payments to be made in United States gold in certain large proportions, it betrays the grossest ignorance of political economy. For with the hope and expectation which this kingdom should ever keep before it of resuming gold payments, the introduction of so large an amount of silver, (confessedly and intentionally of far less intrinsic value than its nominal value, in order that it may stay in circulation) is excessive in amount if it is to be used solely as subsidiary coin, *i. e.*, for making change.

By the Monetary Convention between the Latin nations, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, with a population in 1876 of 72,000,000. the limit of issue of subsidiary coin is only 6 francs, or $1.20 per capita; in all $83,000,000. Hawaii, in the same proportion, with a population

of 75,000 would require 430,000 francs, or about $86,000 of subsidiary coin, whereas we have already five times as much sent down to us in Hawaiian halves and quarters. Senator Sherman estimated that only 70 or 80 millions of subsidiary coin can be absorbed in the United States, in a population of about 45,000,000.

As this coin is of even less intrinsic value than some other coins which are in circulation now passing for a dollar, it will inevitably drive an equal amount of the other coins out, and if the tax on silver is still kept on, there will exist the same fear of stringency for actual want of sufficient circulating medium, and more Hawaiian silver money must be sent hither until all our coinage is of that character. *When this coin once gets into circulation it postpones indefinitely the resumption of gold payments.*

We have a beautiful country, compact and easily governed, too small to be corrupt very long, and an enlightened statemanship could easily restore our finances to a sound and safe condition—the mints of the United States rolling hither their beautiful double eagles, eagles and half eagles in return for our sugar and rice, money with which we can pay our debts all over the world and with exchange only a trifle higher than the cost of exporting the gold. It is perhaps utopian to expect this, but nothing but the wilful ignorance of man, or something worse—prevents it.

1. Preface to A History of American Currency, by W. G. Sumner, Professor of Political and Social Science in Yale College.
2. Political Economy, by J. Bascom, L.L.D., President of Marion University.

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MEMORIAL TO SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February* 3, 1883.

To Hon. JUSTIN F. MORRILL,
Chairman Senate Finance Committee.

SIR: The Hawaiian treaty, which has been referred to your Honorable Committee, has been so unjustly charged with faults and results not incident to its operation, that I beg your patience in addressing you on the subject in this communication.

I may pass over without comment, now, the accusations which have been so frequently made, that this treaty has been used by the islanders as a means and cloak for defrauding the United States. Charges of this kind have been published with an utter recklessness as to the truth, and with an acrimony which has not hesitated to accuse American and Hawaiian officials, high and low, of gross negligence as well as of criminal participation in alleged frauds.

And so, also, other charges as to the effect of the treaty upon the sugar market, the sugar manufacturers, and the sugar production of the United States have been industriously impressed upon public attention. These charges need only to be examined by the light of evidence and of reasonable deduction in order to convince your Committee of their untenableness.

All of the allegations above sketched are untrue, and contrary to fact. Evidence in abundance exists on the Islands and on the Pacific Coast to show that they are contrary to fact. The Hawaiian Government and the Hawaiian people court thorough investigation on all these points, and will hail with satisfaction the advent of any commission which may be authorized by the United States to look into and examine them. I regret that such a report, full and complete in its details and covering all the workings of the treaty, is not now before your Honorable Committee.

But my main object in this communication is to look over

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the financial aspects of the treaty from the national and the *trade* point of view.

From the national point of view the treaty costs the United States Treasury a sacrifice of revenue. This has been remitted to the islanders, thereby allowing them to secure a considerable *part* of the remitted duty, yet very *far* from the whole of it.

On the one hand it is said the Treasury has released from duty for the fiscal year 1882, 107,098,505 pounds of Hawaiian sugar, which, by duty at 0.315 per pound, amounts to $3,374,255. (See report Supervising Special Agent of Treasury.) This duty is equal to a little more than 62½ per cent. "ad valorem."

At present these figures cover the cost to the Treasury, yet your Committee are aware that both now and at any future time Congressional action on the tariff, to which the treaty is always liable, will bring about another showing of figures for consideration.

And again, this showing is an exhibit of what has come about through the force of the treaty itself as a commercial bond and business stimulant. It affords no indication of the situation before the treaty, nor criteria for Treasury calculations of the situation which will be, should the destruction of the Treaty be resolved upon.

On the other hand, and as an offset, the *people* of the United States receive the remission of the Hawaiian duties on American goods.

This duty is truly but a modest ten per cent. "ad valorem."

2d. They receive the *transfer* of nearly the whole of the island trade and commerce. This trade alone with the United States amounted in 1882 (exports and imports) to a total of $10,997,069. (See U. S. Treasury Report, 1882.)

3d. They receive an outlet for their produce and manufactures, with their *profits* thereon. This outlet is increasing rapidly year by year, was made by the treaty, and is dependent on it for farther existence or increase. Your export for 1882 exceeded $3,500,000.

4th. *They* receive the whole carrying trade of the islands,

goods and passengers, both inward and outward, as well as inter-island.

5th. The United States as a *nation* receives a preparatory assurance of success in its desire for commercial supremacy on the Pacific Ocean.

6th. It receives some assurance as to the future when inter-oceanic canals shall have pierced this continent.

7th. It receives a full assurance as to the future and the destiny of the Hawaiian Islands. What that assurance is worth, your Honorable Committee must judge of. For myself, after a residence of more than thirty years on those islands, their worth, it seems to me, from your *national* point of view, can hardly be overestimated.

Again: From the *trade* point of view I venture to offer some suggestions to your Honorable Committee. This affects the *people* of the United States, as contradistinguished from the Treasury.

In the annual report of the Treasury for 1882, it appears that the trade with the Hawaiian Islands has been:

Total import	$7,646,294
" export	3,272,172
Balance trade against United States	$4,374,122

There is a single annotation to be made on the above figures. In the valuation of the imports from the Hawaiian Islands, in both sugar and rice, the remitted duty *is included*; for there is not in Honolulu any other buyers than American buyers, and hence no world's market price contradistinguished from American price. Hence the market value of Hawaiian sugars in Honolulu is what they bring on the Pacific coast, less cost of carriage, commission, and charges, and this *market* value the American consuls compel the shippers to invoice at, under consular instructions. Hence Hawaiian sugars, during the calendar year 1881, as per report of Collector-General at Honolulu (W. F. Allen), were invoiced at an average of over $6.50 per cwt., while similar sugars from other parts of the world were invoiced, both in San Francisco and other

ports of the United States, at an average of about $4.20 per cwt.

From the trade point of view, therefore, the above $7,646,-294, includes *all* that either the Treasury or the people of the United States pay for Hawaiian trade, and the showing is a balance contra of $4,374,122.

On the other hand this balance is offset by items which do not appear in custom-house reports.

1st. By outward freights on Hawaiian produce, all earned by American ships.

2d. By inward freights on American products to the islands.

3d. By profits on American consigned goods enhanced by remission of Hawaiian duties.

4th. By purchase commissions to American agents on goods shipped.

5th. By selling commissions to American agents on all Hawaiian exports.

6th. By marine insurance, both outward and inward.

7th. By Hawaiian annual subsidies paid to American steamships.

8th. By purchase of vessels from the United States to ply between the islands, as well as transoceanic.

9th. By interest paid on over three and a half millions of American capital borrowed for investments.

10th. By dividends paid to American residents at home who have invested over $9,000,000 in island enterprises under the treaty.

11th. By profit on bank exchange furnished for debts in European and other countries.

It may not be amiss to add amounts of money secured by American citizens residing in Hawaii, and spent by them in the United States, in fire and life insurance premuims, in traveling, in education of children, &c., &c. In fact the entire business between the two countries, embraced in the items above enumerated, is transacted and carried on exclusively by citizens of the United States, and it results in a pecuniary advantage to them of an amount which cannot yet be accurately estimated. Virtually and really there is no balance of trade against the United States.

Looking at this point from another way the same result is reached. Take 1882 for illustration. The balance of trade against the United States appears to have been $4,374,122; yet to settle this balance, according to the report of the Treasury, the United States sent only coin to the amount of $102,-000. Admitting that the United States account furnished all of the exchange for paying island imports from countries other than the United States, the total of this exchange fell short of $1,000,000, and hence this so-called balance against the United States, of quite $3,272,000, went to the people of the United States in the shapes above enumerated.

There has been a constant balance of trade since 1875 against the United States, as per customs tables, of more than an annual average of $1,000,000, and yet the coin export from 1875 to 1882, inclusive, has not averaged more than $175,000 annually.

Such, Mr. Chairman, is about the sum and substance of the financial aspects of the treaty.

The United States Treasury remits a certain amount of duties, for which the *nation* receives certain valuable considerations.

The *people* of the United States do not pay any more or any less for the sugars imported than they did before, but they pay for them in domestic products and domestic manufactures instead of gold, and thereby have opened up new sources of *employment* and *profit* for themselves. The *duty*, which they still pay in the shape of *prices*, is returned to them in the shape of *profits*, while trade between the two countries is brisk and increasing, instead of being, as before, languishing and tending to extinction. Population is increasing upon the islands, drawn from various parts of the world, thus making constant and ready customers for American products.

So, on the other hand, by the legitimate operation of the treaty, and without awakening national jealousies, the islands are being bound to the United States as with "hooks of steel," to both its commercial as well as its political policy.

I have the honor to remain, yours truly,

J. Mott Smith,
Hawaiian Commissioner.

A REPORT

ON

THE HAWAIIAN TREATY.

PRESENTED TO THE

NATIONAL BOARD OF TRADE,

AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING,

HELD AT WASHINGTON IN JANUARY, 1883.

BOSTON:
TOLMAN & WHITE, PRINTERS, 383 WASHINGTON STREET.
1883.

REPORT.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed by the Executive Council of the National Board of Trade, to consider and report upon the working of the Reciprocity Treaty with the Hawaiian Islands, beg to report:

The Treaty of Reciprocity between the United States of America and the Hawaiian Islands, was negotiated at Washington in 1875, the ratifications being exchanged June 3rd, of that year. By its provisions it could not take effect until a law to carry it into operation had been passed by Congress. Such a law having been enacted, it went into operation September 9, 1876. By its terms, the treaty is to remain in force for seven years from the date of its coming into operation, and, further, until the expiration of twelve months after either of the contracting parties shall give notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same.

At any time, therefore, after September next, the United States can, upon giving twelve months' notice, terminate the treaty.

The National Board of Trade is asked to petition Congress that at the expiration of the seven years the treaty be abrogated. The reasons alleged by the gentlemen who brought this matter before the Board, for the action asked for, were two-fold: — 1st. That the remission of duties causes a large loss of revenue to our Government, amounting in 1881 to $1,947,770. And, 2nd: That the importation of sugar, duty free, "creates a great and growing ruinous monopoly, greatly injuring our merchants and refiners of the East, who cannot compete with this vast difference, while the enormous gains of this monopoly go to enrich a few individuals;" and these individuals, by combining with the railroads and transportation companies, have raised the freight on sugar going West, to double the amount charged for the same cargo shipped East.

The Committee have received from the National Anti-Monopoly League, in support of the proposed action of the Board, a printed

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document, in which it is charged that China and Manilla sugars are imported into the Hawaiian Islands in large quantities, and re-exported as Hawaiian sugars, and thus admitted into this country free of duty.

It is also alleged that the labor system of the Hawaiian Islands is virtually a system of slavery as sad, and but little more hopeful, than the system of African slavery, formerly prevailing in the Southern States.

By the terms of the treaty, the United States agree to receive, free of duty, numerous articles, the produce of the Hawaiian Islands, of which unrefined sugar constitutes the chief item. In consideration of such admission of Hawaiian produce into the United States, the Hawaiian Government covenants to admit, duty free, into its ports, nearly all the products and manufactures of the United States; and, as a further consideration, His Hawaiian Majesty covenants, that "so long as this treaty shall remain, he will not lease, or otherwise dispose of, or create a lien upon any port, harbor, or other territory in his dominions, or grant any special privileges or rights of use therein to any other power, State or Government, nor make any treaty by which any other nation shall obtain the same privileges relative to the admission of any articles free of duty hereby secured to the United States."

Under the fostering influence of this treaty, the production of sugar has been stimulated at the Hawaiian Islands, so that the imports into this country have increased from 18,000,000 pounds in 1875, the year before the treaty went into operation, to 106,000,000 pounds in the last fiscal year. It is believed by those conversant with the productive capacity of the Islands, and their labor supply, that this amount will be increased hereafter to about 140,000,000 pounds per annum. This would involve a yearly loss of revenue, provided there be no reduction in the present high tariff upon sugars, of about $3.500,000.

It is presumed that the National Board of Trade sees no objection in principle to the establishment of special reciprocal trade relations with other nations, as its records bear witness to repeated efforts to secure such relations with Canada.

This being the case, the loss of revenue furnishes the only argument of any force that can be advanced for the abrogation of the treaty.

The only other grounds that have been urged for such action, appear, after careful examination, quite untenable.

Not a particle of proof has ever been adduced to sustain the charge that foreign sugars other than Hawaiian, have been re-shipped from Hawaiian ports as of native growth, in fraud of our revenue. On the other hand, the Committee have the testimony of gentlemen of the highest character, long resident at the Islands, some of them now engaged in trade, and others, without any pecuniary interests there, that, from the position and limited size of Honolulu (the only harbor where this could be carried on), from the customs of the port, the small population, and the vital interest of the whole community in the preservation of the treaty, such transhipments could not be kept concealed. Every planter and merchant knows that his own business success, as well as the general prosperity, depends upon maintaining the treaty in its integrity. The Hawaiian Government not only has a vital interest in the maintenance of the treaty, but it has also a direct pecuniary interest in collecting its own duty of two and a half cents a pound upon foreign sugars. It is hardly too much to say that every man, woman and child is a coast-guard to prevent such frauds as are alleged. Besides these, there are United States officials whose duty it is to see that there is no infringement of the treaty in this respect.

The Hon. Mr. COMLEY, late United States Minister at Honolulu, in answer to a letter of the Hawaiian Minister of foreign affairs, calling his attention to newspaper charges of fraud, of the character referred to, writes as follows:

"In this case, I think the Boston Journal is mistaken.

"1. The natural increase in the sugar production of the Islands, stimulated by the treaty, fully accounts for all the increase, and a still further increase in 1881, of the exports.

"2. There has been no public or private information of any considerable amount of Chinese sugar leaving China for these ports, or being brought into the Sandwich Islands; no such quantity as twenty million pounds, or anywhere near that, in all the years since the treaty went into effect. The total amount of Chinese and all foreign sugar brought into the Sandwich Islands since the treaty went into effect, is reported to me from official sources, as 9,107 pounds, of the total value of $321.

"3. No such fraud could have been consummated without the connivance of all the Hawaiian and United States Consuls and Custom House officials of the *forum res sitæ* (so to speak) in addition to the principals on both sides of the water.

"4. The United States Consul has announced that he will look upon any and all unrefined sugar brought here from abroad as a *prima facie* intendment of fraud, and to be kept under strict surveillance until accounted for.

"5. Every sugar planter, — nearly every resident of the Islands, — is interested, personally and pecuniarily, in seeing that no such fraud is committed, and that the treaty, so advantageous to the Islands, be secured in its tenure by the utmost good faith.

"6. The Chinese sugar would be inferior and would not bring Sandwich Islands prices, or pass for Sandwich Islands sugar.

"7. There is an Hawaiian tariff of two and one-half cents a pound on all foreign rice or sugar, except that from the United States. It would be cheaper to pay the United States duty than to pay the Hawaiian duty, and the cost of trans-shipment, repacking, and other legitimate expenses, to say nothing of '*hush money*.'

"8. Every pound of sugar shipped from these Islands to the United States, as Hawaiian product, is required to be invoiced in the name of the plantation producing it; and, by a recent regulation, these invoices are required to be separate and separately sworn to; so that every pound of sugar can be traced to the plantation upon which it is alleged to have been produced, and any fraudulent addition or substitution is liable to almost certain discovery."

The allegation that the labor on the Hawaiian plantations is virtually slave labor, is also wholly unsubstantiated; and it is also disproved by the testimony of gentlemen of high character resident at the Islands, who testify to the protection afforded to the laborers by the laws, by the judicial and executive officers, and by public opinion. In support of their testimony, we present herewith a pamphlet published in Honolulu in 1882, entitled "The Statutes of the Hawaiian Kingdom Relating to Apprentices and Contract Laborers, with a Synopsis of Rulings and Decisions of the Supreme Court thereon, Prepared by the Hon. LAWRENCE McCULLY, Justice of the Supreme Court." From an examination of these statutes, it appears that all labor contracts have to be read and explained to both the parties by a Government agent, before whom both must acknowledge that they understand and freely execute the same. The length of a day's labor is fixed at nine hours. Laborers are exempt from service on Government holidays and election days. Laborers' dwellings shall be kept in

good sanitary condition, subject to inspection by the Board of Health. Any laborer complaining of cruelty, misusage, or violation of any of the terms of the contract, can have his master summoned before a police or district magistrate, where his own testimony is received in evidence, and if his complaint is sustained, he shall be discharged from all obligations of service, and the master shall be fined.

The only remaining reason, other than the loss of revenue, alleged for terminating the treaty, is that it creates a great and growing ruinous monopoly in the hands of a few individuals, who, by combining with the railroads and transportation companies have shut out Eastern sugar from the markets of the Pacific and mid-Continental States. Careful scrutiny into these allegations will satisfy any impartial inquirer that they are based upon erroneous reports.

From a pamphlet entitled "A New View of the Reciprocity Treaty between the Hawaiian Islands and the United States," by HENRY M. WHITNEY, for many years Postmaster-General of the Hawaiian Islands, and more recently the proprietor and editor of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, we learn that on the first of January, 1882, there were fifty-eight sugar mills, and about one hundred plantations on the islands, and that about 25,000 acres of land were cropped in 1881, and that this embraces the best sugar lands on the islands, not above 1,200 feet elevation, and having abundance of rain, or capable of being irrigated. Twenty-three of these plantations are owned and carried on by chartered companies, and the remainder by private parties, or firms; one mill often grinding the cane of several planters. About two-thirds of the mill machinery has been manufactured in the United States or Hawaii, and one-third in England or Scotland. The capital now invested in the business, is estimated at $20,000,000, two-thirds of which is owned or furnished by Americans, and the rest by English, Germans, Hawaiians, and one or two mills are owned by Chinese.

The sugar is mostly sold to San Francisco refiners, contracts being usually made in Honolulu for the sugar to be delivered in San Francisco. The price paid under these contracts, as the committee were informed by a leading merchant of Honolulu, is the full market price of Manilla sugar of a given grade, with a proportionate increase or decrease for any advance or falling off from such grade in saccharine quality or color. Planters usually

have the option of these rates or New York rates for same grades, less the freight from San Francisco to the Eastern market.

The Committee are informed that the Hawaiian producer receives *always* the price of duty-paid sugar of same quality.

It is understood that the sugar refining business of our Pacific coast is in the hands of a very few parties, and it is reported that these parties have secured from the trans-continental railroads such advantages in the rates of East and West freights as secure to them a virtual monopoly of the sugar market over a very large territory.

However much such a state of things is to be deprecated, it does not come under the consideration of the committee, excepting so far as the sugar producers of the Hawaiian Islands may be implicated in it. An impression seems to prevail that the San Francisco refiners are also the sole or chief producers of Hawaiian sugar. Your committee are satisfied that this is not the case. They are informed that parties in San Francisco, of whom the leading refiner there is one, have invested to the amount of several millions in sugar enterprises at the Islands, so that of the whole importation of sugar, about one-third belongs to these California capitalists. Such of them as are also interested in refining receive in addition to the profits of that business the planter's profit also. Much the larger part of the crop, however, belongs to men who have no interest in California refineries or their monopoly. This monopoly would continue precisely the same whether the raw sugars come from Hawaii or China — in other words, whether the refineries pay their two and a half or three cents a pound to the United States in duties, or to the planters in enhanced price.

Some opposition to the treaty has been shown by the sugar producers of Louisiana, on the ground that it lessens the protection which the present high tariff affords them. While, however, the consumption of the country amounts to 1,150,000 tons and the production of Louisiana and Hawaii combined is less than twenty per cent. of this quantity, the price for the whole must be the price fixed by the commerce of the world, *plus* the cost of carriage and the duties.

The question then recurs, do the people of the United States receive an equivalent for the three million dollars, more or less, of revenue remitted on Hawaiian produce? If they do not, and

will not, the treaty should be terminated. If they do receive a full equivalent the treaty should be maintained.

The benefits which the friends of the treaty promised from its passage were of two kinds: first, direct commercial advantages in the opening and development of a market for American productions; and, secondly, political advantages in the control secured to the United States of a group of islands which have been designated as the key to the commerce of the North Pacific.

The actual increase of our trade with the Hawaiian Islands since the treaty went into effect in September, 1876, has been very great, as the following table will show:

Year ended June 30.	Imports.	Domestic Exports.	Foreign Exports.
1876	1,382,592	754,267	54,990
1877	2,631,763	1,296,942	163,520
1878	2,688,430	1,783,690	52,653
1879	3,264,564	2,423.158	86,740
1880	4,606,444	1,985,506	100,664
1881	5,553.000	2,694,583	83,489
1882	7,646,294	3,272,172	78,603

It will be seen that the imports have increased nearly six-fold and the exports more than four-fold. This more rapid increase of imports than of exports may seem to show that the advantages of the treaty are on the side of Hawaii. It can be shown, however, that the greater ratio of increase of imports over exports is rather apparent than real.

Before the treaty, Hawaiian sugar shipped to United States ports was invoiced at its value in Honolulu, and that was, of course, a price at which it could be sold in competition with other sugars in the markets of the world. After the adoption of the treaty the custom grew up, as has been stated, of selling the sugars to be delivered with all charges paid in San Francisco, *and at the selling price there of the same grades of sugar from other countries after the duties had been paid.* The singular custom has thence obtained — at the instance, it is said, of the United States officials at Honolulu — of invoicing the sugar at this selling price, although it is some sixteen per cent. higher than the producer realizes after paying freight, commissions, and other charges. This price is more than thirty per cent. higher than that at which similar sugars from any other country are invoiced, or that at which Hawaiian sugars were formerly invoiced.

Thus, in the year ended June 30, 1882, the whole amount of duty-paying brown sugar imported into this country was 1,873,546,056 pounds, valued at $83,147,135, this being an average value of 4.43 cents a pound. During the same year there was imported from the Hawaiian Islands 106,181,858 pounds, valued at $6,918,083, this being an average value of 6.53 cents a pound. Deduct from the valuation of the Hawaiian sugar this $2\frac{1}{10}$ cents a pound — $2,229,819 on the whole importation, and the whole amount of the imports for 1882 would be $5,416,475, a fraction less than four times the imports of 1876.

The exports would still, to be sure, be some forty per cent. less than the imports. To offset this difference, however, there are incidental receipts in the shape of freights, commissions, insurance, passage money, and the sale of steamers and sailing vessels for the inter-island trade. From a document issued by the Hon. J. S. WALKER, Hawaiian Minister of Finance, in December, 1881, we abridge the following memorandum statement of freights, commissions, and insurance paid to American vessels, American houses, and American companies since January 1, 1877:

1877	$534,300
1878	778,109
1879	851,348
1880	1,117,060
1881 (9 months)	1,378,000

Amount paid for vessels built in the United States since 1876, viz.: 13 schooners and 8 steamers, $450,000.

Paid by passengers to and from the United States, three-fourths of which has been paid by Island residents, $750,000.

Fire and marine insurance paid to American companies, not including the insurance paid on produce and merchandise to and from the United States, about $75,000.

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company receives in cash and other privileges a sum equal each year to $25,000.

The Collector General of the Kingdom states that there are now employed in the carrying trade between the Pacific Coast and the Hawaiian Islands about thirty vessels of an aggregate tonnage of about 9,000 tons. Between the Atlantic ports and the Islands ——— vessels are employed, of an aggregate tonnage of ——— tons. In addition to these, a company has been formed to run a line of steamships between San Francisco and Honolulu. Two

iron steamers of 2,500 tons each, to cost $500,000 each, to be the pioneers of the line, are now being built on the Delaware, and meanwhile the company have two chartered steamers on the route.

In these days when we hear so much of the decadence of American commerce, it is gratifying to find one field in which our commerce is on the increase.

When all these sources of profit to our merchants and producers are duly considered, it will be found that the direct commercial benefits of the treaty are more nearly balanced between the two countries than would at first appear. But far beyond all present direct commercial results are the political advantages which the United States derive from the control of the Hawaiian Islands.

Already far-seeing men look forward to the day when the commerce of the Pacific shall rival that of the Atlantic. With our long stretch of coast upon that ocean and its finest harbors in our possession, the United States must guard jealously her interests there.

The Ways and Means Committee in their report to the House of Representatives in 1876, accompanying the bill to carry the treaty into operation, state that Mr. WEBSTER, when Secretary of State, even before the acquisition of California, declared that the Government of the United States would look with displeasure upon any effort by any other government to acquire a preponderating influence over the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and he further said, in relation to an intimation that the French would probably take possession of the Islands, that he trusted they would not take possession, but if they did they would be dislodged if it took the whole power of this Government to do it, if his advice were taken.

The same report quotes the London Times as saying that "the narrow land-locked inlet or lagoon named Pearl River Harbor is in itself small in absolute extent, but it is of inestimable value to any civilized nation possessing it and using it for naval purposes." The maritime power which holds Pearl River Harbor and moors its fleet there, holds also the key of the Northern Pacific.

General SCHOFIELD who, as commander of our military forces on the Pacific Coast, was naturally deeply interested in the problem of the defence of that Coast, and who had visited the Islands and carefully studied their position and capabilities, in a letter to the

Hon. J. K. LUTTRELL, which was read in the House of Representatives during the debate on the treaty, says:

"The Hawaiian Islands constitute the only natural outpost to the defences of our Pacific Coast. In the possession of a foreign naval power in time of war, as a depot from which to fit out hostile expeditions against the coast and our commerce on the Pacific Ocean, they would afford means of incalculable injury to the United States. If the absolute neutrality of the Islands could always be insured, that would suffice. But they have not and never can have the power to maintain their own neutrality, and now their necessities compel them to seek alliance with some nation that can relieve their embarrassment."

We cannot refuse the Islands the little they so sorely need and at the same time deny their right to seek it elsewhere.

Admiral PORTER, having urged upon the Senate his views of the importance of the United States securing a paramount influence at the Hawaiian Islands, repeated the same views in a letter to the Hon. FERNANDO WOOD, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. He writes:

"The Hawaiian Islands occupy a position in the Pacific Ocean corresponding with that of the Bermudas in the Atlantic, and the latter afford the British a principal outpost on our coast whence they could launch forth their ships of war upon us with perfect impunity. The British Government, fully aware of the importance of the Hawaiian Islands, have long had their eyes upon them, and but for American influence Hawaii would now be a second Bermuda." "The Fiji Islands lay unoccupied for years until the British navy became all iron-clad. Now they are wanted and taken as a depot."

"A line drawn from the newly acquired Fiji Islands to the British possessions on the northwest coast of British America, passes through the Hawaiian Islands, and the taking possession of the Fijis is but the preparatory step to the occupation of Hawaii. It is necessary to complete the chain of naval stations which is in the future to dominate over our commerce in the Pacific."

"In fifteen years from this time there will be such a preponderance of the foreign element in the population of the Islands that they will naturally fall into the hands of some other power unless we can put a clause in the treaty to prevent it. Such a clause, it seems to me, can only be secured by granting reciprocal commercial favors."

Such were the views of the leading authorities in both military and naval circles when the treaty was made. The clause to prevent any other nation from obtaining control of the Islands was inserted in the treaty and has already been quoted. It has been secured, as Admiral PORTER suggested, by granting reciprocal commercial favors. Until some better mode of securing the same important end is proposed and its feasibility demonstrated, it would seem to be most unwise for the United States to let go the great advantage we have gained because of the slight loss of revenue which the treaty involves.

BOSTON, January 15, 1883.

GEORGE P. DENNY.
EDWARD KEMBLE.

H-1-R 120

FROM
W. SEVERANCE,
2 1 CALIFORNIA STREET,
SAN FRANCISCO

PETITION

TO

U. S. SENATE

AND

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BY

Ship Builders, Ship Owners and Lumber Merchants of Pacific Coast States,

RELATING TO THE

TREATY OF RECIPROCITY

BETWEEN THE

UNITED STATES and the HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

SAN FRANCISCO:
1886.

Cunningham, Curtiss & Welch, Stationers, S. F.

To the Senate of the United States

—AND—

House of Representatives in Congress, assembled:

The undersigned petitioners have the honor to address you in relation to the present Treaty of Reciprocity between the United States and Hawaii, now under discussion in Congress regarding its abrogation.

Representing important interests, as shipbuilders, ship owners and lumber manufacturers we desire to call your earnest attention to those industries in which we are so largely identified, and in the event of abrogation which would be seriously interfered with

We do not aim to present arguments or reasons of a political character for this Treaty, these have already been ably and fully submitted in petitions to Congress from our leading merchants, producers and manufacturers, addressed to our late Senator John F. Miller while in the U. S. Senate, advocating this Treaty, but we now ask your consideration of a few facts relating to the interests we represent, which may lead you to a favorable view of the subject and to such legislation as will continue our reciprocal relations with the Hawaiian Islands. We believe this Treaty was concluded and put in operation with the view "to maintain our commercial influence and the security of the maritime interests of the United States, especially on the Pacific Coast," and that the United States should not allow domination or influence by any foreign power by which these interests might be destroyed in value or greatly impaired.

This Treaty also contains stipulations in our favor, the retention of which is of essential importance to this country, especially with reference to our present and future National interests, while the influence of these reciprocal relations existing now upon our carrying trade between the Hawaiian Islands and this Coast, and upon the still larger increase of our shipbuilding for Hawaiian owners, has been one of its most gratifying results, and the investments on the Pacific Coast by citizens of the United States having been made under this Treaty should be protected.

The Treaty has built up and maintained a large and growing commerce under the flag of the United States, but we have neighbors who are powerful rivals seeking this trade, and we need the Treaty to protect us, its abrogation will take this commerce from us and the Hawaiian Government would undoubtedly accept some of the many propositions already made by other Governments looking to Reciprocity.

The British Empire through its North Pacific and Southern Pacific Colonial possessions eager to enter into commercial relations with Hawaii; our English friends with their vessels sailing from ports in British Columbia, in the event of abrogation. will at once control this carrying trade, and a commercial treaty with these countries will then surely follow, they will furnish Hawaii with their lumber, hay, grain, flour and products similar to our own, while Australia will furnish a still larger variety of her products, including cargoes of coal. Hawaiian productions in return will seek the Colonial markets, sugars will be carried to Victoria in English bottoms and transported to the Dominion of Canada over the Canadian Pacific Rail Road.

Let the United States continue our Reciprocal relations, and you prevent this loss to our maritime interests. Before you consent to abrogation, which is a blow that will strike

down all the interests we represent, we ask you to consider well, all the facts relating to the subject of such vital importance to us.

To show the value of these interests at this moment, we submit a list of the American built and owned vessels that have been engaged in the trade with the Hawaiian Islands during the past year:

Two first-class American built Steamers, the Alameda and Mariposa, 3000 tons each, cost $1 000,000; one small steamer, Santa Maria, 500 tons, cost $30,000.

Fifty-three sailing vessels of American build, cost $1,100,000

	Tons.
Bktn. Amelia	378
" Catherine Sudden	368
" Discovery	395
" Wrestler	447
" Ella	249
" Eureka	276
" John Smith	565
" John Worster	581
" Katie Flickinger	449
" Klikitat	493
" Mary Winkelman	496
" W. H. Dimond	376
Brig Consuela	279
" Courtney Ford	381
" Claus Spreckels	234
" J. D. Spreckels	253
" North Star	389
" Selina	332
" W. G. Irwin	331
" W. H. Meyer	256
Schr. Vesta	272
" Wm. Renton	425
" W. S. Bowne	391
Bark Aurora	822
" Caibarien	383
" C. O. Whitmore	885
" Ceylon	681

	Tons.
Bark D. C. Murray	432
" Majestic	1117
" Elsinore	658
" F. S. Thompson	514
" Forest Queen	486
" Hope	758
" Julia Foard	446
" Thos. R. Foster	1122
" Virginia	715
Schr. Anna	228
" American Girl	214
" Beulah	339
" Eva	263
" Joseph Russ	235
" Emma Claudina	186
" Excelsior	331
" Geo. C. Perkins	369
" Ida Schnauer	205
" J. C. Ford	231
" Mary Dodge	231
" Norway	183
" Maggie C. Russ	186
" Rosario	141
" Rosalind	274
" Reporter	333
" Maria E. Smith	347

The employment and building of such a fleet of fine vessels for this branch of our trade has been remarkable in view of the depressed condition of ship building in the United States.

The fine tern the "W. S. Bowne," 391 tons, has just entered the service, and another fine Barkentine of 550 tons is now being constructed; these vessels built at a cost of some $68,000 are owned at this port and intended expressly to supply our growing trade with the Islands.

The total tonnage of Steamers, 6.500 tons, the total tonnage of Sailing vessels, 21,831 tons, thus employed; representing a value of two million three hundred and forty-five thousand dollars.

From the statistics of the Commerce and Navigation of the United States for 1885, page 824, American vessels in foreign trade from

	Foreign countries.	425	
	From Hawaii,		127
Page 847,	To other countries,	462	
	To Hawaii,		114
		887	241

or over one-fourth of the American vessels engaged in this trade, and with this fleet we now earn freights on values over twelve million dollars.

We have also built in our shipyards for the Hawaiian Inter-Island trade some twenty-nine sailing vessels. thirteen steamers and three steam tugs, a total tonnage of 6800, as appears from the Custom House statistical records at Honolulu for the year 1885.

This commerce has been well characterized as more inter-state than foreign, and its value to our shipbuilders has exceeded one million two hundred and sixty thousand dollars.

The total value then to our shipbuilders and owners for American vessels now in the trade, and also those which have been built in the United States for Inter-Island service, is three millions five hundred and ninety thousand dollars.

We also call your attention to the importance of our lumber trade, which has largely developed by the operation of the Treaty.

The values of lumber imported at Hawaii from the United States from official records for the following years, were in

1867	subject to duty,	57,631	1876	Treaty took effect	98,322
1868	"	51,868	1877	"	136,940
1869	"	69,753	1878	"	181,298
1870	"	77,948	1879	"	189,887
1871	"	78,040	1880	"	221,141
1872	"	69,098	1881	"	224 712
1873	"	50,155	1882	"	236,000
1874	"	48,000	1883	"	249,000
1875	"	78,652	1884	"	283,403

Showing an increase since the Treaty of nearly four times the amount, without addition of freights or other charges.

In 1876. the value of United States and Hawaiian products transported mainly in American vessels engaged in this trade was $2.192 000.

In 1884. this value had reached the sum of $11,449,000, consisting of $3,523 000 to Hawaii and imports of $7,926,000.

The per capita consumption of American goods in Hawaii, based upon a population of 70,000 would therefore be $50.

Comparing this with the per capita consumption of goods in 1876, the increase under the treaty has been $37.34, a most surprising gain, and which has stimulated and developed our carrying trade.

Of the total commerce between the United States and

Hawaii for 1884, ninety-five per cent. was effected in American vessels, showing that their trade with all its profits, freights, insurance, commissions and manufactures exported is in American hands, and controled and conveyed in vessels of United States build.

Relatively, as to population, and in comparison with other countries, there is none with which the United States carries on so large a commerce, while it is a well known fact that the carrying trade of our United States Atlantic ports to foreign countries is principally in foreign bottoms.

All these results are owing to the encouragement given by reciprocity to our maritime interests on this Coast under the Treaty.

We, therefore, most respectfully submit this statement, and again call yo . attention to the importance of protecting this trade in which we are interested.

We seek the advancement and prosperity of this section of our Union, the employment of our capital and free labor. and in presenting this petition to your Honorable body, we earnestly request that you may give the subject of the continuance of the Hawaiian Treaty, your most favorable consideration and by opposing abrogation, protect and foster the industries and trade in which we are engaged, and under this stimulus given by our reciprocal relations, ask that you will legislate so as to advance and promote our maritime interest between the Pacific Coast States and Hawaii.

Very Respectfully,

John Kentfield & Co., Lumber Merch'ts and Ship Owners.
Puget Mill Co., Lumber Manufacturers, by Pope & Talbot, Agents.
Puget Sound Commercial Co., Ship Owners, by Pope & Talbot, Agents.

Pope & Talbot, Lumber Dealers.
Renton, Holmes & Co., Lumber Dealers.
Port Blakely Mill Co., Lumber Manfrs. and Ship Owners.
Tacoma Mill Co., Lumber Manufacturers.
Hanson & Co., Lumber Dealers.
Washington Mill Co., Lumber Manfrs. and Ship Builders.
W. J. Adams, by E. P. Blake. Lumber Dealer.
Moore & Smith, Lumber Manufacturers.
C. L. Dingley, Lumber Merchant and Ship Owner.
C. A. Hooper & Co., Lumber Merchants and Ship Owners.
A. B. Tichenor & Co., Lumber Merchts. and Ship Owners.
Simpson Bros. & Co., Lumber Merchants, Ship Builders and Owners.
Preston & McKinnon, Lumber Merch'ts and Ship Owners.
McKay & Co., Lumber Manfrs. and Ship Owners.
Henry Wetherbee, Lumber Manfr. and Ship Owner.
Starbird & Goldstone, Lumber Merchants.
S. H Harmon, Lumber Merchant.
Clatsop Mill Co., Lumber Manfrs., by S. H. Harmon, Agt.
E. M. Herrick. Agt., Port Madison Mills, Lumber Manufacturers and Ship Owners.
Pollard & Dodge, Lumber Manfrs. and Ship Owners.
F. P. & J. A. Hooper, Lumber and Ship Owners.
Chas. Nelson, Lumber and Ship Owner
Higgins & Collins, Lumber Merchants and Ship Owners.
G. F. Smith, Lumber Dealer and Ship Owner.
L. E. White, Lumber Dealer and Ship Owner.
Dolbeer & Carson, Lumber Manfrs. and Ship Owners.
Duncan Mills Land and Lumber Co , J. E. Thayer, Sec'y.
The California Redwood Co., Chas. Page, President.
F. Korbel & Bros., Lumber Manufacturers.
Mendocino Lumber Co., E. C. Williams, President.
Jerome C. Ford, Ship Owner.
H. Garthwaite & Co., Lumber Manufacturers.

Hobbs, Wall & Co., Lumber Manufacturers and Owners of Vessels.
Arcata Mill & Lumber Co., Lumber Manfrs. and Ship Owners, by J. C. Hawley, Agent.
Western Mill & Lumber Co., Lumber Manfrs., by J. F. Kennedy, President.
Turner, Kennedy & Shaw, Lumber Merchants.
Gardiner Mill Co., Lumber Manfrs , J. Knowland, Pres.
J. Knowland, Ship Owner.
E. B. Dean & Co., Lumber Manfrs. and Vessel Owners
Caspar Lumber Co., Lumber Manufacturers., by J. G. Jackson, President.
Clark & Webster, Ship Builders.
A. Anderson, Ship Owner.
H. Bichard, Ship Owner.
Middlemas & Boole, Ship Builders.
Chas. Murray. by Wm Sutton, Ship Builder.
Geo. Boole, Ship Builder.
Hall Brothers, Ship Builders.
J. Jensen, Ship Owner.
Wright, Bowne & Co., Ship Owners.
Simpson & Fisher. Ship Owners.
A. P. Lorentzen, Ship Owner.
W. S. Ray & Co., Ship Owners.
B. H. Madison, Ship Owner.
Niels Iverson, Ship Owner.
G. J F. Winding, Ship Owner.
J. J. Smith, Ship Owner.
S. B. Peterson, Ship Owner.
Sam'l. Blair, Ship Owner.
L. Foard, Ship Owner.
John Wigmore, Hardwood Lumber.
Dickie Bros., Ship Builders
Matthew Turner, Ship Builder.

CHARTER, BY-LAWS,

OFFICERS,

AND

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

TO THE

Planters' Labor and Supply Co.

OF THE

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

HONOLULU:
HAWAIIAN GAZETTE PRINT.
1882

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TRUSTEES AND OFFICERS.

S. T. ALEXANDER.....*President*
W. G. IRWIN.....*Vice President*
E. P. ADAMS.....*Secretary*
J. H. PATY.....*Treasurer*
J. C. GLADE.....*Auditor*
A. S. HARTWELL.....
Z. S. SPALDING.....

CHARTER.

To all to whom these Presents shall come: I. William N. Armstrong, Minister of the Department of the Interior of the Hawaiin Islands, send greeting:

Whereas,

EDWARD P. ADAMS, SAMUEL T. ALEXANDER, WILLIAM H. BAILEY, ALFRED S. HARTWELL, WILLIAM G. IRWIN, JOHN H. PATY, Z. S. SPALDING,

All of the Hawaiian Islands, have made application to me as such Minister of the Interior as aforesaid, to grant to them and their associates and successors a Charter of Incorporation, under the corporate name of "THE PLANTERS' LABOR AND SUPPLY COMPANY," for the purpose of adopting such measures to obtain suitable labor for the Hawaiian Islands as may, from time to time, seem best to such Association, and of securing such improvement in the cultivation of sugar cane and manufacture of Sugar as may seem to be desirable, and generally for the exercise of such powers as are enumerated in Sections 1426 and 1427 of the Civil Code, and in this Charter of Incorporation.

And Whereas, the said application was made by written petition, accompanied by proofs, that three-fourths of the shares have been subscribed for, and

by certificate setting forth that the location of the proposed Company was in Honolulu, in the Island of Oahu, that the object of the said Incorporation is that above set forth, that the amount of stock proposed is *One Hundred and Twenty-Five Thousand Dollars*, divided into twenty-five thousand shares, of the par value of five dollars each, that the privilege of subsequent extension of such capital stock to the limit of two hundred and fifty (250) thousand dollars by issue of new shares of like par value is asked for; that fifty years from acceptance of its charter is the proposed duration of the said Company; that the said Company is to organize within one month after acceptance of its charter; that the liabilities of the stockholders in said Company is proposed to be limited by the amount of what may be due upon the shares held and owned by them respectively, and that no part of the capital stock is to be paid in before commencing operations.

Now, therefore, know ye that I, the said William N. Armstrong, as such Minister as aforesaid, by and with the advice and consent of the King in Privy Council and by the authority in me vested by law, do hereby constitute the said

EDWARD P. ADAMS, SAMUEL T. ALEXANDER,
WILLIAM H. BAILEY, ALFRED S. HARTWELL,
WILLIAM G. IRWIN, JOHN H. PATY,
Z. S. SPALDING,

their associates and successors a body corporate under the name of The Planters' Labor and Supply

Company, for the purposes mentioned as aforesaid in the above mentioned petition, and for all other purposes incidental thereto or connected therewith. Such corporation shall have succession by its corporate name for the period of fifty years from date of acceptance thereof, with power to sue and be sued by such corporate name in all Courts whatsoever; to make and use a common seal, and the same to alter and renew at its pleasure; to hold, purchase, and convey such real and personal estate as the purposes of the corporation may require, not exceeding at any one time the sum of one hundred thousand dollars; to appoint such subordinate and other officers and agents as the business of the corporation shall from time to time require, and to make by-laws for the management of its property, the election and removal of its officers, the regulation of its affairs, the calls for assessments on its stock (up to the par value thereof) and for the transfer of its stock.

The capital of the corporation shall be the sum of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, divided into twenty-five thousand shares of five dollars each, with power for the corporation at any time, upon giving one month's previous notice to the Minister of the Interior, to increase such capital to the amount of two hundred and fifty (250) thousand dollars by the issue of new shares.

There shall at all times be a President, Secretary and Treasurer of said Corporation, who shall be elected annually on such day as the by-laws shall specify, and the names and residences of such officers

shall within fourteen days after their election be notified to the Minister of the Interior, and shall also be published in Honolulu, provided that the first election of such officers shall be held within one month after the acceptance of this Charter by the Corporation. The chief office of the Corporation shall be in Honolulu; service of process and all legal proceedings and notices, upon the President, Secretary or Treasurer for the time being of the Corporation, shall be deemed good service upon the Corporation.

All the property of the Corporation shall be liable for the just debts thereof, but no stockholder shall be liable for the debts of the corporation beyond the amount which may be due upon the share or shares held by him.

The said Corporation is hereby invested with all the powers, privileges and immunities which now are or hereafter may be secured by the general corporation law, to incorporate companies, and is subject to the disqualifications declared by Chapter XXXI of the Civil Code to be incident thereto.

In witness whereof I do hereunto set my hand and cause the seal of the said department to be affixed this 20th day of March, A. D. 1882.

W. N. ARMSTRONG,
[L.S.] *Minister of the Interior.*
Seal of the Interior Department.

BY-LAWS.

NAME.

ARTICLE 1—This Association shall be known as "THE PLANTERS' LABOR AND SUPPLY COMPANY," under Charter granted by the Hawaiian Government on the 20th day of March, 1882, and having for its objects the importation of labor, the improvement of the industry of sugar raising in this kingdom, and the general benefit of its stockholders, under the terms of its Charter and the privileges granted by the Hawaiian laws.

CAPITAL STOCK.

ARTICLE 2. The Capital Stock of the Company shall consist of twenty-five thousand (25,000) shares of the par value of five dollars (5.00) each, which shall be transferable only on the books of the Company, and by the endorsement and surrender of the certificate of the stock so transferred.

QUALIFICATION OF STOCKHOLDERS.

ARTICLE 3. A necessary qualification of a stockholder shall be, that he be the owner of some actual pecuniary interest in the production or manufacture of sugar in this kingdom, or be concerned in sugar as agent of a sugar planter. Whenever such qualification shall cease to exist with any holder of stock,

such holder shall no longer be entitled to exercise the privileges of a stockholder.

STOCKHOLDERS.

ARTICLE 4. Every person holding one or more shares of the capital stock of the Company, upon which all assessmens due to the Company shall have been paid, shall be invested with all the rights and privileges of stockholders, and shall be entitled to cast one vote for each share of stock so held, upon any question arising at any meeting of the stockholders of the Company, and all such questions shall be decided by a majority of the votes so cast except as hereinafter provided.

MEETINGS OF STOCKHOLDERS.

ARTICLE 5. There shall be an annual meeting of the stockholders of the Company in the month of October of each year, on such day and at such place in the city of Honolulu as the President of the Company may direct, and of which meeting the Secretary shall give at least four weeks public notice to all stockholders; but other and further meetings of the stockholders may be held at such times and places as the President may direct, or upon the call of the Secretary issued at the request of the owners or representatives of one quarter of the capital stock.

OFFICERS OF THE COMPANY.

ARTICLE 6. The business of the Company shall be conducted by a Board of Trustees, seven in number, who shall be stockholders in the Company, and who shall be elected by a majority of all the votes

cast at the annual meeting of the stockholders, as provided by Article 5, and who shall hold their positions for the term of twelve months, or until their successors shall be duly elected. The Board of Trustees shall elect from their number a President, Vice President, Treasurer, Secretary and Auditor; four members of the Board of Trustees shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, and all questions shall be decided by a majority of the votes cast by the members present, each member of the Board of Trustees being entitled to cast one vote.

VOTING BY PROXY.

ARTICLE 7. Any stockholder, holding the written consent of any other stockholder and previously filing the same with the Secretary, may cast the number of votes which said stockholder is entitled to cast at any meeting of the stockholders of the Company.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

ARTICLE 8. The Board of Trustees shall meet at such times and places as the President may direct, or upon the call of the Secretary issued at the request of three or more members of the Board. They shall direct all the affairs of the Company, and appoint such agents and other officers as may be necessary to carry on the business for which the Company was organized. They shall have power to levy and collect assessments upon the capital stock, up to its par value, but not exceeding One Dollar per share in any one year, without the consent of the stockholders in meeting assembled; declare and pay dividends

out of the profits of the Company; and shall be empowered to buy, sell or mortgage real estate or other property, and to borrow money or incur other liabilities for the benefit of the Corporation, not inconsistent with its charter or contrary to the laws of the kingdom. The Board of Trustees may appoint committees, or designate one or more of their own body, their agents or other officers, to do and perform such things as are within the limits of the Charter and the By-Laws of the Company, and the acts of such trustees, agents or officers shall be valid and binding upon the Company.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS—PRESIDENT.

ARTICLE 9. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Stockholders and of the Board of Trustees; to sign all Certificates of Stock, Contracts and other instruments binding the Company or requiring its Corporate Seal; and to generally supervise the business and interests of the Company.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

It shall be the duty of the Vice-President to perform the duties of the President whenever the latter shall be absent or incapacitated, and the acts so performed shall be as valid and binding upon the Company as if performed by the President in person.

TREASURER.

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to countersign all Certificates of Stock, Contracts or instruments binding the Company, or requiring its corporate seal; to receipt for and take charge of all moneys paid in to the Company, and safely keep all moneys, instruments of value and evidences of property belonging to the Company. He shall keep account of all financial transactions and make quarterly statements of the same, to be kept in the office or headquarters of the Company, for the benefit of the Stockholders. He shall exhibit his books, accounts, vouchers and evidences of property whenever required to do so at any meeting of the Stockholders or of the Board of Trustees. He shall make such statements, over his official signature, as may be called for by the Stockholders or Trustees in proper form, or required by law or the Charter of the Company.

AUDITOR.

The Auditor shall examine the books and accounts of the Treasurer quarterly, and if he shall find the same correct, being properly vouched and balances accounted for, and the evidences of property shown, he shall give the Treasurer his certificate of satisfaction, which shall be entered on the Secretary's Book of Record.

SECRETARY.

It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep minutes of the proceedings of the Board of Trustees and of the meetings of the Stockholders, and enter the same in his Book of Record. He shall give notice of the Annual Meetings, and all other meetings of

the Stockholders and Board of Trustees. He shall sign all Certificates of Stock, and other instruments requiring his official signature, and keep a stock book in which all transactions in the way of transfers of Capital Stock shall be entered, and he shall make such reports and exhibits as may be properly called for or required by law or the Charter of the Company. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Company, and perform such other duties as may be designated by the Board of Trustees or the Stockholders of the Company at any regular or special meeting of the same.

INCREASE OF CAPITAL STOCK.

ARTICLE 10. The Capital Stock of the Company may be increased, according to the terms of the Charter, by a two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) vote of the Stockholders present at any annual or special meeting, each Stockholder being allowed one vote for each share held by him, as provided in Article 4, and provided that not less than four weeks public notice shall have been given of the matter of so increasing the said Capital Stock.

ASSESSMENT.

ARTICLE 11. The Board of Trustees may levy assessments on the Capital Stock of the Company, as provided in Article 8, and may fix the date (not less than thirty days from the time of passing the resolution) at which said assessment, if unpaid, shall become delinquent; and any stock upon which any assessment may so become delinquent, shall be advertised by the Secretary, in some one newspaper published in Honolulu, for the period of thirty days, when, if the said assessment shall still remain unpaid, the Board of Trustees shall declare the same forfeited to the Corporation, and the holder or holders thereof debarred from any rights or privileges based upon the possession of said shares of stock. And the Board of Trustees may then issue new Certificates of Stock, in place of the shares so forfeited, the same as if the forfeited shares had never been issued.

BENEFITS.

ARTICLE 12. The benefits derived from any business transaction shall be divided and distributed by the Board of Trustees thereof among the Stockholders, as nearly as possible upon the basis of the stock of the Corporation held by them; but no transfer of any such rights or privileges shall be allowed from one Stockholder to another, without the consent of the Board of Trustees.

QUORUM.

ARTICLE 13. A quorum at any meeting of the Stockholders shall be the representation of one-half or more of the Capital Stock.

CHANGE OF BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE 14. These By-Laws may be altered or amended at any meeting of the stockholders as hereinbefore provided for by a two-thirds vote of all the shares voted upon at such meeting.

SUBSCRIBERS TO STOCK.

	No. of Shares.
Alexander and Baldwin	600
S. L. Austin	500
J. Austin & Co	250
A. Dreier	500
Hitchcock & Co	400
R. Halstead	200
Kaneohe Plantation	125
Koloa Sugar Co	750
A. H. Smith & Co	100
E. P. Adams	500
G. N. Wilcox	250
Z. S. Spalding	500
Makee Sugar Co	500
Princeville Plantation	500
East Maui Plantation	250
Wailuku Sugar Co	1000
Hawaiian Agricultural Co	1000
Honomu Plantation	150
Waikapu Plantation	350
Waihee Sugar Co	500
John D. Spreckels	3000
R. R. Hind	450
H. Turton	500
Paul Isenberg	1000
Waianae Plantation	500
Kekaha Sugar Co	200
Ookala Sugar Co	300
Hana Plantation	500
A. S. Wilcox	250

Kipahulu Plantation	200
Grant and Brigstock	200
Clement Grey Kynnersley	200
Soper, Wright & Co	125
Grove Ranch Plantation	250
Burchardt Bros	100
John H. Paty	100
Spencer Plantation	250
Hutchinson Plantation	1500
Hilea Plantation	650
Hakalau Plantation Co	750
Star Mill Co	400
Paauhau Mill Co	500
Haiku Sugar Co	1000
L. S. Thompson	100
P. C. Jones, jr	5
W. O. Smith	5
J. B. Atherton	5
S. N. Castle	5
H. P. Baldwin	5
Geo. F. Holmes	200
Charles Notley & Co	200
J. C. Glade	5
C. F. Hart	100
H. A. Widemann	10
W. E. Smith	5
A. H. Smith	5
Jas Woods	200
W. H. Bailey	5
E. H. Bailey	5
C. A. Bailey	5
W. H. Cummings	5

J. K. Smith, M. D	2
S. T. Alexander	5
R. A. Macfie, jr	5
W. G. Irwin	5
W. W. Hall	5
J. M. Alexander	100
Kohala Sugar Co	600
Pacific Sugar Mill	300
Honokaa Sugar Co	400
W. Herbert Purvis & Co	100
W. H. Rickard	100
Joseph Marsden	30
J. R. Mills	50
T. H. Hobron	5
J. N. Wright	5
A. Hanneberg	5
H. M. Whitney	5
W. E. Rowell	5
W. C. Parke	5
W. R. Castle	5
F. A. Schaefer	5
S. B. Dole	5
T. H. Davies & Co	400
W. Lidgate & Co	300
C. E. Richardson & Co	100
Waiakea Mill Co	200
T. R. Walker	5
C. M. Cooke	5
B. F. Dillingham	3
J. G. Spencer	2
A. H. Spencer	5
T. H. Hayselden	2

POLITICAL VALUE OF THE HAWAIIAN TREATY.

The peculiar interest of the people of the United States in the Hawaiian Islands dates back to 1820, when the first band of American missionaries went out to that then benighted country. Prior to that time the Islands had been visited by a few naval and merchant vessels, and some considerable trade had been carried on, especially in the sandal-wood traffic with China. But the country was under the cloud of heathenism and had no law save the will of the King.

Through the unaided efforts of American missionaries the government was brought up to a standard never reached by any other savage race, and by their advice and influence the rulers were restrained and guided in the right way until it became a constitutional monarchy in the family of nations. In the interim of passing from ignorance and idolatry to knowledge and Christianity, the Islands were more than once threatened with, and barely saved from the fate of so many of the Pacific groups. Both England and France viewed them with longing and jealous eye, and officials and subjects of both those countries tried to force the native King into committing some act which might be made an excuse for seizing the sovereignty. It was due to the vigilance and untiring energy of the men who composed that little band of American laborers in the cause of religion and civilization that the schemes and intrigues of these designing foreigners were baffled and brought to naught.

When, in 1839, the French required of the King a deposit of $20,000, as security for certain claims made by them, it was the American merchants who furnished the money, and thus prevented the seizure of the Islands. And when, in 1843, Lord George Paulet, in command of Her British Majesty's frigate *Carysfort*, demanded a "voluntary" cession of the Islands at his cannon's mouth, it was the sage advice and admirable diplomacy of Dr. Judd, an American missionary, which thwarted the object of the ambitious Englishman and saved the little kingdom.

A glance at the map of the North Pacific Ocean should be enough to convince any one of the political and commercial importance of these Islands to the United States. If they were situated in the Atlantic as they are in the Pacific, and the center of political and commercial influences equally important to our Eastern coast, secured

by a treaty that had been acquiesced in by the great European powers, would any American statesman propose to abrogate such treaty and cast them adrift because of the remission of duty upon fifty thousand tons of sugar per annum?

How much did it cost this country and prolong the civil war that Nassau was under foreign control?

The growing importance of American commerce in the Pacific was well expressed by Mr. Seward in his speech in the Senate on that subject:

"Who does not see that henceforth, every year, European commerce, European politics, European thought, and European activity, although actually gaining greater force; and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will, nevertheless, ultimately sink in importance, while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast region beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter."

This political importance has been conceded by the opponents as well as friends of the treaty. Hon. Phillip A. Thomas, of Maryland, in a speech in opposition to the treaty, said:

"Great Britain, they say, will seize upon these Islands if the treaty does not become the supreme law of the land." * * * "They forget that the 'Monroe Doctrine' is still extant in this Government, and that that doctrine will be enforced against Great Britain or any other power that may seize upon or attempt to hold these Islands. If the presence of any one of them there should prove to be a standing menace to the vital interests of the United States on the Pacific coast, or if possession were held with hostile intent towards our country or its people, the policy of this Government in such an emergency was foreshadowed by Mr. Webster, as Secretary of State, in the administration of President Tyler, when, in reference to these very Islands, he wrote that 'the Government of the United States would look with displeasure upon any effort of any other government to acquire any preponderating influence over the government of the Hawaiian Islands.' And referring to the rumor then current that the French would probably take possession of the Islands, he said that he 'trusted that they would not take possession, but if they did they would be dislodged if it took the whole power of the Government to do it.'" "Rest assured, Mr. Speaker," said Mr. Thomas, "that the same policy will be pursued whenever Great Britain, or any other foreign government, with intent to destroy the peace or menace the interests of our Pacific States, shall undertake to assert dominion over the Sandwich Islands. They will be dislodged if it takes the whole power of the Government to do it."

Hon. J. H. Reagan, of Texas, also in opposition, said on March 4, 1882:

"If I am asked what I would do to protect our commerce on the Pacific Ocean and to guard our Pacific coast against the dangers of assault from great naval powers, I would say that I have great confidence in the wise expression of Mr. Webster, when Secretary of State, who said: 'We cannot permit another power to take possession of these Islands.' We occupy a position which enables us, if we will be just to other nations, to say to them that they shall not menace our national security. A policy indicated through the State Department of a determination to permit no other power in violation of the 'Monroe doctrine'—and in extension of it if you please, if that can be called an extension which would reach to the Hawaiian Islands—that we will not permit any other government or power to occupy, fortify, and hold these Islands, will afford us all the security we may need."

Did these gentlemen count the difference in cost between holding a position gained, and in dislodging another from such a position? The *Virginius'* naval demonstration alone cost five millions of dollars. What would it have cost to dislodge Spain from Cuba?

On this subject the Hon. E. H. Allen, late Hawaiian Minister, laid before the House Committee on Foreign Relations, in February and March, 1882, the following as a part of his statement:

"You are well aware, gentlemen, that the first great effort for the Christian civilization of the Hawaiian people was made by missionaries from the United States, who were aided by other good men from this and other countries, and while the King, chiefs, and people were making every effort to advance in education and the arts of civilized life, they were occasionally embarrassed by political interference from other nations.

"The United States being largely interested in the commercial relations of that country, President Tyler, Mr. Webster being Secretary of State, transmitted to Congress a message, dated December 31, 1842, in which he said:

"Just emerging from a state of barbarism, the government of the Islands is as yet feeble, but its dispositions appear to be just and pacific, and it seems anxious to improve the condition of its people by the introduction of religious and moral institutions, means of education, and the arts of civilized life. It cannot but be in conformity with the wishes of the Government and the people of the United States, that the community thus existing, in the midst of a vast expanse of ocean, should be respected, and all its rights strictly and conscientiously regarded. And this must also be the true interest of all other commercial States. Far remote from the dominions of European powers, its growth and prosperity, as an independent State, may yet be in a high degree useful to all whose trade is extended to those regions; while its nearer approach to this continent and the intercourse which American vessels have with it—such vessels constituting five-sixths of all which annually visit it—could not but create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States at any attempt by another power, should such an attempt be threatened or feared, to take possession of the Islands, colonize them and subvert the native government. Considering, therefore, that the United States possess so very

large a share of the intercourse with those Islands, it is deemed not unfit to make the declaration that their government seeks, nevertheless, no exclusive control over the Hawaiian government, but is content with its independent existence, and anxiously wishes for its security and prosperity. Its forbearance in this respect, under the circumstances of the very large intercourse of their citizens with the Islands would justify this Government, should events hereafter arise to require it, in making a decided remonstrance against the adoption of an opposite policy by any other power.

"These were the sentiments of this Government at this early day.

"On the 25th of February, 1843, the captain of an English man-of-war took possession of the Islands, and the flag of that nation waved for some months over the country. The British admiral, however, examined into the cause of the difficulty, and finding that there were no grounds of complaint, surrendered the possession to the Hawaiian government.

"A few years later a trouble arose with the French. They had taken possession of Tahiti and the island of Morea, which, as I am informed, are annexed to the French Republic, and it was thought that France had imperial aspirations for increasing her possessions.

"A French protectorate has since been established over the whole of the lower archipelago—some sixty-eight islands.

"One cause of this trouble was that the Hawaiian government would not alter their tariff of duties, which at that time was very high on brandy. This traffic was necessarily restricted, as the use of liquors by the people of the Islands was regarded dangerous to their existence.

"There were other causes of irritation also, and it was thought that the French would seize the Islands. The French commissioner was accompanied by a man-of-war, and so apprehensive was the Government that possession would be taken, that there were placed at the chief ports of the Islands the American flag, with orders to raise it when news arrived that the French had taken possession of the capital.

"At this critical moment the prominent Americans at the Islands urged me, as I was then consul of the United States at Honolulu, to come to the United States and make known to this Government the state of affairs. I came and presented the case to Mr. Webster, and, after he had duly considered the subject, I well remember his words, pronounced in his impressive manner:

"I trust the French will not take possession, but if they do, they will be dislodged, if my advice is taken, if the whole power of the Government is required to do it.

"The opinion of the American Government having been made known, it had its effect. In view of what had passed the Hawaiian government desired to make a treaty which should make their relations more intimate with the United States. A minister was sent to Washington to negotiate a treaty. This was during President Pierce's administration, Mr. Marcy, one of the most eminent statesmen of his day, being Secretary of State. A treaty of reciprocity was negotiated, not, however, with any political clause, and with a free list far less favorable to the United States than the present one.

"It had the support of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and it came up for consideration at the time the question of the admission of Kansas and Nebraska into the Union was before Congress. The discussion of this and the kindred subject of slave and free labor, carried on with all the earnestness incident to that period, occupied the time and attention of that body so largely that the proposed treaty was suffered to fall. Another treaty with similar provisions was made by order of Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, but it never went into operation.

"The subject of a reciprocity treaty was under discussion at different times for twenty-one years before the present treaty was approved. No measure has ever had higher indorsement by the most eminent statesmen of the country, both Republican and Democratic.

"The treaty was earnestly recommended by many of the officials of the United States who had represented their country at the Islands, and by General Schofield, of the Army, who had visited the Islands, and made a careful examination of their position and condition, as will be seen by his letter, which is incorporated in the speech of Mr. Wood, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. He writes to the Hon. Mr. Luttrell, a member of the House, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE PACIFIC,
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *December 30, 1875.*

"DEAR SIR: Knowing your interest in the subject, I venture to give you my views in respect to the Hawaiian treaty, which is soon to come before Congress for legislative action.

"The Hawaiian Islands constitute the only natural outpost to the defenses of the Pacific coast.

"In the possession of a foreign naval power, in time of war, as a depot from which to fit out hostile expeditions against this coast and our commerce on the Pacific Ocean, they would afford the means of incalculable injury to the United States.

"If the absolute neutrality of the islands could always be insured, that would suffice; but they have not, and never can have the power to maintain their own neutrality, and now their necessities force them to seek alliance with some nation which can relieve their embarrassment.

"The British Empire, through its North Pacific and South Sea colonies, stands ready to enter into such an alliance, and thus complete its chain of naval stations from Australia to British Columbia. We cannot refuse the Islands the little aid they need, and at the same time deny their right to seek it elsewhere. The time has come when we must secure forever the desired control over those Islands, or let it pass into other hands.

"The financial interest to the United States involved in this treaty is very small, and if it were much greater it would still be insignificant when compared to the importance of such a military and naval station to the national security and welfare.

"I am, dear sir, yours, very truly,

"J. M. SCHOFIELD.

"HON. J. K. LUTTRELL, M. C.,
"Washington, D. C.

"Admiral Porter addresses a letter to the Hon. Mr. Wood, which is incorporated in his speech in support of the treaty, in which he fully sustains the views of General Schofield. The naval officers who have visited the Islands have been in accord on the subject of intimate commercial relations with the Islands, always bearing in view their future destiny.

"The London *Times* thus refers to a harbor at the Islands:

"The maritime power which holds Pearl River Harbor, and moors her fleet there, holds the key of the North Pacific.

"Sir George Simpson, in his travels around the world, says:

"That this archipelago is far more valuable on this account that it neither is nor can ever be shared by a rival.

"These are the only islands which can form an outpost to the defenses of the Pacific States. There are no others. They have no rival; and in this consists their great value. They are totally unlike a single island in the West Indies as an outpost of defense.

"The following is an extract of the minority report of the Committee on Ways and Means, made in the House of Representatives on the Hawaiian treaty:

"Much stress is laid by the report of the majority upon the importance to the United States of obtaining a foothold upon these Islands in the interests of our Pacific commerce with the continent of Asia, and of our safety in case of future wars with any great naval power.

"The undersigned are not insensible to these considerations. No European power should be permitted to obtain the sovereignty of the Islands, or to gain such influence in them as to menace our security. To allow this would be contrary to the well-established canons of American policy, sanctioned by nearly a century of traditions, and by the conceded maxims of international law. No European power can deny to us the peculiar right to exclude them from possessing what would be a standing menace of danger to us, and the possession of which, by us, would be no menace to them.

"The following extract from a recent report of Commodore R. W. Shufeldt, of the United States Navy, on the commercial importance of the Corea, present and future, in its relation to America, will be found to be of great interest:

"The acquisition of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, the treaties with Japan, Sandwich Islands and Samoa, are only corollaries to the proposition that the Pacific Ocean is to become at no distant day the commercial domain of America. The Atlantic, either by force of circumstances or national indifference, has been given over to foreign flags, backed by the immense weight of European capital, but under natural laws the flow of commerce, as of emigration, is from the east toward the west, and the geographical position of the United States, in conformity with this law, points to the Pacific Ocean as the main highway of trade, and our country as the source from which the Oriental nations must obtain whatever they need in the way of commercial exchange. In all probability, within the next half century, the United States will find its largest market in Asia rather than Europe.

"The London *Times* of August 25, 1882, publishes a naval letter from Hong-Kong, under date of December 19, thus:

"It having been reported that a large extension of the Russian naval station was in progress at Vladivostock, the place has been visited by Vice-Admiral Willes, and what he there saw has apparently made so much impression upon him that a long dispatch has been transmitted to the admiralty upon the subject. A new dock for repairing ships and a slip for constructing small armed crafts are in hand. A factory for the manufacture of torpedoes and additional batteries to strengthen the defense of the place is employing several hundreds of hands in its construction. The Siberian flotilla, instead of comprising, as in the past, two aged schooners and three obsolete gun-vessels, now consists of two floating batteries, four schooners, and five gunboats of the newest description. For the moment Russia appears to have abandoned her hostile intentions upon Corea, but she seems to be none the less determined to constitute herself the leading naval power in the North Pacific.

"There are three powerful commercial nations that have large interests in the North Pacific besides the United States, viz: Great Britain, Russia, and China. France and Germany are a power in the South Pacific. Jarvis, the historian of Hawaii, says:

"That they hold the key of the Pacific Ocean, for no trade could prosper or even exist while a hostile power, possessing an active and powerful marine, should send out its cruisers to prey upon commerce; but once firmly established on them it might put at defiance any means of attack which could be brought to bear against them. Hence the commercial countries have been jealous lest some of them should have a superior influence.

"General Grant, in a letter from China, during his visit around the world wrote:

"My belief is that in less time from now than half a century Europe will be complaining of the rapid advance of China.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"President Lincoln, in reply to an accredited minister from Hawaii, said:

"In every light in which the State of the Hawaiian Islands can be contemplated, it is an object of profound interest for the United States. Virtually it was once a colony; it is now a near and intimate neighbor. It is a haven of shelter and refreshment for our merchants, fishermen, seamen, and other citizens, when on their lawful occasions they are navigating the Eastern seas and oceans. The people are free, and its laws, language, and religion are largely the fruits of our own teachings and examples.

"When it is said that the United States have lost by the treaty for the reason that they always would have had the trade, the impoverished condition of the Islands fully attested that there would have been very little trade for any country; and had this treaty not been made, or one with some other commercial country, the group would have rapidly continued to retrograde as a producing country, even if the struggle could have been continued as it was many years prior to the treaty, causing general bankruptcy and ruin to almost every one who had become interested in the production of sugar."

Ex-Senator and Secretary George S. Boutwell, before the same committee, remarked:

"Now as to the value of the concession made in the fourth article of the treaty, which I will read:

"It is agreed, on the part of His Hawaiian Majesty, that, so long as this treaty shall remain in force, he will not lease or otherwise dispose of or create any lien upon any port, harbor, or other territory in his dominions, or grant any special privileges or rights of use therein to any other power, state, or government, nor make any treaty by which any other nation shall obtain the same privileges, relative to the admission of any articles free of duty, hereby secured to the United States.'

"That, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, is the great consideration involved in the treaty. There is nothing of large public concern in it except that. As to our duties, whether we get half a million dollars more or less, with revenues of three hundred millions a year, easily gathered and without burden on anybody, if this measure, in an appreciable degree, contributes to the security of the Pacific coast, or if, in that future, which we may now contemplate as certain, it secures for us an *entrepot*, a depot, a perpetual security for our commerce on the Pacific Ocean, then I submit that this slight concession which we make to this people is of no concern to us. The Hawaiian Islands must be allied to somebody. Great Britain has interests in the Pacific Ocean. She has vast possessions there. She has 240,000,000 subjects in the East Indies. She has islands in every sea. And any one who has any knowledge whatever of English practice, and of English tradition, and of the purposes of the English government, must anticipate that whenever we let go our hold on these Islands they will be taken possession of by England, through a treaty of reciprocity in the first instance, and then by a protectorate, and afterwards as a colony. On the 20th parallel north, midway between Asia and America, there will be a post in the possession of a government which has never for centuries, except in one or two instances, relinquished her grasp upon a foot of land, whether it was valuable or valueless in a money point of view. Wherever it could plant its flag it has maintained its power."

But it may be argued that in face of the protest of the United States no nation would take possession or strive to acquire superior rights in the Hawaiian Islands.

Suppose the commercial supremacy which Australia was rapidly gaining in 1872–'3 had been permitted to go on unchecked by the treaty negotiated in 1874, and the islands had become as thoroughly Anglicized as they are now Americanized, with what grace could the United States have objected to British influence and control? Great Britain always contended that she did not desire to annex the Fiji Islands, but was compelled to do so to protect British commercial interests that had grown up spontaneously. And with how much less grace could the United States protest if they deliberately abrogate a treaty which has given form and shape to the policy insisted upon by American statesmen for forty years! Such an abrogation would

be a virtual acknowledgment that the policy was deliberately abandoned, after which it would not lie in the mouth of the United States to protest against any other nation taking up what she had by a solemn act abandoned. Such a retreat from the position now gained, especially in view of the completion of an isthmian canal, would be paramount to an abandonment of any hopes of commercial supremacy in the Pacific.

If statesmen of the past had the prescience to foresee and claim for the United States the advantages lying in the control of this group of Islands, with how much more emphasis should such control be claimed by statesmen in this day when a canal is being made by foreign capital which will *debouche* in the face of this group on which the commerce of the East, which seeks the canal, must rely for a port of supplies and repair!

No new treaty which could now be negotiated would be likely to receive the sanctions the present treaty has gained, and become a part of the international law regarding Hawaii.

Says the Oakland, California, *Times*, December 18, 1883:

"On our Atlantic coast all of the near lying islands are controlled by other governments. England dominates Jamaica and the Bahamas, Spain possesses Cuba, and Denmark St. Thomas, while Hayti is semi-barbarous. But on that coast our own Government is strong enough in equipment, fortification and resources to be more indifferent to such environment that it can afford to be here. Driven out of friendly relations, which thrive on reciprocal trade, with Hawaii, our coast line will be naked to the ocean and defenseless, with not a friendly port in the sea where an American ship can cast anchor.

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"The abrogation of the Hawaii treaty means the greatest contribution in our power to offer to England's monopoly of the traffic, the industry, the profits of the whole globe. We have stood guard over those Islands while they underwent the pangs of transformation from barbarism to civilization. Commerce, under our protection, has transfigured them and now they are in the last stage of development in which they approximate our features and take on the form of absolute assimilation, and we are asked to abandon them and drop the profitable and ripened results of a third of a century's care and culture into the waiting lap of England!

"The completion of the Canada Pacific Railroad sharpens England's anxiety to supplant us in Hawaii. She covets the Island trade for that Sound port which is to be the terminus of her Pacific road. She seeks near our shores a naval station where her war ships may shelter and her merchant marine find profit and protection.

"We have by wrong commercial policies abandoned the rest of the world to England. We have given over to her the seas where once we disputed her supremacy. Coast after coast and island after

island has been nailed to her empire until she has coiled herself around the world like a serpent."

It may be asked: "How does this treaty secure to the United States these advantages?" The interpretation of treaties always involves something more than the meaning of particular and isolated articles and clauses. No statesman or diplomat can read this treaty without recognizing at once the force and effect, the scope and intent, of the treaty as a whole. It was more than a mere commercial treaty. It truly puts the commerce of the two countries on a satisfactory basis, without embarrassing the revenue of Hawaii to too great an extent, and is, and will be, so long as the high tariff on sugar is retained, somewhat favorable to Hawaii. If it were not so there would be no excuse for the fourth article, which applies only to Hawaii, restraining her from admitting, free of duty, the goods of other countries, or permitting any other country to get any territory or right to use territory therein. It is this fact that Hawaii had a temporary advantage in the other articles of the treaty, that gives the fourth article its great force. This article was not carelessly worded by the prudent and sagacious American statesman who framed it. It was not intended to be offensive to the Hawaiian King. Its effects were carefully calculated. It was based upon the idea of interfering as little as possible with Hawaiian independence, so long as that could be maintained, but providing for the direction in which the control of the Islands should go, when it was no longer possible to maintain it.

No greater testimony to the importance of the treaty could be given than that it was at once recognized by the quick appreciation of British, French and German statesmen, who made strenuous protests against it, Great Britain going so far as to say to the Hawaiian government that they "could not allow" its provisions to come into force. The Hawaiian government was involved in a long and tedious diplomatic negotiation, extending over four years, with, however, very favorable results; Great Britain agreeing to the termination of one article of her treaty, which was thought to be infringed, and Germany agreeing that so long as this treaty lasted she would not claim the same rights and privileges. It follows, therefore, that so long as this treaty lasts, the superior rights of the United States have and enjoy the formal recognition of the Powers—abrogate it and the Powers would doubtless claim equal rights again. How far these governments were influenced in yielding to the diplomatic representations of Hawaiian statesmen, by the hope that Congress would

abrogate the treaty, cannot be told; but that they would regard its abrogation as a great gain to them, there is no doubt.

In the volume of Foreign Relations of the United States, of 1878, will be found an account of the difficulties met by the Hawaiian government. There is no doubt, however, of the scope and intent of the treaty in the minds of practiced diplomats.

Aside from this diplomatic view the treaty undoubtedly does foster the silent but potent forces which mould a nation, and fix its destiny, as it was anticipated it would do. Read in the light of to-day the following remarks of Hon. Elijah Ward, of New York, in the Forty-fourth Congress on the subject of the treaty, show a wise and far-seeing statesmanship as to how the treaty was to secure the advantages aimed at:

"Mr. Speaker, I have observed with much pleasure that the convention for the extension of the trade of the United States with the Hawaiian Islands was advised in the Senate by the triumphant majority of 51 against 12 votes, and has been sent to this House for its approval and appropriate legislation. Under the policy which has now for many years controlled the legislation of this country, the industry of the people has been unduly diverted to manufacturing pursuits. Over-production and a want of employment have followed. For the present the home-demand can scarcely be increased, and it has become incumbent on Congress to do whatever is fairly in its power to open or extend markets abroad. This is one of the direct results which will be accomplished by the proposed treaty, and hence it should be supported by the representatives of the people without distinction of party.

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"The purchase of a preponderating interest in the Suez Canal has justly been regarded as a masterpiece of statesmanship and far-seeing policy on the part of Great Britain. Its object is to maintain for that country its supremacy in oriental trade. I regard the treaty with the Hawaiian Islands as scarcely less important to our people than the control of the Suez Canal is to British subjects. China and Japan are among the chief fields for our commercial and manufacturing enterprise, and it is of the utmost importance that we should possess adequate naval stations in the Pacific Ocean.

"For these reasons I regard the Hawaiian Islands, although no part of this continent, yet as commercially, politically, and in fact as part of its appurtenances, and to be properly included in the application of the Monroe doctrine, prohibiting the intervention of European powers in them. Of this it was well said by President Johnson in his message of December 5, 1865, that it has as law been 'sanctioned by time, and by its good results has approved itself to both continents.'

"It appears to me that however just and proper and gratifying to an honorable national pride the Monroe doctrine in itself may be, it

is imperfect and little more than a barren ideality, unless, in an enlightened self-interest, we associate it with a friendly care for the commercial and material prosperity of the States we have so far taken under our protection. If we prohibit the interference of European nations with the States of this continent, shall we stop at that point and cultivate no further increase of friendly relations with them? I for one have the strongest possible faith in the manifest destiny of our people, and that a series of united States will exist from the cold regions of the North, so far as they can be inhabited by civilized man, down to the southern verge of the American continent, and include the islands adjacent to it. We, with our rapidly increasing 40,000,000 of people, shall be, so to speak, the key-stone of the arch—no barrier in the way of their intercourse, but doing all we can to facilitate it, we ourselves necessarily partaking, in at least as high a degree as any other, in the prosperity which would thus be inaugurated and established.

"The policy I have described could not fail to command the admiration and good-will of liberal and enlightened statesmen throughout the world. I commend to your attention the wise and noble thoughts of John Bright, expressed in the British Parliament, on the develvopment of the Monroe doctrine in a civilized and unobjectionable form, throughout the whole length and breadth of the American continent and the adjacent islands. In reply to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, Mr. Bright said:

"There cannot be a meaner motive than this that I am speaking of in forming a judgment on this question, that it is 'better for us' (meaning the people of Great Britain) that the American continent should be as the continent of Europe is, severed into many States and subject to all the contentions and disasters which have accompanied the history of the States of Europe.

"I should say that, if a man had a great heart within him, he would rather look forward to the day when from that point of land which is habitable nearest to the pole to the shores of the great gulf the whole of that vast continent might become one great federation of States, that, without a great army and without a great navy, not mixing itself up with the entanglements of European politics, without a custom-house inside through the whole length and breadth of its territory, but with freedom everywhere, equality everywhere, law everywhere, peace everywhere, would afford at least some hope that man is not forsaken of heaven and that the future of our race might be better than the past."

The activity of the partisans of British influence in the Hawaiian Islands to endeavor to induce the Hawaiian government to withdraw from its present engagements and accept the boon of cheap East India coolie labor (now denied them), under British protection, in place of the free market of America, shows that they still entertain hopes of the abrogation of the treaty, the importance of which British diplomats do not fail to see. *Apropos* of this the American Minister, General Comley, reported in 1881, under date August 29, to the United States Government:

"I have had occasion formerly to report to the Secretary of State the discomfort felt by the British Commissioner and other residents here, on account of the predominance of United States influence and interests in the Hawaiian Islands.

"The watchfulness of the Commissioner to find means of undermining this influence has been constant. * * * *

"There has been a systematic and indomitable struggle to force the Hawaiian government into a convention for the importation of East India coolies, so as to give the English a separate judicature and furnish innumerable opportunities for meddlesome interference with the internal affairs of this Government."

This warning called forth from Secretary Blaine two dispatches, which laid down the position of the United States Government as follows:

In dispatch of November 19, 1881.

* * * *

"But if negotiations such as you describe are really in progress, you will ask for an interview with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs and make the following representation of the views of the United States:

"The Government of the United States has with unvarying consistency manifested respect for the Hawaiian Kingdom, and an earnest desire for the welfare of its people." * * * *

"The Government of the United States has always avowed, and now repeats, that under no circumstances will it permit the transfer of the territory or sovereignty of these Islands to any of the great European Powers. It is needless to restate the reasons upon which that determination rests. It is too obvious for argument that the possession of these islands by a great maritime power would not only be a dangerous diminution of the just and necessary influence of the United States in the waters of the Pacific, but, in case of international difficulty, it would be a positive threat to interests too large and important to be lightly risked." * * * *

Again, more fully, under date of December 1, 1882:

"Sir: My late instructions, and especially that of the 19th ult., will have shown you the deep interest with which the United States observes the course of events in the Hawaiian Islands. The apparent disposition to extend other influence therein on lines parallel to or offsetting our own, must be watched with care and considerable firmness. The intelligent and suggestive character of your recent dispatches naturally leads me to a review of the relationship of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the United States at a somewhat greater length than was practicable in the limited scope of my instruction of November 19th. That dispatch was necessarily confined to the consideration of the immediate question of possible treaty engagements with Great Britain, which would give to that power in Hawaii a degree of extra territory, of jurisdiction inconsistent with the relations of the Islands to other powers, and especially to the United States.

With the abandonment of a feudal government by King Kamehameha III. in 1839, and the inaguration of constitutional methods, the history of the political relations of Hawaii to the world at large may very properly be said to begin. The recognition of independent sovereignty by the great Powers took place soon after, which act on the part of the United States, dated from 1844. Even at that early day before the United States had become a power on the Pacific coast, the commercial activity of our people was manifested in their intercourse with the Islands of Oceanica, of which the Hawaiian group is the northern extremity. In 1848, the treaty of Gaudalupe Hidalgo confirmed the territorial extension of the United States to the Pacific, and gave to the Union a coast line on that ocean little inferior in extent, and superior in natural wealth, to the Atlantic seaboard of the original thirteen States. In 1848-'49, the discoveries of gold in California laid the foundation of the marvelous development of the western coast, and that same year the necessities of our altered relationship to the Pacific Ocean found expression in a compromise treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation with the sovereign King of Hawaii.

"Hawaiian interests must inevitably turn toward the United States in the future as the present, as the natural and sole ally in conserving the dominion of both in the Pacific trade. This Government has on previous occasions been brought face to face with the question of a protectorate over the Hawaiian group. It has, as often as it arose, been set aside in the interest of such commercial union and such reciprocity benefits as would give Hawaii the highest advantages, and at the same time strengthen its independent existence as a sovereign State. In this I have summed up the whole disposition of the United States toward Hawaii in its proper condition. The policy of this country with regard to the Pacific, is the natural complement of its Atlantic policy. The history of our European relations for fifty years shows the zealous concern with which the United States has guarded its control of the coast from foreign interference, and this without the extension of territorial possessions beyond the mainland. It has always been its aim to preserve the friendly neutrality of the adjacent States and insular possessions.

"The United States was one of the first among the great nations of the world to take active interest in upbuilding Hawaiian independence and the creation of political life for its people. It has consistently endeavored, and with success, to enlarge the material prosperity of Hawaii. On such an independent basis it proposes to be equally unremitting in its efforts hereafter to maintain and develop the advantages which accrued to Hawaii, and draw closer the ties which imperatively unite her to the great body of the American commonwealth. In this line of action the United States does its simple duty both to Hawaii and itself, and it cannot permit such obvious neglect of national interest as would be involved by silent acquiescence in any movement looking to a lessening of those amenities, and the substitution of alien and hostile interests. It firmly believes the position of the Hawaiian Islands, as a key to the dominion of the American Pacific, demands neutrality, to which end it will earnestly co-operate with the native government, and if, through any cause, the maintenance of such position, neutrality should be found by Hawaii impracticable, this Government would then unhesitatingly meet the altered situation by seeking avowedly an American solution of the grave issues presented."

This latter exposition of the attitude of the United States towards Hawaii corresponds with the earlier announcement by Daniel Webster, quoted in the statement by Hon. E. H. Allen, and with the following extracts from the messages of Presidents Taylor, Fillmore, and Johnson:

Extract from President Taylor's Message of December 4, 1849.

* * * *

"The position of the Sandwich Islands with reference to the territory of the United States on the Pacific, the success of our persevering and benevolent citizens who have repaired to that remote quarter in Christianizing the natives and inducing them to adopt a system of government and laws suited to their capacity and wants, and the use made by our numerous whale-ships of the harbors of the Islands as places of resort for obtaining refreshment and repairs, all combine to render their destiny peculiarly interesting to us.

"It is our duty to encourage the authorities of these Islands in their efforts to improve and elevate the moral and political condition of the inhabitants; and we should make reasonable allowances for the difficulties inseparable from this task. We desire that the Islands may maintain their independence, and that other nations should concur with us in this sentiment.

"We could in no event be indifferent to their passing under the dominion of any other power.

"The principal commercial States have in this a common interest, and it is to be hoped that no one of them will attempt to interpose obstacles to the entire independence of the Islands." * * *

Extract from President Fillmore's Message of December 2, 1851.

* * * *

"It is earnestly to be hoped that the differences which have for some time past been pending between the government of the French Republic and that of the Sandwich Islands, may be peaceably and durably adjusted, so as to secure the independence of these islands.

"Long before the events which have of late imparted so much importance to the possessions of the United States on the Pacific, we acknowledged the independence of the Hawaiian government.

"This Government was first in taking that step, and several of the leading powers of Europe immediately followed. We were influenced in this measure by the existing and prospective importance of the Islands as a place of refuge and refreshment for our vessels engaged in the whale fishery, and by the consideration that they lie

in the course of the great trade which must, at no distant day, be carried on between the western coast of North America and Eastern Asia." * * *

Extract from President Johnson's Message of December 9, 1868.

* * * *

"The attention of the Senate and of Congress is again respectfully invited to the treaty for the establishment of commercial reciprocity with the Hawaiian Kingdom, entered into last year, and already ratified by that government."

* * * * * * *

"It is known and felt by the Hawaiian government and people that their government and institutions are feeble and precarious; that the United States, being so near a neighbor, would be unwilling to see the Islands pass under foreign control.

"Their prosperity is continually disturbed by expectations and alarms of unfriendly political proceedings, as well from the United States as from other foreign powers.

"A reciprocity treaty, while it could not materially diminish the revenues of the United States, would be a guaranty of the good will and forbearance of all nations, until the people of the Islands shall of themselves, at no distant day, voluntarily apply for admission into the Union." * * *

There is probably little reason to fear that a policy of so long standing is to be abandoned; but there may be danger that the influence of sugar producers (who cannot be injured in the least by the importation of the amount of sugar raised on the Hawaiian Islands) may win votes enough to weaken the moral force of the treaty and keep alive the intrigues of those who seek to undermine the influence and interest of the United States in the Pacific.

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REVIEW

OF THE

"VIEWS OF THE MINORITY"

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,

ON TERMINATING THE

HAWAIIAN RECIPROCITY TREATY.

On the 24th of January, Senator Sherman, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted to the Senate a report of the "views of the minority" of that committee, in relation to the joint resolution providing for the termination of the reciprocity treaty between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands. This report says that the signers, "not being able to agree with the majority of the Committee on Foreign Relations, beg leave to say that their views are substantially embodied in a report made by the Committee on Finance, upon the same subject, on the 27th of February, 1883," which they adopt and make a part of their report.

That report, of the Finance Committee of the Senate, has been proved incorrect in its most important points, and its statements shown to be largely the result of prejudice or ignorance of the subject, and quite at variance with the facts. But as the minority of the Committee on Foreign Relations have seen fit to adopt it as their report, it is proper that it should be again reviewed.

It is necessary to quote the conclusion of the report of the Finance Committee, in order to properly examine the statements upon which their decision was based.

"Whereas it is no longer for the interests of the United States to continue the same in force; therefore

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That notice be given of the termination of the reciprocity treaty according to the provision therein contained for the termination of the same; and the President of the United States is hereby charged with the communicatian of such notice to the King and the government of the Hawaiian Islands, and the desire of the United States to make and maintain the most friendly commercial relations with that power."

This seems to indicate that in the opinion of the minority, the increase of trade between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands has been detrimental to the former, and has thus rendered the continuance of the treaty an act of injustice. In the language of the report, "the simple recital of the facts as to our trade with the Hawaiian Islands before and since the date of the reciprocity treaty, September 9, 1876, will show its great inequality, and the conspicuous injustice to our Government and the people of its longer continuance." An examination of the condition of this trade will perhaps prove more satisfactory than the simple assertion made in the report. The treaty went into operation in 1876, and the following table shows the condition of our trade with the Islands from 1875 to 1883:

Showing the total trade between the Hawaiian Islands and the United States, from 1875 to 1883, both inclusive, (from Statistics of the United States Treasury.)

Year ending June 30.	U. S. exports.	U. S. imports.	Total trade.
1875	$662,164	$1,127,191	$1,789,355
1876	769,662	1,376,681	2,146,343
1877	1,272,949	2,550,335	3,823,284
1878	1,736,099	2,678,830	4,414,927
1879	2,374,918	3,257,938	5,632,856
1880	2,086,170	4,606,444	6,692,614
1881	2,778,072	5,533,000	8,311,072
1882	3,350,775	7,646,294	10,997,069
1883	3,776,065	8,238,461	12,014,526

Before the treaty of reciprocity with Hawaii, the bulk of the sugar consumed in the Pacific States was brought from Manila, Batavia, and China, and was imported through foreign agencies, in foreign vessels, and paid for almost entirely in gold coin. The entire profits upon it went to foreigners, and of course the coin was taken out of the country. At the present time, nearly all the sugar consumed west of the Rocky Mountains comes from Hawaii, and not only is it largely produced by American capital, but from the time it leaves the plantations until it is delivered at San Francisco, for refining and distribution, it is in the hands of American merchants and in American vessels. Not only the entire traffic between Honolulu and San Francisco, but the whole inter-island trade is controlled by American merchants and vessels built, by American capital, *in the United States*. Now let us see the "conspicuous injustice" to the people of the United States, so inconsiderately charged in the report of the Finance Committee. The foregoing table shows that in the year 1882 the exports from the Hawaiian Islands exceeded the imports from the United States $4,295,515. The total imports from all other countries than the United States amounted to $1,176,449.66, which, if paid for by American exchange, would leave $3,119,065.34 to be paid for in American gold. But, according to the report of the Treasury, the United States sent to Hawaii in the year 1882 coin to the amount of only $102,000. What became of the balance, $3,017,065.34? There can be but one answer—to the payment of items, such as follows, and which do not appear in custom-house reports:

1st. Freights earned, principally by American vessels, in the transmission of Hawaiian products to the United States and American products to the Islands.

2d. Profits and commissions to American merchants.

3d. Insurance paid to American companies.

4th. Purchase of vessels in the United States for the inter-island as well as trans-oceanic traffic, and Hawaiian annual subsidies paid to American steamships.

5th. Interest on American capital, borrowed for investment, and dividends on over $10,000,000 capital invested in Island enterprises by residents in the United States.

6th. Payment of American mechanics, artisans, and others, amount saved from their labor at the Islands and brought home by them.

7th. Amount spent by Hawaiian residents in the United States for traveling, education of children, and other expenses and investments not shown by custom-house reports. In other words, the "conspicuous injustice" consists in the United States buying $7,646,-294 worth of sugar, &c., from the islands, and paying therefor *with its own products*, all but $102,000!

The year 1883 shows a still greater advantage to the United States, as the export of coin to the Islands, up to June 30, was only $35,848—and the silver dollars coined for the Hawaiian government, later in the year, were paid for by the sale of bonds in the United States—*not by any balance of trade!*

But the report makes more serious charges against the treaty than even those of "inequality" and "injustice." It charges that "*open and indisputable fraud*" has been committed, which, if true, would implicate the highest officials and customs officers of both countries.

These charges led to the appointment, by the Secretary of the Treasury, of a commission consisting of two gentlemen who had long been connected with the Treasury service, and were well qualified to detect any fraud upon, or violation of, the revenue laws, and an expert in the sugar business, of high standing in the community and well known probity of character. This commission not only investigated the records of San Francisco and Portland custom-houses, but made a personal visit to the Hawaiian Islands and inspected the plantations, landings, mills, machinery, and everything connected with the production and shipment of sugar in that country. Their report was a complete refutation of the charges of fraud, made in the report of the Finance Committee, and, it would seem, should have sufficed to prevent the repetition of such charges by the minority of the Committee on Foreign Relations, in adopting and indorsing such report.

But as it is possible the honorable gentlemen who signed that report never saw the report of the commission, sent out by the Sec-

retary of the Treasury, a few extracts are made from both reports and placed side by side for comparison.

Extracts from report of Committee on Finance:

"It is manifest that the treaty has given an artificial stimulus to the growth of Hawaiian sugars, and to the introduction of a grade of free sugars much above the standard of such as were to be lawfully admitted under the treaty. The only class of sugar which was to be so admitted free of duty according to the very explicit terms of the treaty, was 'muscovada, brown, and all other unrefined sugar heretofore commonly imported from the Hawaiian Islands, and now (1875) known in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Island sugar.'

"Beyond all question the sugars lately received from the Hawaiian Islands have not been such as were commonly and commercially known prior to the date of the treaty in the markets of San Francisco and Portland as Sandwich Islands sugars, and their admission is an open and indisputable fraud upon the treaty."

"We are bound to look at the possible result of any continuance of the reciprocity treaty with the Hawaiian Islands. There are 30,000 acres of sugar-cane now reported as under cultivation, and the amount of lands available for this purpose is estimated to be sufficient to add 250 per centum to the amount of the present product. In no great length of time, under the hot-bed application of the reciprocity treaty, the Hawaiian sugar product will be likely to be swollen to its utmost extent, or to the amount of 350,000,000 pounds. The enormous capital already accumulated by those who have suddenly embarked in this enterprise points to an indefinite expansion."

Extracts from report of Commission appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury:

"It appears that up to 1875 most of the better grades of Sandwich Island sugars were sold in the markets of the Pacific coast directly for consumption. Early in that year the San Francisco refiners made contracts to purchase the greater part of the crop of the Islands, and arranged with the planters to make as large a proportion as possible dark in color, to meet the then existing tariff. After the treaty was promulgated. the proportions of the several grades became about the same as before said arrangement was entered into. With this exception it does not appear that there is any substantial difference in the character of the sugars imported prior to and since the treaty, nor is there any evidence that the importations under the treaty were not such sugars as were "commonly imported and known as Sandwich Island sugars" prior to 1876.

"Information obtained from a large number of merchants and customs officials in San Francisco and Portland familiar with the subject was also to the effect that no material change had taken place in the character of the sugars imported."

"One of the prominent points in this discussion has reference to the prospective large increase in the sugar production of the Islands. There is, unquestionably, a large amount of arable land fit for sugar cultivation; but as, except upon the Island of Hawaii, the planters depend largely npon irrigation, the extent of the water supply fixes the limit of cultivation, which, for this reason, it is estimated, cannot be increased beyond thirty to forty per cent. The yield per acre varies greatly, and is, also, largely controlled by the water supply. Some estates produced the past year five and a half tons per acre, while others yielded but two and two and a half tons, the average being probably less than three tons. It should be understood that it requires an average of eighteen months for cane to mature in the Islands, and that not more than two-thirds of the acreage cultivated is cut in any one year. We are convinced that the output of all the Islands, under the most favorable circumstances, (unless by a better system of cultivation,) would not exceed one hundred thousand tons of sugar per annum."

"Whether the low grades of sugar from China and India, costing three cents or less a pound, may not be brought to the Hawaiian Islands and re-exported to the United States at a large profit, is a question that hardly admits of doubt. The fixed belief of importers and producers of sugar and rice is that it has been done already. The temptation is great, and the difficulty of detecting such frauds is not small."

"The second charge made is, that sugars are imported from the East Indies and China into the Sandwich Islands, and thence reshipped to the United States as of Hawaiian growth and manufacture. This subject has been fully discussed by the American Minister and United States Consul at Honolulu, in reports of recent date, to which attention is called. After a thorough examination of the matter, we are convinced of the utter impracticability of such operations. The formation of the Islands is such as in itself to forbid the successful smuggling of sugar. There is but one port in the kingdom where a vessel can lie with safety, viz., Honolulu. All the others are open roadsteads, at which landings must be made in boats, and at some of them this is attended with no little risk, even at the most favorable season. The landing of sugar at either of these ports in boats through the surf would be a tedious operation, and, from the nature of the coast, must be conducted by daylight. In a state of society such as exists on the Islands, where every new arrival or unusual event attracts universal attention, the presence of a sugar-laden vessel and the landing of her cargo would of necessity involve such publicity as to preclude the possible success of the venture, to say nothing of the necessary after-handling and

reshipment to the United States. This could only be accomplished by collusion between the shippers and the United States and Hawaiian officials, of which there is no evidence nor ground for suspicion.

"The Pacific coast instead of being benefitted by having cheaper sugars in consequence of the reciprocity treaty, it is claimed have actually had to pay more for their sugars than was paid prior to the treaty, and more than two cents a pound above the market prices on the Atlantic coast. Free sugars on the Pacific coast actually cost, therefore, at least two cents a pound more than dutiable sugars elsewhere."

"It is charged that the treaty has created a sugar monopoly on the Pacific coast and increased the price to the consumer, but we did not find this statement warranted by the facts. It is true that the remission of the duty by the United States has not inured to the benefit of the consumer on the Pacific coast; but, as before stated, the duty which, were there no treaty, would go into the United States Treasury, now goes to the planter, and not to the refiner who buys nearly the entire product of the Islands. The increased cost to the consumer on that coast, of refined sugars, as compared with the price paid by consumers in the Eastern States (from 2 to 2½ cents per pound), is not the result of the treaty, but grows out of a monopoly of the refining business in San Francisco, coupled with the still greater monopoly of railroad transportation."

One more extract will suffice for the *financial* part of the Finance Committee's report:

"In the six years of the operation of this treaty we have received sugars from the Hawaiian Islands to the value of $23,264,687, and the duties we have imposed upon other sugars of similar quality have averaged not less than 55 per centum ad valorem. At this rate our loss in six years, by the sugar part of the Hawaiian treaty, would appear to have been $12,795,578, and this loss is annually rapidly increasing. Upon the sugar received in 1882 the loss to the United States upon the same basis amounted to $3,804,946."

This statement is made immediately after the publication of a table showing the imports of Hawaiian sugars to the United States from 1877 to 1882, in which the total amount of sugar so imported is put down at 347,350,867 pounds. Now, taking the committee's figures as to loss of revenue on this amount ($12,795,578, as stated by the report) it would seem that the duty *ought to have been* three and a half cents per pound! It is well known that the average duty on sugar is less than *two cents* per pound, and the writer of the report understood perfectly that in his table of values *the duty was included*,

and consequently his estimate of "55 per centum ad valorem," as a fair average of what would have been the duty, was a bit of figuring to mislead those to whom the report was submitted. The value of sugar upon which duty is not required to be paid is the same *as if it had paid duty*, and therefore Hawaiian sugar is invoiced at its full market value in the United States less cost of carriage. This is required by law and the instructions to our consuls, before they can certify to the invoice, although there is no such thing as an "ad valorem" duty on sugar.

The minority gentlemen, of the Committee on Foreign Relations, are not content with the figures of the Finance Committee, but add their own for the year 1883 as follows: "The facts stated in the report of the Committee on Finance are emphasized by the state of the trade during the year 1883, the year following the latest date stated in the tables in the report. It appears that the importation of sugar of the Dutch standard from the Hawaiian Islands during the year 1883 was 114,132,670 pounds, valued at $7,340,033." * * * * * "The duty that would have been derived from the sugar admitted from the Hawaiian Islands entered for consumption in the United States in 1883, would have been about $4,000,000." This is figuring the duty, again, at 55 per cent. *ad valorem* on the basis or price of duty-paid sugar in the United States, and would make the same *over 3½ cents per pound*, or more than the highest duty on sugar known in our tariff! The true amount of duty that could have been collected on the year's importation, at the fair average of 2 cents per pound, would have been little over one-half the sum named in the report.

It might be expected that a Committee on Finance would leave all questions not of a *financial* nature to the judgment of the Senate, or to whatever committee might be designated to investigate such matters. But such was not the case in the report referred to. The Finance Committee went into such detail concerning the political and commercial questions involved in the treaty, and passed such sweeping judgment upon the same, that the minority of the present Committee on Foreign Relations seem to have considered it unnecessary or impossible to add to their report. But, as will appear from contrast, the opinions of the Finance Committee do not agree with those expressed by eminent statesmen and officers of our Government who have had the best possible opportunities for correct judgment.

Extracts from report of Committee on Finance:

"We have no interest in treating the Sandwich Islands with greater favor than any other countries which sustain friendly commercial intercourse with us."

"Whatever political changes may in the course of time occur, Hawaiian products must find their only market in the United States, and this will forever secure friendly commercial intercourse with us."

"It cannot concern us who the rulers of these Islands may be, as they can never be formidable for aggressions, being over two thousand miles distant from the Pacific coast, and if ever hostile, the most powerful naval force would be sure to control their actions."

Extract from President Tyler's Message, December 31, 1842;

"Considering, therefore, that the United States possess so very large a share of the intercourse with those Islands, it is deemed not unfit to make the declaration that their Government seeks, nevertheless, no exclusive control over the Hawaiian government, but is content with its independent existence, and anxiously wishes for its security and prosperity. Its forbearance in this respect under the circumstances of the very large intercourse of their citizens with the Islands would justify this Government, should events hereafter arise to require it, in making a decided remonstrance against the adoption of an opposite policy by any other power."

Exports of sugar from the Hawaiian Islands to British Colonies in the Pacific Ocean, before the treaty of reciprocity with the U. S. was made:

1870	2,338,698	pounds.
1871	2,566,549	"
1872	3,605,156	"
1873	*8,284,048	"

*This was over one-third (1/3) of the entire crop.

Opinion of Daniel Webster.

Mr. Webster, when Secretary of State, even before the acquisition of California, declared that the Government of the United States would look with displeasure upon any effort by any other government to acquire a preponderating influence over the government of the Hawaiian Islands; and he further said, in relation to an intimation that the French would probably take possession of the Islands, that he trusted they would not take possession, but if they did they would be dislodged if it took the whole power of this Government to do it, if his advice were taken.

Extract from report of General Schofield, commanding the Department of the Pacific:

"The Hawaiian Islands constitute the only natural outpost to the defences of our Pacific Coast. In the possession of a foreign naval power in time of war, as a depot from which to fit out hostile expeditions against the coast and our commerce on the Pacific Ocean, they would afford means of incalculable injury to the United States. If the absolute neutrality of the Islands could always be insured, that would suffice. But they have not and never can have the power to maintain their own neutrality, and now their necessities compel them to seek alliance with some nation that can relieve their embarrassment."

"We require no fortified Gibraltar, no half-way houses on any of the highways of the ocean leading to colonial dependencies. All such places are only maintained in time of peace by extraordinary expenditures, and in time of war they are prolific sources of weakness."

Extract from report of Admiral Porter, U. S. N.:

"The Hawaiian Islands occupy a position in the Pacific Ocean corresponding with that of the Bermudas in the Atlantic, and the latter afford the British a principal outpost on our coast whence they could launch forth their ships of war upon us with perfect impunity. The Britiish government, fully aware of the importance of the Hawaiian Islands, have long had their eyes upon them, and but for American influence Hawaii would now be a second Bermuda." "The Fiji Islands lay unoccupied for years until the British navy became all iron-clad. Now they are wanted and taken as a depot."

* * * * *

"A line drawn from the newly acquired Fiji Islands to the British possessions on the northwest coast of British America, passes through the Hawaiian Islands, and the taking possession of the Fijis is but the preparatory step to the occupation of Hawaii. It is necessary to complete the chain of naval stations which is in the future to dominate over our commerce in the Pacific."

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"These Islands are numerous, with coasts equal in extent to nearly one-half of those of the United States. Unlike the rocky barriers presented at Gibraltar, Malta, and St. Helena, the harbors and coasts are beyond the power of any people to make impregnable."

Extract from report of the minority of the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"The loss of revenue entailed by the treaty seems to the undersigned far greater than any benefit derived from it, and it is submitted that the better way is to terminate the treaty with a view to enter into such commercial relations with the Sandwich Islands as will be more nearly reciprocal than the provisions of the present treaty."

Extract from report of an eminent Engineer of the United States Army:

"A great naval power in possession of the island of Oahu would in time of war have our whole western seaboard at its mercy. Seven miles from Honolulu is Pearl River harbor, which seems designed expressly by nature for a great naval station. It is commodious, deep, land-locked, well supplied with fresh water, accesble in all conditions of weather, its entrance easily defended, and its interior safe from bombardment. Such an occupancy would probably be regarded by every American with feelings akin to those with which a Spaniard looks upon the occupation of Gibraltar by England."

Extract from Report of the National Board of Trade.

"The benefits which the friends of the treaty promised from its passage were of two kinds: First, direct commercial advantages in the opening and development of a market for American productions; and, secondly, political advantages in the control secured to the United States of a group of Islands which have been designated as the key to the commerce of the North Pacific."

"In these days, when we hear so much of the decadence of American commerce, it is gratifying to find one field in which our own commerce is on the increase." * * *

"When all these sources of profit to our merchants and producers are duly considered, it will be found that the direct commercial benefits of the treaty are more nearly balanced between the two countries than would at first appear. But far beyond all present direct commercial results are the political advantages which the United States derive from the control of the Hawaiian Islands."

"Already far-seeing men look forward to the day when the commerce of the Pacific shall rival that of the Atlantic. With our long stretch of coast upon that ocean and its finest harbors in our possession, the United States must guard jealously her interests there."

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It is unnecessary to add to the evidence given, to show that the report of the Committee on Finance is contrary to the facts and the opinions of men best qualified to judge; and it is a strong argument in favor of the treaty that the minority of the Committee of Foreign Relations were unable to do more than reiterate the charges that had been so fully disproved by a commission sent for the purpose of verifying them, if true.

It is plain to be seen that the effect of abrogating the treaty, at this time, would be to diminish our present commerce and trade with the Islands, and throw away all the advantages gained by our seven years' remission of duty in their favor. The idea expressed by the honorable Senator from Ohio, "that the better way is to terminate the treaty with a view to enter into commercial relations with the Sandwich Islands as will be more nearly reciprocal than the provisions of the present treaty," reminds one of the fable of the dog who dropped the bone he had in his mouth, in his attempt to seize the shadow in the water!

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LETTER

FROM

COL. ZEPH. SWIFT SPALDING

TO THE

CLEVELAND LEADER

UPON

The Reciprocity Treaty

WITH THE

HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT.

DATED AT HONOLULU,
November 30, 1881.

CLEVELAND, OHIO:
LEADER PRINTING COMPANY, 146 SUPERIOR STREET.
1882.

THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.

HONOLULU, H. I., November 30, 1881.

By arrival of the steamer City of New York we are in receipt of the mail from San Francisco, and find, somewhat to our surprise, that a newspaper of that city called the *Chronicle* has been engaged for the past few weeks in a systematic attack upon the Reciprocity Treaty, as well as upon Mr. Claus Spreckels, the wealthy and energetic sugar refiner, whose investments have done so much to stimulate trade and commerce between this little island kingdom and the United States.

To those who are acquainted with the history of the San Francisco *Chronicle* it is not a matter of surprise to see its columns used for purposes of blackmail or personal spite; but I confess to a great surprise, on my own part, at seeing reproduced in the *Chronicle* an article represented to have been taken from the LEADER of November 5, a copy of which I enclose. It is not so much the matter contained in the article copied from your paper that I object to (although I hope to show you wherein that is wrong), as in the spirit of opposition to the Reciprocity Treaty, and the aid a respectable paper like the LEADER lends to the *Chronicle* by apparently sanctioning its unprovoked, untruthful, and mercenary attacks upon all those engaged in the production, manufacture or sale of Hawaiian Islands sugar. That you ever intended to thus support the *Chronicle* in its many baseless charges and false statements I do not for a moment believe; but that you have been dragged into the mire of its own filth by that unscrupulous sheet you will perceive by the enclosed cutting from that paper of November 21, wherein you are paraded as one of the "many indorsers" of the statements referred to. Having, by incautiously noticing the San Francisco *Chronicle* in an approving manner, thus giving that paper the opportunity of ranking you as one

of its "indorsers," I feel called upon to trespass on your space sufficiently to prove the falsity of the statements, which, were they true, would certainly find no supporter in me, and much less see me engaged in a business which, according to the *Chronicle*, is the "worst system of slavery ever known!"

First, let me say, in answer to the article said to have been copied from the LEADER, that I think you are wrong in ranking the treaty of reciprocity between the United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom as an "illustration of the doctrine of free trade." By referring to the list of articles made "free" under that treaty (copy of which I enclose) you will see that, while the list is large on the side of American goods, it really extends only to such articles as may be termed necessaries of life, and that from Hawaii the only important products upon which the duty is remitted are sugar and rice. Even the article of sugar is restricted to what is known as raw sugar, under No. 16, Dutch standard in color, and can therefore not come in competition with the refined grades manufactured in the United States. "Free trade," according to my idea, would not thus limit or circumscribe the productions of either country passing into the other. Nor was the treaty passed as a "Democratic measure." It was made, ratified, and carried into effect under a Republican administration, and with a Republican majority in Congress, although I am glad to say it received the sanction of many of the best men of both parties.

The article said to have been copied from the LEADER says that it was expected the treaty "would cheapen the price of sugar in the Pacific States and Territories, and result in a great enlargement of trade between the two countries," which expectation "has not been fulfilled." I inclose abstracts from the custom house reports showing that the value of American goods imported into the Hawaiian Islands increased from $1,047,160.44 in the year 1875, to $2,628,288.92 in 1880, and over $3,000,000 as the reasonable estimate for the current year, which certainly refutes the statement in regard to trade; and I think reflection will cause you to agree with me in the opinion

that the price of any article depends more upon the supply and demand than upon the duty it pays.

When the United States said to Hawaii, "You may bring in certain grades of sugar free of duty," it did not also say, "but you must sell your sugars so much cheaper." It was intended to discriminate in favor of the Hawaiian government and its agricultural productions. Now, if the sugar planter was obliged to sell his sugar just that much cheaper, there should be no favor in it, and no return even for the $250,000 or $300,000 duties annually relinquished by the Hawaiian government on American goods. No one acquainted with the trade of the two countries ever thought that the duties remitted by each would balance; but it was thought that the treaty would give an impetus to the sugar business and that the demands for American goods would thereby be largely increased. That this has been the result I have just shown. Whether the loss of revenue by the American Government will really prove such must depend upon the future. It is certainly no more a loss than would result from annexation, and it is even questionable whether the people of the Pacific coast would have so largely increased their consumption of sugar had they not made their profits out of the $10,000,000 or more of American goods sold to Hawaii since the treaty went into effect.

You quote the *Chronicle* for your statement that the price of sugar is higher than before the treaty, and give as the reason for it that "the business of sugar making in the Hawaiian Islands has fallen into the hands of a monopoly, which has headquarters in the United States, and that this monopoly has advanced the price to a point equal to what it was before the removal of the duty." That "thus the duty removed by the treaty goes to the enrichment of grasping monopolists instead of to the people of the Pacific coast." This statement I most positively and unreservedly declare false in every particular! I am one of many Americans engaged in the production and manufacture of sugar at the Hawaiian Islands, and flatter myself that I am well enough known to many of your readers to have my word taken as truth, in preference to the sweeping

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assertions of a newspaper whose career has been marked by demagogism, slander and blackmail. Still, for the benefit of those to whom I am not personally known, and who might think the representations of an interested party entitled to even less consideration than those of a daily journal, I ask leave to present not only a few arguments in support of my assertions, but also to furnish indisputable proofs of the falsity of the statements made by the San Francisco *Chronicle*, which you are made to indorse by the trickery of that paper.

As planters and sugar manufacturers, we of course look to the most profitable disposition of our crops, and it seems to me hardly necessary to say that we do not sell our sugars at two cents per pound under the market price simply because the United States Government remits that amount in duty. Through our agent we sell largely to the refinery at San Francisco, because, as I have said, the treaty does not allow our bringing in free of duty sugar of a lighter color than "No. 16," and the people are not disposed to purchase our dark sugar at even less rates than they are worth for refining. That Mr. Spreckles, as the principal refiner of the Pacific coast, does a large and remunerative business, I do not deny. But that he or any other man, or set of men, control the Island business I do most emphatically deny. In selling our sugars to him, we do so upon the basis of "Manilla," or New York prices, and we receive as though we had paid duty instead of having the same remitted. Whether the price of sugar in San Francisco be higher or lower depends upon the great market of the world, and is governed by the law of supply and demand. Should anyone offer us more for our sugars we would hardly be so self-sacrificing as to refuse it.

Mr. Claus Spreckels, though of German birth, is as good an American citizen as can be found in any city of the Union, and of course is entitled to all the rights of such. When the treaty of reciprocity was passed he invested largely in the Hawaiian Islands, and now, as a producer of sugar, reaps the benefit of the remitted duty. Can any well meaning man deny him this privilege? If he could see further into the future, or

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was more energetic than his neighbors, is he to be branded with all the vile epithets the *Chronicle* may choose to fling at him in the hope of procuring hush money? It is a principle of business to buy cheap and sell dear, and the only charge that the *Chronicle* has made against Mr. Spreckels, which does not carry its own refutation in its senseless absurdity is that he (Mr. Spreckels) has "bought up" the Pacific Railroad, so that no one can bring sugar to San Francisco from the East. This charge has been denied by Mr. Spreckels, and would not be believed by any intelligent man in San Francisco even if he had not given it that notice. Abroad, people might more easily be deceived; still it seems to me that, even were it true, the fault and the crime would be more with the railroad company for being bought than with any individual for buying them. Is it so easy to buy up railroads that the *Chronicle* should hope to gull people with such a statement?

But I will not occupy more space with the *Chronicle's* charges against Mr. Spreckels, as between them the people of San Francisco and others interested can judge for themselves. It is more my desire to expose and refute the statements made by the *Chronicle* against the treaty itself—statements which you are counted as indorsing, although I am sure you could only give them the honor of quoting through ignorance of their real character and intent.

Perhaps, to the high-minded and freedom-loving people of the Western Reserve, the most serious charge against the Hawaiian planters is that the labor system of the Islands consists "of the most abject slavery." I should not be surprised at the good people of that "free soil" district holding up their hands in horror at the idea of the United States encouraging such an institution even in a foreign land, and I can well imagine the dismay of my old friends at the idea of my turning slave driver! I am happy to assure you, on the contrary, that I not only retain my American birthright and nationality unhampered and unchanged, but that I am to-day as firm an abolitionist as when I gave my sanction and adherence to the emancipation proclamation of Father Abraham! Yet, through

the vile slanders of a corrupt journal, made for venal purposes known only to the parties themselves, I, in common with all engaged in the sugar business in this country, stand charged with worse than crime.

That slavery, in any form, or under any guise, exists in the Hawaiian Islands, is a falsehood worthy only of the source from which it emanates. The labor laws of the country have been in force for many years, and only changed from time to time to throw more protection around the laborer, and to define as well as to restrict the power of the employer. These laws have received the sanction, not only of the people, native and foreign, but of the governments of all countries with whom Hawaii has come in contact, and I challenge any man to show the least semblance between the condition or status of the Hawaiian laborer and the slave or serf of any other country. It is true that we contract with men for their labor, for one, two, or three years (the law does not allow a contract for more than five), under stipulations and conditions agreed upon at the time, and in the presence of an official appointed by the government to see that the laborer properly understands his contract. Even the fee to this official must be paid by the employer, and cannot be charged against the laborer. If either party to this contract or agreement fails to keep the conditions thereof, the only remedy is an appeal to the courts, and if the employer is found to have exceeded his rights he is subject to fine and imprisonment, and the contract annulled, and the laborer discharged from any liability under the same. But if the laborer is proved to have refused or failed to execute the conditions of his contract, with no excuse on his part, and no fault on the part of the employer, then the law says to the laborer "you must perform the service you have contracted to do." A refusal on the part of the laborer to obey the order of the court is punishable by imprisonment.

In answer to the charge that "these contracts are not for a specified term," I may say that the wording of the contract is sufficiently clear, and that it only remains with the laborer himself to make it "specific" as to limitation. Twenty-six

days of labor constitutes a month, and, of course, if the laborer, through idleness, fails to work more than thirteen days he can only draw pay for half a month. To any intelligent mind the necessity for such a provision must be apparent. I enclose extracts from the law relating to laborers as well as our blank form for labor contracts. Can you imagine "a system of abject slavery" based thereon? If so, your imagination is more fertile than our practice!

If you ask me why there have been so many charges of slavery in Hawaii, I answer because we have evil disposed persons in this part of the world, as well as at home! Have you none of that class in Cleveland, who

> —— "Ne'er felt the halter draw,
> With good opinion of the law."

The San Francisco *Chronicle*, in addition to its editorial revilings, has published cards and statements purporting to come from laborers who had escaped(?) from the Islands. Many of these I know to have been bogus or bought up, though I have no doubt there are men employed under contract who really think themselves abused in being obliged to carry out the terms of their contracts. Perhaps, some may even have misunderstood them, notwithstanding the care of the goverment in protecting their rights. But when I add that the law does not allow the transfer of contracts, and that they end with the death of the employer (so that no new party, as heir or assignee, can come into the position), I think you will agree that they are not based on any form of slavery.

I do not attempt to evade the point in our labor law which gives the courts power to enforce a civil contract; and I know that at first thought this power might seem to a citizen of the United States arbitrary and dangerous. But you must remember that we are peculiarly circumstanced. Our climate is mild and we have few of the incentives to labor known in countries of more vigorous climate and less fertile soil, and, therefore, it would not be strange to find many of our laborers leaving us "in the lurch" at a time when their labor was most needed. Nor would it be easy to replace them by others, as the num-

ber of available laborers in the country has never been in excess, nor even equal to the wants and demands of the various industries pursued. Therefore, it has been thought but right that the employer should have some guarantee that his contract for labor would be carried out, and that his investment of time and capital should not be left to the mercy of unscrupulous or dissatisfied laborers, upon whose good faith in the performance of their labor the investment had been made. The United States protects its maratime industries in this way, and, if I mistake not, England has much the same idea embodied in her laws relating to her colonies. No one ever thought of calling such labor "slavery," and it seems to me we have as much reason for asking that our labor be assured to us during the period contracted for, as the master of a vessel has for demanding that his sailors shall complete the voyage for which they are shipped.

It has been stated that we "buy up" the poor, ignorant natives of the Southern Islands, and even inveigle the innocent and unsuspecting Norwegians from their fatherland, to work out their lives under a burning sun upon our desert plains! Nine hours is a legal day's work, and the thermometer ranges from 65 to 88 degrees during the year, with the trade wind ever bringing its pure and healthful air over the thousands of miles of surrounding ocean. Would not some of your mechanics and laboring men, who are obliged to work even longer hours, exposed to the blasts of winter and the summer's heat, be glad to exchange climate with us? And would not many of your farm hands and day laborers be willing to work nine hours in the field, with hoe or plow, for the sum of $12 to $15 per month, with board, which is the "pittance" we pay our laborers? There is little call for spending money, and it is no uncommon thing for a faithful laborer to lay up from $100 to $150 per year, especially where he has the opportunity for working over-time, which is paid for generally at the rate of 12½ ce ts per hour. How many laboring men do this in the United States? How many Norwegians or Portuguese could do it in their own over-crowded and time-worn lands?

But some one may ask "why with this fair climate and rich soil do you need the aid of 'Uncle Sam' to the tune of several millions per annum?" Simply, my friend, because of the scarcity and high prices of everything except "fair climate and rich soil!" The Hawaiian Islands have not been known to the world as one of the great sugar producing countries. In fact, for many years they were only thought of as the rendezvous of the whaling fleet, and one of the most remarkable fields of missionary labor, under the auspices of the "American Board." Who does not remember the collections taken up to send teachers, and books, and clothing to the natives? of the dime contributions of the Sunday-school to help build the missionary vessel "Morning Star?" And who does not know that the Sandwich Islands, as they have commonly been called, have ever been regarded as almost American—not only from their close proximity to the Pacific States, but even more from their having been the object of so much care and solicitude on the part of the American people, and as being the only foreign country where Americans were numerically stronger than any other foreign nationality? Never have our statesmen ceased to regard the Islands with most friendly interest, even extending to that half proprietary feeling which the "manifest destiny" of the country seemed to warrant.

Well, the whaling interest died out, and the business of the Islands seemed to languish. A few attempts had been made to cultivate sugar, but lack of capital, lack of labor, and lack of everything save climate and soil, had rendered those attempts more or less unprofitable, until there was scarcely a plantation on the Islands that had not passed into bankruptcy. The United States Government was appealed to, and the treaty of reciprocity was the answer. By this treaty the duty on raw sugar was remitted, and under the impetus thus given to the business, the production of sugar has increased from 12,500 tons in 1875 to 29,582 tons in 1880, and the trade with the United States more than trebled! Nine steamers, aggregating 2,200 tons, and seventeen sailing vessels have been built on the Pacific coast for the Island trade, and over ten millions of

American capital have been invested in developing the country. Of course, the supplies of machinery, etc., have not all come from the United States, as England and Scotland have been longer engaged in the manufacture of sugar machinery, and consequently are able to produce the same generally at less price for equal quality than can be done elsewhere. Still, there has been actually paid for machinery made in the United States, and from material obtained from the United States, over three and a half million of dollars since 1875, and the use of English iron by our local foundries has been almost entirely superseded by that of American manufacture. Pittsburg furnishes us with boiler heads, tubes and plates; Boston with brass tubes and fittings, and Weston's patent centrifugals; the Putnam Company with their celebrated engines and lathes, and the Blake Company of New York with their famous vacuum and steam pumps. There is hardly a manufacturing district in the United States that is not represented in our mills by specimens of their work, while our demands upon the Pacific coast are simply enormous. The lumber we use per annum, all from the United States, amounts to over twenty millions of feet. Brick, lime, cement, nails, hardware, groceries, and provisions amount to over $500,000 every year, and the interest we pay on American capital invested here, and the freights paid to American shipping help to eat up the returns from our sales of sugar! As you may imagine, all these supplies are of high price when they reach us, and taken with the high price of labor, show you why we cannot build up the industry of sugar raising here in competition with other countries where expenses are so much less.

The United States gave us the treaty of reciprocity instead of annexation, and to my mind the act was a wise one. It has helped to keep alive and develop American sentiment, and has bound this little island kingdom the more closely to its natural friend and protector, by the strongest of ties, self-interest; and under the treaty the United States may justly consider herself "the most favored nation" with all that that implies!

Z. S. SPALDING.

APPENDIX.

The following statistics, copied from the Official Report of the Collector General of the Sandwich Islands, will show the growth of the Imports from the United States since the Reciprocity Treaty went into operation:

For the Year of 1875.

No. 8—Value of Goods Paying Duty Imported at Honolulu, from	
United States, Pacific Ports	$777,423 55
United States, Atlantic Ports	59 791 87
Germany	152,136 16
Great Britain	132,538 41
China	35,915 65
Australia and New Zealand	21,353 19
Society Islands	2,389 88
Sea, by Whalers	2,174 03
Micronesia, Guano Islands, etc.	331 80
Total	$1,184,054 54

Value of Goods, Including Spirits Bonded, from	
United States, Pacific Ports	$100,148 30
United States, Atlantic Ports	9,896 72
Germany	27,892 50
Great Britain	48,384 09
China	659 00
Australia and New Zealand	17,299 07
Society Islands	618 73
Sea, by Whalers	77,260 48
Micronesia, Guano Islands, etc.	19,711 04
Total	$301,869 93

For the Year of 1880.

No. 2—Value of Goods Paying Duty Imported at Honolulu, from	
United States, Pacific Ports	$422,013 18
United States, Atlantic Ports	41,860 04
Great Britain	577,061 14
Germany	44,777 17
China	86,690 46
Australia and New Zealand	51,725 46
France	15,112 81
Micronesia and Guano Islands	2,332 98
Islands in N'th and S'th Pacific	561 18
Sea, by Whalers	447 50
Total Honolulu	$1,242,581 92
At Kahului	30,148 00
At Hilo	12,791 68
Total at all Ports	$1,285,521 60

Value of Goods and Spirits Bonded, from	
United States, Pacific Ports	$126,513 59
United States, Atlantic Ports	11,344 21
Great Britain	45,005 73
Germany	3,911 82
China	34,528 80
Australia and New Zealand	9,868 04
France	1,712 34
Micronesia and Guano Islands	1,093 69
Total Honolulu	$233,978 22
At Hilo	595 23
Total	$234,573 55

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Value of Goods from the United States Free by "Treaty."		Resume, Imports Hawaiian Islands.	
United States, Pacific Ports	$1,456,851 27	Value Goods Free by Treaty	$2,026,557 90
United States, Atlantic Ports	203,810 18	Value Goods Paying Duty	1,285,521 60
At Kahului	292,895 54	Value Goods & Spirits Bonded	234,573 55
At Hilo	72,920 81	Value Goods and Spirits Free	126,615 36
At Kelakekua	80 00		
Total	$2,026,557 90	Total	$3,673,268 41

Total amount Imported from the United States in 1875, the year before the Treaty went into operation, $947,260.42.

Total amount Imported from the United States in 1880, under the operation of the Treaty, $2,528,288, being an increase of $1,581,028.50.

Total amount Imported from all countries, $3,673,268.41. Proportion in favor of the United States, about sixty-nine per cent.

Memorandum Statements of Freights, Commissions and Insurance Paid to American Vessels, American Houses and American Companies since January 1st, 1877.

1877	$534,300	1880	$1,117,000
1878	778,109	1881, (9 mos)	1,378,000
1879	851,348		

Amount paid by this country (Sandwich Islands) for Vessels built in the United States since 1876, viz: 13 Schooners and 8 Steamers, $450,000.

Paid by Passengers to and from the United States since 1876, to American Vessels, $750,000—three-quarters of which have been paid by people of this country.

Fire and Marine Insurance paid to American Companies, about $75,000 per annum, not including the Insurance paid on Produce and Merchandise to and from the United States.

The Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company receive in cash and other privileges a sum equal to $25,000 per annum.

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These Statistics, which have been carefully compiled from authentic sources of information, and can at any time be verified, make an important showing in respect to the value to the United States of the Reciprocity Treaty with this kingdom. Most significant of all that these figures reveal, is the constant and rapid increase in the annual income which the States derive from these Islands, in the form of Commissions, Freights and Insurances, in addition to the ever augmenting consumption here of American produce and manufactures.

J. S. WALKER.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT,
HONOLULU, December 8th, 1881.

Below is a form of Labor Contract in use on the Island:

LABOR CONTRACT.

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this —— day of ——, A.D. 188–, by and between the MAKEE SUGAR COMPANY of Kauai, by their agents, WM. G. IRWIN & CO., of Honolulu, Island of Oahu, parties of the first part, and ——, party of the second part, witnesseth:

1. The said party of the second part promises to perform such labor on the Island of Kauai as the said parties of the first part shall direct, and that he will faithfully and diligently perform the same as becomes a good workman, and that he will obey all lawful commands of the said parties of the first part, their agent or overseers, during the term of —— months, or —— days, of —— hours each, of labor actually performed, commencing the —— day of ——, 188–.

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2. The said party of the second part further agrees that he will work at night and rest during the day whenever directed to do so; and if absent from work without the consent of the parties of the first part or their agents, that he will perform two days' service for every working day so absent.

3. The said parties of the first part will well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the said party of the second part, at the end of each month during which this contract shall remain in force, compensation or wages, at the rate of ——— dollars for each month of twenty-six days' labor performed, if said party of the second part shall well and truly perform his labor as aforesaid, *and to provide him with food and lodging while he shall so labor.*

4. The sum of ——— dollars is acknowledged to have been paid as an advance upon the wages to accrue under this contract.

Witness: ——— ———

Agents Makee Sugar Company.

———

ISLAND OF OAHU,
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, } ss. On this —— day of ——, A.D. 188–, personally appeared before me, THE MAKEE SUGAR COMPANY, (by WM. G. IRWIN, of the firm of Messrs. WM. G. IRWIN & Co., their Agents,) masters, and ——— servant, satisfactorily proved to me by the oath of ——— to be the persons executing the above contract, and the same having been by me read and explained to them, they severally acknowledged that they understand the same, and that they had executed the same voluntarily, and upon the terms and conditions therein set forth.

Agent to take Acknowledgments to Labor Contracts, District of Kona, Island of Oahu.

THE PLANTERS'

MONGOLIAN PETS,

OR,

Human Decoy Act,

BY

Z. Y. SQUIRES.

HONOLULU, H. I.
1884.

THE PLANTERS'

MONGOLIAN PETS,

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S77p

As the Hawaiian Islands have arrived at that stage of prosperity and freedom of speech that every citizen considers his right to openly express his views in regard to the welfare or embarrassment of our national affairs which I believe is admitted as prevailing, I shall endeavor to impartially give mine without fear or favor, and shall abide the public opinion to sustain or condemn them as they think proper.

If my opinion and the information I have gained during thirty years residence in this Kingdom will be of any benefit to the people of the Hawaiian Islands in their present state of embarrassment, they are welcome and open to perusal, expecting that they and the public journals will give them a fair and impartial consideration; I, owning no plantation, and having no Chinese bound to me in servitude, and in fact belonging to to no clique, party or denomination, and not striving for wealth or aggrandizement as most of those are who belong to that well defined political organization here.

The policy which they are advocating at the present time, if persisted in, will lead in the near future to certain ruination and stagnation of many of our business enterprises throughout the Kingdom, many of which are carried on at the present time at a considerable loss, owing to the embarrassed state of trade. Still they continue their business at a loss.

I will here take the liberty at the risk of being expelled from the Kingdom, to give my views on some of the most important questions now appertaining to the welfare of the people; 1st, our shipping laws and the labor question, (or more properly called the human decoy system) which has been agitated here and in foreign countries with bitter feelings, and in most cases with animosity.

In my opinion it is one of the most important questions that should arrest the attention of the present Legislative Assembly. Let us take into consideration the present financial embarrassment and its cause. In the opinion of some of our most learned editors, and their correspondents, it will readily be perceived that in the future it will require a statesman not less wise than an ancient mythologist, one inspired by the foreordination of a supreme ruler, to settle our difficulties. Now, taking into consideration the political divisions known to exist in the present Legislative Assembly, it is not to be expected that we can derive any great benefit during this session, or by their deliberations, that will immediately benefit us,

unless they themselves, coming as they do from the people, felt the cause of the dissatisfaction now existing in regard to a law that was unwisely and unjustly given a place in our Penal Code.

Soon after sugar was discovered to be a paying investment, the plantations were owned or controled by Americans and Europeans established here, the latter being in the minority, the former having the control. The native race at that time did a large share of the manual labor at less rates of wages than the Chinese are now demanding. Although it is conceded that they may be safely estimated at from 4000 to 6000 now idle and roving about the Kingdom, and that many of them are vagrant, nearly all of them have been bound in plantation servitude by our now existing laws, which are allowed to remain on our statutes. Thereby the native race and all the laboring white men now remaining in the Kingdom, that have not had the good fortune to save money enough to pay their taxes, passport and passage back to the United States, that generous benefactor of our fast increasing Chinese colony, are injured.

The glowing inducements set forth by the sugar growers both here and in the United States, have induced quite a number of whites to come to these shores. The capitalist, well knowing that the U. S. A. had a wishful eye towards these islands for a naval station to protect their commerce, thought to persuade the Hawaiian Government to make a proposition to the

people of the U. S. A. to throw off all duties on sugar and rice, the then main staple productions of this Kingdom that were then heavily taxed on entering her ports.

After a long and a bitter struggle between contending parties of both nations, the Hawaiian Kingdom solemnly pledged herself in an article of that treaty, not to transfer any portion of the islands to any other nationality. On the 17th day of June, 1876, the people of this Kingdom were so elated by receiving the news of a treaty of reciprocity with the U. S., their benefactor, that they celebrated with salvos of artillery, torch light processions of magnificence from the hill tops throughout the Kingdom, well knowing that in the future there would pass into the hands of the planters and the Hawaiian Government, several millions of dollars yearly.

This caused our monopolists to speak of their American neighbor in most glowing terms as their greatest benefactor. Immediately after, as our journals will show, they transferred their sugar from the San Francisco Custom-house with what was on board the ships then lying in the waters, and sent them back to Honolulu. Then without transferring the sugar from the ships which brought them back, they were cleared a second time, sent back to San Francisco and entered her Custom-house free. This gratification, appreciation and satisfaction was shown by some of our leading merchants here im-

mediately after receiving news of the passage of that treaty, they being the proud descendants of that nation's people that gave us new life and vitality to sugar and rice enterprises which have grown in magnitude beyond all conception of our oldest citizens.

It is but fair to state that these gentlemen withdrew their sugars to avoid paying duties. It is needless to say that their actions were privately and publicly denounced by a large portion of our citizens. But to-day, their agents in Washington are praying in most humble language for the U. S. Congress to save them from threatened ruination and abrogation, and to allow them to hold their human chattels which the American Congress, a short time ago, by a vote of 184 to 13, refused to allow to enter her country.

It is admitted by a very large majority of our intelligent people that the deplorable situation and dissatisfaction now prevailing throughout the Kingdom, can be directly traced to the sugar planters and the Hawaiian officials by their inducing and flooding these shores with an unnecessary class of Asiatic coolies, the scum of British Hongkong.

A disinterested stranger would judge from the appearance of our China gang, that they were of the very lowest order of humanity that the human imagination could conceive, who, if allowed to remain uncontrolled, would in a short time degenerate and ruin our native race. They would in time be a puzzle to the scientist, and the modern historian would be

obliged to clarify them as belonging to a species of the African chattering bushman, or the direct descendant of the ourang outang.

The planter has brought here, and is directly answerable for establishing a coolie contract system, and although sanctioned and legalized, it has caused many of the white population to leave by every steamer. Especially noticeable are our foreign laborers who have been fortunate enough to regain their freedom after serving their time in bondage. They have left for want of sufficient employment to furnish themselves shelter, food and clothing. Many of those who remain are obliged to patronize a ten cent coffee saloon, or a ten cent China soup institution, and rely on their borrowing qualifications to raise sufficient means to pay for a passage to a free country. In many cases they go hence at the will and pleasure of captains of our sailing packets.

It is a noticeable fact that the American people are not entertaining a friendly sentiment towards our sugar enterprises, and His Majesty's Government are directly responsible for the American and European laborer having to seek employment in other countries not being able to obtain it here. From the day the Treaty took effect, every available dollar was invested in sugar and in an incredibly short time the wealth of the planters accumulated to that extent that they were able to keep in Washington one representative and a lobbyist—and he a planter—at

a cost of probably three hundred thousand dollars yearly. Expressly to restrain and prevent any action on the Treaty which if lost to them must cause total destruction. Here we see firmly established a Chinese colony in mid-ocean, holding the key to American capital, and directly in a line of one of the most important national highways on the globe.

These Islands will at no distant day command and protect the fast increasing commerce of the North Pacific Ocean, and that of vessels mostly sailing from and entering America's ports.

It was unquestionably the intention of the American statesmen to benefit their subjects here on the Islands as well as the native race. The missionary failed with his Bible. but not in his aim to secure a large portion of the best native lands which, alas ! are now firmly held and worked by this abominable Asiatic race of coolies which outnumbers the white population and nearly the whole native race.

There are hundreds of them roving idle about the Kingdom, refusing employment, impertinently defying the law, robbing our henroosts, debauching our females degrading our rising generation and demoralizing our once respectable Hawaiian citizen and inhabitant. But, alas, now look ! This Mongolian stranger has put the climax on his influence. This once innocent Hawaiian people are now the victors of John Chinaman. They are enticed into dens of

debauchery, dens of deception, dens of corruption, dens of infamy, dens of gambling, dens of contagion, dens of opium, dens within dens, dens adjoining dens, dens encircling dens, and lastly dens, the most filthy that the human power can conceive of.

The men who now control our sugar estates have kept paid lobbyists in Washington to plead for them in a most humble way, and are now praying that the Congress of the United States still continue to give them their millions of dollars yearly, so they may be able to retain their vast and well organized coolie system, and prevent the American from hereafter securing for themselves homes in the Islands. Prefering to grant their lands to a race of people, foreign to themselves, and in principle far below the ordinary standard of human beings.

Of this class of laborers by tracing their backward footsteps to the land of their birth, we can find at the head of their nation a monarch or chieftain who holds Despotic sway and control over his meek and imbecile subjects. Trained as they are from infancy in all the arts of vice and villainy and deception being hardened by practice in criminality and lawlessness and treachery to extremes.

The importations that have been brought here to establish the rising generation are mostly condemned criminals. Many of them are villains by nature and and practice beyond all human endurance. It is shameful to say it, but we are compeled to acknowl-

edge that they have been sought for as the most beneficial laborers by our sugar combination, undoubtedly for the reason that no other race or tribe of people would submit tamely to tyrannical laws and rules put in force by most of our plantation managers, upheld in nearly all cases by our District Magistrates and ungratified officials whose appointments are mainly due to the influence brought to bear by the plantation manager or his Honolulu agent to render his decisions according to their dictation.

If any one would question some of the inhabitants of the Districts of Hawaii, they would ascertain that one of our plantation owners, about the year 1878, shipped his obnoxious District Magistrate on to his estate, so that he would be under his control.

Many of the decisions by unworthy magistrates have kept our prisons filled to excess with their worthless coolies together with some of our intelligent Anglo-Saxons who have shared the same fate. By most conspicuously marching in the chain-gang side by side, with hardened criminals and condemned felons, many of our native Hawaiians have shared the same fate for the very simple reason that their poverty has compelled them from time to time, to make applicaton to the planter in his vicinity for money to pay fines that have been wrongfully imposed by the District Magistrate, who in most cases has been under the planter's influence. After one signs a Hawaiian Labor Contract, he is compelled

to submit to compulsion and the ungrateful overseer's lash, and in some cases this has been known to have been used on the Anglo-Saxon and Mongolian alike.

When the Treaty was first put in force, a portion of the foreign population including most of our old residents forsaw a speedy and independent fortune in the near future, if they, with the assistance of the Hawaiian Government, could secure and bring to these shores an Asiatic race of an inferior order, which other nations did not, nor would not allow to land on their shores. It was necessary first to revise the shipping law, so as to suit their purpose, and when they got coolies here, they with the assistance of the Hawaiian Government would have absolute control over the human beings confided to their fostering care.

It was first necessary to gain the influence of the Legislature, a thing easily accomplished, as every Representative supposed he would be able at a nominal figure to get as many of those docile b[illegible]s as would relieve him from further manual labor during the remainder of his life, and allow him to retire and live in a state of idle voluptuousness and inebriation, until their ancient god Lono should return from the seas (which many of them firmly believed would come to pass when their last chieftain became extinct.) But, alas, deception has sealed their fate, they are now floating on an uncertain sea,

filled with rocks and shoals that is impeding their progress, and will strand their ship of state with no helping hand to save any portion of the wreck, or save their race from oblivion.

But the sparkling coins and the appointments that were placed within the grasp, caused the Representatives to vote for a law which has been placed on our Statutes, taxing property-holders to pay their proportional share towards bringing a race of people here, that they well knew would be a scourge and a curse to the nation.

This planter's combination was so exceedingly selfish and greedy for wealth, that they conceived the idea and caused to be brought here in thousands, a low class of men, the refuse and scum of humanity, the last remnants of what? It is very doubtful whether our modern and learned geologists will ever know whether they are the descendants of the biped class, or of the extinct animal creation.

On their arrival here, the sugar monopolist bound them into servitude on his estate at a low rate of wages, well knowing they would be beneficial to him so long as they were his bound servant, and would be the means of driving the white laborer away because their interest did not coincide. The superior class of laborers had become detrimental and unsatisfactory to the planters interest for the only reason that they were brought up and educated in a free land, had inherited free doctrines, and came here

independent freemen, refusing to sign a shipping contract that would deprive them of their liberty, and would subject them to the tyrannical rule of their employers and place them on an equality with the lower order of degenerated men and enslaved humanity, to be rated, classified and treated by their managers the same as the adventurous and unprincipled Chinese coolie laborer, classified and treated no better than the ancient Roman slave.

These are the men who stood forth in justification of one of the most obnoxious and inhuman laws (or human decoy system) that ever disgraced the Statutes. Many of them were fitted for good works by their previous training. Some of them were descendants of that old Puritan stock who fought to liberate their fellowmen from the bondage in which they formerly were held by an unmerciful and wealthy class of cotton planters of the Southern States of America. The bitter antagonists of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and many other of America's statesmen, whose doctrines were sustained by force of arms and by a nations people should have been their warning. Their descendants are to-day generously endeavoring to preserve and prevent this Kingdom from falling into the hands of a vile class of British Chinese coolies.

The men who control our sugar interest have been nourishing an unjust labor system now in force on many of their estates. They have boldly and defi-

ently sustained it here and in foreign countries as a necessary treasure. They and they alone with their capital have been the bold defenders of a law that is the direct cause of our present financial embarrassment, while it is well known by a majority of our intelligent community and our Representatives and those of Foreign Powers that it has been the direct cause of driving from this Kingdom all of the American and European free laborers which the capitalists and some of our public journals have unmannerly and selfishly called foreign invaders and tramps. Those journals were either owned or paid to write the foreigner out of the country and make room for the Mongolian. The Hawaiian Government is blindly allowing the capitalists to hold a race of people in slavery and bondage, or whatever our religious persuasions choose to call it from three to five years for their special benefit. By so doing they will ruin all those they choose to call white invaders. In all cases at the expiration of their term of servitude, they have been let loose here instead of being sent back to China, to demoralize our rising generation and to impede the progress of civilization. We are unwisely allowing this race with their ancient gods and idols to secure and control many of our leading enterprises throughout the Islands.

They, by dealing within themselves and seizing and hoarding our gold and silver, and preventing their countrymen from patronizing the foreign mer-

chants, and shrewdly securing a large portion of the native patronage, have caused a stagnation of business severely felt by our merchants and manufacturers, carpenters, hotelkeepers, etc., which cannot be rectified as long as this race of people is allowed to inhabit our soil.

It will cause the disappearance of the white laborer, the customer of the merchants and tradesman from our shores. The white laborer and mechanic by being forced to leave has embarrassed our merchants, whose goods lay moth eaten on the shelves for want of purchasers. The retail merchants, carriage manufacturers, blacksmiths, carpenters, laborers, and artizans of all denominations are fast converting their property and goods into money and to-day (June 13th), are paying 9½ per cent. for exchange on San Francisco, and leaving the Hawaiian Islands, by a line of steamers owned and controlled by Spreckels & Co., the only line by which they are permitted to take passage. And this monopoly is fostered and protected by our Government.

Now to return to the labor question. A very large portion of the white and native population of these Islands would recognize, if the present Legislative Assembly would repeal this Labor Act, or more properly speaking, compulsory labor system, the existence of eternal justice and the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The emigrant on his arrival here is deprived of his liberty and placed in a pen,

owned and controled by this Government, until he is sent to his allotted destination, the European and Mongolian alike. I believe in every instance they are kept in an emigrant pen until their labor contracts are signed, there disgracefully exposed to the gaze of a dissatisfied people through a well constructed fence, owned by a Government that ranks in diplomatic affairs as a civilized nation.

The emigrant after signing away his freedom, in many cases of which he knew not the meaning or purport, is there by the law of the land a slave as much so as a Tennessee negro, before his liberation from slavery, by the noble Abraham Lincoln, who from his early boyhood foresaw that the slave master must be subservient to the general Government of the United States of America or it would be one of the most Depostic Governments that ever existed.

The die was cast, freedom won, but the martyr fell by the cowardly hand of the assassin. In this Kingdom the die has been cast at freedom's loss and the planters gain, the emigrant on his arrival at his allotted destination is shown his quarters which are not very enticing, consisting of rough buildings and in some cases the trash house and not unfrequently the open fields with the canopy of heaven for a roof.

Again, the manager on receiving each new lot of emigrants has no further use for the same number of his own countrymen unless they are willing to work

in his fields for eighteen dollars a month and furnish their own food, and sometimes they are not able to purchase it in the district. The manager very generously offering them the privilege of his trash house in conjuction with his Asiatic laborer. If the white laborer's finances are in such a state that they can not leave there, they are obliged to accept these terms and are allowed to continue their work untill the manager receives a fresh invoice of his human chattels from the flowery kingdom; then, if they are out of debt they were discharged and their places filled by the Mongolians at less wages.

The white laborer on taking his departure is very politely given to understand by the manager that he would do well to return to his native country, a country that was so generously supporting his plantation with money by way of a Treaty that he humbly begged for in all reverence and in the most condescending manner, before the American Congress to save himself from bankruptcy and ruination.

Most of our journals and especially those owned and controlled by his influence (the planters) had been advocating an advanced state of civilization, improvements and developments of our enterprises under a coolie labor system as being very beneficial to the future prosperity of these Islands. Now the public should impartially take into consideration the well known discontented and unsatisfactory state of business generally which is acknowledged as being in

a state of degeneration. The falling off of trade on the part of our mercantile and those wholesale firms who are interested and supporting these coolies on their plantations, the very great quantity of American gold and silver that has been taken from our shores by the white laborer who has been forced to leave, the continual outgo of gold coin going to the Chinese Empire to purchase goods, merchandise, provisions and other commodities which ought to have been bought in San Francisco, and the fact that subjects of the American Republic are giving gratis to the Chinese here, by way of no duty on rice, $500,000 yearly without even the acknowledgment of gratification from one of their countrymen, are all serious matters for consideration.

Under existing circumstances is it but natural to suppose that in the future, if the low price of sugars prevail and exchange continues to go up or even remain at its present rate, and the gold and silver is allowed to be sent out of the Kingdom to the Chinese Empire, and if our retail merchants are continuously compelled to stand in their store doors inspecting a Mongolian race for want of purchasers to purchase their goods, that a crisis is apparent.

Now, if we receive no relief from our present Legislative Assembly and our large and daily increasing number of officials are retained at exorbitant salaries; if the Government continues to expend large sums on foreign agents and ambassadors

that are of no becoming benefit to our people, if the authorities cannot be prevailed upon to remove our coolies from the Kingdom and substitute a race that will work, patronise, deal and unite with the Anglo-Saxon and native races, thereby placing ourselves in a position so to retain our gold and silver here, we shall certainly continue to follow in the downward course of retrogration until we arrive at that point of a national crisis of corruption, dissatisfaction and shameful lawlessness which will be past all control on the part of the existing Government and will only be rectified by a foreign nation's flag floating over the Kingdom.

The day is not far distant when it will be admitted by a majority of the impartial portion of our community that had this nation been slower in its development, with a free labor system of other nationalities except the Chinese coolies, with less vast plantations and more of smaller dimensions worked on a free labor system by foreigners who had been encouraged to come here, and those who were not driven from the Kingdom; with less capital invested in magnificent dwellings built on borrowed capital, and less unnecessary costly furniture and numerous paraphanalia which requires an army of coolie servants to keep in order for receiving the grandees of the nation, that the country would have seen greater prosperity and happiness.

The lands formerly granted by Kamehameha III.,

in 1848 were expressly designed by that chieftain for the support of his native race and their descendants for the cultivation of the kalo, their main staple of food and support. It undoubtedly was his intention to protect his race against the foreign intruder who he foresaw would in the future rule his Kingdom and his native race; but little did he anticipate that the descendants of that old Puritanical stock of missionaries, who were generously receiving his support and protection would contract to furnish money and ships to land a Chinese race of people on his shores to supersede his race and take possession of their kuleanas that he intended should pass to their descendants for their special benefit and future support. But he failed in his laudable intentions, as they are now fast passing into the hands of the Chinese who are now the idolized servant of the missionary and planter and who are now attending their churches under the pretense of becoming Christians in order to secure an opportunity to appropriate to their special benefit the contents of their chicken coops, and the various appertainments belonging to their kitchens and lead astray and defame their daughters, who ought not to be allowed to come in daily contact with that deceitful and crafty race.

The intelligent and easily persuaded native race are daily coming into contact with these ancient and criminal fellows, the worshippers of idolatry and hideous images, believing in no Supreme Ruler.

Their children are taught from infancy all the combined vices of immorality to despise all foreign nationalities, sworn to protect each other right or wrong, unlawfully and in many instances fraudulently assisting each other in securing the native lands and rights which are fast falling into their hands; rights which should have been protected by our statesmen and by Statutes from falling into the hands of a class of coolies who have brought with them a deadly disease that is the direct cause of the Hawaiian people being daily transported to Molokai from the effects of a very loathsome and incurable scourge. They are answerable to their God and Maker for introducing into this Kingdom the most loathsome disease known to the human race.

It has been said in public meetings and by some of our citizens and advocated by some of our public journals that by establishing a gold currency the stagnation now existing in all branches of trade may be speedily remedied, simply by compelling our exporters, hereafter, to bring into the Kingdom American gold which they for many years have received for their produce sold in San Francisco, instead of allowing them to flood our Islands with a class of foreign coins which they have purchased from time to time in the San Francisco market at a discount and benefit to themselves of from 12 to 16 per cent., which amounts to many thousands of dollars.

The people who have received this special benefit

are the very men who used their influence that caused the Hawaiian Government to make the fatal mistake in regard to our currency several years ago.

They are now first and foremost in their repentance, denunciation, and condemnation of a depreciated silver currency which they introduced into this Kingdom themselves by using their influence with His Majesty's Privy Councellors to place British sovereigns, French and Mexican dollars on a par valuation with American gold, thereby saving to themselves several thousand dollars yearly by being legally allowed to swindle the people throughout the Islands, by placing in circulation a silver currency, worth from 84 to 86 cents in San Francisco.

The plantation laborers were compelled by law to receive this currency on a par valuation with American gold, thereby sustaining a loss on leaving the Kingdom from 4 to 8 per cent. of their hard earnings.

The working of this law very soon caused the American gold and silver to be hoarded up throughout the Islands, consequently it became scarce in the market and readily commanded from 4 to 8 per cent. premium generally higher than the exchange charged by Bishop & Co.'s bank, which to day (June 13) is 9 per cent.

The Hawaiian Government is now asked through our present Legislature by those very sugar planters who are our largest exporters to collect and sell at a discount in San Francisco those very same depre-

ciated silver coins that they have brought into the Kingdom and forced the people to take for 100 cents.

These exporters are now very anxious for the Government to collect and send them from the Kingdom at a loss of from 12 to 15 per cent. on the dollar; and bring here American gold to supply and benefit our Chinese merchants. At the same time they are continually receiving American gold for their sugar and rice productions, and purchasing British sovereigns in San Francisco for $4.86 and compelling the people here to take them for $5.00.

Judging from the disgraceful proceedings now transpiring in our Legislative Hall, it is very evident the Anglo-Saxon and the native races will not be benefited to any great extent this session; so far I have discovered no effort having been made by the Government or Opposition parties to relieve us from our political divison or our financial embarrassment. The only law of note was passed and received His Majesty's signature, July 16, evidently intending hereafter to replenish the Hawaiian Treasury with United States gold that will be received from the people for duties and taxes; which will supply our Mongolians with a sufficient amount of gold so they, in future may be able to wholly control our mercantile pursuits and hereafter purchase their goods in the Chinese Empire. This Act will allow the sugar planter to pay the most of his shipped men with

Hawaiian silver that he has declared to be only worth 85 cents on the dollar. After December 1st, 1884, the planter will be able to purchase silver here with his gold drafts at a discount from our merchants, who will daily receive it in small amounts for their goods, instead of American gold, which will speedily find its way into the hands of the Chinese. After our silver certificates are converted into gold by the holders, it will mostly disappear from circulation, there not being a sufficient quantity to supply the demand. Our business men, except the planter, will eventually pay higher rates for gold or exchange than at present, and in order to continue in business and pay for his goods in gold, he will be obliged to purchase it from the holder at such a high premium, that in a short time it will derange his mental faculties, so he will constantly weep and dream of gold, but he can dream and weep in vain, and at last awake from his state of inactivity, grasping for the reign of prosperity that has already been secured by the planters Mongolian pets.

Having a silver currency now in circulation and a scarcity of American gold in the Kingdom, the most important question now before us is how are we going to return to a gold standard with nearly 30,000 Chinese now on the Islands, controlling our retail mercantile pursuits, all our rice productions and supplying now two-thirds of the plantation laborers throughout the Kingdom; consequently the Chinese

laborers are receiving three-fifths of all the money that the sugar-growers are receiving from their crops sold in San Francisco as well as the money for the rice produced, which is under their control, and in magnitude and importance will shortly amount to half our sugar productions.

It was conceded in a mass meeting, assembled on June 7th, 1884, that we must return to a gold standard, and retain the Kalakaua dollar and Hawaiian paper currency, therefore, compelling by law, the exporters to bring into the Kingdom the proceeds received for his exports in American gold or gold drafts. It was there advocated by one of our prominent citizens that the balance of gold coming into the country from the sugar productions would be sufficient to establish a gold standard here, even if the gold was paid into the hands of the Chinese laborer and taken from the Kingdom.

Certainly, it is very hard to believe the doctrines that the gentleman advocated, that by paying this money into the hands of the Chinese, it would be of as much benefit to the public, as if it was paid into the hands of people who would circulate it in the Kingdom. Since the fall in the price of sugar there is little if any balance to receive in our favor, therefore we have no way of obtaining gold for a circulating medium, otherwise, than by mortgaging the Kingdom or consigning our Mongolian race to the Mexican Government, which is now about to establish slavery in her dominions backed by American capitalists or by inducing, foreign capitalists to invest their gold here, instead of calling in what they have invested and placing it in a safer market. It would naturally be conceded that the ships and people that enter our ports from America or other nations would distribute their money in our Kingdom and be of benefit to our people, but most of these ships with their gold on board, are bound to the Chinese Empire, and are only pleasing to the eye and imagination; soon she disappears in the distant horizon while you are left to meditate over her disappearance and to regret of having seen her glide so magnificently and smoothly through your waters; she has gone and you are powerless to stay her progress, or retain the gold, which is the proceeds of rice and sugar produced in your soil, and now on its way to purchase incense to be displayed before the Goddess of War or to gild the shrines of the ancient temples of the Celestial Empire.

A very large portion of our gold is now passing into the hands of the Chinese merchants from the hands of the retail merchants; then into the hands of the wholesale plantation agent, to be sent out of the Kingdom to purchase foreign goods to supply their Chinese firms who are now their main purchasers. Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars yearly goes to China to purchase goods, and probably the same amount or more from profit made off our

foreign population here will go this year to fill the coffers of the Chinese Empire. And now all the pecuniary benefit we are receiving from that nation is the free labor of her criminal convicts who are building a portion of our public roads, swelling daily our chain-gangs, and filling our prisons throughout the Kingdom.

The amount of capital now in circulation amongst our foreign population is a small amount received by our laboring freemen, American and European; the amount received from the exportation of bullocks, hides, goat and sheep skins, tallow and a few thousand bunches of bananas, raised by foreigners and natives; and a few thousand dollars expended here by our merchants, sailors, and by tourists. The latter will shortly discontinue their pleasure trips to this Kingdom on account of the fast increasing scourge which is speedily destroying the native race, and the foreigners is not wholly escaping this sure and fatal malady.

A very great number of our worthless Chinese that our prowling about our capital and outlying districts are pilfering, gambling, opium smoking, and murdering for their own special diversion. A dilatory set of officals are powerless to check them in their nefarious and unlawful career.

It is probable that one-half of the American gold circulated during the year will find its way into the hands of this Mongolian race, by their receiving the

patronage of a large portion of our religious worshipers who are vainly endeavoring to Christianize them and save their souls from damnation, while it has been decided by the most enlightened men of the present age that they have no soul to save.

Previous to the fall in the price of sugar, the planters gold drafts brought to the Kingdom and sold for exchange on San Francisco to pay for goods and commodities brought there, were quite sufficient to meet the demand; and an amount nearly equal to his profits was held by him in reserve for want of purchasers or to purchase the last remnant of a natives home which they have been compelled to sell in order to pay fines imposed on them by a District Justice living at the suffrage of the planter, or to pay for Asiatic coolies to supply his plantation and drive from the Kingdom his own countrymen whose hard earnings heretofore have supported our retail merchants, hotel-keepers, carriage manufacturers, and other enterprises of the Kingdom. Immediately after the fall in the price of sugar the holders of gold drafts saw there would not be a sufficient amount of gold available to supply the demand of our business men. Those having to pay for exchange on goods and materials bought in a foreign market and obliged to make remittance by every steamer, mostly through our banks, were at the mercy of the holder of drafts as he rose the price of his drafts and the banks were compelled to

charge higher for exchange; the supply of gold not being equal to the demand, the holders have been able to command the market. Now as the Chinese laborers and merchants are hoarding and sending to China our gold and silver it necessarily creates a greater demand for it here. Our capitalists and merchants who are withdrawing their capital and leaving the Kingdom, creates a still greater demand.

Our banks in order to meet public demands will be compelled to pay higher and higher for gold drafts until sugar rises or foreign capitalists can be induced to come here and invest their capital in American gold in sufficient quantities to meet the public demands of our business enterprises and a sufficient amount to supply our Chinese merchants and Chinese laborers now employed on our plantations. The latter are shortly to be let loose to ornament our capital and add to some of our gentlemen's collection of curios.

A very large amount of gold has of late been finding its way into the hands of the Chinese dealers and plantation laborers to be never again placed in circulation here; by the first opportunity it will be sent to the Flowery Kingdom to be converted into bullion or be worshipped by the side of their ancient God of War or Confucious or to be offered to appease their draggons or to guild their ancient shrines.

It must be acknowledged by every intelligent man

in our community, that we have allowed a small class of planters and they being in the minority, to forge and finish the manicles that we are now wearing. We very docilely and tamely submitted to wear whatever material as they chose for us. They chose their opportunity and time to adjust them to suit their own particular time and convenience, but lately it has been ascertained that the materials they are composed of, are of entirely different natures, having no perceptible affinity for each other and eventually will repel instead of attracting, until a final separation takes place. So in the future the strong and most perfect metals will be found throughout the Islands closely resembling those found on the North American Continent.

I believe it is conceded by the Anglo-Saxon race that "self preservation is the first law of nature;" now that doctrine being certified to, it is but natural that the Mongolian, with his ancient training should not be slow to adopt the principles of it, by artfully and shrewdly securing to themselves full control of our rice productions, one-eighth of our sugar, nearly all of our banana trade and other exports of a large amount, which he sells in a foreign market, amounting probably to $2,000,000 yearly; this amount goes directly into his hands. It is safe to estimate he receives as profits from the patronage of the white and native population here an amount equal to, if not more than is received by the whole number of our

retail merchants; and judging from the large business they are transacting it will be safe to estimate that three hundred thousand dollars will be sent to China this year to purchase goods, provisons, and farming implements which should have been bought in America. A portion of this amount which is retained in the Kingdom will be invested in the construction of course wooden buildings and structures to collect filth and breed vermin and disease, and these are situated in the very heart of our capital. The stench that can be inhaled from some of these structures is past human endurance, and beyond human imagination, unless one has been accustomed to living with an Asiatic race. This apt, shrewd and deceitful people, are step by step, ruining our industries, learning our system of manufactures and commerce, and steadily excluding our race. This race must be acknowledged paramount to all other nationalities for business qualifications; we have to acknowledge they have succeeded and do control our mercantile pursuits and manufactures; with full and absolute control of our rice productions and banana trade, they are now controling our finances which are so covetous and tempting to the eye and imagination of the enterprising and generous Anglo-Saxon.

It was undoubtedly the intention of the American statesmen, when they granted us a favor by way of a Treaty, to save us from retrogration and bankruptcy, and keep us from falling into the hands of a foreign

nation. They certainly generously gave us a balance in trade of about two millions yearly, but at the time supposed we would appreciate the favor and return the compliment by purchasing our machinery merchandize, etc., from the American people. But contrary to their expectations, immediately after being placed on the highway of prosperity, we boldly ignored the generosity and sentiments of these American statesmen, by immediately after flooding the Kingdom with a race of human beings that they shunned and refused to allow to land on their shores. These people deal strictly among themselves according to their ancient custom, except purchasing by compulsion a few goods from our wholesale dealers on credit and paying the bill when due with the currency of the Kingdom, which they cannot send away; at the same time this shrewd Asiatic was purchasing a large amount of goods from China, and paying for them with our American gold which ought to have been retained in circulation here to benefit us instead of building up a heathen country.

Our people who have received the greatest benefit from the Treaty, have from time to time purchased the largest portion of their machinery from the British Isles, as can be seen by an inspection of our plantation machinery, instead of showing gratitude to their benefactors. In this way some of them have shown their ungrateful appreciation of their

protector and supporter in whose hands now lie their destiny and the fate of this nation and its people; this latter depends upon whether the American Congress uses the stamp of prosperity or the stamp of condemnation hereafter on all documents appertaining to our national affairs. It is believed by some and especially by those who are uninterested in the sugar and rice productions that the stamp of condemnation could be used by the United States, with justification and honor, by these American statesmen who have been endeavoring to lift the Hawaiian people from their ancient state of lethargy and place them on an equality with themselves and enlightened nations. But the Hawaiian statesman heeds not their advice nor receives their instructions and is unheedingly and blindly allowing his land and his Kingdom to be converted into a Chinese colony that is situated on a line of one of the most important national highways encircling the globe.

The sugar productions may be made to increase ten-fold, and the proceeds may be brought into the Kingdom in American gold, but your Chinese, at the present ratio in which they are incereasing and securing your trade will absorb it as fast as it is put into circulation. Now how can you establish a gold standard and keep gold in circulation with a Chinese impediment, firmly established in all parts of the Kingdom, which are positively known to have a strong affinity for your precious metal? In a short

time they will attract them into one well known organized center, and we in order to prevent amalgamation will have to remove to a distance by separation those attracting powers, in order to prevent the concentrating of our precious metals that we so wistfullv contemplate and desire, but so far have been unable to secure or prevent leaving the Kingdom, or from passing into their hands, or from being hoarded up by them to be sent by the first opportunity to the Chinese Empire; there to purchase heathen gods, and enrich their ancient shrines that are stained with the blood of our Christians who have vainly endeavored to Christianize a nation of Asiatic bipeds, under a false impression that at some future time they would be able to classify them with the humun species. The good ladies here who are endeavoring to Christianize this race of people, have my sympathetic aloha for their welfare and my best wishes for success in their endeavors and hopes for their future escape from the insane asylum. But fate that all powerful ruler is ninety to one against them; as perseverance and faith is their religious supporter, I trust they will not despair, and in future may be able to secure one Chinaman's soul to place in Darwin's museum for geologist's benefit.

Now taking into consideration the two laws, the one now in existence and the other in contemplation of being placed upon our statutes it is doubtful to my mind which of the two would ruin these

Islands; 1st, I refer to Spreckels & Co.'s National Bank Charter; and 2nd, to the Hawaiian Planters Human Bondage Act. The former, if it had passed, would have trransfered our Government property into the hands of a class of tyranninal and unmerciful American sugar lords and speculators, which would have sealed the fate of this nation's career and unfurled a foreign flag over our national edifices, sooner perhaps than our lethergetical native race would like to have seen it done. The latter Act will accomplish the same result by a slower process, which is daily noticeable in the actions of our nobles and representatives, who are daily spending their time in a useless session, defaming and vilifying each other, instead of manfully uniting and passing laws that would protect the rights and property of the nation.

The Hawaiian Government and the sugar planters have been and are now enticing from Portugal through misrepresentations of their agent, Mr. Hoffnung, Portuguese emigrants; men, women and children are brought to these Islands to be bound by a law of which they know not the interpretation. They are made to sign a planter's contract or shipping law at stipulated wages from $10.00 to $16.00 per month, which sum will not purchase a sufficient quantity of food and clothing to supply their families during their time of servitude. After their arrival here, mothers and children may weep to see their former

homes but can weep in vain. Their daughters will be unprotected from insult by their managers; overseers will be seen vainly strutting the fields to watch their human chattels; husbands will smart from the cruel lash by some of their overseers; their wives will be compelled for want of sufficient means to purchase food and clothing, to work in the open fields by the side of an Asiatic biped; innocent children will be seen to weep for their mothers unattended and unprotected; fathers and husbands will apply to District Magistrates for their rights and protection without avail, and the natives will be compelled to part with their homes to pay fines unlawfully rendered by these Magistrates; and managers will chastise and imprison them for daring to apply for their rights, and will place them in a common felons goal to await for their sentence according to the managers dictation. If the emigrant dares to vindicate his rights in the presence of one of their noble District Magistrates, he will be sentenced to serve in our chain gang to work by the side of thieves, robbers, and condemned murderers, and will be incarcerated in a prison inhabited by women inceste without lawful husbands and keepers that are a disgrace to a civilized nation. We allude to the former officials of the Oahu Prison.

Several years past the people and the Hawaiian Islands have been propelled by slow progress towards the North American Continent. At the present rate

we are now moving, we will shortly be able to fasten the connecting link to some portion of that Continent. When the Islands and that Continent shall come in contact the people will assemble upon both shores to view with gratification the process of amalgamating the connecting link; when the smith's last blow is struck and his anvil ceases to ring, the people will advance, meet on the bridge of prosperity, there to celebrate one of the grandest and most glorious events ever known to the Hawaiian people. Fathers will embrace their offspring, relations and descendants, and in their joy will forget any past animosities; enemys will assemble and throw off all former feuds and hatred; the natives will celebrate their freedom with gratification; Europeans will assemble to congratulate each other on their future prosperity and freedom; and thirty thousand Chinamen will complacently view the proceedings with gratification and come to the conclusion that your Anglo-Saxon will stand no better show with his bold, crafty and adventurous countryman than the man from Misssouri did playing poker on board of a Mississippi steamboat, while passing down that river in early days: At St. Louis, there stepped on board one of those well known Missourians, being very affable, he soon made the acquaintance of two of those sharp and shrewd Mississippi gamblers who traveled on those flat boats at that time, expressly to clean out all green Yankees who had not had the full benefit

of civilization; the Missourian was soon enticed to take a hand at draw poker in a room below expressly set apart for that purpose, champagne was freely drank, dealing and betting went on freely for several hours, money was lost and won without a murmur, finally the Missourian discovered at a loss of $500 in American gold, that these two rascals were stealing the cards that were winning his money. He rose, put on his hat and walked on deck, stepping up to the Captain, accosted him thus: "Can this boat whistle?" "I should say she could," replied the Captain, "she can make the Mississippi valley ring when we let her out." "Well" replied the Missourian, "I will bet you $10, I can scream louder than her whistle." "You will loose your money if you bet," replied the Captain. "Never mind," replied the Missourian, "You can bet with me, or I will bet with some one else for I intend to have a fair show for $10." "Well, in that case, I will take your bet, now up with your money." Then they chose the purser for referee and handed their money over to him. The Missourian, then remarked, "Now, Captain, let her out, let her do her best." The Captain signalled the Engineer to open the valve and that flat-boat gave one of those long, shrill deafening whistles, that resounded throughout the Mississippi valley, in a style not to be forgotten by the oldest inhabitant or those on board. After her whistle ceased, the Missourian, remarked, "She has done

very well, now it is my turn," stepping back and taking off his hat, throwing back his head and opening his mouth to a sufficient extent to admit a small alligator, he gave one of those unearthly screams that was never before heard from man. Regaining his breath, he stepped forward saying, "Mr. Purser, I've lost the best, but I stood a better show for that winning, than I did down below with those poker players." Now, I am firmly convinced that that Missourian would stand a better show for making money by investing it in that game of poker than by trying to compete with the thirty thousand Chinese who are here; protected by the old missionary party, and our present Legislature and Hawaiian officials. The time will come when the people of this Kingdom will see American labor honored and respected, and our beautiful Islands no longer cursed by an influx of Mongolians brought here expressly for the benefit of sugar planters who are supported by the generosity of the American Government.

If I should close this article without admitting and taking into consideration the fact that a small portion of our plantation owners were not in favor of this human bondage system, I should do them an injustice and an unpardonable wrong; they having no other laws to protect their interests, had no other prerogative but to do the best they could under the existing laws, but from time to time have expressed a wish for a better system, which, they have not been

able to obtain; they want a system which would have benefited themselves as well as the people. A free labor system is admitted to be the only system that ever rose a nation of people bound in surfdom to a state of independence and national prosperity. I do not intend to have it understood that a small minority of planters were in favor of this compulsive labor system, on the contrary I personally know that some of them have been compelled to choose one of the two alternatives, Mongolian labor or a loss on his productions to be gained by his brother planter. This Mongolian race has been brought here by an overwhelming majority of the planters, while a minority of those have been in favor of a free labor system and have been obliged to look on and see their adopted country flooded by people who they well knew would be a curse and scourge to the nation, an impediment to the prosperity of the people and a disgrace to the rising generation.

Men of independence, men of integrity, men of unbought principles are yet here, and when the trumpet is sounded, and the day of reckoning shall be proclaimed, then they will step to the front ranks and declare for and protect freemen's rights.

It will be said by the admirers of and those who are endeavoring to Chaistianize these Asiatic people that the strong language I have used to sustain my assertions is unnecessarily severe and uncalled for, but if the public will take into consideration and

view with impartiality the large and increasing numbers of Chinese criminals who are filling our prisons, the demoralizing principles which they are introducing, diseases, of which they are the breeders, the derangement and dissatisfaction which the presence of the coolie has created in our industrial system, the drain upon our resources which they make, the coolie traffic of which they in conjunction with the planter has established and are now endeavoring to sustain against the will of freemen, I think they will agree with me, and sustain me in the use of my severe language. And doubly sustain me, when the people of these Islands shall awake from their lethargetical state of inactivity and take into consideration the situation and present demoralizing state of the affairs of the nation and the unsatisfactory proceedings now transpiring in our National Assembly. The reader cannot but sustain my views and assertions and come to the one and only conclusion, that if we receive no immediate protection, our future destiny will be the loss of our national flag and independence, or the country turned into a firmly established Chinese colony or the waving of the American flag over Iolani Hale.

THE END.

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THE SUGAR PRODUCING CAPACITY

OF THE

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

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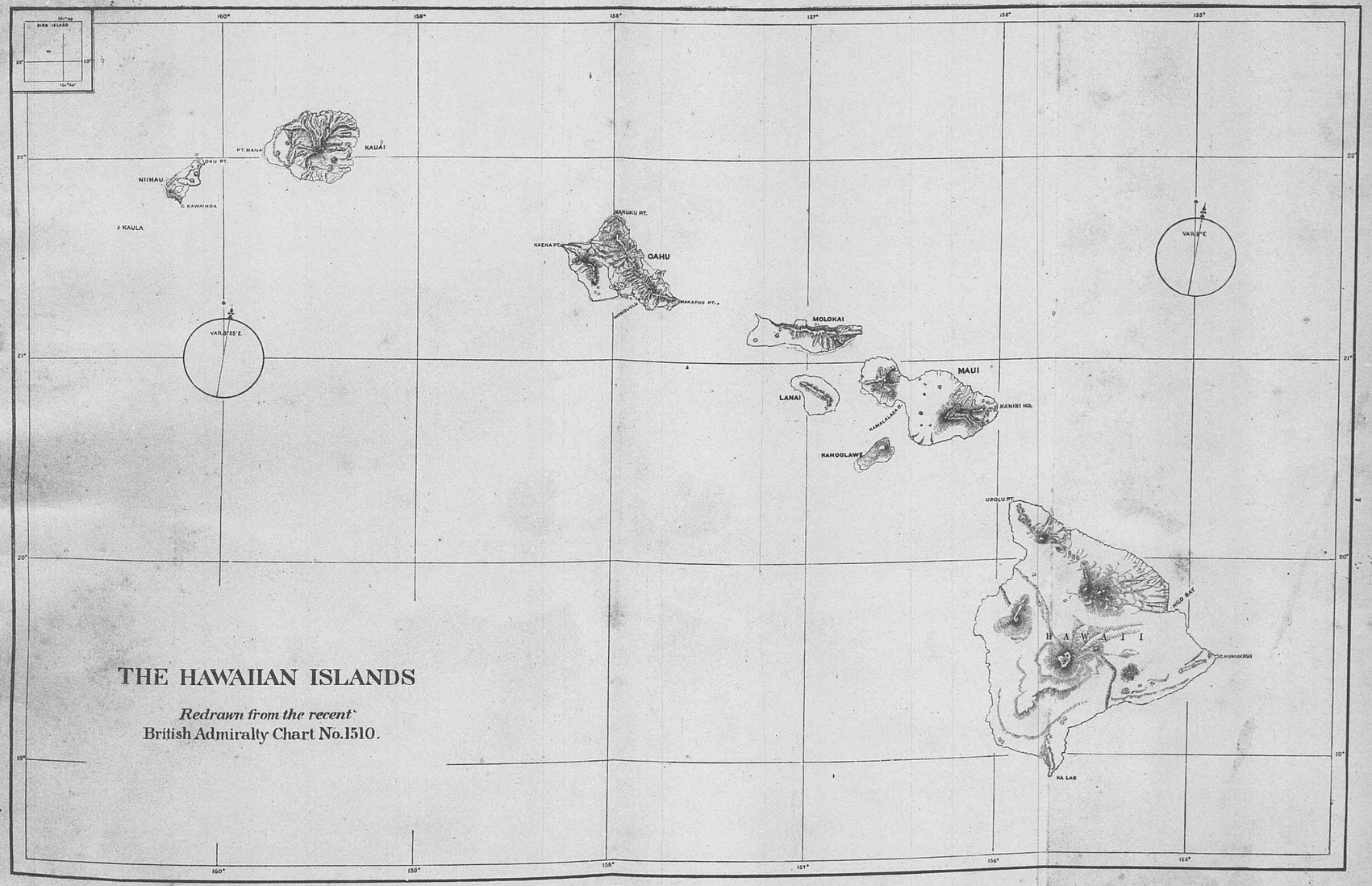


THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Redrawn from the recent
British Admiralty Chart No. 1510.

PHOTO-ENGRAVING CO., 67 Park Place, N. Y.

THE SUGAR PRODUCING CAPACITY OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

The Hawaiian Islands are situated in the North Pacific Ocean, in longitude 154° to 160°, and latitude 18.°40 to 21°. The nearest land is the coast of California. The following table shows the distances between the port of Honolulu and the other principal ports of the Pacific Ocean:

From Honolulu to San Francisco	2,100	miles.
" " " Sidney	4,100	"
" " " Auckland	4,000	"
" " " Yokohama	3,700	"
" " " Hong Kong	4,800	"
" " " Valparaiso	5,500	"
" " " Callao	4,700	"
" " " Panama	4,200	"
" " " Tahiti	2,400	"
" " " Puget Sound	2,600	"

The islands are almost exactly on the straightest course from Panama to Yokohama and Hong Kong, and within 150 or 200 miles of the straightest course from San Francisco to Sidney.

The Hawaiian group consists of four large islands, four smaller ones, and a few rocky islets. Their dimensions and areas are as follows:

	Length.	*Breadth.*	*Area.*
Hawaiian	92	72	3,950
Maui	54	25	680
Oahu	36	21	600
Kauai	31	28	640
Molokai	35	7	210
Lanai	20	9	140
Kahoolawe	12	5	40
Niihau	20	5	60

The total population of the islands is about 70,000, of whom 48,000 are Polynesian aborigines, about 16,000 are Chinese, and about 6,000 are whites of many nationalities.

These islands are all of volcanic origin. But the only active volcanoes are

situated upon the great island Hawaii, where there are two, Mauna Loa and Kilauea, which are the most active in the world.

The greater part of the Island of Maui is occupied by a large volcano, Haleakala, which has become extinct probably within a very few centuries, though no tradition of any eruption from it is preserved among the natives. The remaining portions of the islands consist of volcanoes which have probably been extinct for many thousands of years, and which are very much battered, eroded, and degraded by weathering. The more ancient volcanic piles are cut up into crags and precipices, and are scored by immense ravines and canyons, while those which are active or recently extinct are either smooth, rounded domes of fresh lava without gorges, or are just beginning to show the ravages which time and decay produce in all mountains.

All of these islands are very lofty. Hawaii has two summitts nearly 14,000 feet high, and a third summit 8,500 feet high. The altitude of Haleakala, on Maui, is 10,400 feet, while the western mountains of the same island attain 5,800 feet. The eastern part of Oahu rises 3,000 feet and the western 4,200 feet. The summit of Kauai is about 6,200 feet above the sea.

The islands are situated within the trade-wind belt, and the winds blow from the northeast with great force and incessantly for nine months of the year, and also with some interruptions during the remaining three months. These winds determine chiefly the characteristics of the climate. The temperature is remarkably uniform throughout the year, varying at sea level from 67° to 87°, never falling below 57° and never going above 90°. With increasing altitude, of course, the temperature rapidly falls, and during the winter months the upper domes of Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea are heavily clad with snow. The windward sides of the islands are usually very wet and rainy, the rainfall indeed being excessive. Along the northeastern coast of Hawaii the annual precipitation varies from 150 to 240 inches. In the lofty interiors even this enormous rainfall is probably much exceeded. But the leeward sides of the islands are, with some exceptions, extremely arid. When the mountain barriers are high enough to completely deflect the trade wind, the lee becomes subject to the daily alternation of land and sea breeze, and the lee is very moist. But if the barrier is low enough to permit the trade wind to blow over it, the lee is extremely dry. As we pass from place to place in the islands we find many sharp contrasts with respect to wetness or dryness, and so great

and rapid are these contrasts that it may be said that there are almost as many climates as there are square leagues.

Only a very small proportion of the total area of the islands is suited to agriculture. The causes and conditions which render most of the area fruitless are many, but among them the following may be mentioned:

1. The lofty interiors are wholly unfit for any industry, except, occasionally, pasturage. The old volcanoes are too rocky, craggy, and precipitous, and are scored by immense ravines, separated from each other only by mere "knife-edges." The younger volcanoes are vast expanses of recent lavas and fields of clinkers and scoria, which are in part as fresh as when they were first erupted, and in part decomposed, but not enough to furnish deep arable soils. And moreover the climate above 2,000 feet altitude is too cold for the culture of staple crops.

Wherever the lavas of the interior are sufficiently decayed to form soil, however, grasses grow luxuriantly, and give abundant sustenance to cattle, sheep, and goats. The interiors of the islands in some parts therefore form excellent pasturage grounds, and thousands of wild cattle and goats are found there. They are hunted for their hides. Wild hogs literally swarm in the mountains, and wild turkeys are also common.

The lands which are suitable for the cultivation of such staple crops as sugar cane, coffee, rice, fruits, &c., are limited to a rather narrow marginal ring bordering upon the sea and surrounding the mountainous interior of each larger island. But only a very small proportion of this marginal ring is cultivatable and for the following reasons:

2. On the leeward sides of the islands the climate is (near the sea) too dry and arid, and if there is any soil at all, it must be irrigated in order to produce a crop. But as in all other countries the very dryness which renders irrigation necessary also makes the streams few and small, and very little water available for irrigation exists in the places where it is most necessary.

3. Again many portions of the marginal rings are occupied with fields of young lavas which are not yet broken down or decayed into soil, and some of which have been erupted within the last one hundred years. This is more or less true of all the islands, least so, perhaps, of Kauai where the percentage of arable land is greatest, and most so of Hawaii, where this percentage is least. In the southeastern part of this island, in the district of Puna, which has an

area of nearly six hundred square miles, there is not a single tract of ten acres which has a soil deep enough to plow, though the climate is otherwise perfect for any practical crop.

4. There is another condition which still further restricts the area of arable land. On the windward sides of the islands the shore is generally an abrupt cliff, plunging at once into deep water. Against this cliff the long heavy swell of the Pacific, driven for thousands of miles before the trade winds, is forever beating powerfully. The platform above is gently sloped, and would form good land were it not for the fact that at short intervals it is cut by deep gorges or cañons heading far up in the mountains and opening to the sea in the faces of the cliffs. These gorges are very numerous on the windward sides of Hawaii and Maui, and are most serious obstacles to the cultivation of the land. The only good land occupies the flats between gorges, but these upland flats are generally so narrow that one compact unbroken piece of land, large enough for a plantation, seldom occurs. It is a matter of extreme inconvenience to a planter to have his farm cut up into three or four pieces by gorges 300 to 500 feet deep, which are very difficult to cross, and if the component tracts are too small, his farm will not pay. There is also great difficulty and expense in getting in his supplies and getting out his crop. It can only be done by water, and the loading and unloading of a vessel lying off a windward coast in the heavy swell of the Pacific, where anchorage is impossible, is a difficult, expensive, and sometimes dangerous matter.

A few limited tracts, however, are found, in which the conditions are favorable for highly cultivated crops, especially the sugar cane. In these the soil is deep, and of great richness. A large proportion of them, probably about one-half, require to be irrigated. The sugar cane is always an exceedingly bulky crop, and requires a great amount of moisture to sustain the life of so much vegetable matter, and of such rapid growth. Even in localities where the rainfall exceeds 100 inches per annum, irrigation is still necessary in many cases, because droughts are very prone to occur. Even in plantations where irrigation is not resorted to, it would be advantageous as a resource in such times. Irrigation, however, has some great advantages, especially since irrigated lands preserve their fertility undiminished for years without feeling the drain upon the soil made by such heavy crops, as no other fertilizers need to be added than that brought by the irrigating waters. The amount of water available for irrigation, however, is limited, and indeed very small.

Moreover, the perennial streams are mostly situated on the windward sides of the island where they are not needed, among cañons of great depth and ruggedness. To bring their waters around the islands to the leeward and dry sides, or to carry them laterally from their channels to any considerable distance, is impracticable. In a single instance, however, viz., that of the Hawaiian Commercial Company, on the island of Maui, a large ditch has been constructed which carries water a distance of about 24 miles along the base of Haleakala, and across many profound chasms, and the amount of water is equal to the irrigation of about 2,600 acres. The work, however, was very expensive, costing, it is understood, more than a million dollars, and is regarded as a triumph of hydraulic engineering, much surpassing any similar achievements in California. The land thus redeemed was previously a complete desert.

SUGAR LANDS ON THE ISLAND OF HAWAII.

On the island of Hawaii there are four out of six districts which contain sugar lands. In the southern, or *Kau district*, there are three plantations occupying localities near each other. The space represented on the map indicates the area within which they occur. About one-fourth of the area is available for sugar cane, the remainder being covered with extensive lava streams which cross it in an irregular way, and by steep, stony hillsides, and large knobs or buttes, which are cultivable only in a few spots. Such lands as occur are of excellent quality, and whenever there are no droughts the climate is the best in the islands. Droughts, however, are sometimes long and severe. The total cultivable area in this district is about 4,700 acres. Irrigation is impossible. The entire area is under cultivation, excepting some inconsiderable nooks and corners.

The northern, or Kohala district, is similar in character to Kau. Within the limits in which arable lands occur the proportion of good to waste lands is larger, and the whole of it is now occupied by sugar plantations. Droughts are not so frequent though they sometimes occur. The amount of cultivable land for sugar cane in this district is about 7,500 acres.

The third sugar cane area of Hawaii occupies a long narrow marginal belt in the northeastern quarter of the island in the Hilo and Hamakua district. This belt is characterized by many profound gorges and ravines. Its length is about 35 miles and its width varies from one to three miles. Nearly *seventy*

deep cañons cross it, or on an average one in every half mile. About three-fourths of this area, as projected on the map, would be occupied by ravines. Between the gorges are some strips of good land, but in many cases the ravines are so close together and the strips of soil are so narrow that they are too restricted in area to be available for plantations. In other cases intervals of one or two miles separate the chasms, leaving between them very good tracts of soil, which are desirable.

The best of these are now occupied. But there still remain a few tracts which, under favorable auspices, could be converted into plantations of smaller dimensions. It would, however, require a very heavy outlay of capital to make them available. The only feasible plan yet suggested is to build a narrow-gauge railroad, which would be mostly bridges and high trestles, partly for the purpose of hauling cane to the mills and partly to afford ingress for supplies and egress for products. An ordinary wagon road would be quite impossible, owing to the great depth and abruptness of the ravines. The total area under cultivation in this belt is about 17,000 acres. The amount of land which under the strongest inducements might be brought from the virgin state under production is extremely difficult to estimate, but in an extreme case might be 10,000 to 12,000 acres. The climate being excessively rainy irrigation is not resorted to.

SUGAR LANDS ON THE ISLAND OF MAUI.

The sugar lands of this island are nearly all on the windward side. With one exception they require irrigation. The water available for irrigation appears to be utilized at present to its full capacity. A single plantation at the eastern extremity of the island is perhaps capable of some expansion, and it has not hitherto been found necessary to irrigate. Beyond this any further extension of the sugar area, except by adding nooks and corners and forcing the capacity of the irrigating water, seems impracticable. The total acreage now cultivated for sugar is about 12,000 acres.

SUGAR LANDS ON OAHU.

This island contains but a very small amount of land upon which cane can be raised. Three plantations of very moderate size and two very small ones comprise the whole of it. In the center of the island is a very extensive tract where the soil seems good and sufficient, but it is under the lee of the eastern mountain range, and would have to be heavily irrigated, and there is no water except such as is already employed by existing cane fields. The total acreage

at present cultivated is about 3,000 acres. The three existing large plantations may be capable of some slight enlargement.

SUGAR LANDS ON KAUAI.

This is often called the Garden Island. There is probably a larger percentage of arable land upon it than upon the others, and much of this is already utilized. Irrigation is in all cases necessary, and there are several large streams only partially utilized. But owing to the fact that these streams are located in immense gorges of great abruptness the practicability of diverting them upon the land seems doubtful. In any case the expense would be enormous, and even if it were successfully accomplished it is further doubtful whether the lands so irrigated would be extensive enough to insure under any circumstances a fair return upon so large an outlay. Such waters as are at present available are already employed to their full capacity, and the sugar lands are apparently incapable of further enlargement, except by incurring the excessive outlay first referred to.

The sugar cane is a plant which requires for its full maturity more than a year's growth, and the same field yields a crop not oftener than once in two years, and is frequently allowed to fallow. Thus the land which appertains to any plantation must always be more than double the area actually cropped each year, and is sometimes three or four times as great. The conditions, however, vary so much with the circumstances and climate, that no universal rule can be laid down.

The following table will show, as nearly as can at present be estimated, the total acreage of the islands, the extent of the lands available for cane, and the amount which can be cropped annually, and the yield of sugar.

Table showing the Areas of Sugar Land and Productions, present and possible, in the Hawaiian Islands.

Name of Island.	Acres of cane land.		Acres annually cropped.		Annual yield of sugar in tons.	
	Present.	Possible.	Present.	Possible.	Present.	Possible.
Hawaii	30,000	40,000	12,000	18,000	29,000	40,000
Maui	12,000	14,000	6,000	7,500	15,500	25,000
Oahu	3,000	3,500	1,500	2,000	3,000	4,000
Kauai	10,000	15,000	4,000	6,500	9,500	15,000
Total	55,000	72,500	23,500	34,000	57,000	84,000

ISLAND OF HAWAII.

Total area, 3,900 square miles.
Total acreage at present cultivated for sugar cane, 30,000 acres.
Total acreage at present annually cropped, 12,000 acres.
Maximum possible acreage which can be cropped, 40,000 acres.
Maximum acreage which can be cropped annually, 18,000 acres.
Present annual yield of sugar, 29,000 tons.
Maximum possible yield of sugar, 40,000 tons.

The red color indicates the portions of the island within which lands suitable for the cultivation of sugar cane are located. Only a small proportion of the area so colored can be utilized.

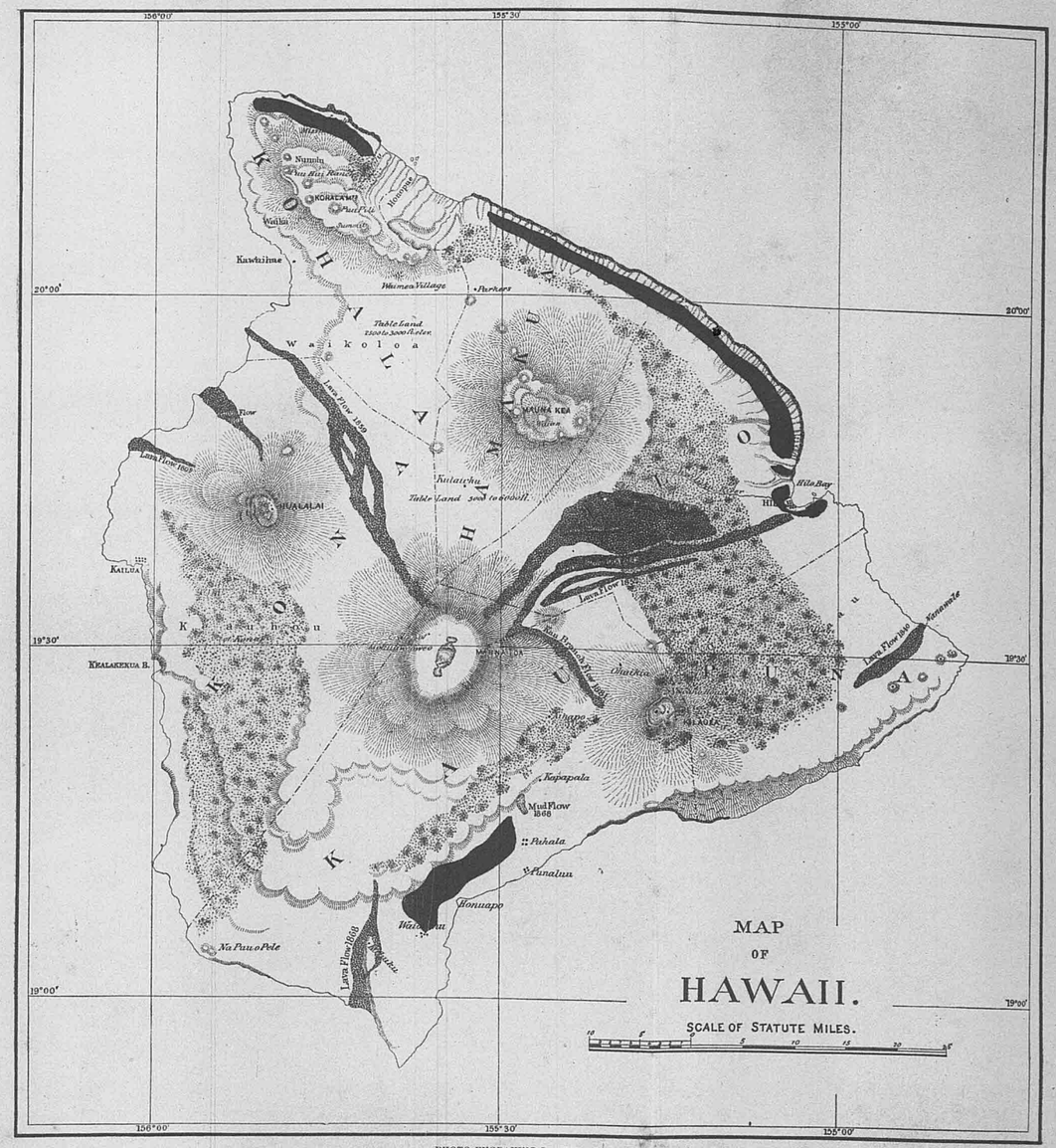
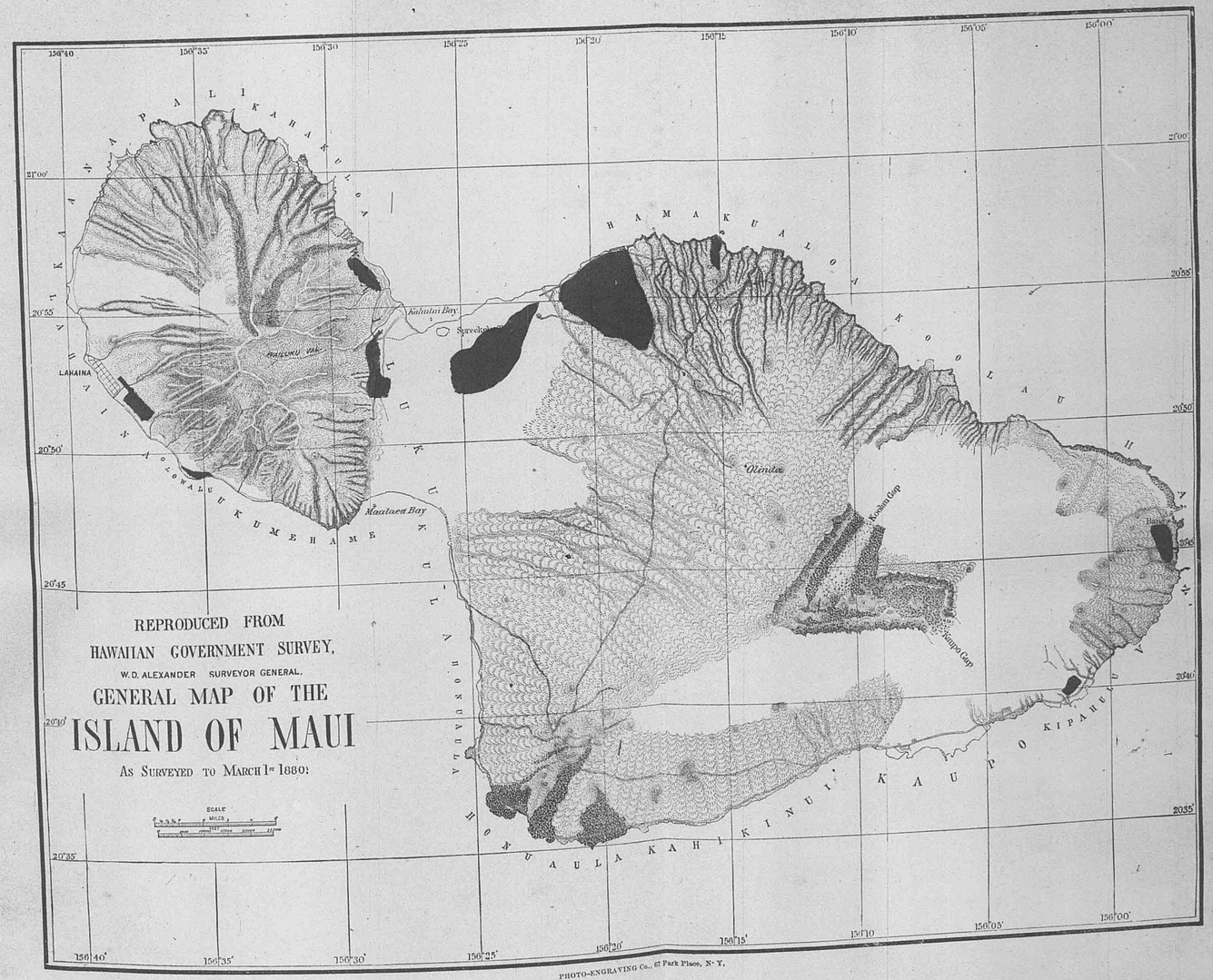


PHOTO-ENGRAVING Co., 67 Park Place, N. Y.

ISLAND OF MAUI.

Total area, 680 square miles.
Total acreage at present cultivated for sugar cane, 12,000 acres.
Total acreage at present annually cropped, 6,000 acres.
Maximum possible acreage which can be cropped, 14,000 acres.
Maximum possible acreage which can be cropped annually, 7,500 acres.
Present annual yield of sugar, 15,500 tons.
Maximum possible yield of sugar, 25,000 tons.

The red color indicates the portions of the island which contain lands suitable for sugar cane. Not all of the areas so colored are cultivable.



REPRODUCED FROM
HAWAIIAN GOVERNMENT SURVEY,
W. D. ALEXANDER SURVEYOR GENERAL.

GENERAL MAP OF THE ISLAND OF MAUI

AS SURVEYED TO MARCH 1st 1880.

SCALE
3 2 1 0 3 MILES

PHOTO-ENGRAVING Co., 67 Park Place, N. Y.

ISLAND OF OAHU.

Total area, 600 square miles.
Total acreage at present cultivated for sugar cane, 3,000 acres.
Maximum possible acreage for cane, 3,500 acres.
Total acreage at present annually cropped, 1,500 acres.
Maximum possible acreage which can be annually cropped, 2,000 acres.
Present annual yield of sugar, 3,000 tons.
Maximum possible yield of sugar, 4,000 tons.

The red color indicates the areas within which lands suitable for the cultivation of sugar cane are situated. Nearly all the land so colored is or can be so cultivated.

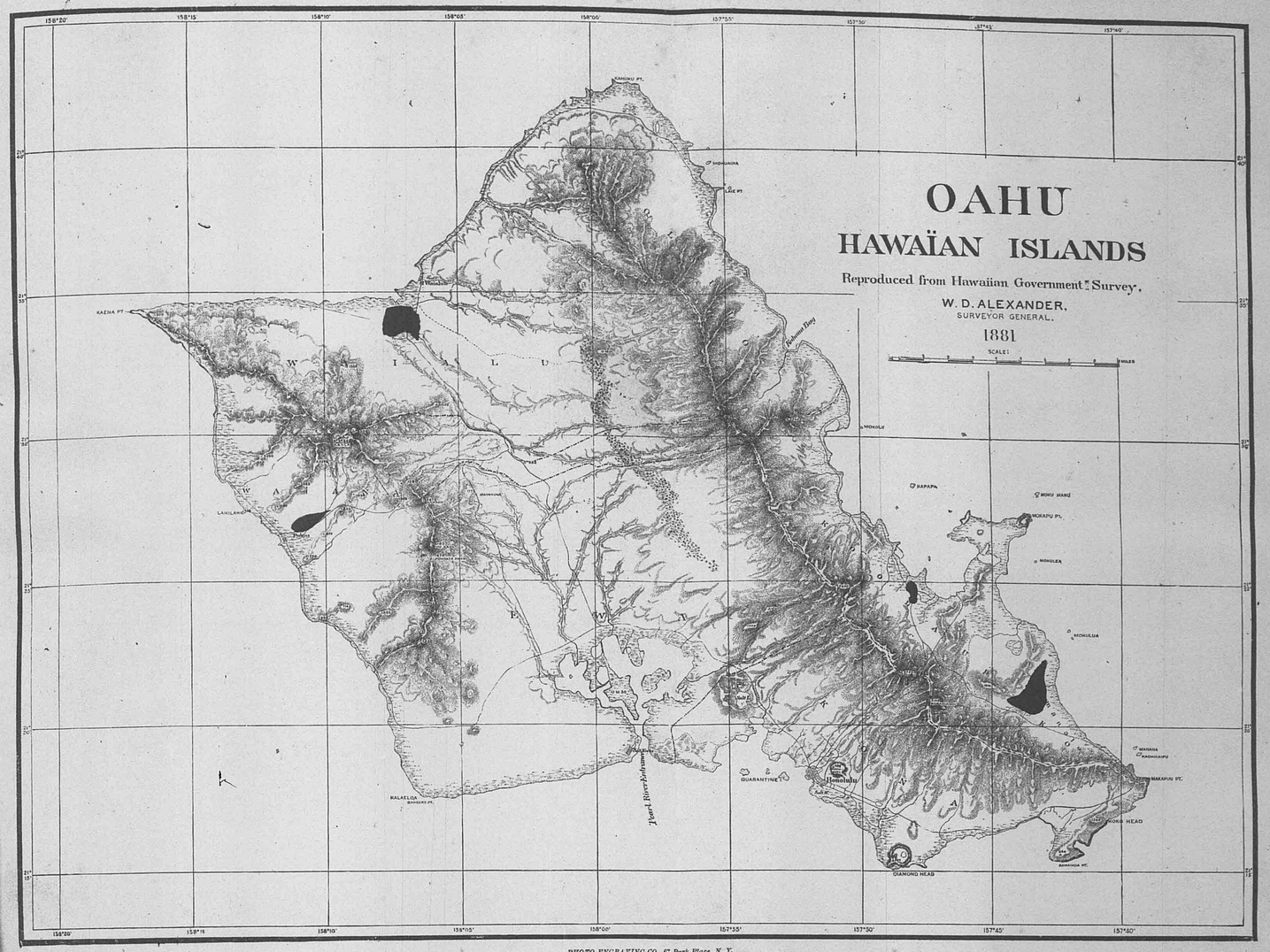
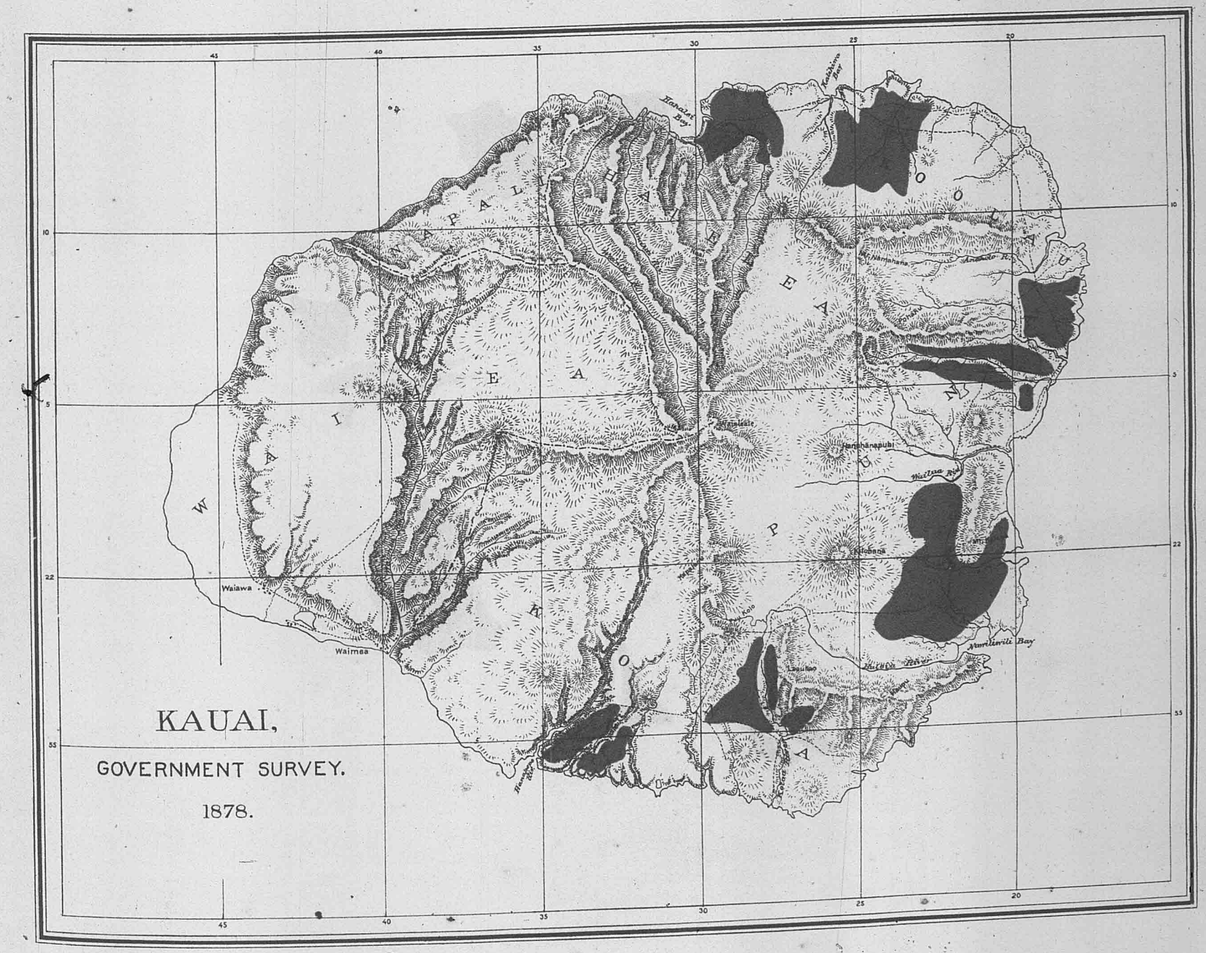


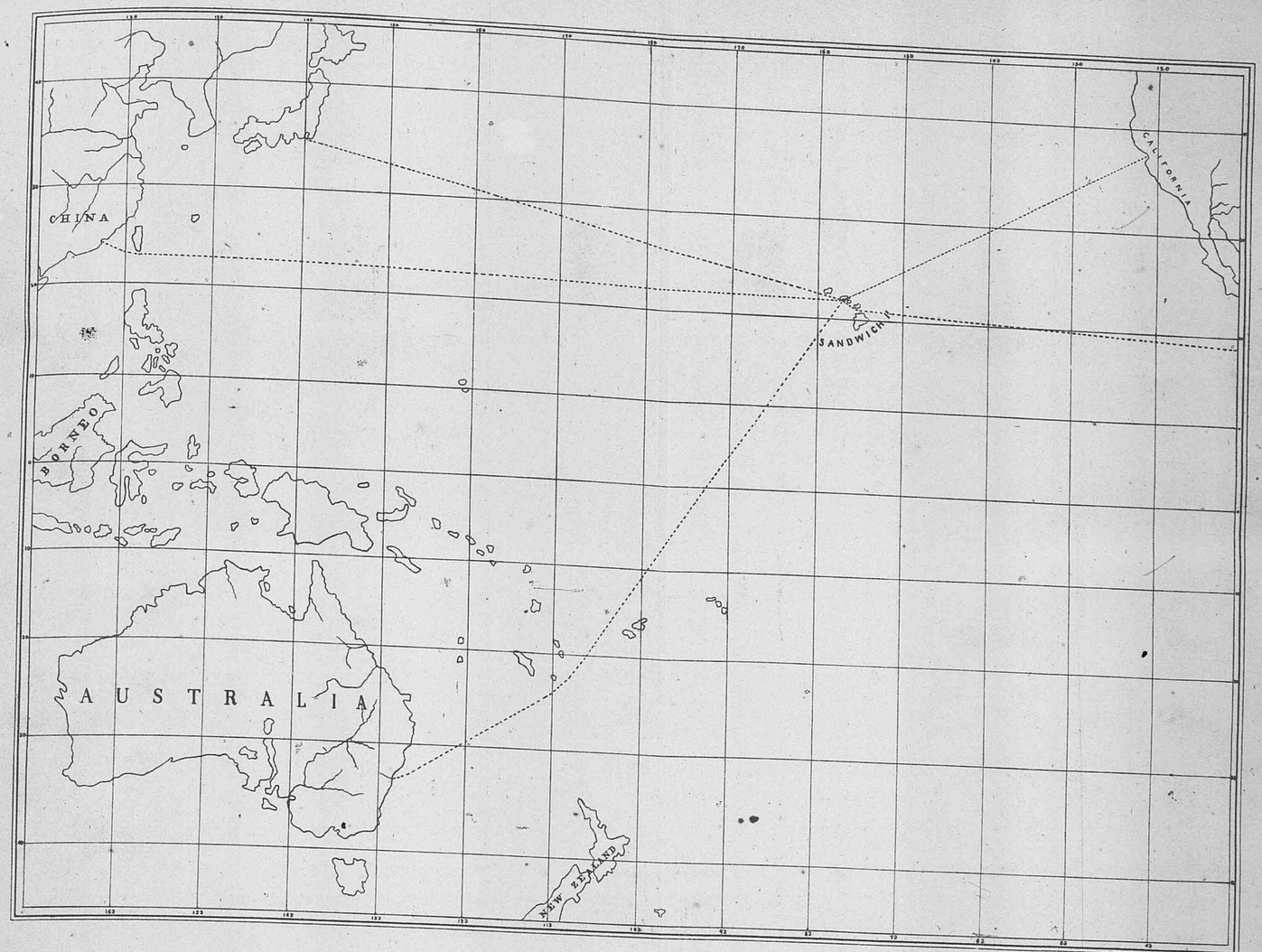
PHOTO-ENGRAVING CO., 67 Park Place, N. Y.

ISLAND OF KAUAI.

Total area, 640 square miles.
Total acreage at present cultivated for sugar cane, 10,000 acres.
Maximum possible acreage for cane, 15,000 acres.
Total acreage at present cropped annually, 4,000 acres.
Maximum possible acreage which can be cropped annually, 6,500 acres.
Present annual crop of sugar 9,500 tons.
Maximum possible crop of sugar, 15,000 tons.

The red color indicates the areas within which lands suitable for sugar cane are situated. Not all of the area so colored can be utilized.




CHINA
CALIFORNIA
SANDWICH I.
BORNEO
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND

CIRCULAR

SAN FRANCISCO, SEPT. 29, 1876.

To the Merchants and Planters
of the Hawaiian Islands:

It was confidently hoped by the friends of the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty, that the passage of the Treaty Law on the last day of the session of Congress, would terminate the excitement respecting it, and stop discussion by the public press. Particularly was it desired by the friends of the treaty on the Pacific Coast, that all parties here should be satisfied, who had favored the measure and labored for its success.

All expected that the sugar refineries, as well as others, would share in its benefits, with the community generally. But the report, ex "*Zealandia*," that the refineries had so quickly secured a large part of the crop of 1877, and a part of the crop of 1878, and that they were resolved to secure by some means the control of the remainder, if possible, very naturally awakened a feeling of dissatisfaction—and alarm for the safety of the treaty. This expression of dissatisfaction, privately, and through the press, has led Senator Sargent, who is in the city, to make inquiries as to its meaning, as he was moved to his earnest and successful efforts in behalf of the treaty by frequent assurances that it was universally popular with the people of this Coast, and that its benefits would be very generally shared by them.

It is certainly unfortunate that a measure of so much importance to the prosperity of the Hawaiian people, should be put in jeopardy by the injudicious course of those most directly interested. And the remedy should be applied at once, as far as possible.

The fear that the treaty will not be permanent, will naturally prevent or delay projected enterprises in sugar and rice culture.

The plan of contracting for the future delivery of such a large part of the growing crop, is most assuredly the most effectual means of exciting an antagonism of ill feeling. The benefits are believed to be largely with the purchaser, rather than with the producer. No one doubts that the refineries will make a profit of a large sum by their contract, or if not, that the planters have sold for a much less sum than the sugars would have realized in the regular course of trade. Will it not be more judicious for the planters to sell or market through agents on the Pacific Coast, their crops throughout the year, as they are ready for market, instead of contracting for a year or more in advance.

The fears which have been excited amongst the planters, that the refineries would pursue a policy to their injury, are groundless. It is clear enough who would suffer in a contest. The planters in this market, with free sugar to the extent of 25,000,000 to 40,000,000 of pounds per annum, will be courted by the refineries to make terms as to prices, for mutual benefit. *There would be no contest.* But prices would be so arranged by both interests as to exclude New York and Hongkong refined sugars, and Central and South American raws. It should not be forgotten that the refineries cannot secure sugars from any quarter except the Islands, without paying a duty averaging about 50 per cent. *ad valorem.*

The mercantile community very naturally expected a portion of the Island trade, and can but feel indignant that the men who opposed the treaty till their opposition was hopeless, step in and secure the product of the Islands for more than a year to come. They expected *an opportunity*, at least, to make purchases, either here or at Honolulu. Through *their* efforts, and not those of the refineries, the treaty is now in force. It was popular with them, because not made, like the previous one, in the interest of the refiners —with a duty on choice sugar—which the Senate wisely refused to ratify.

It is pleasant and instructive, in this connection, to state that a response has come from one plantation, Messrs. Afong & Achuck, that they had received a fair offer for their coming crop, but that they would not withdraw their business from their old friends here, to whom they were grateful for their faithful and successful efforts in securing a measure so favorable to their interests. If all parties had been like-minded, it would have been better for all concerned.

Another cause of irritation on this subject, is the fact that the agent of the Sugar Refineries, in order to control the portion of the sugar crop which he could not secure by purchase, offered to sell it, in this market, for a very small commission. Such a proposition should not be listened to for a moment. It would be the crowning death-blow to the treaty. Those who do an agency business for an inadequate compensation, are not apt to be *first-class merchants*, nor skillful and desirable factors. We can give an excellent illustration directly to the point. Among the sugars received by the Refineries ex "*Zealandia*," there were several hundred bags of beautiful, cream colored sugars, of a very desirable style, and high grade, which were sold for nine cents per pound by the agent of the Refinery, without the employment of a broker. This sale was made at ten per cent. below the market value; and the agent now admits that he sold them too low. A sale of a consigned lot of sugar by the same steamer, to one of the largest grocery houses here, at 9¼ cents, of much inferior quality, proves the foregoing to have been sold thus much below its value.

The rice product of the Islands, for the coming year, does not seem to have attracted attention, or excited the avidity of any one. But much of that consigned here, the past year, has gone to the rice mill owner, because of a small discrimination, on such consignments, in the expense of cleaning. These consignments are well known to have been injudiciously sold. The last lot received, ex "*Cyane*," of 3111 bags, about a month ago, is complained of by other rice holders as sold at an unnecessarily low price. Besides, by paying the duty on it of about $4,600, the owners of it are subject to a loss of a large sum, which could have been saved by re-shipment, as is the case with other rice which arrived some time previously.

Is it probable that this loss would have occurred if this rice had been shipped to a regular commission house, instead of the mill? Here is a large sum lost by an attempt to save a trifling expense in charges. This loss is equal, probably, to all the commissions ever made in this city, on Hawaiian rice, in any single year.

One would hardly suppose it necessary to state that men may be skillful and successful in their respective callings, and not be, at the same time, accomplished merchants. To be a first-class merchant, one must be well versed in mercantile law and usages, and be well informed by a mercantile training, and by practice, on all questions connected with tariffs, insurance, averages, liabilities, claims, freights, charters, credits, exchange, etc., etc.

A strictly commission house of the above character—doing no business and investing no money on its own account, devoting all its capital, skill, ability, experience, and enterprise to the benefit of correspondents—has ever been found to be a valuable agency for producers, manufacturers, ship owners, etc.

The experience and practice of the commercial world, from the commencement of the historic period, shows the necessity and importance of "middle men." The earliest trade recorded in history, and involving only the sum of "four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant," was made through a third party or negotiator. See *Genesis*, XXIII Chapter. Nor will this principle be found to be exceptional in the successful management of the important business of the Hawaiian people, in its new condition under the Reciprocity Treaty.

The departure from this port for Honolulu, of three large vessels loaded chiefly with the great staples of the Hawaiian Islands, sugar and rice, can but excite surprise with those who may not know the cause of it. By returning this merchandise, the bonds given for the duties, to which it is subject by law, can be cancelled, and it can be reshipped here, and come back free of duty, under the provisions of the treaty. The owners of this produce are saved, by this act, the handsome sum of about forty thousand dollars, after deducting all expenses and interest. The decision of the Treasury Department, allowing this reshipment, is the only legal act which can save the duty. There is no probability that the duties paid under protest can be recovered.

It may be pertinent here to enquire how much sugar and rice has been sold, here and in Oregon, this year, the duty on which might have been saved by availing of this decision. Of the 16,178 kegs received here this year, about 10,000 kegs go back, and escape the duty, but none from Oregon. The remainder was sold by various parties, either duty paid, or in bond, for Victoria and other ports.

The refineries have received this year 36,801 packages, on which they have paid duty amounting to about $125,000. If the same course had been taken with this sugar, the whole of this sum could have been saved, less the small percentage of interest, freight, etc., for the joint benefit of the refineries, and planters who sold the sugars.

The decision of the Treasury Department of the United States, allowing this measure to save the duties, has been obtained by much anxious care and labor, and by the persevering efforts—not of the refineries, a party equally interested—but by commission merchants of this city, and brought to a final success by one, when all others had abandoned all hope, and who, in the face of an adverse decision at first—secured a rehearing on application, which resulted in a further examination, and a favorable result.

AMICUS HAWAII.

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TRADE

OF THE

UNITED STATES

WITH THE

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

1876-H 1882

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Exhibit of the Trade between the United States and the Hawaiian Islands for Nine Years—1876 *to* 1885, *Inclusive.*

VALUES CONTRIBUTED BY THE UNITED STATES.

Exports to Hawaiian Islands.

(Freights are not added, as they accrued to American vessels.)

1877	$1,272,949 00	
1878	1,736,099 00	
1879	2,374,918 00	
1880	2,086,170 00	
1881	2,778,072 00	
1882	3,350,775 00	
1883	3,776,065 00	
1884	3,523,353 00	
1885	2,787,922 00	
Total		$23,686,328 00
Bills of exchange to pay for all the imports of Hawaii from third countries, amounting to	$9,181,522 00	
Freights and insurance on same	918,152 00	
	$10,099,674 00	
Less exports of Hawaii to third countries	231,000 00	
		9,868,674 00
Coin balances shipped from the United States to Hawaii, including $1,000,000 coined for account Hawaiian government		2,222,181 00
		$35,777,183 00

Exhibit of Trade between Hawaii and United States for Nine Years—1876 *to* 1885, *Inclusive.*

VALUES CONTRIBUTED BY HAWAII.

Imports from Hawaii into the United States.

1877	$2,550,335 00		
1878	2,678,830 00		
1879	3,257,938 00		
1880	4,606,444 00		
1881	5,533,000 00		
1882	7,646,294 00		
1883	8,238,461 00		
1884	7,925,965 00		
1885	8,857,497 00		
Invoice value		$51,294,764 00	
Add freight and insurance to get value in United States ports		2,897,185 00	
			$54,191,949 00
Value of sugar estates owned by American citizens—assessed value		$10,180,164 00	
Hawaiian government bonds ($1,000,000), stocks in railroads, inter-island navigation companies, bonds and mortgages owned by American banks, &c		5,000,000 00	
Current loans—advances on crops due to San Francisco merchants and factors		3,000,000 00	
			18,180,164 00
Amount contributed by Hawaii			$72,372,113 00
Amount contributed by United States			35,777,183 00
Total trade for nine years			$108,149,296 00
Balance in favor of United States			$36,594,930 00

Ratio of Commerce Employed in Hawaiian Trade—1885-'86.

Nationality of Vessels.

American vessels	89.05 per cent.
British "	5.68 "
German "	2.11 "
Hawaiian "	1.81 "
Norwegian "	1.25 "
All others	.10 "

Trade of Hawaii with Foreign Countries.

With United States	92.04 per cent.
Great Britain	3.76 "
Germany	1.25 "
China and Hong Kong	1.04 "
Australia	.67 "
All other countries	1.24 "

Commerce of San Francisco.

(From statistics of commerce and navigation, 1885.)

Page 844:	Total number of American vessels engaged in foreign trade entered at port of San Francisco	425
	In Hawaiian trade	127
Page 847:	Total number cleared	462
	For Hawaiian ports	114

Over one-fourth in Hawaiian trade.

Remarks on Exhibit.

A systematic and concerted effort having been made to impress upon Congress the belief that the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty is commercially a failure, the above exhibit of the transactions between the two countries is respectfully submitted. The statistics used are derived from the quarterly report of the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, and from the official reports of the Hawaiian Minister of Finance. So far from being a commercial misadventure the results which those statistics indicate may excite surprise by reason of their very favorable character to this country. But it is to be remembered that at the beginning of the treaty the islands were very poor; that the capital to open and develop their great possibilities had to be borrowed in the United States; that the whole commerce in both directions and all the agency business in both countries have been conducted with American capital at very high rates of interest, freight, and commissions, and that nearly three-fourths of the productive properties and virtually the whole of the transportation, whether trans-oceanic or inter-island, are owned either directly or indirectly by our own people. The Hawaiian soil is exceptionally fertile, and the remission of duties secures a high price for the products. Thus the possibility of great profits is established, and these must, in the natural course of things, inure chiefly to those who furnish the capital, who own the properties, and who conduct the commerce. The chief advantages which the Hawaiians have derived from the treaty consist in abundant employment at high wages. Of the purely commercial advantages they have had no share, for these have accrued wholly to the United States. Of the profits which accrue to capital they have had but a small share, for they had little to invest, except what they borrowed from America at high interest; and the same is true of the German and English portion of the population. The result here set forth, therefore, should, as soon as the facts are understood, cease to be surprising, and should be regarded as perfectly natural.

In drawing up this exhibit there is an exceptional state of facts, which has greatly facilitated it. All of the values exported by the islands come to the United States, except the trifling sum of $231,000, which was their total export to third countries since the treaty was ratified. Hence the United States become, so to speak, the clearing house of all their external transactions. This renders possible what would have been almost impossible otherwise, viz: to trace out and account for all material items of their trade. The possibility of some portion of the values escaping to third countries, through channels

not known to official statistics, or other positive knowledge, has been carefully considered, with the resulting conviction that there can be none such of sufficient importance to materially affect the result.

Since the total exports of the islands come to the United States, it necessarily follows that whatever they import from third countries must be paid for out of the proceeds of what they send to us. There is no other source of credit upon which they can draw. Full account is taken of this in the exhibit and it has greatly simplified the problem.

Remitted Duties.

No account is made of remitted duty. This is a theoretical and not a practical quantity. It does not necessarily imply any loss of revenue. Whether the Treasury has lost much, little, or nothing depends upon the following considerations: We buy our imports with our exports. The free entry of Hawaiian sugars has caused us to buy in third countries a less amount of dutiable sugar. But the full value of our exports to third countries must surely come back to us somehow, and if we get for them less of dutiable sugar then we must as surely get just so much more of something else. The only question is whether this "more of something else" pays as much duty as the sugar would have paid. Hence, so long as our exports to third countries remain the same, whatever the Treasury loses by a diminished import of dutiable sugar it recovers either wholly or in greatest part on correspondingly increased imports of other dutiable commodities, which we *must* take in order to realize the full value of our export. There is no reason to suppose that our exports to third countries have been at all diminished by the treaty, and unless it can be shown that the exported values withheld from the purchase of dutiable sugar are applied to the purchase of duty-free articles, or of articles paying a lower ad valorem duty, it cannot be shown that the Treasury has lost anything. Meantime the values we send to Hawaii are not taken from our exports to the rest of the world at large, but are an additional export sent in response to a demand which was created by the treaty and which would never have existed without it. The citation therefore of any sum in remitted duties as a loss of revenue is merely a snare for the unwary. It may be described as the imaginary sum which we cannot collect *with* the treaty because the law remits it and which we could not collect *without* the treaty because there would have been no substantive values to levy it upon, the Hawaiian trade being the creation of the treaty.

The opponents of the treaty assert that "We buy our export trade with the islands with remitted duties." The reply is that we do not buy our exports; we produce them and give them in exchange for island products; and it seems to trouble these gentlemen because we give so little. What we do buy is sugar and rice, and they seem to be equally troubled because we get so much. If by the use of metaphor we can be said to buy our trade at all, we certainly buy the total trade between the two countries, for our own people and capital transact it exclusively and monopolize the profits of it. It now amounts to over $100,000,000 since the treaty went into effect, with a *resulting profit of thirty-six million.*

Refined Sugars.

The complaint of the sugar interests of the Eastern States that the treaty subjects them to an unfair competition with Hawaiian sugars is denied by the refiners, merchants, and planters of the Pacific coast. The latter contend that the ability of the San Francisco refiners to compete with New York in the Mississippi valley is wholly independent of the treaty and will be in no degree diminished by its abrogation. The ability to compete with New York depends upon two broad facts, to which the treaty bears no relation whatever: First, the normal price of raw sugar, whether dutiable or not, is lower upon the Pacific than upon the Atlantic coast, owing to the fact that Manila sugars are the cheapest in the world; second, the eastward freights over the Pacific railways are lighter than the westward, and the roads naturally prefer hauling sugar at competitive freights to hauling empty cars. The occupation of a large part of the Mississippi valley as a market for Pacific sugars is, they contend, only a question of time and development. Any course that Congress may take relative to the treaty will neither help nor hinder it.

The charge that the treaty fosters a monopoly and high prices of refined sugar in California has no basis. The truth is quite the reverse. The monopoly features of the sugar business were established long before the treaty, which has since served as a check upon its powers and curtailed the possibilities of their exercise. Its abrogation would make those powers larger than ever.

The monopoly which at one time existed led to the opening of a competing sugar refinery, and the prices of refined sugar were broken below those of New York.

RESULTS.

The exhibit conclusively shows that with an investment of thirty-five million dollars, less than one-third of which was coin or its equivelent—*i. e.*, foreign exchange—American citizens have in nine years gained seventy-two millions of dollars, drawing the value of fifty-four millions in sugar and rice, necessary articles of food which are not raised in sufficient quantities in the United States, and have acquired profitable vested properties in the Hawaiian Islands, to the extent of eighteen million.

Two-thirds of the invested capital was spent in this country in the purchase of what were almost all surplus products before it went to Hawaii and gave employment to American vessels in its transportation and in bringing back the returns, thus being employed in this country as a condition precedent to its being employed in Hawaii.

The profits to this country have been widely distributed in the purchase of the exports, in freights, and other earnings of vessels, insurance, commissions, purchase of vessels built in the United States, interest, dividends, and other miscellaneous profits, thus passing into the wages fund and capitalized profits of this country.

Without the treaty it is possible some fraction of this amount would have been collected into the Treasury of the United States, coin would have gone abroad to purchase low grades of sugar to replace the Hawaiian sugar, foreign vessels would have been employed. The ship-yards of the Pacific coast would not have been employed building steamers and sailing vessels for the inter-island and trans-oceanic trade of Hawaii. The greater part of the twenty-three millions of exports would have remained undisposed of, as part of the surplus production of the United States, and the profitable opening for American capital and enterprise in Hawaii would have passed into other hands.

In face of the sharp competition of all the maritime nations for the trade of the Pacific, it is submitted that no good reason is shown for the destruction of this valuable trade, of which the late Secretary of State said: "It may be stated that the whole round of our trade relations presents no other such favorable conditions."

END